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SAJCH-Journal: Vision and focus

The *South African Journal of Cultural History* (*SAJCH*) is an independent peer-reviewed journal indexed by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training. The Journal's Editorial Board welcomes a wide variety of articles that can relate to:

- Cultural heritage research and legacies regarding tangible and/or intangible relics of any group or society in South Africa, southern Africa and the African continent in general to expose historical ways of life. Tangible culture can include artefacts, works of art, books, culturally significant landscapes, monuments and other buildings or structures. Intangible culture can include customs, practices, knowledge, language, values, traditions, and folklore.
- Natural cultural heritage (biodiversity; rural landscapes; coasts and shorelines and agricultural heritage).
- Indigenous cultural heritage, and
- Debates, research and/or knowledge regarding preservation and/or conservation and its dynamism.

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SATKG-Tydskrif: Visie en fokus

Die *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuureskiedenis (SATKG)* is 'n onafhanklike portuur-beoordeelde tydskrif en word deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Departement van Hoër Onderwys en Opleiding geïndekseer. Die Tydskrif se Redaksionele Raad verwelkom 'n wye verskeidenheid artikels wat verband hou met:

- Kultuurerfenisnavorsing en -nalatenskappe met betrekking tot tasbare en/of nie-tasbare oorblyfsels van enige groep of samelewing in Suid-Afrika, suidelike Afrika en die Afrika-kontinent in die algemeen as 'n metode om 'n lewenswyse histories bekend te stel. Tasbare kultuur kan onder andere die volgende insluit: artefakte, kunswerke, boeke, kultureel-betekenisvolle landskappe, monumente en ander geboue of strukture. Nie-tasbare kultuur kan gebruike, praktyke, kennis, taal, waardes, tradisies en volksoorleverings insluit;
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Om die breë omvang van kultuur in kultuureskiedenisstudies te kan akkommodeer, is die *SATKG* op vele wyses multidissiplinêr van aard en vul dit streeksgebaseerde nalatenskappe aan. Tans word die Tydskrif privaat by die SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns geadministreer. Menings uitgespreek, of slotsomme waartoe daar in artikels en boekresensies gekom is, is dié van die outeurs en nie die van die *SATKG* se Redaksionele Komitee óf van die SA Akademie nie.

Jaarliks word twee uitgawes van die *SATKG* gepubliseer (Junie en Desember).

Artikels wat in die *SATKG* verskyn, word op *Sabinet* geabstraheer en geïndekseer, *Ebsco Host*, *Die Sosiale Wetenskappe en Geesteswetenskappe*, *die Volle SA e-publikasies en die Afrika Tydskrifargief*. Vir beskikbaarheid op *Sabinet*, sien <https://journals.co.za/journal/culture/oaaja>. Die tydskrif is gekoppel aan CrossRef, 'n amptelike registrasie-agentskap vir digitale artikels (DOI) van die International DOI Foundation.

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COVER (front)

Photo: THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE DOVER–PARYS RAILWAY LINE IN 1905. (Source: H Muller, “The Free State’s forgotten railway line”, *The Heritage Portal*, April 2019) Families who had lost all means of survival during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), saw hope in the 1905 relief work development to build a railway line between Parys and Dover Station. This was a siding of the main Johannesburg–Bloemfontein railway line that enters Parys from the west and stops in the town of Vredefort. The completion of the Dover–Parys railway line resulted in Parys’ development as a holiday resort and an industrial centre. The new town was marketed as the “Pride of the Vaal” and city dwellers flocked to the lush green riverbanks by train. The railway line was officially closed in 2001 as part of the restructuring of Transnet. Just outside the Dover station there are no more signs of the erstwhile railway line. After theft, Transnet decided to clean up and remove all the rails and sleepers.

OMSLAG (voor)

Foto: DIE OPENINGSPLEGTIGHEID VAN DIE DOVER–PARYS-SPOORLYN IN 1905. (Bron: H Muller, “The Free State’s forgotten railway line”, *The Heritage Portal*, April 2019) Gesinne wat deur die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) ekonomies geruïneer is en geen oorlewingsmiddel gehad het nie, het hoop gesien in die 1905-noodlenigingswerkontwikkeling om ’n spoorlyn tussen Parys en Doverstasie te bou. Dit was ’n vertakking van die hoofspoorlyn Johannesburg–Bloemfontein en loop vanaf die weste in Parys en eindig by die dorp Vredefort. Die voltooiing van die Dover–Parys-spoorlyn het gelei tot die ontwikkeling van Parys as ’n vakansieoord en ’n nywerheidsentrum. Die nuwe dorp is toe as die “Trots van die Vaal” bemark en stadsbewoners het per trein na die lowergroen rivieroewers gestroom. Die spoorlyn is amptelik in 2001 gesluit as deel van die sakeherstruktureringsplan van Transnet. Daar is nie meer spoorlyne net buite die Dover-stasie nie. Na ’n paar voorvalle van diefstal het Transnet besluit om die spoorlyn op te ruim en al die spore en dwarslêers te verwyder.

The SAJCH operates as part, and under the auspices, of the South African Society of Cultural History.
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Editorial

After 120 years, interest in the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), has by no means waned. Various aspects of, and perspectives on this war continue to be researched world-wide.

On 9 November 2022, the Russian Academy of Science in Moscow organised a symposium on themes that dealt exclusively with the Anglo-Boer War. The symposium took place in person and online for the foreign participants. The following Russian historians presented their research on the war: Dr Boris Gorelik of the Russian Academy of Science in Moscow; Dr Tatyana Krayushkina (member of the Russian Academy's branch in Vladivostok); Dr Alexander Arbekov (research fellow of the Tula National Arms Museum in Russia); Prof Andrey Yegorov and Igor Yegorov (the latter a junior research associate of the Pskov State University, Russia); Dr Lyubov Prokopenko; Dr Yury Skubko (who spoke about Sammy Marks, as a peacekeeper during the Anglo-Boer War); Yulia Ivchenko (a master's student from Saint Petersburg State University); and others. The rest of the speakers were South Africans, including Prof Ian Liebenberg of the University of Namibia and Dr Mariaan Roos, Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University who jointly presented a paper, and Lauren Coetzee, a postgraduate student from Stellenbosch University.

The excellent Russian interpreters translated the papers into English. Professor Apollon Davidson, head of the Centre for Southern African Studies of the Russian Academy, mentions in his paper (translated into English): "In my long life I have seen many people in Russia for whom the Boer War played a big part in their childhood." Dr Valentina Gribanova believed: "The study of the causes, results, features of the Anglo-Boer War began not even after, but practically during the war." Dr Andrey Tokarev informed the audience that: "In the last 30 years, one of the best-researched topics in Russian African studies has been the Anglo-Boer War and the Russian involvement in that conflict."

In the *SA Journal of Cultural History's* December edition, eight articles appear on a wide variety of cultural-historical topics, three of which deal with the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902).

Louis Venter and André Wessels approaches the war from a British perspective in their article "British soldiers' experiences of the Anglo-Boer War as recorded in their diaries". The article focuses on three aspects of the selected diaries. First,

the soldiers' sea journey to South Africa, and their first impressions of South Africa. Second, their experiences in the war zone, and their interactions with the local population. Finally, their experiences when not on duty, for example leisure, sporting, and hunting activities, and their impressions of medical care, food, and drink.

In his article, Anton C van Vollenhoven discusses the British block houses in Barberton, Mpumalanga. Amongst others, the findings of the historical investigation of the site, which includes its comparison with similar sites, are detailed. Cultural objects found on site, including artefacts dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which are believed to have a military origin, are also discussed. It is now clear that the remains of a second blockhouse survived. This, of course, increases its heritage significance and thus it is important to be preserved and investigated further to obtain a complete picture of the blockhouses of Barberton.

The article about the Bethulie concentration camp focuses on the events in this camp during the Anglo-Boer War. Johan van Zyl, Marietjie Oelofse and André Wessels pay particular attention to the origin and move of the camp, causes of diseases and deaths, and the impact on children and families. The camp is compared to other surrounding camps to determine whether the British government was faced with a unique situation in Bethulie. By relying on graphs and information tables, a perspective is gained of the harsh reality of child deaths in 1901 in this camp.

Budeli Andani Edgar, Pfarelo Eva Matshidze and Kugara Stewart Lee investigated the VhaVenda's indigenous knowledge systems of water conservation and management in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. They found that little knowledge exists about early African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management to ensure water security and sustainability. These valuable strategies have been side lined in the modern era of institutional government management strategies. The authors recommend a collaborative partnership in the adoption of African indigenous knowledge and Western science in water conservation and management.

Personal naming practices among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria are of diverse cultural importance and have significant implications for individuals' place in society, their role in the community and the course of their lives. Aderinsola Kayode's research revealed that the obliteration of Yoruba naming traditions and ceremonies in the face of increasing modernity and globalisation is evident in the

literature she examined, and in the interviews, she conducted with community members. Her recommendation is that the revival and preservation of these traditions will benefit from adequate documentation, education, and awareness campaigns.

Lizette Rabe's article is based on the memories of Johann Gustav Augustson, a German immigrant who migrated from Germany's Lüneburg Heath with his mother, stepfather and stepsisters and other families to settle on the Cape Flats in the late 1800s as part of the British colonial government's formal immigration projects. Augustson's memoirs are considered representative of the lived experiences of his fellow immigrants, who found themselves in the same position. The terms "manuscript", "microhistory", and "memoir" are discussed as a theoretical foundation for this article. Augustson's memoir is read from a composite metatheoretical construct consisting of aspects of microhistory, combined with an interpretation of the French Annales movement.

With the prominent tourist attractions, as well as unique natural and environmental assets in and around the Parys region, or rather Ngwathe in the Northern Free State, Elize van Eeden and Knysna Motumi believe that lesser-known memories in this region are overlooked. The latter could have broadened the uninformed insights into migrations, wars, a search for land, early economies, township settlements and cultural life in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-apartheid eras. In this discussion, a section of the region's historical legacy, and how the post-1994 local communities cherish their diverse, extended local legacy is shared.

Vusi Kumalo's article differs significantly from other works dealing with heritage transformation. It uses the JBM Hertzog monument in Bloemfontein as a case study to suggest a variety of strategies dealing with the problematic post-apartheid monuments and memorials in South Africa. This article calls for the preservation and use of apartheid monuments to promote dialogue that has developed under the idea of shared history that can legitimise post-apartheid South Africa as the new nation-state. The article further argues that, if the apartheid legacy continues to be ignored, there will be an incomplete understanding of the forces that shaped South African history and memory.

Six book reviews are included in this issue:

- *Die Platberg van Harrismith: 'n Geskiedenis* by Johann Lodewyk Marais.
- *Die geskiedenis van Pretoria: van vroegste tye tot hoofstad en Jakarandastad* by Anton Carl van Vollenhoven.

- *Afrikaner-sondebok? Die lewe van Hans van Rensburg, Ossewabrandwag-leier* by Albert Blake.
- *Blitzboks Rugby sevens in South Africa – a history, 1904–2019* by Hendrik Snyders.
- *Herlewing: Transvaal en die grensgebiede in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910* by Karel Schoeman.
- *Charles Warren: Royal Engineer in the Age of Empire* by Kevin Shillington.

Linda Brink

Redaksioneel

Honderd en twintig jaar na die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) het belangstelling in hierdie onderwerp nog geensins getaan nie. Nie nêr in Suid-Afrika word die oorlog tot op hede nog nagevors nie. Elders in die wêreld is navorsers steeds besig om vanuit ander perspektiewe hierdie oorlog te bekyk.

Op 9 November 2022 het die Russiese Akademie vir Wetenskap in Moskou ’n simposium gereël oor temas wat uitsluitlik oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog gehandel het. Die simposium het in persoon en verder ook aanlyn plaasgevind. Veertien Russiese historici het by hierdie simposium hulle navorsing oor die oorlog bekendgestel, onder andere dr Boris Gorelik van die Russiese Akademie vir Wetenskap in Moskou, dr Tatyana Krayushkina (lid van die Russiese Akademie se tak in Vladivostok), dr Alexander Arbekov (navorsingsgenoot van die Tula National Arms Museum in Rusland), prof Andrey Yegorov en Igor Yegorov (laasgenoemde ’n junior navorsingsgenoot van die Pskov Staatsuniversiteit, Rusland), dr Lyubov Prokopenko, dr Yury Skubko (wat gepraat het oor Sammy Marks, ’n vredebewaarder tydens die ABO), Yulia Ivchenko (’n meestersgraadstudent van die Saint Petersburg Staatsuniversiteit), en nog andere. Die res van die sprekers was Suid-Afrikaners, onder andere prof Ian Liebenberg, Universiteit van Namibië en dr Mariaan Roos, Fakulteit Militêre Wetenskap, Universiteit Stellenbosch wat gesamentlik ’n referaat gelewer het en Lauren Coetzee, ’n nagraadse student van die Universiteit Stellenbosch wat oor haar studienavorsing ’n bydrae gelewer het.

Die uitstekende Russiese tolke het die referate van Russies na Engels getolk. Professor Apollon Davidson, hoof van die Sentrum vir Suidelike Afrikastudies van die Russiese Akademie, noem in sy referaat (in Engels vertaal): “In my long life I have seen many people in Russia for whom the Boer War played a big part in their childhood.” Dr Valentina Gribanova was van mening dat: “The study of the causes, results, features of the Anglo-Boer War began not even after, but practically during the war.” Dr Andrey Tokarev het die gehoor soos volg meegedeel: “In the last 30 years, one of the best-researched topics in Russian African studies has been the Anglo-Boer War and the Russian involvement in that conflict.”

In hierdie Desember-uitgawe van die *SA Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* verskyn agt artikels oor ’n wye verskeidenheid kultuurhistoriese onderwerpe, waarvan drie artikels oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) handel.

Louis Venter en André Wessels kyk vanuit ’n Britse perspektief na die oorlog in hulle artikel “British Soldiers’ Anglo-Boer War experiences as recorded in

their diaries”. Die artikel fokus op drie aspekte van die geselekteerde dagboeke. Eerstens, die soldate se reis na Suid-Afrika, hul skeepsreis, en hul eerste indrukke van Suid-Afrika. Tweedens, hul ervaringe in die oorlogsgebied, sowel as hul omgang met die plaaslike bevolking. Laastens, hul ervaringe wanneer nie aan diens nie, byvoorbeeld ontspanning, sport- en jag-aktiwiteite, sowel as hul indrukke van mediese sorg, asook van voedsel en drank.

In sy artikel bespreek Anton C van Vollenhoven blokhuse wat deur die Britte in Barberton, Mpumalanga opgerig is. Die bevindinge van die historiese ondersoek na die terrein, wat die vergelyking daarvan met soortgelyke terreine insluit, word onder meer uiteengesit. Kultuurvoorwerpe wat op terrein gevind is, word ook bespreek, soos artefakte wat uit die laat negentiende en vroeg twintigste eeu dateer, en wat gewis ’n militêre oorsprong het. Dit is nou duidelik dat die oorblyfsels van ’n tweede blokhuis oorleef het. Dit verhoog sy erfenisbetekenis en is daarom belangrik om te bewaar en verdere ondersoek te doen om ’n volledige prentjie van die blokhuse van Barberton te verkry.

Die artikel oor die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp fokus op die gebeure in dié kamp tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog. Hierin skenk Johan van Zyl, Marietjie Oelofse & André Wessels veral aandag aan die ontstaan en skuif van die kamp, oorsake van siektes en sterftes, asook die impak op kinders en gesinne. ’n Vergelyking word getref met ander omliggende kampe om te bepaal of die Britse regering gekonfronteer was met ’n unieke situasie in die Bethulie-kamp. Aan die hand van grafieke en inligtingstabelle word ’n beeld verkry van die harde werklikheid van kindersterftes in hierdie kamp.

Budeli Andani Edgar, Pfarelo Eva Matshidze en Kugara Stewart Lee het die VhaVenda se inheemse kennisstelsels van waterbewaring en -bestuur in die Limpopoprovinsie van Suid-Afrika ondersoek. Hulle het bevind dat min kennis bestaan oor Afrika-inheemse kennis van waterbewaring en -bestuur wat in vroeër tye as watersekerheid en volhoubaarheid gebruik is. Hierdie waardevolle strategieë is tersyde gestel in die era van moderniteit en institusionele regeringsbestuurstrategieë. Die skrywers beveel ’n samewerkende vennootskap aan in die aanvaarding van Afrika-inheemse kennis en Westerse wetenskap in waterbewaring en -bestuur.

Persoonlike naampraktyke onder die Yoruba van Suidwes-Nigerië is van uiteenlopende kulturele belang en het beduidende implikasies vir individue se plek in die samelewing, hul rol in die gemeenskap en die verloop van hul lewe. Aderinsola Kayode se navorsing het aan die lig gebring dat die erosie

van Yoruba-benoemingstradisies en -seremonies in die lig van toenemende moderniteit en globalisering duidelik blyk in die literatuur wat sy ondersoek het, asook in onderhoude wat sy met gemeenskapslede gevoer het. Haar aanbeveling is dat die herlewing en bewaring van hierdie tradisies sal baat vind by voldoende dokumentasie, opvoeding en bewusmakingsveldtogte.

Die artikel van Lizette Rabe is gebaseer op die herinneringe van Johann Gustav Augustson, 'n Duitse immigrant wat in die laat 1800's saam met sy ma, stiefpa en stiefsusters en ander gesinne van Duitsland se Lüneburger Heide migreer het om op die Kaapse Vlakte gevestig te word as deel van die Britse koloniale regering se formele immigrasieprojekte. Augustson se memoires word beskou as verteenwoordigend van die geleefde ervarings van sy mede-immigrante, wat hulself in dieselfde posisie bevind het. Die terme “manuskrip”, “mikrogeskiedenis” en “memoir” word as 'n teoretiese grondslag vir hierdie artikel bespreek. Augustson se memoir word gelees uit 'n saamgestelde metateoretiese konstruk wat bestaan uit aspekte van mikrogeskiedenis, gekombineer met 'n interpretasie van die Franse Annales-beweging.

Met prominente toeristeaantreklikhede, asook unieke natuurlike en omgewingsbates in en om die Parys-streek, oftewel Ngwathe in die Noord-Vrystaat, is Elize van Eeden en Knysna Motumi van mening dat minder bekende herinneringe in dié streek oor die hoof gesien word. Laasgenoemde sou oningeligtes se insig kon verbreed het oor migrasies, oorloë, 'n soeke na grond, vroeë ekonomieë, township-nedersettings en kulturele lewe in die prekoloniale, koloniale en postapartheidsera. In hierdie bespreking word 'n snit van die streek se historiese nalatenskap gedeel, asook hoe die post-1994- plaaslike gemeenskappe hul diverse, verruimde plaaslike nalatenskap koester.

Vusi Kumalo se artikel verskil in wesenlike opsigte van ander werke wat oor erfenistransformasie handel. Dit gebruik die JBM Hertzog-monument in Bloemfontein as 'n gevallestudie om 'n verskeidenheid strategieë voor te stel wat handel oor die problematiese postapartheid monumente en gedenktekens in Suid-Afrika. Die fokus van hierdie artikel vra vir die bewaring en gebruik van apartheidsmonumente om dialoog te bevorder wat ontwikkel het onder die idee van gedeelde geskiedenis wat postapartheid-Suid-Afrika as die nuwe nasie-staat kan legitimeer. Die artikel voer verder aan dat, indien voortgegaan word om apartheidserfenisse te ignoreer, daar 'n onvolledige begrip sal wees van die kragte wat die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis en geheue gevorm het.

In hierdie uitgawe word ses boekresensies ingesluit, te wete:

- *Die Platberg van Harrismith: 'n Geskiedenis* deur Johann Lodewyk Marais.
- *Die geskiedenis van Pretoria: van vroegste tye tot hoofstad en Jakarandastad* deur Anton Carl van Vollenhoven.
- *Afrikaner-sondebok? Die lewe van Hans van Rensburg, Ossewabrandwag-leier* deur Albert Blake.
- *Blitzboks Rugby sevens in South Africa – a history, 1904–2019* deur Hendrik Snyders.
- *Herlewing: Transvaal en die grensgebiede in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910* deur Karel Schoeman.
- *Charles Warren: Royal Engineer in the Age of Empire* deur Kevin Shillington.

Linda Brink

EXPLORING VHAVENDA INDIGENOUS METHODS OF WATER CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT IN TSHIDZIVHE VILLAGE, LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

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Little is known about African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management used in former times of water security and sustainability. These valued strategies were set aside in the modern era, because of their strong institutional top-down government management strategies. This approach fails to enhance contemporary sustainable conservation and management strategies. Against this backdrop, the article explores VhaVenda indigenous knowledge systems of water conservation and management in the Limpopo province of South Africa. This study is based on Afrocentric and socio-cultural theory. We adopted an exploratory qualitative research design and collected data using one-on-one (1:1) semi-structured interviews and non-participant observations. The knowledge holders (traditional leaders, traditional health practitioners, elderly community members and farmers) were sampled in the Tshidzivhe village using purposive sampling.

The article unearths aspects of useful VhaVenda indigenous knowledge that plays an important role in water conservation and management. Cultural beliefs, taboos and understanding of the surrounding natural environment have influenced the promotion of African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management. The authors recommend a collaborative partnership between African indigenous knowledge and Western science in water conservation and management.

Keywords: African indigenous knowledge, cultural beliefs, natural environment, water conservation, water management, *zwifho*

Verkenning van die VhaVenda se inheemse metodes van waterbesparing en -bestuur in die dorp Tshidzivhe, Limpopoprovinsie, Suid-Afrika

Min kennis bestaan oor Afrika-inheemse kennis van waterbewaring en -bestuur wat in vroeër tye as watersekerheid en volhoubaarheid gebruik is. Hierdie waardevolle strategieë is tersyde gestel in die era van moderniteit, vanweë sy sterk van-bona-onder institusionele regeringsbestuurstrategieë. Dit is duidelik dat hierdie benadering faal om kontemporêre volhoubare bewaring- en bestuurstrategieë te verbeter. Teen hierdie agtergrond is die VhaVenda se inheemse kennisstelsels van waterbewaring en -bestuur in die Limpopoprovinsie van Suid-Afrika ondersoek. Hierdie studie is gegrond in 'n Afrosentriese en sosio-kulturele teoretiese raamwerk. 'n Verkennende kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp is aanvaar. Data is ingesamel deur gebruik te maak van een-tot-een (1:1) semigestruktureerde onderhoude en waarnemings van nie-deelnemers. Die kennishouers (tradisionele leiers, tradisionele gesondheidspraktisyns, bejaarde gemeenskapslede en boere) is in die dorpie Tshidzivhe met behulp van doelgerigte steekproefneming gemonster.

Die artikel onthul aspekte van nuttige inheemse VhaVenda-kennis wat steeds 'n belangrike rol in waterbesparing en -bestuur speel. Kulturele oortuigings, taboes en begrip van die omliggende natuurlike omgewing was invloedryk in die bevordering van Afrika-inheemse kennismetodes van waterbewaring en -bestuur. Die skrywers beveel 'n samewerkende vennootskap aan in die aanvaarding van Afrika-inheemse kennis en Westerse wetenskap in waterbewaring en -bestuur.

Sleutelwoorde: Afrika-inheemse kennis, kulturele oortuigings, natuurlike omgewing, waterbewaring, waterbestuur, *zwifho*

1. Introduction and background

Before the dissemination of Western knowledge systems in Africa, indigenous African communities had their forms of knowledge and methodologies that reflected their environment, culture and people's experience.¹ These local knowledge forms still exist and can vary from one location to another, which means that they are indigenous to groups or people who own them.² Indigenous people have managed to maintain their cultural identity through knowledge of

1 A Lssozi, Values and participation: the role of culture in preserving and environmental education among the Baganda, *The Journal of Sustainability Education* 7(3), 2012, pp 88-99.

2 AC Obiora & EE Emeka, African indigenous knowledge system and environmental sustainability, *International Journal of Environmental Protection and Policy* 3(4), 2015, pp 88-96.

their local environments.³ Indigenous knowledge systems have recently gained significant traction as more water management experts in various parts of the world have rediscovered the intrinsic value of indigenous knowledge systems. Currently, more information exists regarding the usefulness of indigenous societies' methods to ensure the sustainable use of resources,⁴ for example, the *Gadda* traditional governance system of the Borana Oromo people in Southern Ethiopia and some parts of Northern Kenya.⁵ These communities have used this system in their practices, including water conservation and management.⁶ In water management, attention is given to enacting access and maintenance rules. The maintenance of a water source, particularly a well, takes place in three stages which are: (a) daily maintenance of removing dung, (b) seasonal maintenance to clean sediment deposits after a flood season, and (c) major well rehabilitation-extension of the depth of the well following the depletion of the groundwater table.

The above information suggests that the use of indigenous knowledge is a serious matter that needs special attention. It is a well-known fact that South Africa is amongst the 40 most water-scarce countries in the world – regardless of its wealth of natural water sources.⁷ African people possess a rich indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management. Westerners have much to learn by paying attention to indigenous African beliefs, taboos, myths, proverbs, stories and rituals.⁸ Indigenous Africans know how to recognise the links between water and their physical and spiritual well-being.⁹ Several indigenous knowledge methods have been employed in different parts of the world, depending on the particular environment to conserve and manage water. The principal influence on water conservation and management is the water scarcity challenges.¹⁰

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- 3 RM Ngara, Indigenous system and the conservation of natural resources in the Shongwe Community in Gokwe District, Zimbabwe, *International Journal of Asian Social Science* 3(1), 2013, pp 20-28.
 - 4 AC Obiora & EE Emeka, African indigenous knowledge system..., *International Journal of Environmental Protection and Policy* 3(4), 2015, pp 88-96.
 - 5 SL Danver, *Native peoples of the world: an e-encyclopedia of groups, cultures and contemporary issues* (Routledge, London, 2015), pp 24-25.
 - 6 K Biratu & O Kosa, The roles, challenges and opportunities of Gadaa System in resolving water conflict: the case of Borana Oromo, *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 8, 2020, pp 19-31.
 - 7 J Blignaut & J van Heerden, The impact of water scarcity on economic development initiatives, *Water SA* 35(4), 2009, pp 415-420.
 - 8 A Lssozi, Values and participation: the role of culture..., *The Journal of Sustainability Education* 7(3), 2012, pp 88-99.
 - 9 E Chuvieco, Religious approaches to water management and environmental conservation, *Water Policy* 14, 2012, pp 9-20.
 - 10 G Knutsson, The role of springs in the history of Sweden, *Vatten – Journal of Water Management and Research* 70, 2014, pp 79-86.

Like other natural resources, water affects the economy and the natural environment if not managed well.¹¹ This is because water does not exist on its own but as part of a large, complex ecosystem that consists of land, plants, aquatic and other forms of life.¹² Poor management and unregulated water usage impact negatively on humans and the ecosystem.¹³ Proper management and sustainable use of available water resources are currently obligatory.¹⁴ It has been taken into consideration that indigenous peoples' knowledge plays an intrinsic role in managing water resources. Indigenous knowledge is currently valued and given attention as a basic source for such activities.

Indigenous knowledge is an intrinsic part of the heritage and cultural diversity of humans, thus the relationship between indigenous people and water resources is rooted in cultural and spiritual values. Indigenous peoples' understanding of water resources is not simply significant for human survival but is also an important part of people's spirituality (myths and rituals).¹⁵ Water is essential for the sustainability of livelihoods. Its availability determines the community's food security. One of the most vital pro-ecological activities to be developed and fashioned for sustainability is the consideration of African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation management.

Water scarcity in South Africa has become a serious challenge as most reservoirs, thought to be sufficient, are now running low and dry.¹⁶ The situation is due to climate change and population growth in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁷ In addition, the lack of potable water, coupled with drought and other related matters, impacts negatively on human health, and the fauna and flora. This is exacerbated by the fact that only one form of knowledge, Western scientific knowledge, is applied

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- 11 CA Dieter, MA Maupin, RR Caldwell, MA Harris, TI Ivahnenko, JK Lovelace, NL Barber & KS Linsey, Estimated use of water in the United States in 2015. Circular, US Geological Survey, 2018.
 - 12 RQ Grafton & K Hussey, "Introduction", in RQ Grafton & K Hussey (eds), *Water resources planning and management* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp xx-xxii (doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511974304.003).
 - 13 SZ Attari, Perceptions of water use, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(14), 2014, pp 5129-34.
 - 14 E Chuvieco, Religious approaches..., *Water Policy* 14, 2012, pp 9-20.
 - 15 O Wasongo, D Kambewa, & I Bekalo, Community-based natural resource management, in WO Ochola, PC Sanginga & I Bekalo (eds), *Managing natural resources for development in Africa. A resource book* (University of Nairobi Press, 2011), p 194.
 - 16 DA Yunana, AA Shittu, S Ayuba, EJ Bassah & WK Joshua, Climate change and lake water resources in sub-Saharan Africa: case study of Lake Chad and Lake Victoria, *Nigerian Journal of Technology (nijotech)* 36(2), 2017, pp 1-14.
 - 17 G Ziervogel, Climate adaptation and water scarcity in Southern Africa, *Current History* 117, 2018.

to conserve and manage water.¹⁸ This Western scientific knowledge dominance in water conservation and management has threatened the acceptance and recognition of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in water conservation and water management. Consequently, some modern methods used to conserve and manage water, mostly in rural areas, seem to be unsuccessful.¹⁹ Key to this failure is the allegation that there is too much interference in the indigenous methodology, which undermines entrenched traditional institutions that had been active players in conserving and managing water.

Currently, little is known about African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management which have been hailed in the past for water security and sustainability. As a result, most development agents side-line African indigenous knowledge in their attempts to conserve and manage water in rural communities and urban areas.²⁰ As such, these agents and other officials prefer Western scientific methods of water conservation and management, which African scholars opine are unsuccessful in some indigenous rural communities.²¹ They are unsuccessful because they do not conform to the community norms and morals, and are expensive, thus making them useless as most indigenous community members cannot afford them. In line with the latter, Kasongo claims that indigenous knowledge is excluded in the development processes while accommodating Western scientific knowledge.²² These stringent, up-bottom (top-down) government management strategies are falling short of enhancing sustainable water conservation and management.

18 MCC Musingafi, "Integrated water resource management, challenges and prospects for potable water supply governance in Zimbabwe and South Africa: comparative perspectives from selected local authorities" (PhD thesis, North West University), 2011.

19 K Ross, C Delaney, N Beard, K Fuller, S Mohr, & C Mitchell, Smart metering enables effective demand management design: a case study to demonstrate that an early mixed-method baseline analysis is essential to designing robust, cost-effective demand management programs in remote communities, *Water* 41, 2014, pp 81-87.

20 F Cleaver, *Development through bricolage: rethinking institutions for natural resource management* (Routledge, London, 2012).

21 YA Boafo, O Saito, S Kato, C Kamiyama, K Takeuchi & M Nakahara, The role of traditional ecological knowledge in ecosystem services management: the case of four rural communities in Northern Ghana, *International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services & Management* 12, 2015, pp 1-2, 24-38.

22 K Kasongo, Impacts of globalisation on traditional African religion and cultural conflict, *Journal of Alternative Perspective in the Social Sciences* 2, 2010.

2. Theoretical framework and a literature review

The following section of the article is presented in two parts, namely a theoretical framework and a literature review.

2.1 Theoretical framework

This part is premised upon Afrocentric and socio-cultural theories. These are discussed *seriatim*.

Afrocentric theory

In the late 1970s, Molefi Kete Asante started talking about the importance of an Afrocentric concept because he wanted to set Africans free from the grip of not understanding knowledge and reality from an African perspective.²³ The Afrocentric theory is a theory of social change, which refers to the notion of societal progress driven by cultural, economic, religious, and political aspects of society.²⁴ In this discussion Afrocentric theory moots the principle that African people must express their knowledge from an African point of view. It explains that Africa is misunderstood because of non-African perceptions and terms, which need to be studied.²⁵

This theory was useful in exploring African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management because it encourages African people to use their African indigenous knowledge. The authors studied the concepts, politics and cultural aspects related to the African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management from an African perspective and discovered that political and cultural factors play an important role. It impacts the use of water, distribution, conservation, and management by and for people in rural areas. As a rule, modern urban areas may be saturated with modern water and sanitation infrastructure systems that have become pervasive in many parts of South Africa since the twentieth century.

23 SOY Keita, "Egypt at its origins", symposium, 2010.

24 JM Mugane, *The story of Swahili* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, 2015), p 255.

25 K Kasongo, Impacts of globalisation..., *Journal of Alternative Perspective in the Social Sciences* 2, 2010.

Socio-cultural theory

The socio-cultural theory was developed in 1934 by the Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky as a response to behaviourism.²⁶ He suggests that people's interaction with, and the culture they are exposed to, shape their mental abilities. The socio-cultural theory emphasises the importance of culture and society in shaping and developing an individual.²⁷

The authors selected this theory because it is aligned with the intellectual adaptation tools that society and culture provide. The tools to develop human intelligence provided by society and culture include taboos, myths and stories that have been used in the African indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management. Taboos, myths, and stories are important because they have been part of the indigenous communities' history and are attached to *zwifho* (sacred places) surrounding the water bodies. *Zwifho* is managed by the royal families to bury the dead, communicate with ancestors and perform different rituals. The ancestral spirits are believed to be the caretakers and protectors of water. Water conservation and management have been shaped by the belief in ancestral and water spirits that have likes and dislikes about water conservation and management. These are mostly associated with matters of sanitation. Water spirits are hidden forces that secure water sources from misuse and pollution. Africans apply taboos to help protect water sources from being polluted. As such, the authors studied and became familiar with the societal setting and the culture of the local and regional society to understand their water conservation and management methods. This in turn helped to understand how the VhaVenda communities provide the adaptation tools and understand their water conservation and management methods.

2.2 Literature review

A literature review is a scholarly account based on recent information.²⁸ This part of the article elucidates different aspects contributing to the study of indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management methods. Previous and current studies were reviewed to discuss unknown and known research gaps in African

26 S McLeod, Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of cognitive development. *Developmental psychology, Simply Psychology*, 2020.

27 Lin Fang, A sociocultural perspective of mental health service use by Chinese Immigrants, *Canadian Social Work Journal* 12(1), 2010.

28 J.L Galvan, *Writing literature reviews: a guide for students of the social and behavioural sciences* (Glendale, CA, Pyrczak Publishing, 6th edition, 2015).

indigenous knowledge methods of water conservation and management. The author reviewed the literature under the following themes:

The role of indigenous knowledge in natural environment conservation

In the past, development professionals have extensively marginalised indigenous peoples' systems and cultural practices. This matter was also highlighted in a concluding declaration by a report of the World Commission on Environment and Development:

Some traditional lifestyles are threatened with virtual extinction by insensitive development in which the indigenous people have no participation. Their traditional rights should be recognized, and they should be given a more decisive voice in formulating policies about resource development in their areas.²⁹

This proves that indigenous practices have not been promoted, and the rights of indigenous peoples are ignored. Indigenous people should be allowed to play a key role in the formation of development strategies and the development of natural resources in their areas.³⁰

Currently, researchers in the social sciences development area recognize the intrinsic role of indigenous people and their knowledge of the environment and how it can contribute to development.³¹ From the above, it is practical to think that assistance of sustainable development activities including community participation, capacity building and sustainable management of natural resources can be amplified in programs and approaches that accommodate indigenous knowledge and its decision-making systems. This is because the African continent provides a good platform to study interweaving indigenous knowledge and modern development techniques. Despite this, advancing social and environmental burdens threaten the indigenous cultures of different groups in Africa and their rich cultural biodiversity.³²

29 GH Brundtland, *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*, Geneva, UN-dokument A/42/427, 1987.

30 PD Farah & R Tremolada, Intellectual property rights, human rights and intangible cultural heritage, *Journal of Intellectual Property Law* 9(2), 2014.

31 J Briggs, The use of indigenous knowledge in development: problems and challenges, *Progress in Development Studies* 5(2), 2005, pp 99-114.

32 A Lalonde, African indigenous knowledge and its relevance to environment and development activities, *Environment and Development Consultant R.R. 3*, (Wakefield, Quebec, Canada, 1991).

Authors writing on indigenous knowledge have emphasized that natural resources, including water, can be conserved using indigenous knowledge systems.³³ One can deduce that indigenous knowledge can be adapted to native culture and environment, learning from the experiences of those who have lived for many years, while accommodating its dynamic nature, including managing natural resources. Similarly, indigenous knowledge as has been constructed upon and transferred from one generation to another, within a given cultural group, fulfill the requirements of an environmental setting.³⁴

Water conservation and management

Water conservation refers to the activities and strategies employed to protect water resources to meet the current and future demands of water users.³⁵ On the other hand, water management refers to plans, development, and distribution of the use of water.³⁶ Water management processes consider all stakeholders requiring access to water resources and the pursuit of its distribution following the needs of the stakeholders.³⁷ The most important part of sustainable water management is maintaining the equilibrium between allocating water for different uses.³⁸

Water is a renewable resource, and it is important to use and manage it sustainably.³⁹ This involves considering the amount of available water and the water demand.⁴⁰

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- 33 MP Mahlangu & TC Garutsa, Application of indigenous knowledge systems in water conservation and management: The case of Khambashe, Eastern Cape, South Africa, *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 3(4), 2014 (MCSEER Publishing, Rome-Italy).
 - 34 LT Ajibade, A methodology for the collection and evaluation of farmers' indigenous environmental knowledge in developing countries. *INDILINGA: African J Indigenous Knowledge Systems* 2, 2003, pp 99-113.
 - 35 CJ Moorberg (ed), *Soil and water conservation: an annotated bibliography* (New Prairy Press eBooks, 2019).
 - 36 M Muller, The 'Nexus' as a step back towards a more coherent water resource management paradigm, *Water Alternatives* 8(1), 2015, pp 675-694.
 - 37 S Eggimann, L Mutzner, O Wani, MY Schneider, S Dorothee, P Beutler & M Maurer, The potential of knowing more – a review of data-driven urban water management, *Environmental Science & Technology* 51(5), 2017, pp 2538-2553.
 - 38 X Chen, S Yang & L Yang, "A benchmarking model for household water consumption based on adaptive logic networks", *Procedia Engineering 13th Computer Control for Water Industry Conference, (CCWI2015), Sharing the best practice in water management, 2015.*
 - 39 D Butler, S Ward, C Sweetapple, M Astaraie-Imani, D Kegong, R Farmani & G Fu, Reliable, resilient and sustainable water management: the safe & sure approach, *Global Challenges* 1(1), 2016, pp 63-77.
 - 40 M Muller, The 'Nexus' as a step back..., *Water Alternatives* 8(1), 2015, pp 675-694.

It is the responsibility of the community to participate in the activities of water conservation and management as informed by their indigenous knowledge systems.⁴¹ Therefore, rural, and urban communities are expected to actively participate in water resource management. However, in Australia, few indications demonstrate the participation of community members in managing water processes, especially groundwater supplies.⁴² The monitoring of groundwater is facilitated by the government, and, in most cases, they identify areas suitable for drilling bores using satellite data to acquire relevant information on the depth of borehole water. The government also has filed reports and references on the sustainability of groundwater and evaluations for rural areas.⁴³ However, most indigenous societies do not have adequate access to these government departments' files. Since the early twentieth century all boreholes in South Africa, be they for water or mineral exploration, were reported in a detailed manner to provide water governance authorities with information on the potential quantities for human use; and determine the potential pollution contamination that could follow in the aftermath of local mineral resource mining activities. Central government water governance officials have since used the data countrywide.

It is important to review the approaches where providers understand water resources and share their knowledge with communities⁴⁴ allowing them to make decisions about sustainable water supply. As indicated above, water plays an important role in the lives of indigenous people and provides them with economic, environmental, and social security. As such, it is important to know and understand the cultural and societal issues that encourage water use and water supplies when addressing water sustainability in indigenous societies.⁴⁵ This means that water systems must be understood in terms of their cultural settings; the formal and informal power structures that govern social relations; and behavioural interactions to create a functioning village or community. The threats that indigenous communities

41 BM Behailu, PE Pietilä, & TS Katko, Indigenous practices of water management for sustainable services: Case of Borana and Konso, Ethiopia, *Special Issue – Traditional Wisdom*, 2016. (DOI: 10.1177/2158244016682292).

42 A Wright, "Sustainable water supplies for remote communities of indigenous people. The first step: water conservation", CRC Water Quality and Treatment Summer Scholarship, Centre for Appropriate Technology, 2002.

43 A Wright, "Sustainable water supplies for remote communities...", CRC Water Quality and Treatment Summer Scholarship, Centre for Appropriate Technology, 2002.

44 MJ Cole, RM Bailey, JDS Cullis, & G Mark, Spatial inequality in water access and water use in South Africa, *New Water Policy* 20(1), 2018, pp 37-52.

45 G Remington, The transforming tradition: the aflaj and changing role of traditional knowledge systems for collective water management, *Journal of Arid Environments* 151, 2018, pp 134-140.

encounter re water conservation strategies are mostly caused by the lack of considering and appreciating cultural values of the potential beneficiary societies.⁴⁶

Cultural and religious approaches to water conservation and management

Human beings have an intimate physical and spiritual relationship with water. Everyone relies on water, regardless of their culture, spirituality, or social customs.⁴⁷ Traditional societies strongly influence approaches to water management.⁴⁸ Some religions and cultures advocate for the protection of natural resources; however, resources remain contaminated and desecrated, which leaves future generations with insufficient natural resources.⁴⁹

Traditional societies have informal rules and restrictions that could fashion how a sustainable environment can be achieved. In some cases, informal rules usually guide modern or formal management approaches.⁵⁰ Modern approaches to conservation have been perceived as a replacement for traditional ones. However, in a society that strives to achieve sustainability, it is not lucrative to adopt new technologies while ignoring indigenous knowledge, practices, and people who have played a central role for years.⁵¹

It is important to include indigenous people in the activities associated with water conservation and management. The lack of consulting with indigenous communities regarding modern approaches is because their social components and knowledge systems are overlooked or misinterpreted. As a result, contemporary water systems are employed while services are operational, but communities return to unimproved sources when services break down. The water supply and management sector focus on the advancement of sustainable development.

46 K Chief, A Meadow & K Whyte, Engaging Southwestern tribes in sustainable water resources topics and management, *Water* 8(8), 2016, p 350.

47 F de Chatel, Bathing in divine waters: Water and purity in Judaism and Islam, in TT Oestigaard (ed), *A history of water Series II(1). Ideas of water from ancient societies to the modern world* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp 273-297.

48 D Groenfeldt, Water development and spiritual values in western and indigenous societies, in R Boelens, M Chiba & D Nakashima (eds), UNESCO, 2006, Water and indigenous peoples, *Knowledges of Nature 2*, UNESCO: Paris, pp 108-115.

49 E Chuvieco, Religious approaches..., *Water Policy* 14, 2012, pp 9-20.

50 MP Mahlangu & TC Garutsa, Application of indigenous knowledge systems..., *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 3(4), 2014, CSER Publishing, Rome-Italy.

51 E Yuen, "Water consumption patterns in Australian Aboriginal communities, Remote Area Developments Group" (PhD Thesis, Murdoch University, Western Australia), 2005, p 321.

Indigenous knowledge that developed and is practised in rural areas has demonstrated its potential to maintain sustainable water use and lifelong services.⁵²

3. Methodology

To understand and make logic of the efficacy of African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management in terms of the participants' senses, the authors used an exploratory qualitative research design in a natural setting.⁵³ The study was done in the Tshidzivhe village, Vhembe district in the Limpopo province. A non-probability sampling method was chosen. The following participants were selected through purposive sampling: traditional leaders, traditional health practitioners, elderly community members and farmers. Semi-structured interviews were employed as they enabled participants to discuss the subject in more detail. An interpretive paradigm based on how African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management is understood was adopted. An interpretive paradigm enabled the authors to understand the solid relationship between human beings with their natural environment and the role people played in forming the fabric of their society. Informed consent was obtained through consent forms. African indigenous protocols were meticulously observed: seeking permission from the chief, performing rituals (where and when expected), dressing properly and using appropriate registers when talking to elders. Participants were allowed to respond by expressing themselves in languages in which they were comfortable.

4. Discussion of findings

This part of the study investigated the African indigenous methods and teachings of water conservation and management. The authors discovered that the methods and the teaching of water conservation and management have always been related, in that methods of water conservation and management encompass important lessons. Indigenous African education of water conservation and management in the Tshidzivhe village was passed from one generation to another orally and sometimes also through experiences and observations. The authors learnt that African indigenous teachings and methods of water conservation were understood in two ways: spiritually and physically. They engaged with the participants during data collection and the following responses surfaced:

52 MP Mahlangu & TC Garutsa, Application of indigenous knowledge systems..., *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 3(4), 2014, MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy.

53 NK Denzin & YS Lincoln, *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 4th edition, 2011).

4.1 The presence of *zwifho* (sacred site) near water sources

A sacred site is a place that is believed to be connected to God or the gods for cultural or spiritual purposes and fit for veneration.⁵⁴ Generally, a place is a sacred site after something of religious or spiritual importance took place there. Other sites are sacred because a person of a given religion or spiritual belief lived or died there or his or her body is kept there. Occasionally special visits are made to the sacred sites for veneration by those who are attached to them.

The authors discovered that the participants perceived *zwifho* as places of the gods that people visit to perform rituals on special days when events are held there. Certain families, clans or royal families are attached to *zwifho*, mostly because they and their ancestors lived in the vicinity their entire lives. *Zwifho* are used as burial sites and places of veneration where people communicate with their gods or ancestral spirits. The ancestral spirits are believed to provide solutions and guidance to the community. They ensure that there is peace and balance between human beings, animals, and the natural environment.

Participants indicated that *zwifho* have served indigenous African communities through taboos and in other ways as a basis for teaching about water conservation and management and they continue to do so. Generally, the VhaVenda used indigenous African teachings of water conservation and management in the form of taboos. The authors learnt that taboos contained elements of control regarding the use of resources. This was a peculiar way of imparting the important social and cultural values that contribute to the well-being and advancement of society through water conservation and management. In many activities in the African indigenous communities, taboos inspire conformity. One participant said:

Taboos have been used to teach all members of the community about how one behaves and responds to indigenous water sources. There are two types of taboos which are surface taboos, which bring fear and encourage penalties, and true taboos, which are more practical in terms of consequences. These taboos are highly revered, and no one would know whether a taboo is a surface or a true one, particularly because most of them were in the form of stories. This allowed indigenous African people to live in peace and harmony with their water sources and natural environment at large.

54 A Samakov & F Berkes, Spiritual commons: sacred sites as core of community-conserved areas in Kyrgyzstan, *International Journal of the Commons* 11(1), 2017, pp 422-444.

The authors could not assume that the use of taboos associated with *zwifho* in the indigenous African teaching methods regarding water conservation and management is generally known. In this regard, the authors probed deeper to find out what the relationship between *zwifho* and water conservation and management is. The following is what one participant had to say:

Indigenous African communities used taboos to communicate important aspects of their day-to-day activities. In many indigenous African water sources, there is a sacred component that Africans respect. This spiritual component was informed by ancestral beliefs while others were informed by the availability of *zwifho*. However, they served the same purpose of water conservation and management. The ancestral spirits residing in the *zwifho* areas are the caretakers and protectors of water. Water conservation and management have been shaped by their likes and dislikes about water conservation and management. These likes and dislikes are mostly associated with sanitation. Water spirits are hidden forces that secure water sources from misuse and pollution. The use of taboos is a common practice among our communities that has been applied to teach and help in the protection of indigenous water sources from harm. The taboos prohibited several human activities such as throwing objects into the water.

The authors discovered that the ancestral spirits' likes, and dislikes were presented as taboos. They also learnt that taboos did not only apply to *zwifho* areas but also any area closer to water. Participants also indicated that there were activities that were not allowed near water sources that were strictly controlled by the traditional leaders, traditional health practitioners and elders of the community. Over-practicing these activities presented as taboo. These are discussed below.

4.1.1 Taboos and control over the use of resources associated with water conservation and management

In water conservation and management, disobeying control measures or the over-use of resources are taboos. As such, the authors deemed it suitable to explore different control measures and taboos that indigenous African people depended on for water conservation and management. These are discussed below.

Control over cutting of trees

The authors discovered that trees play an important role in the protection of water and that no one may cut trees surrounding water. The VhaVenda people believe that trees close to a water source, particularly rivers, serve as *nguvho ya mulambo*

(blanket of the river) that covers and protects the river. Participants indicated that trees protect water sources from the sun, and they prohibit humans and animals from accessing the source from any point, as this might lead to pollution. The participants indicated that trees ensure that water sources do not dry up as they serve as protection against evaporation caused by the sun. Trees ensure that the sun does not shine directly on the water, thus ensuring water conservation. Participants explained that water that is protected from the sun is always cold, which is the nature of water from indigenous sources. The following is the opinion of one participant:

Thorny trees known as *Luanakha* and other indigenous trees protect indigenous sources of water from pollution caused by animals that may enter from any point of the water source. They also protect these animals and human beings from drowning, which is also not good for the water.

During non-participant observation, the authors observed that countless pine trees have been planted around Tshidzivhe and the surrounding areas for commercial purposes. The authors learnt that the area was selected for planting pine trees because of the abundance of water as these trees require water. In this regard, the authors posed a question to one participant regarding how control was ensured to maintain the balance between indigenous trees that are beneficial to water sources and ensuring that pine trees do not harm these sources. The following is what the participant had to say:

When the pine trees were planted by the operating company, an instruction was given to them from the community through the chief, that wherever they find a source of water, they should not tamper with it. They were told not to cut any trees they find surrounding a water source. When planting pine trees, they were told to be away from the water source at a distance of not less than 10 meters from both sides. This allowed for the protection of indigenous trees that are not toxic to indigenous water sources.

This demonstrates that Africans are more concerned about environmental well-being as they depend on it for survival. Exotic plants destroy local and regional water resources in all parts of a water-stressed South Africa. Authors learnt that Africans value their indigenous trees, not only for their service in the protection of water sources, but also as medicines, food, and wood. The existing relationship implies that when 'medicine' and food from indigenous trees are consumed, water is usually essential.

During non-participant observation, the authors learnt that the use of wood for different purposes is common among communities. They posed a question about

what happens to the dry wood close to water sources. The question arose during a casual conversation and the participants indicated that harvesting dry wood from trees surrounding the river is prohibited. This wood is supposed to be left by the river until it decomposes without anyone in the community exploiting it. Even debris from the trees (*makukwe*) drifting in the water was not to be used. Because of these prohibitions, the people would not take debris to their homesteads:

It is only traditional healers who would burn collected debris with drums around the fire, to ensure quality sound is produced due to the heat on the animal skin of the drum. VhaVenda people have a saying that '*ngoma dza tshikona dzi aravhedzwa makukwe*' (drums for Tshikona dance are strengthened by the smoke of debris). This is not done in a homestead where people reside because no one can use these debris.

The authors learnt that the prohibition on harvesting debris was a respected taboo among the VhaVenda communities and it would only be in rare cases that a person would harvest debris. As this was explained in a semi-structured interview, a concern was raised by one participant that the current generation does not respect this taboo: as such the community faces water-related challenges. When taboos are not respected, there are consequences; some of which are already visible in water-related challenges.

The authors observed an event where one of the community members was cutting down trees for firewood without permission from the chief. He was ordered not to cut any tree, even though it was on a stand that had been allocated to someone related to him. The chief summoned him to inquire into the matter, but the authors could not attend the proceedings. Although the place where the trees were cut down was not near a source of water, this shows how Africans relate to trees and the enforcement of protocols to be followed before a tree is cut down or any tree product is extracted.

Participants mentioned that a tree is like a human being; it should not just be killed or cut down because it is useful for a specific purpose. People were only allowed to cut down dry trees and had to gain permission from the chief to do so. The chief would then direct where they could cut down trees. However, in some cases, an area that seems to have dry trees would be mentioned.

Control over killing aquatic animals

The study discovered that aquatic animals form an important part of water resources. Aquatic animals such as fish, frogs and crabs are commonly found in

water, especially in rivers and wetlands. The VhaVenda people condemned the inconsiderate killing of animals that reside in and around water through taboos that provided control measures for killing such animals, including aquatic animals mentioned above. The authors learnt that there was control over the killing of consumable animals, particularly fish. To ensure that they do not run out of fish, the killing of small fish was prohibited – big fish could be consumed, but small ones had to grow and procreate.

The authors asked participants about animals that people did not consume, and they indicated that it was taboo to kill animals that people do not eat; this was often associated with malice as the taboo was also in place to allow other creatures to live freely. The authors posed a question to one participant on what the consequences would be if inconsumable animals are killed, and the following is what the participant had to say:

According to VhaVenda people, a good way of living includes respecting people, natural resources and animals. People lived in harmony with domestic, wild, and aquatic animals. In terms of aquatic animals, it was taboo to kill a frog, because one would suffer *phadi* (scabies).

Upon the authors wanting to know what *phadi* is, one participant indicated that *phadi* are extremely itchy pimples that contain visible fluid. *Phadi* develops between fingers, under the arms, on the hands, waist, and anus. Participants indicated that medicine is made of the bark of certain indigenous trees and water, which must be scrubbed on the pimples. Only a traditional health practitioner, apart from a few knowledgeable individuals can find the bark of these trees. The authors further asked whether one could kill a frog and not suffer from the *phadi* illness. The participants mentioned that it was rare that a person would deliberately kill frogs and other aquatic animals. The understanding is that if one kills an animal without the purpose of eating it, although it may not be *phadi*, people will eventually suffer the consequences, even if it takes years.

The study discovered that the control over killing aquatic animals and the taboo associated with it encouraged African people to also be considerate of other animals. Control over the killing of aquatic animals ensures that the natural order of the food web and the food chain is not disturbed. In this regard, the study discovered that water conservation and management play a central role in supporting the food web and the food chain in such a manner that people feed on plants and animals, some of which feed on aquatic animals, and all these living beings depend on water for survival. Therefore, this practice ensured that there is enough clean water for subsistence activities.

4.2 Time allocation

Time allocation is the distribution of time among various activities or people and is important when planning and managing the amount of time attributed to activities or people, to ensure that objectives are met.⁵⁵ When time is allocated, the opportunity for time to be wasted on things that are not important is limited.⁵⁶ Therefore, there is an intimate relationship between efficacy and time. This means that when time is allocated, activities are carried out effectively. The study revealed that African people divided their time into three parts of the day: mornings, afternoons and evenings or nighttime. Different activities were allocated to these times of the day. Mornings are for people to prepare themselves for the activities of the day, in the afternoon they work and, in the evenings, or at nighttime, families spend time together before going to bed.

It also became evident from the study that time allocation was practised for access to water. This was considered an important approach to water conservation and management. The authors learnt that it is important to regulate access to water for various reasons, such as to reduce pollution, and that fetching water was informed by people's daily activities. As such, people would usually fetch the water required instantly. The authors asked by who and how time was allocated for water access. The following are the replies of some of the participants:

- (a) No one allocated time to water access. It occurs naturally and must be respected. This order is intertwined with how human beings and animals relate to the environment.
- (b) Women and children used to fetch water for domestic use from the rivers and springs in the morning. Thus, it became common to declare that '*Mu ka madi ua fhinduwa ano salela u ka madzikwa*' (One who fetches water must wake up early; those who stay behind fetch unclean water). Noon to sunset is for the livestock and after that women and children would go to fetch water for the last time. The nights and the early mornings before sunrise were allocated for wild animals. VhaVenda people say '*u fhinduwa hanu nido vhuya na tangana na zwipuka zwi tshi ya madini*' (If you keep on waking up early in the morning, one day you will come across wild animals on their way to get water). This is said to people who wake up early

55 Evan Tarver, Time Allocation: The delicate art of saying no vs. Saying yes, *Business, Self-Improvement*, 2017.

56 Evan Tarver, Time Allocation..., *Business, Self-Improvement*, 2017.

to fetch water at a time when wild animals are expected to be near the rivers and springs.

This is a systematic way that ensured that all water users could access it without competition. The different water users were human beings, domestic animals, and wild animals. After realising that animals are also included as water users, the authors posed a question as to why human beings allocated time for animals to access water. The participants indicated that the land was given to them by *nwali* (God) and it is their responsibility to ensure that all natural resources are shared by all users.

4.3 Oral tradition

Oral tradition is referred to as a way in which humans receive, preserve, and communicate their art, ideas, knowledge and cultural materials from one generation to the next.⁵⁷ Oral tradition encompasses the traditions, knowledge, and memories of a cultural group. It is about remembering and transmitting preserved cultural knowledge through speech. The participants indicated that oral tradition has played an intrinsic role in teaching African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management through games and storytelling.

African indigenous games

There are different types of games in the world in which different people participate. Different games have been and are still played for commercial purposes; however, for African people games are tools for socialising and creating a learning environment. These games are referred to as indigenous African games. The study discovered that these games provided an opportunity for children and other members of the community to learn about the cultural beliefs, practices, and values by ‘doing’, which enabled them to share a common worldview according to their culture.

The study discovered that as with any other games, African indigenous games are a form of exercise, and development of psychological stability and practical skills, informed by the situations in their communities. African games are mostly played for enjoyment and making friends. Participants hailed these games for

57 DL Schoenbrun, Oral tradition, in A Smith, E Cornelissen, OP Gosselain & S MacEachern (eds), *Field manual for archaeology in Africa* (Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa, 2017), pp 253-256.

their potential to allow them to narrate the realities of their community while developing talents and skills. The authors also learnt that some indigenous games served to prepare children for adulthood. One game that was identified to have contributed to addressing African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management is *mahundwane*.

The authors wanted to know what *mahundwane* is and the role it plays in water conservation and management. In this regard, a question was posed to participants and the following is what was said:

Mahundwane is a game that is played by children, reflecting on real-life situations, where children imitate the daily activities of households in their communities. During *mahundwane*, children learn or live the life of old or married people. It is usually the older ones who play as parents and younger ones as children. When playing *mahundwane*, children build small structures imitating the different houses in their community. These structures are built with stones; some go to the extent where they build shacks that are suitable for them to play in during cold days. Children bring food items to the *mahundanwe* game such as tomatoes, onions, and cooking utensils. In cases where certain foods are not available, children use mud and tins as pots. Activities are coordinated by older children, who give instructions on what must be done. Girls assume motherly roles while boys assume fatherly roles and the rest are expected to live like children.

Participants explained that *mahundwane* plays an intrinsic role in the teaching of water conservation and management through its principles and the imitation of how indigenous African communities live and conserve and manage water. Although *mahundwane* is played during the day, children can divide the time into three parts – mornings, afternoons, and evenings. They also find a way to ‘imitate’ different weekdays if they have enough time to play. The authors learnt that as children play, there is a time when they go to the river to collect water. In African communities, water is usually collected in the morning and evening, thus the time for that is imitated during *mahundwane*.

The study discovered that when children are cooking during *mahundwane*, they also emphasise the conservation of the water they have using the same lessons they received from their parents. Water is commonly used for cooking or mixing with mud to imitate how food is cooked and when they wash the tins. It was rare for the children to waste their water and ensured that they saved water for the following day to avoid constantly going to the river.

Storytelling

Storytelling is an ancient form of communicating through speech and gesture to expose elements and images of a given story while stimulating the imagination of the listeners.⁵⁸ Before the introduction of writing in Africa, storytelling was used to narrate historical events and teachings from one generation to the next.⁵⁹ Africans used storytelling to communicate their history and their cultural heritage. The study discovered that storytelling is a form of creative art that has been practised for many years to pass messages while entertaining and teaching children. Elders performed storytelling at night before children went to sleep because it was regarded as family time when everyone is home. In addition to this, one participant mentioned the following:

Elderly people used to gather their children and grandchildren around a fire during the evening before bedtime to tell stories. These stories were meant to entertain children, however, at the end of each story there was a lesson learned. The stories encompassed myths, legends, tales and proverbs.

The authors discovered that storytelling explained the worldview of Africans, including water conservation and management. Water conservation and management were taught in the form of storytelling to make sense of things and to shape the behaviour of community members towards water. The authors learnt that the modern world depends on books to teach, but storytelling provides a platform for the teller and listeners of the story to interact on a direct and personal level. Stories included numerous sacred sites and how they are associated with natural water sources, particularly springs, wetlands, and rivers. Elders, who were storytellers, played a significant role as principal educators and entertainers in the indigenous communities. It can be deduced that storytelling played an intrinsic role in the teaching of African indigenous knowledge of water conservation and management. Children learnt about indigenous African perspectives, principles, beliefs and practices of water conservation and management that allowed them to share a common worldview with the rest of the communities they inhabited.

58 CC Zuofa & CN Olori, Appraising adult teaching methods in Nigeria: Analysis of the effect of some teaching methods on adult learners, *American Journal of Educational Research* 3(9), 2015 (11331137. doi:10.12691/education-3-91).

59 K Tuwe, The African oral tradition paradigm of storytelling as a methodological framework: employment experiences for African communities in New Zealand. Proceedings of the 38th African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) Conference: 21st century tensions and transformation in Africa, Deaking University, Australia, 2016.

Conclusion and recommendations

Tshidzivhe indigenous knowledge has been at the centre of the activities of water conservation and management. It can be deduced that indigenous African people respected and lived in peace with their natural resources. Although this is the case, indigenous knowledge and its water conservation and management potential face challenges. Interventions are needed to ensure that African indigenous knowledge and Western science support each other to ensure that water conservation and management are successful. In line with the findings, the article recommends that there is a need for African indigenous knowledge and Western science to work together in the conservation and management of water. Therefore, the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries, and the Department of Water and Sanitation, and indigenous communities with their relevant stakeholders such as the Vhembe Biosphere Reserve should cooperate to find ways in which these knowledge systems can work together for water to be appropriately conserved and managed.

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF NAMING SYSTEMS AMONGST THE YORUBA OF SOUTH WEST NIGERIA

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Personal naming practices amongst the Yoruba of the south-west region of Nigeria are of diverse cultural importance and have significant implications for an individual's place in society, role in the community and course of life. The cultural dynamics involved in the naming process include aligning the person's name with the context of their birth. For example, the name of a child may have its origin in the seasons (i.e., planting seasons), important days (i.e., market days), critical historical events (i.e., Nigerian civil war), the order of birth patterns and occupation of the child's relatives. The naming of a child could influence the rest of his or her life. In this context, there are cultural beliefs that the name of a child may predict childhood and adult behaviour. For example, names with negative connotations may negatively impact the entire life of that child. The names given to children within the Yoruba community of South West Nigeria are mostly culturally significant. While the onomastics of diverse communities have been explored in the African context, this article seeks to review literature published on the cultural context of the naming processes amongst the Yoruba of South West Nigeria. The author provides information gathered from independent interviews with individuals and the study was undertaken in different locations in Ibadan, Nigeria. The participants were selected through purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews were used which led to participants discussing the topic in more detail.

Keywords: Christianity, cultural beliefs, naming ceremonies, personal naming, predictive significance, Yoruba traditions

Die kulturele praktyke van naamgewingprosesse in die Yoruba-gemeenskap van Suidwes-Nigerië

Persoonlike naampraktyke onder die Yoruba van Suidwes-Nigerië is van uiteenlopende kulturele belang en het beduidende implikasies vir individue se plek in die samelewing, hul rol in die gemeenskap en die verloop van hul lewe. Die kulturele dinamika betrokke by die naamgewingproses sluit in om die persoon

se naam in verband te bring met die konteks waarin hulle gebore is. Die naam van 'n kind kan byvoorbeeld afkomstig wees van die seisoene (byvoorbeeld plantseisoene), belangrike dae (byvoorbeeld markdae), kritieke historiese gebeure (byvoorbeeld 'n Nigeriese burgeroorlog), die volgorde van geboortepatrone en beroep van die kind se familieledede. Die naamgewing van 'n kind kan 'n lewenslange invloed op die kind hê. In hierdie konteks is daar kulturele oortuigings dat kinders se name hul kinder- en volwassenheidsgedrag kan voorspel. Name met negatiewe konnotasies kan byvoorbeeld die lewe van daardie kind in sy/haar kinderjare en tot in volwassenheid negatief beïnvloed. Daarom het die name wat aan kinders gegee word 'n kulturele betekenis binne die Yoruba-gemeenskap van Suidwes-Nigerië. Terwyl die naamkunde van diverse gemeenskappe in die Afrikakonteks ondersoek is, poog hierdie artikel om bestaande literatuur oor die kulturele konteks van die naamstelsels onder die Yoruba van Suidwes-Nigerië in heroënskou te neem. Die skrywer verskaf inligting wat versamel is uit onafhanklike onderhoude met individue in die Yoruba-gemeenskap en die studie is op verskillende plekke in Ibadan, Nigerië, onderneem. Die deelnemers is deur doelgerigte steekproefneming geselekteer en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude is gebruik wat daartoe gelei het dat deelnemers die onderwerp in meer besonderhede bespreek het.

Sleutelwoorde: Christendom, kulturele oortuigings, naamgewingseremonies, persoonlike naamgewing, voorspellende betekenis van name, Yoruba-tradisies

Introduction

In the Yoruba culture, naming ceremonies are culturally significant. Naming a child is as important as bearing the child.¹ In fact, if you don't have a name, you're unknown. This is because a name is an important form of identity and self-expression, as well as a predictor and record of the child's life. In independent interviews, two respondents told the author that Yorubas believe that a person's name dictates the way he comports himself, and that Yoruba names are prophetic (participant two).² Names are believed to be prophetic and bring blessings on carriers. They also reflect the status of the family or situation of the family or land at the time the names are given (participants two and three).³

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- 1 B Rasak, Naming ceremony: comparative analysis of the Igbo and Yoruba culture in Nigeria, *Continental J. Arts and Humanities* 2(1), 2010, pp 7-16.
 - 2 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant two (AK), public servant, interview conducted personally on 16 March 2022, Abadina residence, Campus, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
 - 3 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant two (AK) and participant three (IA), public servants, interviewed telephonically on 17 March 2022, Abadina residence, Campus, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Yorubas are not named randomly, and names must be meaningful to the bearer (child) and the giver (parent). Giving personal names identifies individuals according to gender and provides information about circumstances before or after the child's birth. As participant three explained, the Yoruba people decide on the name of the child depending on the situation surrounding its birth. Aspects that are important during child naming are – honey, cola nut, sugar cane, salt, sugar, water, and anointing oil.⁴

Some names are given to reflect the circumstances in which the baby was born. For example, a male child that was born with the umbilical cord tied around his neck would be called 'Ojo' and a female child, 'Aina'. Additionally, the family's tradition is considered before children are named. Attention is given to religion, royalty, and the family's genealogy. In some parts of Yorubaland, names are given on the sixth day after the child's birth and another round of the naming ceremony is done on the eighth day (participant five).⁵

Although most Yoruba naming ceremonies are similar, individual communities and families deviate from these practices and traditions resulting in many of them becoming lost – either through change or abandonment – due to modernisation. Participant five commented that his religion considered traditional naming unnecessary. Influenced by modernisation, some Yoruba names have been, and still are being bastardised through strange spelling and pronunciations, i.e., 'Bayoh' for 'Bayo'.

The traditional names such as, bitter cola, honey, sugar cane, cola nut, sugar and water have given way to the traditions of some Christian Yoruba's who only pray with their pastors before giving new names. According to participant two, many modern-day Christians and Muslim believers use the Bible or Quran (Koran) to pray during the naming ceremony. According to participant four, a child that is born on Christmas or New Year's Day is named 'Abiodun', 'Abodunrin' or 'Abodunde'.⁶

The Yoruba people's concept of names can be readily understood through various traditional proverbs linked to naming, for example:

4 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant three (IA), public servant, interviewed personally on 20 March 2022, Akobo Estate, Akobo, Ibadan, Nigeria.

5 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant five (OS), public servant, interview conducted telephonically 23 March 2022, Christ Life Church, Agbowo, Ibadan, Oyo state, Nigeria.

6 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant four (IO), self-employed – business, interview conducted personally on 26 March 2022, Moniya Estate, Ojoo road, Ibadan, Nigeria.

1. *Ile laa wo ka to somo loruko* - before naming a child, one considers the family's background.
2. *Oruko omo ni ro omo* – what a child becomes or does is determined by his name.
3. *Oruko omo ni ijanu omo* – the name of a child warns him against doing evil deeds.

Concept of personal names and naming

A name is a term or phrase that identifies someone or something and distinguishes them from other people or things.⁷ Yoruba people believe that the name given to an individual reveals his or her personality and character. The significance of personal naming, and its relationship to the character and destiny of a child, is recognised by diverse communities across the world.⁸ For the Yoruba, the circumstances or any incident that occurred before the child's birth determines the name to be given to the newly born. One of the most important functions of personal naming is constructing an identity for the child and distinguishing the individual from others.⁹ In this context, personal naming provides diverse types of identities such as gender identity,¹⁰ social identity,¹¹ religious identity and national identity.¹²

As participant four commented – the name of a child identifies him or her with their family. Participant two explained this by way of the adage that says, 'a son of a lion is a lion'. Every family gives their children the name that is synonymous with their family, even links to the community. According to participant three, the name given to the child provides an identity and pride in being part of a particular

7 A Olatunji, M Issah, Y Noah, AY Muhammed & AR Sulaiman, Personal name as a reality of everyday life: Naming dynamics in selected African societies, *The journal of Pan African studies* 8(3), 2015, pp 72-90.

8 Z Mkhize & J Muthuki, Zulu names and their impact on gender identity construction of adults raised in polygamous families in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, *Nomina Africana: Journal of African Onomastics* 33(2), 2019, pp 87-98; RO Caesar, A morphosyntactic analysis of Dangme allusive names, *Journal of Universal Language* 20(2), 2019, pp 53-93.

9 SD Walsh & L Yakhnich, "Maybe one day I will also be Almito": Ethiopian Israelis, naming, and the politics of immigrant identity, *International Migration Review* 55(3), 2020, pp 873-901.

10 JP Wappa & RS Wada, Kamuə female personal names and identity in cultural contexts, *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics* 9(2), 2019, pp 1-11; Also see L Betiang, Naming and the reconstruction of female identity in Bette-Obudu, *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2), 2019, pp 1-7; and M Viriri, "Naming, identity and gender constructions: A phenomenological study of Zezuru personal names" (PhD thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal), 2019.

11 P Solomon-Etefia & A Ideh, Naming and social identity: A case study of male praise names in Awgbu Igbo, *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 1-9.

12 A Choleva-Dimitrova & N Dancheva, Are contemporary Bulgarian personal names still indicative of a Bulgarian identity? *Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences* 55(1), 2020, pp 247-267.

family in the Yoruba community and is associated with family culture as they become adults. The name also reveals many things about the child.¹³

In the Yoruba culture, although mostly similar, individual communities and families have developed their own traditions. Furthermore, some of these traditions have evolved over time, while others have been completely abandoned due to modernisation. These naming traditions, rituals, and patterns have emerged among the Yoruba, and many other African ethnic groups, to express the beliefs, expectations, and circumstances surrounding new births. At the formal naming ceremony, a child may be given as many names as contributed by family members and the officiator – a pastor, an imam, or a traditional priest. The names will be called out loudly by all the family and friends at the event. Usually, the parents will choose one or two names for the child, and then concur with the grandparents and older family members for a final decision.

Personal naming has been associated with social identity, which refers to the self-concept derived from their knowledge of being part of a particular social group and its associated values.¹⁴ Researchers have stressed that personal naming reflects and identifies a person as a member of a particular social group (i.e., a tribe) and their customs.¹⁵ In this context, personal naming would, apart from identifying the person with a particular social group, symbolise diverse aspects associated with the name in that particular social group.

As noted by participant one, naming a child identifies her or his status. Naming ceremonies are a way of presenting the child to the community one week after birth and formally announce that child's birth to a family. The parents also use the occasion to thank God for the gift of the child (participant six).¹⁶ Naming ceremonies are considered good cultural practice – events where family and friends gather to rejoice (participant three);¹⁷ and these ceremonies are important in order to sustain heritage in Yoruba land (participant five).¹⁸

13 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: Participant three (1A), public servant, telephonic interview on 28 March 2022, Christ Life Church, Agbowo, Ibadan, Oyo state, Nigeria.

14 K Cooper, LG Smith, & A Russell, Social identity, self-esteem, and mental health in autism, *European Journal of Social Psychology* 47(7), 2017, pp 844-854.

15 P Solomon-Etefa & A Ideh, Naming and social identity..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 1-9.

16 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant six (GA), public servant, personal interview on 1 April 2022, Ire-Akari Crescent, Arola Apete, Ibadan, Nigeria.

17 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming system: Traditions, patterns and practices, *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

18 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant five (OS), retiree, e-mail interview and a WhatsApp call on 30 March 2022.

Personal naming is also used to confer gender identity and associated roles in the community. Depending on the social-cultural context of the parents, names may also convey religious identities in religiously divided communities or social and national identities in areas with multicultural inhabitants. Thus, personal naming is crucial for displaced communities and refugees who wish to identify themselves with their areas of origin. In this context, personal naming conveys a sense of identity and solidarity amongst members of displaced communities and connects them with their heritage and places of origin.¹⁹

Personal naming improves communication by referring to the person by name during conversations.²⁰ This makes conversations easy to follow and uniquely identifies the subject of the conversation.

Cultural context of naming among the Yoruba

The Yoruba people form one of Nigeria's three major subgroups.²¹ There are also diverse Yoruba dialects, including Ekiti, Ijebu, Egba, Owe, and Ikalẹ.²² The Yoruba people are dispersed over the southwestern states of Nigeria, namely, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Ekiti, Delta, Edo (south), Kwara, and Kogi (middle-belt).²³ The Yoruba are the main ethnic groups in Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo, Osun, Ogun, and Oyo states in the south-west of Nigeria.²⁴

Studies reveal that within the context of the Yoruba people, names are used for more than mere identification purposes.²⁵ They are also used to convey the philosophy of the people and to give meaning to past events that were significant to the community. The personal naming process also distinguishes one clan from another.²⁶

19 SD Walsh & L Yakhnich, "Maybe one day...", *International Migration Review* 55(3), 2020, pp 873-901.

20 JP Wappa & RS Wada, Kamuə female personal..., *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics* 9(2), 2019, pp 1-11.

21 I Odebode, Naming systems during Yoruba wars: A sociolinguistic study, *Names* 58(4), 2010, pp 209-218.

22 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

23 I Odebode, Naming systems during..., *Names* 58(4), 2010, pp 209-218.

24 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

25 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

26 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

The Yoruba people follow a defined process in naming a child.²⁷ The child is named on the seventh day if it is a female and on the ninth day if it is a male. The eighth day is used for naming children who are twins of either gender.²⁸ The personal naming of Yoruba children is associated with several cultural rites and implications, and naming is considered to have a remarkable influence on the child's entire life and is, therefore, sacred in nature.²⁹

Participant one believed the name given to a child in a particular family influences his or her attitude, i.e., a child from a royal family.³⁰ The name given can influence their behaviour as they grow up positively or negatively (participants four and six).³¹ The first three participants all commented that their names have influenced them positively.³²

Ìkosè w'áyé (Stepping into the world)

This is the first personal naming ceremony performed within the Yoruba cultural context.³³ In the room where the naming ceremony takes place, honey, sugar, salt, palm oil and 'adun' are customarily arranged in bowls. Anyone who wishes to name the baby puts money in a bowl for the new-born child. The ceremony is undertaken on the morning.³⁴

From the Yoruba cultural viewpoint this *stepping into the world* ritual is a crucial ceremony of the relationship between the unborn, the living and the dead. In this world, there are two realms of life, that is, "*aye* (the visible, tangible world of the living) and *orun* (the invisible, spiritual realm of the ancestors, gods and spirits)".³⁵ The ceremony has several functions that serve to provide a name for the child based

27 L Balogun & S Fasanu, Complexity and politics of naming in Yoruba tradition: A dramatic exploration of 'Once Upon an Elephant', *Genealogy* 3(2), 2019, pp 18-25.

28 L Balogun & S Fasanu, Complexity and politics of naming..., *Genealogy* 3(2), 2019, pp 18-25.

29 A Olatunji, M Issah, N Yusuf, AY Muhammed & AR Sulaiman, Personal name as..., *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8(3), 2015, pp 72-90.

30 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participant one (AO), public servant, interview conducted via WhatsApp call on 4 April 2022, Ire-Akari Crescent, Arola Apete, Ibadan, Nigeria.

31 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participants six (GA) and four (IO), public servants, personal interviews conducted on 2 April 2022, Church Premises, Agbowo, Ibadan Nigeria.

32 AE Kayode, personal collection. Interview: participants one (AO), two (AK) and three (IA), public servants, interviewed conducted via Zoom online on 9 April 2022, Ibadan, Nigeria.

33 L Balogun & S Fasanu, Complexity and politics of naming..., *Genealogy* 3(2), 2019, pp 18-25.

34 IA Kanu, An Igwebuiké approach to the study of African traditional naming ceremony and baptism, *Journal of Religion and Human Relations* 11(1), 2019, 25-52.

35 L Balogun & S Fasanu, Complexity and politics of naming..., *Genealogy* 3(2), 2019, pp 18-25.

on the clues inherent in the interpretations of the texts undertaken by the diviner during the rituals.³⁶ For example, names such as *Esubiyii* and *Ogunbiyii* could be given in honour of deities like *Esu* and *Ogun*, respectively. The ceremony is also used to detail the behaviour of the child and their wishes in life; and to formally mark the child's entry to life on earth.³⁷ Broadly, the purpose of the ceremony is for the children to discover themselves in the world.³⁸ In this context, the purpose of the child's life is discovered through the *Ifa* prediction.³⁹ The mother's biological and spiritual connections to the child are emphasised during the ritual. *Akosewaye* or *ikosewaye* is a means of looking into the future of the new-born child, and what the child is likely to become in future.

Yoruba wisdom states that 'A child's name controls the child',⁴⁰ as echoed in some of these responses, while others indicate a growing criticism of the fatalism of this traditional wisdom. On this issue of a name determining one's destiny, the participants were divided. Participant one felt that it sometimes did indeed determine what a person became. Participant three agreed that the name given to the child determines its destiny, which is why many families in the Yoruba tribe give good and positive names to their new-born children. According to participant two, however, everyone needs to work to achieve the purpose of giving the name. Participant four felt the issue was debatable, as there is no proof that a name determines destiny. However, people do tend to give names with positive connotations to their children; and many Yoruba elders do believe this to be so (participant five). Participant five also used her own name as an example. She is 'Adekunle', which literally translates into either: *The house is filled with crowns*, or *the person who comes and makes the house full by bringing others*. She explained that the second translation had bearing on her as she was followed by six siblings. Some believe that there is a darker side to this practice of influencing destiny. This happens when enemies of the child's parents, through diabolical (demonic) ways, influence events if they can participate in the rituals. Participant five, however, explained that protection can be achieved by using Orogbo, atare, a hot drink, palm oil, and through prayer.

36 MT Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Indiana University Press, 1992), p 57.

37 F Field, The foundation years: preventing poor children becoming poor adults. Report of the Independent Review on Poverty and Life Chances, 2010.

38 OI Balogun, "A study of Shakespeare adaptations inspired by the Yoruba tradition" (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington), 2017.

39 OI Balogun, "A study of Shakespeare adaptations..." (PHD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington), 2017.

40 OA Akinola, Communicative role of Yorùbá names, *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature* 2(9), 2014, pp 65-72.

Ìmòrí (Knowing the head)

The second major naming ritual is the *Imori* ritual, which means knowing the head.⁴¹ The *Imori* ritual is undertaken on the third month after the child's birth and is critical in naming the child⁴² as it involves determining whether the child has descended from the mother's or father's lineage, or a deity.⁴³ The *Imori* also requires the parents to perform a range of important tasks to aid the child on her or his earthly journey.

Imori or *ipin (lati orun)* also refers to what has been 'written' regarding the child's future.⁴⁴ Yoruba people believed that this could not be altered or changed by anybody. Neither the child nor the parents know or discover this destiny. Although *Imori* cannot be changed or altered, *Akosewaye* or *Ikosewaye* can be changed, diverted, or altered and both parents must find a way of protecting the child – either through prayer or ritual.

Naming based on special contexts

Unique contexts regarding childbirth or family circumstances also impact naming within the Yoruba society. Many scholars have noted that, while *Ikumolu* (death has taken its successor) is exclusively male-oriented, it could be used for female members if there are no male successors in a family lineage.⁴⁵ Other cultural contexts that influence naming include circumstances of birth, significant professions of family members, and the family's religious dynamics (*Orisa*).⁴⁶ Additional contexts that involve the circumstances surrounding conception, experiences during pregnancy and delivery, and the position and posture of the child at birth, influence the personal names given to the children.⁴⁷

41 MT Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, play, agency* (Indiana University Press, 1992).

42 L Balogun, "Òtún we Osì, òsì we Otún": Gender, feminist Mirroring, and the Yoruba concept of power and balance, *Journal of Gender and Power* 7(1), 2017, pp 27-43.

43 L Balogun & S Fasanu, Complexity and politics of naming..., *Genealogy* 3(2), 2019, pp 18-25.

44 A Agwuele, The underpinning of the Yoruba view of hairstyle, in A Agwuele, *The symbolism and communicative contents of dreadlocks in Yorubaland* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham., 2016), pp 95-150.

45 A Olatunji, M Issah, N Yusuf, AY Muhammed & AR Sulaiman, Personal name as..., *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8(3), 2015, pp 72-90.

46 A Olatunji, M Issah, N Yusuf, AY Muhammed & AR Sulaiman, Personal name as..., *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8(3), 2015, pp 72-90.

47 A Akinyemi, Names and naming characters in African-language dramaturgy: The Yoruba example, *African Identities* 14(3), 2016, pp 242-254.

These influences can be broadly categorised as follows: anthroponyms, temporonyms and manner of birth. The anthroponyms are derived from the place of birth, while temporonyms refer to the period when the birth occurs.⁴⁸ Examples of conditions and circumstances relating to the birth of the child that influence the name include *Adé sí nà* (child born after a long barren time), *Abi ó dún* (child born in festive period), *Ogungbemi* (child born during the *Ogun* festival), and *Abisógun* (a child born during a war).⁴⁹

In the Yoruba culture child naming can be divided in three major categories including natural names, given names, and pet names. On the other hand, scholars indicate that the three major categories of names include:

- names given after birth (*Abiso*),
- names sent from heaven (*Amutorunwa*), and
- names suggesting a return of a dead child (*Abiku*).⁵⁰

The use of a prefix in naming in the Yoruba culture

The prefix is often utilised within the context of the Yoruba personal naming systems. Prefixes are sometimes added before individual's names to signal the diverse social status of the child's background.⁵¹ For example, prefixes such as *Ade*, *Ola* and *Oye* imply crown, honour, and royalty. These prefixes are part of the traditional culture of each family, especially when the child is of royal descent.⁵²

The influence of Christianity on naming among the Yoruba

The growing influence of modern religions on the naming process amongst the Yoruba is well documented. In this context, the first name to be given is the baptismal name, and often given in English or in a Yoruba translation of

48 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

49 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

50 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

51 A Akinyemi, Names and naming characters..., *African Identities* 14(3), 2016, pp 242-254.

52 JO Falolu & OY Fadairo, Name as a designate of culture in traditional and contemporary Yorùbá society of Nigeria, *South African Journal of African Languages* 40(1), pp 2020, pp 40-46; Also see A Akinyemi, Integrating culture and second language teaching through Yorùbá personal names, *The modern language journal* 89(1), 2005, pp 115-126.

an English name.⁵³ Examples of Yoruba-based names inspired by the Christian faith include *Similoluwa* (rest on the Lord) and *Ooreoluwa* (gift of God).⁵⁴ Other examples include *ImoleOluwa* (light of the Lord) and *IbukunOluwa* (blessing of the Lord).⁵⁵ These names (also in English) can be used as baptismal names.

The Yoruba indigenous naming system performs the cultural function of distinguishing one clan from another. However, the relationship between the Yoruba naming traditions and changes in these traditions, patterns, and practices because of external circumstances must be considered.⁵⁶

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has reviewed some of the literature related to the study of names and the naming system among the Yoruba people of South West Nigeria. Some of the different contexts that influence or determine Yoruba naming have been discussed. This article also discusses aspects of the Yoruba naming ceremony and the significance of this ceremony in Yoruba traditions. These traditional practises include family members and neighbours who come together to name the child after birth.

In summary, personal naming is an essential component and practice amongst diverse communities across the world. One of the functions associated with personal naming is constructing the identity of the child being named. These identities include gender, social, religious, and national identity.

Within the context of the Yoruba people, names are used for more than identification, i.e., names convey the people's philosophy and give meaning to past events of importance to the community. The personal naming process is also used to distinguish one clan from another. Diverse cultural aspects come into play when undertaking naming with respect to the Yoruba people. These factors include

53 OC Omobola, Influence of Yoruba culture in Christian religious worship, *International Journal of Social Science and Education* 4(2), 2014, pp 584-595.

54 G Fakuade, J Friday-Otun & H Adeosun, Yoruba personal naming..., *Sociolinguistic Studies* 13(2-4), 2019, pp 251-271.

55 AO Samuel & OG Adekunle, Endangerment of Yoruba? Individual names: Implication on Yoruba? True identity, *Journal of Language and Literature* 20(1), 2020, p 131; See also RO Ikotun, New trends in Yoruba personal names among Yoruba Christians, *Linguistik Online* 59(2), 2013, pp 67-85.

56 OS Akintoye, Social implication of Yoruba indigenous names, *International Journal of Information Research and Review* 2(1), 2015, pp 252-255.

naming based on contexts, use of prefixes in naming, and religious influences on the naming process. The influence of context is particularly profound among the Yoruba. These cultural contexts include circumstances of birth, significant professions of family members, and religious dynamics of the family. There are three major categories relating to the naming of the children based on birth context – anthroponyms, temporonyms, and manner of birth.

Unfortunately, the erosion of Yoruba naming traditions and ceremonies in the face of growing modernity and globalisation is evident in the literature and in the interviewee's responses. The revitalisation and conservation of these traditions would benefit from adequate documentation and education and awareness campaigns.

THE AUGUSTSON MANUSCRIPT, MICROHISTORY, MEMOIR, AND MEMORY

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This article discusses certain aspects of German immigrant Johann Gustav Augustson's (1863–1953) memoir-type manuscript. In 1883, as a 20-year-old, he migrated from Lüneburg Heath in Germany to settle on the Cape Flats in the Cape as part of the British Colonial authority's immigration project. Between 1950 and 1952 when he was almost a nonagenarian he wrote, in ungrammatical German, the manuscript entitled "My life memories, from my youth to the present day" (translated). It serves as a trope of memoir-writing within the fields of microhistory, memoir, and memory. The article first presents the terms "manuscript", as the artefact is a handwritten document, "microhistory", as it is the history of an individual and his community, or "history from below", and "memoir" because "memory" is applicable as an understanding of how remembrance, and thus recollection, is created. Augustson's memoir is read from a composite metatheoretical construct consisting of aspects of microhistory combined with the French Annales movement. The article then focuses on certain aspects of Augustson's recollections and his community's lived experience: as a boy in northern Europe; emigration; settling down as a member of the German agricultural immigrant community on the Cape Flats; owning property; his marriage and family, and community life. Reading this memoir, an individual's recollection, is experienced as an almost tangible manifestation of the cultural identity and history of a group of immigrants.

Keywords: *Annales*, cultural history, German agricultural immigrants, manuscripts, memoir, memory, microhistory

Die Augustson-manuskrip, mikrogeskiedenis, memoir en "memorie"

Hierdie artikel bespreek sekere aspekte van die memoir-tipe manuskrip van die Duitse immigrant Johann Gustav Augustson (1863–1953). As 20-jarige emigreer hy in 1883 na die Kaap as deel van die Britse koloniale owerheid se immigrasieprojek

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vanaf die Lüneburger Heide in Duitsland as deel van hul immigrasieprojek na die Kaapse Vlakte. Die manuskrip, wat van 1950 tot 1952 geskryf is toe hy ’n byna negentigjarige was, in ongrammatiese Duits, is getiteld “My lewensherinneringe, van my jeug tot vandag toe” (vertaal). Dit dien as troop van memoir-skryf binne die veld van mikrogeskiedenis, memoir en “memorie”. Die artikel bespreek eers die terme “manuskrip”, aangesien die artefak natuurlik ’n handgeskrewe dokument is, “mikrogeskiedenis”, aangesien dit die geskiedenis van ’n individu en sy gemeenskap is, of “geskiedenis van onder”, “memoir” omdat “memorie” van toepassing is as ’n begrip van hoe herinnering, en dus “memorie”, geskep word. Augustson se memoir word gelees uit ’n samegestelde metateoretiese konstruk, gebou uit aspekte van mikrogeskiedenis gekombineer met die Franse Annales-beweging. Die artikel fokus dan op sekere aspekte van Augustson se herinneringe – as seun in Noord-Europa, emigrasie, vestiging as lid van die Duitse immigrantegemeenskap op die Kaapse Vlakte, besit van eie eiendom, sy huwelik en familie, en sy gemeenskapslewe – as sekere aspekte van ’n individu en sy gemeenskap se geleefde ervaring. Die lees van hierdie memoir, ’n individu se herinnering, word ervaar as ’n byna tasbare manifestasie van die kulturele identiteit en geskiedenis van ’n groep immigrante.

Sleutelwoorde: *Annales*, Duitse landbou-immigrante, kultuurgeskiedenis, manuskrip, memoir, memorie, mikrogeskiedenis

Introduction

This article is based on the recollections of Johann Gustav Augustson, known as Gustav, as a German immigrant to the Cape, presented as a two-part memoir.² Young Augustson migrated from Germany’s Lüneburg Heath in the late 1800s with his mother, stepfather and stepsiblings, and other families, to be settled on the Cape Flats as part of the British Colonial government’s formal immigration projects.³ Augustson’s memoir is regarded as representative of the lived experiences of his fellow immigrants, who found themselves in the same position. They were settled on the southeastern part of the Cape Flats as potential providers of fresh produce to the growing demand in Cape Town. As a 20-year-old minor, Augustson was part of the last project in 1883.

2 JG Augustson manuscripts I and II, 1950–1952. In possession of the author. Only certain aspects are highlighted, as this article already exceeds the stated number of words because of the translation of the direct quotations.

3 L Rabe, “’n Kulturhistoriese studie van die Duitse nedersetting Philippi op die Kaapse Vlakte” (PhD thesis, University Stellenbosch), 1994.

While parts of this manuscript were studied for other purposes,⁴ the memoir, written between 1950 and 1952 requires a more detailed revisit. Titled “My life memories, from my youth to the present day” (translated), the manuscript serves as a trope of memoir-writing within the fields of microhistory, memoir, and memory. A family member gave the author the complete memoir more than 30 years ago. It first contextualises the British colonial immigration projects to the Cape, and the Philippi German immigrant community’s history. Thereafter, the terms “manuscript”, “microhistory”, “memoir”, and “memory” are discussed as a theoretical foundation for this article. Augustson’s memoir is read from a composite metatheoretical construct consisting of aspects of microhistory, combined with an interpretation of the French Annales movement.

Subsequently, only some aspects of the memoir providing glimpses of the life and times of a typical immigrant to Philippi on the Cape Flats, and how the members of this community found their feet, are discussed. Numerous other foci in the memoir can be highlighted – possible material for a follow-up study. Augustson’s personal “annals” are an almost tangible memory of his, and his community’s, life, and times, and their fight for survival, literally rising from living in mud and clay homes to living in brick homes.

Background

German agricultural immigrants were established on the inhospitable Cape Flats under dire circumstances from the middle to the late nineteenth century.⁵ This area was known as the Claremont Flats and Wynberg Flats, as it was relatively close to Claremont and Wynberg respectively. Later it was also known as Philippi Flats. The absence of roads made travelling almost impossible due to the soft sand in summer and extensive marshlands in winter. Because of the non-existent road infrastructure, three Lutheran congregations were established. Despite the German immigrants belonging to these three individual congregations, they and their descendants formed a close-knit group as one Philippi German immigrant community.

These immigrants came to the Western Cape in three “waves”, as described by Rabe.⁶ They consisted of the Godeffroy immigrants from 1858 to 1862,⁷ groups in

4 L Rabe, “n Kultuurhistoriese studie...”; L Rabe, *‘Bete und Arbeite’ – The Philippi Germans and their story* (Mzansi Media, Somerset West, 2010).

5 L Rabe, “n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”.

6 L Rabe, “n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”, pp 20-52.

7 L Rabe, “n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”, p 20.

1877 and 1878,⁸ and the last groups, which arrived in 1883.⁹ The British Colonial authority wanted to develop this area in an attempt to increase the European population at the Cape. It was also imperative for them to find a practical use for a part of the Cape Flats, so close to an expanding metropole, yet so unproductive. The area had to be turned into a vegetable garden to provide fresh produce to the growing Cape market. The Colonial government recruited these German “agricultural immigrants” – peasants – in Northern Germany, a region with a similar sandy, yet marshy soil, and windy climate. Their eventual allotments after arrival had to be paid for over ten years. The Cape Flats was described as inhospitable and desert-like: in summer a “sand desert” with gale-force southeastern winds.¹⁰ In winter it became an impassable marshland because most of the area was below the water table and consisted of bigger and smaller marshes or ‘vleis’.

The Colonial government did not fulfil their promises made during recruitment, namely providing road infrastructure, and a school for the immigrant children.¹¹ The poor immigrant community had to overcome immense hardships without any assistance from the government, which led to even stronger social cohesion among the community members. Their communal sense of solidarity was such that even descendants of later generations referred to – and lived – the sense of belonging together.¹² One fourth-generation descendant referred to the community as “one family” – “our family ties stretch from one end to the other”.¹³ According to a newspaper report in 1951 (in the time when Augustson wrote his memoir), the community’s common background of hardship and tribulation in the first years bound them together, “even without their original common nationality”.¹⁴

The foundation for this communal sense of belonging is clear in Augustson’s memoir and his recording of their caring for one another. This sense of community was still displayed many years later in the 1960s, in a memorandum¹⁵ drawn up by leaders of these German descendants to save the Philippi agricultural area from the Nationalist government’s land expropriation to create new townships for the implementation of the Group Areas Act.¹⁶ It was stated that (translated):

8 L Rabe, “‘n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”, p 29.

9 L Rabe, “‘n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”, p 52.

10 Anonymous, possibly JH Mahnke or K Schröder, *Die ersten Anfänge in der Vlakte, in W Blumer (ed), Pflanzgarten im Dünenstrand* (Metropolitan Press, Wynberg, 1959), pp 12-13.

11 W Blumer, *Pflanzgarten im Dünenstrand* (Metropolitan Press, Wynberg, 1959), p 23.

12 Interviews: Mrs Idi Bode, Fidi Schultz, Winie Schultz, descendants, Bellville, and Philippi, 1992.

13 Gottfried Schultz, “Klein Duitsland op ‘n Vlakte”, SABC radio programme, 1981.

14 Newspaper clipping, unknown title, 1951-04-14.

15 Memorandum 1969. In possession of author.

16 These delegations were not successful and were followed by the forced expropriation of immigrant land in the 1960s, eventually leading to the beginning of the breakdown of the Philippi community.

... we have often used notions such as “work and living community” ... We wanted, and want to, express with these terms, that we in the community do not see one another as individuals not connected, but that we are one big community dependent on one another. Times have proven that these neighbourly and familial ties are firm.¹⁷

This plea is indicative of how sincere and strong interpersonal relationships were in the Philippi community. Thanks to their legendary hard work, determination, and perseverance, the first generations of the immigrant community overcame their obstacles, and the area indeed became known as the “vegetable pantry” of the Cape, with the agricultural immigrants turning the sands of the Cape Flats into a “garden”.¹⁸ Commercial farming slowly but surely replaced subsistence farming, with the area providing a significant amount of fresh produce to its various markets.

As brief context, the first wave of immigrants, the Godeffroy immigrants, arrived with their families as individual indentured labourers, working on farms in the Swartland area. After their two-year contracts expired, a number moved to the edge of the Cape Flats, particularly the Diep River/Retreat area.

Witnessing this relative success in cultivating the sandy soil, the British Colonial government decided to recruit more working-class Germans “who could turn sand into vegetable gardens”, this time by way of formal immigration projects.¹⁹ After having been recruited from the already mentioned sandy, marshy, and windy Lüneburg Heath in northern Germany, the second wave of immigrant groups arrived in 1877/1878. The third, and last, groups arrived in 1883.

Some of the immigrants were also to be settled elsewhere on the Cape Flats, at D’Urban Road, or Twelve Mile Stone, later known as Bellville, and at Eerste River.²⁰ These settlements were not sustainable, as they were much smaller and the immigrants migrated naturally to the larger settlement and their kin at Philippi.

Considering Augustson’s ungrammatical German, some notes on the immigrants’ language are relevant. The lingua franca, especially of the members of the second

17 Memorandum 1969, pp 3-4.

18 W Blumer, *Pflanzgarten im Dünenand*.

19 WHC Hellberg, Duitse immigrasie na Wes-Kaapland, in W Blumer, *Pflanzgarten im Dünenand*, pp 12-13.

20 L Rabe, “n Kultuurhistoriese studie van...”, p 79; H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen St Johannis-Gemeinde zu Wynberg bei Kapstadt* (Braunschweig, 1911), p 37.

and third waves who originated from the Lüneburg Heath, and of course that of Augustson, was the Low German dialect, also called “Plattdeutsch”.²¹ The specific dialect was also known as “Hannoversches Platt”²² or “Hermannsburger Plattdeutsch”.²³ Standard German was called “Hochdeutsch” (“High German”, as opposed to “Low German”), or “Schriftdeutsch” (written German).²⁴ The latter was only heard in school and church, and therefore also referred to as “Kirchdeutsch” (Church German). Standard German or “Schriftdeutsch” was the language taught at school and used by most of the immigrants, as exemplified by Augustson’s memoirs,²⁵ although it lacks spelling and grammatical rigour. As with probably most immigrants, Augustson only had a rudimentary knowledge of written German.

The Cape Dutch vernacular spoken at the Cape was similar to the Low German of the Germans, which meant that the Germans might have adopted Cape Dutch subconsciously. One scholar wrote that these immigrants might not have realised that they were migrating from one language to another when they spoke Platt or the Cape Dutch vernacular.²⁶ The 1877/1878 and 1883 groups sustained and retained their spoken language longer than the Godeffroy immigrants, as they settled as a homogenous group within a certain close geographical boundary from the beginning.²⁷

The focus of this article, namely the memoir of immigrant Augustson, shows that his knowledge of spelling and grammar of “Hochdeutsch”, “Schriftdeutsch”, or “Kirchdeutsch” was very basic, as there is not one sentence with correct spelling or without grammar errors.²⁸

I will now proceed to discuss the terms “manuscript”, “microhistory”, “memoir” and “memory”, as well as “*Annales*”, as foundational theoretical points of departure for reading Augustson’s memoir.

21 WHC Hellberg, “Die Deutschen Siedlungen in Südafrika seit der Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts” (PhD thesis, University Stellenbosch), 1954, p 272.

22 *Hamburger Illustrierte*, 1938-02-07, sp.

23 WHC Hellberg, “Die Deutschen Siedlungen...”, p 272.

24 L Rabe, personal collection (hereafter LR), Interview: Ms Fidi Schultz, descendant, Philippi, 1992.

25 Augustson manuscripts I and II, 1950–1952.

26 U Küsel, Die Hermannsburgse sendelinge en hul nageslagte in Suid-Afrika, *South African Journal of Cultural History (SAJCH)* 6(4), 1992, p 137.

27 H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen...*, p 23.

28 Augustson manuscripts I and II, 1950–1952.

Microhistory meets *mentalité* and *microstoria*

Microhistory, also known as “history from below”, or “Alltagsgeschichte” (everyday history), give a fascinating glimpse of the lives and times of ordinary people and their lived experiences, also of a community. This article, focusing on the life and times of a single person and his community, is approached in a microhistorical manner. It is argued that, combined with the French *Annales* approach and other microhistory approaches, such as the *mentalité* and *microstoria* approaches (all different terms for “history from below”), can unlock the life of an individual, that of his progeny, and of his community, as contained in the Augustson manuscript.

As in an article on the memoir of a descendant of this community, Minnie Punt,²⁹ this article will also use the concept of microhistory combined with the *Annales* approach as foundational points of departure. Subsequently certain aspects of Augustson’s life and times will be presented.

Microhistory is regarded as one of the “most interesting and innovative”³⁰ approaches to history. Developed in the 1960s, it can be described as the “study of the past on a very small scale”.³¹ With no single definition of microhistory, Magnusson argues that it came about

not because the microhistorians considered that the traditional methodology of the social sciences “is not possible or desirable but that social scientists have made generalisations that do not hold up when tested against the concrete reality of the small-scale life they claim to explain”.³²

Microhistory, or the German *Alltagsgeschichte* and the Italian *microstoria*, studies “history from below”, or “the qualitative experience of ordinary people”, focusing on “the life and survival of those who have remained largely anonymous in history – the ‘nameless’ multitudes in their workaday trials and tribulations”.³³

29 L Rabe, On microhistory, memories, memory, and the “Minnie Manuscripts”, *SAJCH* 28(2), 2014, pp 93-115.

30 SG Magnusson, What is microhistory? <http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html>, viewed 2007-04-07.

31 For a more extensive argument for microhistory as an approach to study cultural history, also see L Rabe, Living history – the story of Adderley Street’s flower sellers, *SAJCH* 24(1), 2010, pp 83-104; L Rabe, Matriarch Julaiga and the story of a flower dynasty’s struggles, *SAJCH* 25(2), 2012, pp 96-118.

32 SG Magnusson, What is microhistory? <http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html>, viewed 2007-04-07.

33 BS Gregory, Is small beautiful? Microhistory and the history of everyday life, *History and Theory* 38(1), 1999, pp 100-110.

J Lepore writes that a certain “reserve” exists among American scholars because microhistory represents an approach that originated in Europe.³⁴ She argues that any “attempt to define microhistory is vastly complicated” because “few American works of scholarship ever label themselves microhistory”. An anthology of essays about “personal identity” even preferred its essays as “histories of self”, rather than microhistories.

Lepore also says that it can be defined as the history of “hitherto obscure people” that “concentrates on the intensive study of particular lives to reveal the fundamental experiences and *mentalités* of ordinary people”.³⁵

Microhistory is also described as

[t]he movement of historians, particularly those educated in Europe, towards a microhistorical approach to studying history developed from a political and cultural debate occurring in the social sciences in the 1970s and 1980s. As historians began to focus on social rather than economic factors, it became clear that certain “political events and social realities” could not be explained adequately by existing macrohistorical models.³⁶

Another American historian writes that it “recaptures” the experiences of “hitherto obscure people” and gives them a voice, and “by giving voice and agency to obscure people”, “respect or even admiration” can be developed for these subjects.³⁷

Lepore further argues that the examination of a case can be “an allegory for ... the culture as a whole”.³⁸ Thus, Augustson’s memories can be read as an “allegory” for the culture of the German immigrant community. According to Lepore, the individual is treated to explain the culture, not to celebrate the singularity of the subject.

For this article, microhistory, understood as “history from below”, will be used to portray the life and times of Augustson as a member of the Philippi German immigrant community – indeed, as an “allegory” for the community.

34 J Lepore, Historians who love too much: reflections on microhistory and biography, *The Journal of American History* 88(1), 2001, p 130.

35 J Lepore, Historians who love too much: reflections..., p 131.

36 What is microhistory? <http://web.uvic.ca/vv/student/vicbrewery/content/microhistory.htm>, viewed 2010-03-30.

37 RD Brown, Microhistory and the post-modern challenge, *Journal of the Early Republic* 23(1), 2003, p 13.

38 J Lepore, Historians who love too much: reflections..., p 133.

The French *Annales* approach further supports the reading of Augustson's memoir. Although the *Annales* concept is no longer a method *du jour* (as Brown writes: "as is the case with many approaches"),³⁹ it is still influential, as it argues that history is more than politics, and should include disciplines across many fields, such as geography and sociology.⁴⁰ This approach was developed by a group of French "historical revolutionists" in 1929.⁴¹ Regarded as "nouvelle histoire" ("new history"), it wanted to reclaim a history that was neglected by "classical", or "conventional", history.

The memoir can thus be studied as historical source material and "used as [instrument] of historical understanding" it can "capture the entire universe as it appeared from one acknowledged perspective".⁴²

Considering the above, Augustson's manuscript can thus be described as an "instrument" to gain an understanding of his community as his "entire universe". Some aspects of this particular "universe" will be presented.

Augustson's "universe"

Augustson's "universe", as encapsulated in his life memory, "Meine Lebens Erinnerungen von meine Jugent auf, bis auf den Heutigen Tag [sic]" (My life memories from my youth up to this day), was written from 1950 until the middle of 1952 when he was almost a nonagenarian.⁴³ The detail of his memory, despite his advanced age – even about the price of an ox when he was still a boy in Germany – is astonishing. His very basic written language skills with regards to grammar, spelling and punctuation are attributed to the fact that his schooling was interrupted until confirmation in the Lutheran church in the small town where he lived with his mother, stepfather, and stepsiblings on the Lüneburg Heath. Despite these shortcomings, the two manuscripts, consisting of 38 A4 pages and 39 A5 pages respectively, provide riveting reading material of a man who grew up extremely poor, and who became something of an entrepreneur through hard work after he immigrated to the Cape Flats as part of the British Colonial immigration projects.

39 RD Brown, *Microhistory and the post-modern challenge*, p 1.

40 L Hunt, French history in the last twenty years: the rise and fall of the *Annales* paradigm, *Journal of Contemporary History* 21(2), April 1986, pp 209-224.

41 L Hunt, French history in the last twenty years..., pp 209-210.

42 JJ Wallach, *Remembering Jim Crow: The literary memoir as historical source material* (PhD thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst), 2004, p vi.

43 Augustson manuscripts I and II, 1950–1952.

Augustson's account is the only known written record of the circumstances under which the Philippi immigrants lived and worked.⁴⁴ It is also written by an individual who was not even recorded under his name on the list of immigrants to the Cape, but as a minor, as part of the family of his stepfather, Heinrich Rautmann.⁴⁵

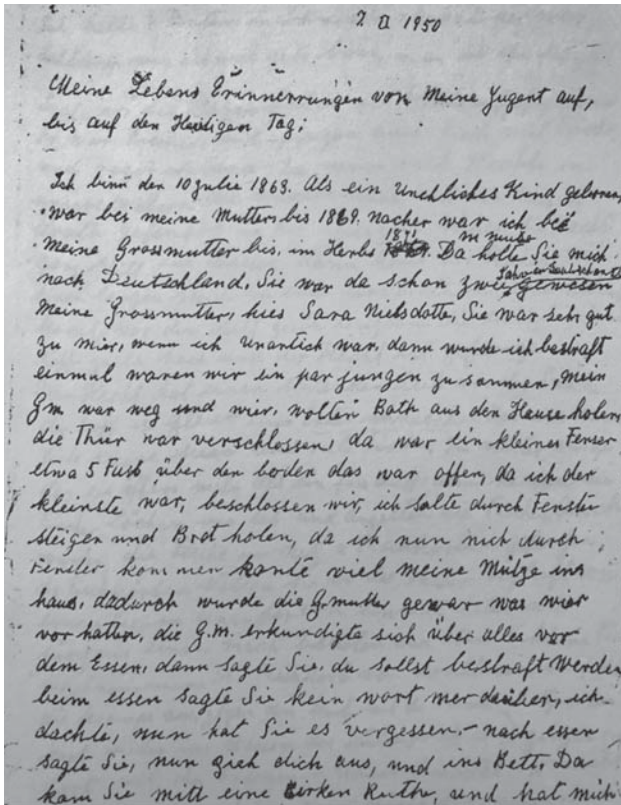


Figure 1: The first page of Augustson's two-part memoir.
(Source: The author possesses a copy of the memoir.)

44 This researcher, over many decades of research on the topic, could find no other such record.

45 L Rabe, "n Kulturhistoriese studie van...", p 56.

In Germany, Augustson and his family were typical peasants, sharing accommodation with up to three other families on their employer's property in exchange for their labour.⁴⁶ Children had to work from an early age – as Augustson indicates in his memoir. He was only nine when he left his parental home and had to go and work in a different town.

From Augustson's memories, it was clear that he would remain nothing more than a servant to landowners. If not for the opportunity to emigrate, he would probably have spent his life in the miller's service, his last employee before the family emigrated,⁴⁷ and he would not have possessed anything more than his annual meagre wage – hardly enough to survive.

According to Fuchs and Mohr's extensive genealogy of the Western Cape Germans, Augustson was born on 10 July 1863.⁴⁸ He died on 12 January 1953 in Philippi, aged 89 years and six months. Augustson ends the second part of his memoir with the wish that, if everything goes well, he will celebrate his 89th birthday in four weeks – in other words, he ended his memoir in mid-June 1952, about six months before his death. He praised God for always helping him in every distress: "Der Liebe Gott hat mich immer aus aller Noth geholfen ihm allen [allein] die ere. Wenn alles gut geht last der Liebe Gott in 4 Wochen mir meinen 89jährigen Geburtstag Feiern. Dank für seine Güte [sic]".⁴⁹

The memoirist, seemingly captivated by detail, could not resist noting, as the very last recording, that the 1952 "Flachter Bazaar" (the annual church bazaar of the Philippi Lutheran congregation, in May) brought in £1 200. This very last inscription exemplifies the detail and precision with which Augustson recorded his life and times.

The years before emigrating to the Cape

Augustson writes that he was born an "illegitimate" child, "Ich binn den 10 Juli 1863. Als ein enehliches Kind geboren [sic]".⁵⁰ He was born in Malmö, Sweden.⁵¹ From his memoir, it is not clear why his German mother, Johanna Dorothea Caiser,

46 Augustson manuscript I.

47 Augustson manuscript I.

48 AC Fuchs & CK Mohr, *Immigrants to the Western Cape during the period 1858–1883* (Published by authors, Pretoria, 2017).

49 Augustson manuscript II, p 39.

50 Augustson manuscript I, p 1.

51 Fuchs & Mohr, *Immigrants to the Western Cape...*, p 31.

was in Sweden at the time. His Swedish father's name was August, hence his surname Augustson, the son of August. After his birth, he and his mother returned to Germany, where he lived with her until 1869, after which she took the six-year-old back to Sweden, where he lived with his paternal grandmother, Sara Nielsdotter, for two years. In the autumn of 1871, his mother brought him back to Germany again, probably because she was about to marry Heinrich Wilhelm Rautmann and could care better for her firstborn than as a single mother.

Augustson recalls his years in Sweden and the typically boyish pranks that he and his playmates undertook. Although he does not refer to his father, he writes about his seven aunts and one uncle in Sweden. His uncle was also bald: "der war Cahlkopp wie ich jetzt binn, wenn ich ihn fragte sagte er, die Harre haben die Frösche aufgefressen [sic]" (he was bald, like I am now, when I asked him, he said his hair was eaten by frogs).⁵²

Augustson writes vividly about the many small lakes in the region where he lived and how fish were caught with "Fischkörben" (fish baskets). The best time of year for him was Christmas, "Jul", when the men in the community walked to church carrying 10-foot-long handmade torches: "Da sah man duzende Lichte nach der Kirche kommen, bei der Kirche wurden die Fackeln auf ein haufen geworfen und verbranten [sic]" (One saw dozens of lights coming to church; at the church they were thrown on a heap and burnt out).⁵³ He also liked summer, with its "Steck & Johannes & Erdberen im Garten, und viele Erdberen Kronsberen Bickberen im Feld & Wald [sic]" (different types of berries). He also went to school in Sweden for some time and could say the Our Father ("Fader War", as he wrote it; in correct Swedish, *Vår Fader*), but had forgotten the Swedish version back in Germany.

In the autumn of 1871, in other words, in September/October, his mother came to Sweden and took him back with her to Germany. From the small town – indecipherable as *Wäspiholm* or *Nespiholm*⁵⁴ – they went to Malmö by train, and from Malmö to Lübeck on a steamboat: "Das Schiff hatte 2. Grosse Räder an jede Seite eins (Schaufelräder) hinten ein kleiner Cahn [sic]" (The ship had two big wheels on each side and one paddlewheel at the back on a small barge).⁵⁵ From Lübeck, they went to the small town Eschede by train, "unser Kirchdorf" (our church town), on the Lüneburg Heath. From there they went to an even

52 Augustson manuscript I, p 2.

53 Augustson manuscript I, p 3.

54 This author tried all versions of a possible spelling but could not trace it on a map of Sweden in the vicinity of Malmö.

55 Augustson manuscript I, p 4.

smaller town, Scharnhorst, where they first lived with an aunt until his mother and stepfather married on 1 January 1872. They then lived in a house that belonged to one Heinrich Lilje, together with three other families. His parents worked on “ein Guth Conhoff [sic]” (an estate, probably with one f, Conhof). His mother had to milk cows and make butter, of which 40 lbs was sent to Eschede daily and from there to Hanover. The estate also had a brewery where they distilled spirits. The waste of the brewery was pumped to the cowshed – “da waren Kühe die 3 Eimer Milch auf den Tag gaben, die Kühe wurden drei Mal auf den Tag gemolken [sic]” (there were cows that gave three buckets of milk per day, the cows were milked three times a day).

Augustson’s first stepsibling was born on 8 January 1872, but his stepfather fell ill shortly afterwards, “und ist lange krank gewesen” (and was ill for a long time), during which time his mother had to work as single breadwinner. Meanwhile Augustson also had to begin school, “aber lernte nur wenig[,] meiste zeit musste ich meinen Bruder aufpassen [sic]” (but learnt only a little, most of the time I had to look after my brother).⁵⁶ In 1873, the year in which he would turn ten, he had to go to a farmer, H Müller, in the small town Höfer, where he herded cows. Augustson calls this a “Gastwirtschaft”, which meant that he also lodged there. His compensation was food and clothing. In the autumn of 1873, he returned to his parents in Scharnhorst. He writes that he also did not go to school in Höfer.

In the summer of 1874, he went to Beedenbostel, again to herd cows.⁵⁷ When he turned 11, he became a “Dispensier” – meaning that he only needed to go to school three days per week, from 07:00 until 11:00. In Beedenbostel he started serious education for the first time: “der Lehrer war ein gutter Lehrer. der schlug nicht viel [sic]” (the teacher was a good teacher. He did not hit much). Once he did not know the third verse of the hymn “Befiehl du deine Wege” “ordentlich” (well) and had to go to the teacher’s home at 12 noon to recite it.

But bad luck came his way in a different form: He broke his right leg in a freak accident at the age of 11. It was winter, and he recalls the exact date: 5 January 1875.⁵⁸ He had to take two empty wagons to a paddock about an hour away from his “Dorf” to bring back wood and straw. There was snow and ice on the road, but the oxen could pull the two wagons easily because they were still empty. He led the ox on the left. He was about three-quarters of an hour outside town when

56 Augustson manuscript I, p 5.

57 Augustson manuscript I, p 6.

58 Augustson manuscript I, p 7.

another boy jumped on the second wagon. The planks on the wagon “klapperten” (rattled), frightened the oxen, and they started to run. It was the first time in three weeks that they were outside their stable, “nun waren ausgerüstet” – they were rested. He tried to pull the oxen back but tripped on the farmer’s big coat that he wore for warmth – “ein grossen Rock” – and the oxen dragged him along. As he let go of the rope, he fell and both wagons rolled over him. When he tried to get up, his right leg “fiel weg” (fell away).

Fortunately, people came to help immediately and took him to his hometown on one of the wagons. The doctor was about 70 years “oder mehr” (or more), “schon alt” (already old). First, Augustson had to lie with his foot on a brick until the evening. That evening the doctor came to splint his leg – “da war der Schmerz vorbei” – then the pain was gone.⁵⁹ However, he had to lie on his back for six weeks. For him to move as little as possible for necessities, he was only given “wenich Essen und trinken [sic]” (little food and drink), as the doctor said he must lie still, otherwise, he will become a “Krüppel”, a cripple. Fortunately, “mit Gottes hülfe ist alles gut gegangen und habe ein gesundes Bein bekommen [sic]” (with God’s help everything went well and [I] got a healthy leg [back]).

This meant that he could not go to school for a whole quarter of a year. After his leg was healed, he had to herd cows again, from after school to the “Abent” [sic] (evening). In the autumn of 1876, he went back to his parents in Scharnhorst for confirmation classes in Eschede during winter. In Beedenbostel he had to go for his “Prüfung” (test). For the first one he was “too young”, but eventually he was confirmed in April 1879. Shortly afterwards, the fifteen-year-old Augustson started to work for the Scharnhorst farmer Heinrich Lilje, probably the H Lilje on whose farm his peasant family initially lived. Augustson sounds content with his circumstances: He had a good sheepdog that helped him, and his wages were “12 Thaler & Kleider & Stiefel & Schuhe, Ein Sonntags und ein Altags Anzug [sic]” (12 thaler and clothes and boots and shoes, one suit for Sundays and one for every day”.⁶⁰ He worked for Lilje for three years, from 1877 to 1880.

Augustson writes that he was happiest during this time: It was “meine beste Zeit in Deutschland” (my best time in Germany).⁶¹ By Easter 1880, he went to his next employer, a miller in Marwede, where his wages were “30 Thaler” in the first year, 33 in the second, and 43 in the third.

59 Augustson manuscript I, p 8.

60 Augustson manuscript I, p 9.

61 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

Emigration

But then the year 1883 arrived, and his family decided to become part of the group emigration project to the Cape. The British Colonial Government sent a recruitment officer to Lüneburg Heath to recruit eligible emigrants.⁶² From his memoir, it sounds as if the young Augustson would rather have stayed in Germany. Besides the fact that he was his “happiest” ever in Marwede, his employer was also not happy to see him go.⁶³ But the young man seemingly had no choice: “Mein Herr sah es auch nicht gerne, das ich weg ging. Da meine Eltern weggingen, so muß ich auch mit gehen [sic]” (My boss also did not like me leaving. Because my parents were leaving, I also had to.)

The British emigration officers’ recruitment process seemed to be successful, as many families in the small settlements on the Lüneburg Heath decided to emigrate, all hoping to assure a better future in a new country where they could become landowners after paying off their allotments – in Germany, they would always remain peasants.⁶⁴ Later generations still discussed the mass immigration by the “Heidjer” from the “Dörfer” on the Lüneburg Heath.⁶⁵

No descriptions of the prospective emigrants’ preparations for their emigration could be found – probably because they did not have many possessions that required a lot of planning, nor had the time to write about it. Augustson just refers to the fact that he still experienced – he did not use the word “celebrate”, but “erlebt” – his 20th birthday in Germany on 10 July 1883.⁶⁶ Seventeen days later, on 27 July, his group of emigrants left Hamburg on the 4 000-tonne steamer “Durban”. Two days later they arrived in England (“Southampton”). There they docked for five days while railway tracks were loaded onto the ship.

According to official documents in the Cape Archive Repository, his family consisted of his mother, his stepfather Heinrich Rautmann, one stepbrother and two stepsisters, and his stepfather’s widowed mother, Amalie Rautmann.⁶⁷ During this voyage, Augustson met the girl whom he would marry almost eight years

62 L Rabe, “n Kulturhistoriese studie van...”, pp 52-54.

63 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

64 LR, Interview: Mrs Idi Bode & Ms Fidi Schultz, St Johannesheim, Bellville, 1992; WHC Hellberg, “Von den deutschen Siedlern im Kapland”, *Afrikanischen Heimatkalender*, 1954, no page available; L Rabe, “n Kulturhistoriese studie van...”, p 33.

65 LR, Interview: Mrs Idi Bode, 1992, St Johannesheim, Bellville.

66 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

67 Cape Archive Repository: Immigrant Agent Cape (4/3/3) (IAC).

later.⁶⁸ She was Marie Ernestine Wilhelmine Foot, born in 1867, a member of the Foot family from the town of Nieden, consisting of the parents, six sons and four daughters.⁶⁹ Augustson writes in 1950 that they were married for 51 and a half years “in Glück & Leid und in Frieden bis der Liebe Gott Sie zu sich genommen hat” (in happiness and sorrow and peace until the dear God took her to him).⁷⁰

About their arrival in Cape Town, Augustson simply wrote that they landed in Table Bay on 29 August 1883 and that they could see Table Mountain “schon lange zufer” (from afar).⁷¹ “Dann gingen wir in unsere Neue Heimat” (then we went to our new Heimat). This was a barn, where they got food from the “Regirung [sic]” (Government). According to the Cape Archives’ records, Rautmann drew a lot for “26 Morgen 200 Sq Roods” at Eerste River, where land was also surveyed to be occupied by the Germans. The immigrants drew these “lots” on 1 September.⁷² According to a note at the bottom of the Cape Archive Repository’s Immigrant Agent Cape (IAC) page, immigrant Rautmann (spelt Rauthmann) and his family, together with another family, first decided to hire their services out to a farmer in Somerset West.

Settling down

Augustson writes: “Wir . . . vermitete uns an Einen Heronn Kaufman, Adrian Van der Byl, der hatte Eine Farm in Sommerset west [sic]”.⁷³ His stepfather decided this would be the best beginning for his family, as they possessed only “30 Shilling” on landing in Table Bay. They would not make it on their allotment with such a small amount of cash. On Van der Byl’s farm, “Okwood” (Oakwood), they were day labourers for 2/6 per day. They also had free housing and “Gartenland”: “Da waren Vile Eichbeumen. Daher der Nahme [sic]” (There were many oak trees. Hence the name).

Augustson’s memoir is the only known record by a German immigrant of exactly how difficult these beginnings were for them. Most of the male immigrants worked as day labourers to earn enough to make a start on their small farms.⁷⁴

68 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

69 AC Fuchs & CK Mohr, *Immigrants to the Western Cape*..., p 31.

70 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

71 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

72 Cape Archive Repository: IAC.

73 Augustson manuscript I, p 10.

74 W Blumer, *Pflanzgarten im Dünensand*.

The peasants were used to working for a master, but the foreman who had to oversee the Rautmanns, one Jan Morkel, left the farm for days, which meant they could not earn any money on those days because they were day labourers.⁷⁵ In many weeks they worked only three days per week – “nur selten das wir einen volle Woche gearbeitet haben” (only seldom that we could work for one whole week). And when they worked, Morkel “stand den ganzen Tag mit den Stock in der Hand, und jagte uns ann” (he would stand all day with a stick and would spur us on). Morkel did not care much for them – or his employer. When Van der Byl went overseas for six months, “it was the worst”. Morkel visited his relatives, leaving the Germans at their mercy on the farm. Still, Augustson writes, “Wir lebten Doch [sic]” (Nevertheless, we survived). Although on these days they could not earn much-needed cash, it meant that they had more time to work on their own “Gartenland” where they planted potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, and carrots. Augustson writes: “Meine Mutter hat offn Carroten auf den Rucken nach den Dorf getragen & verkauft [sic]” (My mother often carried carrots on her back [presumably in a sack] to town and sold them). Slowly but surely, as a family that originally only had 30 shillings to their name, the Rautmanns grew relatively better off. When they could afford to buy chickens, Augustson’s mother could also sell eggs in “Somerset und Strand”.

Plus, when Augustson turned 21, he got a windfall. His biological father in Sweden, a farmer (in other words, someone of higher social standing, more affluent than a peasant, as he possessed his own property), sent him an amount of £16. This his mother could collect in Cape Town at the Swedish consul. Augustson’s generosity – as is also evident right through his memoir – is clear from the fact that he gave £7 to his stepbrother and stepsisters.⁷⁶ Now that he had come of age, he could also keep his earnings, although he had to give his parents a shilling a week for board and lodging. As he remembered: “Als ich 21 Jahre Alt war, habe Ich mein Verdienst für mich behalten un 1 shilling Kostgeld auf bezahlt. Wenn ich volle Woche hatte hatte ich 8/ über [sic]” (When I was 21, I could keep my earnings and paid 1 shilling for board and lodging. When I could work a full week, I had 8/ left).⁷⁷

Augustson and his family could buy their first cow in 1884 – the first year after arriving at the Cape.⁷⁸ This meant they now also had milk and butter to sell. Shortly afterwards, his mother went to an auction in Somerset West and bought two more

75 Augustson manuscript I, p 11.

76 Augustson manuscript I, p 12.

77 Augustson manuscript I, p 12.

78 Augustson manuscript I, p 12.

cows about three years old, for £9. After one month, both calved, which meant they could sell 12 pounds of butter per week for either two shillings or 1/9 per pound.

So far, the year 1884 proved to be quite eventful for the young Augustson, but the best was yet to come when they heard the good news: More land would be granted to German immigrants in the Dunes on the Philippi Flats. This location was more acceptable than the land first allocated to them at Eerste River. They would be closer to their compatriots, to their Lutheran church, and to the Cape market.

As Augustson remembered: “In 1884 wurd wir gewar das die Regirung land ausgab in der Düne Cap Flachte. Da fuhr Ich nach Capstadt un machte Aplication auf 100 Morgen bei Klipfontein auf Gov lese und muste £5/5/0 im Jahre für die ersten 5 J bezahlen in der Zeit musen wir ein Haus & 1/10 land urbar machen [sic]” (In 1884 we learned that the Government gave out land in the Dunes, Cape Flats. I then went to Cape Town and applied for 100 morgens in Klipfontein under Government lease and had to pay £5/5/0 per year for the first five years. In this time, we had to build a house and had to cultivate 1/10th of the land).

But it would take another two years before they had saved enough to be able to move. By 1886, the Augustson/Rautmann family could move to Augustson’s property. First, they had to buy a horse and a cart to move their possessions. He describes this big step as follows (translated):

In March 1886 my father and I went to Cape Town on a Saturday and bought two stallions, both Arabs, for £21, one for me, and one for my father. A cart from old Urtel in Somerset for £9, and crockery from the merchant Gering. Urtel was an old German who arrived in the country in 1860.

Now they had a cart and horses – but the horses had to be fed every day. Augustson’s entrepreneurship started to come to the fore. One day he took the cart and horses to the Strand and bought 100 snoek for two pennies a piece.⁷⁹ He then drove to Eerste River and Stellenbosch where he sold the snoek for 4 pennies each. When he arrived in Stellenbosch at around 22:00 he looked for a place where he could overnight. He found a suitable place close to a river, gave the horses water and fodder and laid himself down to rest on what he assumed was a low bump in the ground as his pillow. The next morning, he found he had slept on a grave, as there were also other graves around him. He speculated it must have been slaves who were buried there in the open. He remarks that he slept “ganz ruhig” – “quite calm” – as did the horses. He sold the last of the snoek that morning and then drove to

79 Augustson manuscript I, p 13.

a mill where he bought a sack of flour, and then went home. He earned about 15 shillings with the snoek, although some became “Paap” (“pap”).

Own property

In April 1886 they resigned from their jobs in Somerset West and Augustson, his stepfather and his stepbrother Heinrich went to prepare a home for the family, who would join them in June.⁸⁰

The Dunes were about “seven miles” from Wynberg, to the east of the Flats, with several miles of dunes expanding over the Flats from south to north.⁸¹ Augustson and his stepfather went to cut papkuil – “Paapkul [Schilf]” as Augustson wrote – on “their uncle Kelner’s farm” to build their house. They had to cart six carts filled with papkuil to be used as a roof for their home.⁸² Kellner (correct spelling) was most likely immigrant Peter HW Kellner, who arrived with his wife and five children on 7 May 1883 as part of an earlier third-wave group, and who drew lot 34 on the Wynberg Flats on 22 May.⁸³

For their new home’s walls, they used wooden planks, which they bought in Newlands.⁸⁴ The house consisted of two rooms and was 25 ft long and 12 ft wide. They used old (secondhand) windows and doors which they got on “Okwood”. According to Augustson, the two-roomed house was cool in summer and warm in winter. While they were still building the house, they slept under “Roikrans baum & swartbosch”. The Rooikrantz seeds were imported from Australia, specifically by the colonial government, which the immigrants had to plant on the Flats to stop the wind from eroding the loose sand.⁸⁵ It is not clear what Augustson meant by “swartbosch” (black bush).

The first stable for their horses was an excavated dune – which was probably sturdier than it sounds because the dunes contained large quantities of limestone. The stable had a reed roof.⁸⁶

80 Augustson manuscript I, p 13.

81 H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p 69.

82 Augustson manuscript I, p 14.

83 Cape Archive Repository: IAC.

84 Augustson manuscript I, p 13.

85 L Rabe, “n Kulturhistoriese studie...”, pp 268-274.

86 Augustson manuscript I, p 14.

The first masonry that he undertook was building an outdoor limestone oven – in which they baked “good bread”.⁸⁷

While they were building their home, they went back one weekend “nach Mutter” to get food: potatoes and sweet potatoes.⁸⁸ They also prepared “Schutz” (some protection) for their cows and chickens.

At last, everything was ready for the big move to their property. Augustson’s “inventory” also includes the female family members: “Wie nun soweit war, Siedelten wir alle über nach der Dünen. Wir hatten 3 Kühe, 35 Hühner, ein Hund & Katze, zwei Schwestern, Mutter, 3 Schweine [sic]” (When everything was ready, we moved to the Dunes. We had 3 cows, 35 chickens, one dog and [1] cat, two sisters, mother, 3 pigs).

Rautmann’s widowed mother had probably passed on by then. Before they moved, they slaughtered two pigs which they sold on the Cape Market for cash – Augustson remembers the “agent” calling out: “Look hier what for nice Pork [sic]”.⁸⁹

Their encounters with nature in the Dunes were also something that Augustson remembers. Once there was a big snake inside their home – 5 ft long – which they killed, and in the “Hühnerhock” (chicken run) there once was “eine Wilde Katze (Roicat)”, which was also killed.

When they had settled by June 1886, they could start building their future in all earnest. Augustson and his mother drove by horse cart to Cape Town every Saturday to hawk their goods: eggs, butter, and firewood. In turn, they bought food for themselves and fodder for the animals. “That was in the year 1886 in which gold was found in Transvaal” (translated), Augustson recalls. On leaving Cape Town, a toll had to be paid: one penny for every horse and two pennies for every wheel.

The Augustson/Rautmann family’s relative “prosperity” in the Dunes serve as an example of the relative “prosperity” that the rest of the immigrant families enjoyed – how they started, slowly but surely, to build their future as independent landowners.

87 Augustson manuscript I, p 15.

88 Augustson manuscript I, p 14.

89 Augustson manuscript I, p 14.

In 1887, only one year later, the Augustson family could build themselves a somewhat sturdier house, and their animals' shelter could also be improved. The house was now built with raw bricks and was 40 ft long and 16 ft wide; this time it was decked with reed.⁹⁰ His father also bought two "Schimmel" (horses) for £9, of which he gave Augustson one, which meant they now had two horses each. They could also build an extra room as a kitchen, this time with a corrugated iron roof. Still, in good weather they cooked outside: "Kochen bei schönes Wetter in Freien."⁹¹

With each bit of cash in hand, the immigrants expanded their enterprises. According to a magazine article in which the early beginnings were recounted (translated), "[t]hey could buy tools and cattle, and so the farming on the sandy flats could



Figure 2: This photograph of Augustson (vaguely identifiable in the centre next to the black cow) and his wife and daughters on their farm, was probably taken in 1906 by Pastor Hans Ludewig, the pastor of the Wynberg and Neu-Eisleben congregations. It was possibly taken shortly after the death of Augustson's son, as he, his wife and oldest daughter are dressed in black. The building to the left might be the first house, built in 1886, which was probably used as a shed and stable. The building to the right might be the second house that was built with raw bricks in 1887.

(Source: A copy in possession of the author)

90 Augustson manuscript I, p 15.

91 Augustson manuscript I, p 15.

develop. Initially, the men had to walk with bags of vegetables on their shoulders to town to hawk them. Their wives would carry the chickens, eggs, and butter.”⁹²

Marriage and family

Augustson writes that the eighties ended on a high note for his family, as his father could afford to buy a piece of land next to his in 1889.⁹³ They made clay bricks to build the home for his mother and the Rautmann family. This house was 40 ft long and 27 ft wide, with four rooms, also a “kammer” (in this sense, a stable) for the cows where they could also milk them.⁹⁴ When he had to drive into town, his “liebe Mutter” did his “Morgen arbeit” – his dear mother did his morning tasks. Augustson now had two horses, three cows, chickens, and one pig. He was 26 years old and ready to marry. As he writes: “Nun wurde es zeit das eine Gehülfin auf den Plats kam [sic]” (Now it was time that a helper came along).⁹⁵

Indeed, it happened quite soon: “Und kam auch bald. Es war die Jungfrau Marie Ernestine Wilhelmine Foot” – the girl he first encountered aboard the “Durban” on their way to the Cape.

They were married in the Wynberg St Johannis congregation on 27 January 1891⁹⁶ (the congregation that all the German immigrants initially attended).

The immigrants had survived their first decade – a decade that 78-year-old Lene Buhr, one of the first generation to be born in the Cape, recalled in 1955 as “schwierige” days, “sehr schwierig (“difficult, very difficult”).⁹⁷ “But we were Germans, you see, tough, and never afraid of work” (translated).

The Augustsons’ first child, Johanna, was born on 27 August 1892.⁹⁸ Eleven months later, their second daughter, Marie, was born on 29 July 1893, and their third daughter, Martha, on 7 August 1894. Their son, Gustav, was the first to be baptised in the Neu Eisleben congregation, founded by the immigrants in the Dunes area of the Flats, in 1897. Their fifth child, Elise, was born on 23 April 1899 and died on 9 January 1900.⁹⁹ Their sixth child was a girl, Ida, born on 10 January 1901.

92 *Landbouweekblad*, 1954-02-17.

93 Augustson manuscript I, p 14.

94 Augustson manuscript I, p 15.

95 Augustson manuscript I, p 16.

96 Augustson manuscript I, p 16.

97 A Bouwer, “Hul voetspore in die sand, hul grootste monument”, *Sarie Marais*, 1955-05-04, p 17.

98 Augustson manuscript I, p 16.

99 Augustson manuscript I, p 17.

Their seventh child, Carl, was born on 16 January 1902 and died on 27 November 1902 because of diphtheria. Their eighth child, another girl, Auguste, was born on 1 August 1904 but died of diphtheria on 8 October 1907.¹⁰⁰

The stoic resignation with which this generation accepted their children's death is visible in the way Augustson writes about the death of Auguste, which he simply ends with "Gottes Wille geschehe" (God's will be done).¹⁰¹

He continues: "Da ich nun beim Tode binn, muss Ich noch erzählen von meinem Eisigen Sohn Gustav am Leben der ist gestorben den 14 October 1906 [sic]" ("As I am now on the topic of death, I still have to talk about my only living son, Gustav, who died on 14 October 1906"). Similar to his accident as a young boy, Gustav also fell under a wagon, but suffered internal injuries and did not survive. Augustson writes that Gustav drove with him to town on Saturday the 13th,

also ein Unglückstag mit mir zur Stadt gefahren, den ganzen Tag war Alles gut gegangen bis den Abend. Ich brachte gewöhnlich was Fleisch vör Policeman seine Frau mit von Mowbray das war das letzte und legte das Fleisch hinter mir auf den wagen. Ich hatte 4 Pferde for den Wagen. Wie ich nun bei der Police Station comm, gib ich die Leine für Gustav und sagte hallt fest das die Leine nicht unterfällt. Die Frau kommt das Fleisch zu holen, ich drehe mich umm und Gieb ihr das Fleisch da gehen die Pferde vorwärts er hält die Leine Fest und Fält von Wagen. Ein Rad war über ihn gegangen. Ich ruf die Pferde zu stehen, da lag er mitten under das 2te Rad ... da musste der Wagen vorwärtz das Er los kam. Er stand auf, wir voren nach Hause es war 6 Uhr Abens. Er sagte er hate Durst gaben ihn Caffee su Trincken da war nicht zerbrochen. Ich ging na Wynberg und holte Dr Moltino. Etwa 11 Uhr der Dr blieb 1ne Stunde da, dann ging er und sagte. Er wird nicht Besser. Er ist inwendlich verblutet. Die ganze Nacht habe Ich bei Ihn gelegen und haben gesprochen zusammen Morgens 6 Uhr sagte Ich zu meine Frau, Ich will mal wieder zum Dr. gehe und gehe hin anzuspannen, da comt meine Frau und sagte Gustav Stirbt das war das Ende [sic]." (On the 13th, so in fact an unlucky day, he drove with me to town. All day everything went well. I usually took meat to the policeman's wife in Mowbray, that was our last [stop]. Our wagon was drawn by four horses. When we got to the delivery, I gave the reins to Gustav so that they won't fall down. The woman came to collect the meat, and as I turned around,

100 Augustson manuscript I, p 18.

101 Augustson manuscript I, pp 18-19.

the horses moved forward. He held on to the reins and fell from the wagon. One wheel went over him, and when the horses came to a stop, the second wheel pinned him down. ... the horses had to go forward to free him. He got up and we drove home, it was 6 in the evening. He said he was thirsty, and we gave him coffee. Nothing was broken. I went to Wynberg to fetch Dr Moltino [probably Molteno]. That was around 11 o'clock. The doctor was there for an hour, but then went, and said he will not become better, he had internal bleeding. All night I lay next to him, and we spoke. The next morning around 6 I said to my wife we need to go to the doctor again. As I harnessed the horses, my wife came to me and said Gustav is dying. That was the end.)

The piety of the immigrants is clear in the way in which Augustson “consoles” himself when he writes that on the Saturday on their way into town, they talked about what Gustav is learning in school. He told his father that they are learning “ein Schönes Gebet”, a beautiful prayer. Augustson then proceeds to write this down, almost fifty years after the event: “Lieber Gott mach mich Fromm, das Ich im Himmel komm! Und soll ich das nicht warden [werden], so nimm mich von der Erden, Und nim mich in dein Himmelreich, und mach deine Engel gleich [sic]” (Dear God, make me pious so that I can enter heaven. And would I not be pious, then take me into your heavenly kingdom and make [me] one of your angels).

He concludes (translated): “He was a good boy. He was too good for this earth.” And proceeds immediately: His ninth child, Emma, was born on 18 July 1907.

Community life

Besides settling and building a family and a future, the immigrants in this part of the Flats also founded their congregation in the 1890s, as did the immigrants in the Philippi area, as it was simply too far to wade through the thick sand to the church in Wynberg.¹⁰² The immigrants in the Dunes called their congregation Neu-Eisleben, after the birth town of Martin Luther, but also that of Carl Meyer, the immigrant who gave the land for the church, big enough to include a graveyard.¹⁰³ When they could start building the church, Augustson even took a mortgage of £300 on his property to get a loan to build the church. To be exact, the building costs amounted to £342/9/7 and half a penny.¹⁰⁴ The graveyard was used for

102 L Rabe, “n Kulturhistoriese studie...”

103 H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, pp 71-73.

104 H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p 73.

the first time on 11 February 1897 for a child of the Tischendorf family. The “Schulkapelle” – the building served as a school, church, and accommodation for the teacher – was inaugurated on 6 May 1897, and Augustson’s fourth child, Gustav, was the first child to be baptised in the new church.¹⁰⁵



Figure 3: The gravestones of Augustson, his wife, and their four children who died young. They were reburied in the Philippi Lutheran cemetery in the 1980s after the reburial of the remains of those buried in the Neu-Eisleben cemetery because of inaccessibility to the cemetery due to informal settlements in the area.

(Photograph: Lizette Rabe)

The first teacher was a German Russian, one Osterloff, who, according to Augustson, “taught the children well”, but only remained one year. There were an astounding eight applications for the vacancy, one “even with university education”. Amazingly, a Scott got the position, apparently because his remuneration expectations were the lowest.¹⁰⁶ Fortunately, his wife was German and taught the

¹⁰⁵ Augustson manuscript I, p 17. [In the 1980s, when the descendants of the German immigrants moved away because of the development of the Crossroads informal township, the remains of those buried there were reburied in the Philippi graveyard.]

¹⁰⁶ H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p 73.

children German, although it was “auch herzlich wenig” (very little),¹⁰⁷ but she could also teach the girls needlework and played the harmonium during services.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, rinderpest wreaked havoc among the barely prosperous farming community. According to Augustson, he was spared for some time; the disease broke out on his neighbour’s farm in December 1896.¹⁰⁹ However, his first cattle died in June 1897. On his birthday that year, on 10 July, he found two of his best cows dead in their stable. By that time, he had a clientele in town for several pounds of butter a week, which he sold at 2/- a pound. At the end of the epidemic, only three of his 23 cows had survived.

At the same time, the area experienced a terrible drought. A later pastor wrote that farming was near impossible, which meant “many a happily blossoming prosperity was destroyed for years to come” (translated).¹¹⁰

With regards to the South African War that broke out in 1899, Augustson recalls that they were forced to sell their horses for “next to nothing” to the British:¹¹¹

In October 1899 Da brach der Buren Krig aus, hat uns Bauern keinen Schaden gemacht, nur das Ich £12 an ein Pferd verlohren habe. Da musten vir Bauern Alle unsere Pferde nach Wynberg bringen, und die Soldaten suchten ihre Pferde aus. Da nahmen Sie mir ein Pferd abb, dafor Ich £30 bezahlt hatte, und gaben nur £18. Das ist das einzige was im Buren Krige verloren habe [sic] (In October 1899 the Boer War broke out, but it did us no harm, except that I lost £12 on one horse. Us farmers had to bring all our horses to Wynberg, where the soldiers picked out their horses. They took one of mine, for which [I] had paid £30, but for which they only paid me £18. That is the only thing I lost in the Boer War).

Final signs of prosperity

Augustson thrived, and, in 1904, at age 41, he could build a house of “Kalksteine” – lime blocks – with walls that were 18 inches thick and even had two gables. The house was plastered with a mixture of lime and sand.¹¹² He describes the different

107 Augustson manuscript II, n.p.

108 H Ludewig *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p 73.

109 Augustson manuscript I, p 28.

110 H Ludewig, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, p 73.

111 Augustson manuscript I, p 28.

112 Augustson manuscript I, p 29.

rooms' sizes: The two rooms with the gables were 15 ft by 24 ft; there were two more rooms 12 ft by 16 ft, two rooms 12 ft by 13 ft, a bathroom 6 ft by 12 ft, a 6 ft by 12 ft pantry, and a 6ft by 12 ft kitchen. The cows' stable was 16ft by 18 ft.

The fact that he had a built-in bathroom was quite ahead of his time, as people normally bathed in a zinc bath in their kitchens filled with warm water. Hessian bags were spread out around the bath to avoid spilling water on the floor.¹¹³

Close to this house, Augustson also built a cement water tank, which was connected to his house's gutters and thus could be filled with rainwater regularly.¹¹⁴ The tank was 9ft by 12 ft, and 9 ft deep, and it provided enough water for domestic use, including washing. The water from the wells was brackish and not suitable for washing.

Augustson's very last house, in which he meant to retire, was built along Lansdowne Road (now Govan Mbeki Road),¹¹⁵ also from limestone.¹¹⁶ He does not say in which year it was built, but it was somewhere between 1904 and 1926, as he rented it out in 1926 and only moved in when he was 67.

As a true entrepreneur, although "retired", he also ran a small shop from this property. He mentions the garden he planted in detail – and singles out the bounteous harvest his fig trees gave him.

Conclusion

After discussing the theoretical foundation for this article, some aspects of Augustson's life and times were presented. One can state that the memoir is a rich source representing the experiences of the Philippi German immigrants. This article focused only on the years in Germany and the first two decades after they arrived at the Cape. Although there are many more aspects that can be highlighted, length constraints limit a further exposition of Augustson's memoir.

It is an enthralling text, one that unlocks a rich history, as discussed earlier, of "history from below", or "histories of self", as presented in the foundational theoretical discussion for this article. Such texts of "hitherto obscure people",

113 LR, Interview: Mrs Michen Meyer, Philippi, 1977.

114 Augustson manuscript I, p 29.

115 The author's own observations.

116 Augustson manuscript, p 31.

revealing “the fundamental experiences and *mentalités* of ordinary people”, can certainly be used by microhistorians to formulate “a history of everyday life”. As per the *Annales* framework, this individual’s memories provide a view of a whole community “as a total, interrelated organism”.

This manuscript serves as a trope for memoir-writing and renders an almost tangible tale of the life and time of an individual, his family, and his community. Although Augustson had no surviving male progeny, his surviving female progeny married into the Schultz, Heins, Rix, Bode and Engelke families,¹¹⁷ meaning his legacy was continued within the descendant community.

Besides being a delight to read, the memoir encapsulates the rich history of a specific community. Above all, one is left with a message of hope: To build something from nothing through sheer perseverance and hard work and to see the fruits of your labour – finally finding joy in something as simple as the fruit of a stand of fig trees one has planted.

117 Fuchs & Mohr, *Immigrants to the Western Cape...*, pp 31-32.

BRITISH SOLDIERS' ANGLO-BOER WAR EXPERIENCES AS RECORDED IN THEIR DIARIES

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This article examines some British soldiers' experiences recorded in their diaries during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 (also known as the South African War). Great Britain was forced to call up approximately 450 000 soldiers from across the British Empire to the conflict, many of whom kept a diary of their experiences. This article focuses on three aspects of the selected diaries. First, the soldiers' experiences of their journey to South Africa, including their departure from home (or from where they were stationed), their ship transport, and their first impressions of South Africa. Second, their experiences in the war zone including their journey to the front, their participation in battles and everyday duties, and their dealings with the local South African population, including black people and Boer civilians. Lastly, their off-duty experiences, including leisure, sport, and hunting activities, and their impressions of medical care, and food and drink.

Keywords: Anglo-Boer War, South African War, British Army, British Empire, British soldiers, diaries

Britse soldate se Anglo-Boereoorlog ervarings soos aangeteken in hul dagboeke

Hierdie artikel ondersoek die ervaringe van sommige Britse soldate soos deur hulle in hul dagboeke aangeteken tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog, 1899–1902 (ook bekend as die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog). Groot-Brittanje was genoodsaak om ongeveer 450 000 soldate van dwarsoor die Britse Ryk in die stryd te werp, baie van wie dagboek van hul ervaringe gehou het. Hierdie artikel fokus op drie aspekte van die geselekteerde dagboeke. Eerstens, die soldate se reis na Suid-

Afrika, insluitend vertrek vanaf hul tuistes (of waar hulle gebaseer was), hul skeepreis, en hul eerste indrukke van Suid-Afrika. Tweedens, hul ervaringe in die oorlogsgebied, asook hul reis na die gevegsfront, deelname aan gevegte en alledaagse pligte, sowel as hul omgang met die plaaslike bevolking, onder andere met swart mense en Boere-burgerlikes. Laastens, hul ervaringe wanneer nie aan diens nie, byvoorbeeld ontspanning, sport- en jag-aktiwiteite, sowel as hul indrukke van mediese sorg, asook van voedsel en drank.

Sleutelwoorde: Anglo-Boereoorlog, Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog, Britse Leër, Britse Ryk, Britse soldate, dagboeke

Introduction

The Anglo-Boer War (also known as the South African War) broke out on 11 October 1899. The adversaries were the British Empire and the two small Boer republics, the Oranje-Vrijstaat (Orange Free State) and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (Transvaal). The war continued for almost three years with fatalities of approximately 22 000 British soldiers, more than 6 000 Boer combatants, at least 27 000 Boer civilians (22 000 of whom were children) and 23 000 black civilians who died in British internment (concentration) camps.¹

Chronologically, this war can be divided into four distinct phases. The first was the Boer offensive (October – November 1899), when they invaded the Cape and Natal colonies and besieged the British forces in the towns of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking (Mahikeng). The second phase was the first British offensive (November 1899 – February 1900), during which the British forces under the command of General Sir Redvers Buller attempted to relieve these towns but suffered a series of heavy defeats during the battles of Stormberg (10 December 1899), Magersfontein (11 December 1899) and Colenso (15 December 1899) in what became known as “Black Week”. The third phase, namely the second British offensive, commenced in February 1900 under the overall command of Lord Roberts. Unlike Buller, Roberts was successful in relieving the towns under siege, and his forces invaded the Orange Free State and Transvaal, occupying their respective capital cities, Bloemfontein (13 March 1900) and Pretoria (5 June 1900). The guerrilla phase was the fourth and final phase, and was also the longest

1 A Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902: White man's war, black man's war, traumatic war* (Bloemfontein, 2011), pp 78-79; F Pretorius (ed), *Scorched earth* (Cape Town, 2017), *passim*; S Kessler, *The black concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein, 2012), *passim*.

and the most costly phase of the war. During this period the vastly outnumbered Boers used guerrilla warfare tactics to frustrate the British forces. To counter the Boer strategy, the British applied scorched-earth tactics, combined with the use of blockhouses and internment camps, and were partially the reasons why the Boer forces eventually decided to surrender on 31 May 1902.²

Britain had to call up approximately 450 000 soldiers to the war to suppress the Boers. These soldiers were members of the regular army, volunteers from Britain, and from the British colonies of the Cape and Natal. A British soldier was colloquially known as “Tommy Atkins”, and many of them kept diaries of their war experiences. Prior studies on the history of the British soldier in the Anglo-Boer War include book chapters, notably Byron Farwell’s *The Great Boer War*, Chapter 38: “Soldiering on the veldt”; Edward Spiers’s *The Victorian soldier in Africa*, Chapter 9: “Re-engaging the Boers”; Fransjohan Pretorius’s *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902*, Chapter 3: “The Tommy in South Africa”, and a chapter by Bill Nasson, “Tommy Atkins in South Africa” in Peter Warwick (ed), *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902*. David Hill submitted a PhD in 2011 titled “Masculinity and war: diaries and letters of soldiers serving in the South African War (1899–1902)”. Derek du Bruyn and André Wessels have written about the experiences of British soldiers during Lord Roberts’ occupation of Bloemfontein (March to May 1900). This article builds upon and expands the scope of these sources.

The authors consulted the diaries of 15 British soldiers as primary sources to write this article. These diarists comprise seven privates, seven officers, and one officer who was demoted after a court-martial.³ As these soldiers’ diaries provide first-hand accounts of events during the war, this article examines how they experienced the war, and how their experiences and their diarising thereof were influenced by their specific circumstances. The article broadly follows the chronology of the war and chronologically and thematically studies the experiences of British soldiers. Quotations from their diaries are used extensively, as their precise words make the actual events more immediate and enhance an understanding of how

2 For general reviews of the course of events, see, for example, LS Amery (ed), *The Times history of the war in South Africa 1899–1902*, I–VII (London, 1900–1907); F Maurice and MH Grant (eds), *History of the war in South Africa 1899–1902*, I–IV (London, 1906–1910); JH Breytenbach, *Die geskiedenis van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog in Suid-Afrika, 1899–1902*, I–VI (Pretoria, 1969–1996); and for general references, F Pretorius, *The A to Z of the Anglo-Boer War* (Lanham, 2010).

3 Unfortunately, there is no indication of why this officer was court-martialled and demoted in the diary or other consulted sources.

these men experienced the war. Such a small sample can obviously not represent hundreds of thousands of soldiers, but they can give insight into a wide range of experiences. These 15 diaries were specifically chosen because they represent different regiments, different periods in the war, and different ranks within the British Army. The diarists also served in different areas of the war zone.

The British soldier en route to South Africa and on to the war zone

At the outbreak of hostilities, there was great enthusiasm in Britain, and thousands of young men were eager to go to South Africa and partake in the war. This is evident from the soldiers' diary entries as they departed for South Africa. Volunteer Private John William Milne (Gordon Highlanders) wrote that they had practised shooting on the local golf links and that they departed to South Africa a month later. On 16 February 1900, the day of their departure, he wrote:

We left Aberdeen at two o'clock amid the cheers of the people, a scene which I shall never forget, as we marched along Union Street, down Market Street and along Guild Street to the station, mounted and foot constables on each side of us. We were being gradually crushed into single file till at last we dropped onto the station one by one and into the carriages...⁴

These scenes occurred throughout the British Isles. Private Frederick Tucker (Rifle Brigade) recorded in October 1899 how the streets of the towns on the Isle of Wight were decorated with flags and bunting, proclaiming "Remember Majuba", "Good Luck", "God Speed", and "Bon Voyage".⁵

Most British soldiers departed for South Africa via the port at Southampton, where the local civilians met early war send-offs with tremendous excitement. Private P Jackson wrote of his unit's departure on 14 March 1900:

We left Southampton soon after 5, amidst cheers from the people on the quay, one young woman several times threw some money wrapped in paper to the men ... another young lady threw some oranges to the men, another some confectionary. It was a lovely day.⁶

4 War Museum of the Boer Republics (hereafter WMBR), Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne, 1st Service Company Volunteers, Gordon Highlanders (1900) during the Boer War (no pagination), 16 February 1900.

5 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary – The Transvaal War of 1899, 1900, 1901 & 1902 with the Natal Field Forces* (London, 1980), p 17, 28 October 1899.

6 Dr Arnold van Dyk personal collection (hereafter AvD): Private P Jackson, South African War diaries 1900, p 2, 14 March 1900.

The troopships from Southampton had to sail through the notoriously rough Bay of Biscay off the coast of France, as Private Walter Putland (Middlesex Regiment) in February 1900 recorded: “We were nearly all seasick for two or three days.”⁷ At Tenerife and Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, coal was loaded as fuel for the ships, and the small boats of the local inhabitants flocked around the troopships, selling fruit, tea and cigars.⁸ Private Tucker recorded in November 1899 that: “The hills on the island looked very picturesque with their snow-clad tops, contrasting with the lightly coloured houses – a sight well worth seeing.”⁹ Some ships also called at St Helena, which Private Tucker described as “a bare and desolate looking place with very high mountains”, before sailing on to South Africa.¹⁰ Often, only officers were allowed to disembark at the Canaries and St Helena to see the local sights.¹¹

On the transport ships the men were prepared for what awaited them in South Africa, through activities such as daily physical drills and parades, and rifle shooting practice for the men. The officers practised revolver shooting using wooden crates that were tossed overboard as targets.¹² The soldiers were also issued maps of the Boer republics, and doctors presented several lectures on dressing wounds and other health-related matters.¹³

Despite these activities, life on board the ships was very monotonous, as Private Jackson recorded in March 1900: “[T]he men as usual are lying about the decks, some play at cards... whilst a great many are reading various books and others are doing nothing else but sleep.”¹⁴ Many evenings the soldiers held concerts, events which, according to Private Putland, were obviously “not as good as the London Music hall [sic]”, but they nevertheless “had some good singing and we enjoyed ourselves very much”.¹⁵

7 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 16 February 1900.

8 AL Putland (ed), The personal diary of “Private Walter Putland” (no pagination), 2 December 1899. <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

9 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary...*, p 19, 5 November 1899.

10 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary...*, p 19, 15 November 1899.

11 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin – Queens Bays (no pagination), 22 November 1901.

12 GES Salt, *Letters and diary of Lieutenant GES Salt during the war in South Africa, 1899–1900* (London, 1902) (no pagination), 1 November 1899.

13 AvD: Private P Jackson, South African War diaries 1900, p 13, 24 March 1900.

14 AvD: Private P Jackson, South African War diaries 1900, p 13, 24 March 1900.

15 AL Putland (ed), The personal diary..., 12 December 1899, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

Anxiety as to what was happening in South Africa plagued the soldiers during their sea journeys, especially as they received very little news while en route to South Africa. Lieutenant John Edward Pine-Coffin recorded in March 1900 that they had “[n]o news”. He wrote: “We have given up wondering about the War [sic] news.”¹⁶ Above all, they were worried that the war would be over before they would have a chance to fight. This enthusiasm arose from the British nation’s exuberant overconfidence, fuelled by the British military and press establishment who in 1899 enthusiastically proclaimed: “Pretoria before Christmas”.¹⁷ Leo Amery, the British historian who chronicled the war as it unfolded, stated: “Anxiety as to the military issue there was none. Few even believed that the Boers would make any serious or prolonged resistance to the overwhelming advance of the great army that was being launched against them.”¹⁸

Thus, to many soldiers’ surprise, the situation was not as clear-cut as they had expected when they disembarked in South Africa. Private Putland recorded in December 1899:

Arrive [sic] at Cape Town all eager to hear of some news, hoping it be good, as we have heard nothing since we left Southampton. Thought the war was over and us too late, but to our surprise, we heard of General Bullers [sic] reverse at Colenso [sic].¹⁹

The soldiers initially encountered a slice of the Empire when they arrived in South Africa. Cape Town and Durban were imperial cities, and most of the white inhabitants welcomed the British soldiers. At Cape Town, each soldier was greeted with a handful of grapes, called the “Tommy welcome to the Cape”.²⁰ Private Milne wryly remarked upon seeing one of the British camps at Greenpoint, that for his part he would have called it “sand point”.²¹ From camps set up across Cape Town, many soldiers had the opportunity to explore the city and take in the sights. “There are some fine buildings in the town, and some good shops, but the prices of everything is [sic] high”, Lieutenant GES Salt noted on 11 November 1899.²² Not all were impressed by what they saw. A few days later Captain George

16 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War 1900: The diary of John Edward Pine-Coffin* (Bideford, 1999), p 23, March 1900.

17 T Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London, 1979), p 95.

18 LS Amery (ed), *The Times history of the war in South Africa, 1899–1902*, III (London, 1905), p 346.

19 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 26 December 1899, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

20 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 14 March 1900.

21 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 14 March 1900.

22 GES Salt, *Letters and diary of Lieutenant GES Salt...*, 11 November 1899.

Vernon Clarke (Royal Field Artillery) wrote in his diary that he was disappointed with the appearance of Cape Town: "It was so overpowered by the height of Table Mountain that it looked like a little seaside watering place squashed in between the hills and the sea."²³ At Durban the soldiers were also greeted with enthusiasm by the English populace, as Private Tucker noted on 25 November 1899: "The people of Durban treated us with great kindness, posting our letters and giving us plenty of tobacco pipes, cigarettes and fruit."²⁴

In 1899, the war was still in its conventional phase and mainly raged on two fronts, the western front in the vicinity of Kimberley, and the Natal front in the vicinity of Ladysmith and the Tugela River. Soldiers were cheered as they left Durban for the Natal front, as Private Putland recorded on 30 December 1899: "[W]e left Durban amidst shouts and cheers, which brought tears to more than one mans [sic] eyes to think that people of a strange country should treat us the way they did. . ."²⁵ The journey from Cape Town to the western front took the soldiers through the arid Karoo region of south-central South Africa, which Private Milne described in March 1900 as consisting of "hills and bare veldt, a town here and there, all along the line".²⁶ For Private Milne and his fellow soldiers, the journey was more enjoyable than for others, as he noted in his diary: "We enjoyed our journey very much for we had the good fortune to travel in carriages instead of coal trucks as the most of the troops were put up country in."²⁷ But for the most part, the soldiers had to contend with ordinary goods trucks.²⁸

In contrast, the journey from Durban to the Natal front was through a green and undulating region. Private Putland described the landscape and train journey: "[R]ough country and a shaky ride it was... but the scenery was grand."²⁹ The trains transporting the soldiers stopped at stations all along the railway line, where soldiers could buy goods. Private Jackson recorded the prices of the goods available to them en route to the western front in April 1900: nine pence for a loaf of bread at Matjiesfontein; 1/- for a mess tin full of coffee at Touws River; four apples

23 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Captain George Vernon Clarke (no pagination), 14 November 1899.

24 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary...*, p 22, 25 November 1899.

25 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 30 December 1899, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

26 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 18 March 1900.

27 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 18 March 1900.

28 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary...*, p 22, 25 November 1899.

29 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 30 December 1899, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

for 3d at Salt River Junction; 1d for a box of safety matches at Norvalspont, and 1/- for a bottle of Kop's Ale at Springfontein.³⁰ On the Natal front Private Tucker remarked in November 1899 that members of the local English-speaking populace welcomed them enthusiastically when their train arrived at the various stations:

On arrival at each station there were huge cauldrons of hot tea waiting for us, prepared by the Europeans and for which everyone was thankful... Several ladies gave us writing paper, envelopes, tobacco pipes, cigarettes and lemonade. We thoroughly enjoyed all the attention.³¹

In the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Herbert Gwynne Howell (Cape Mounted Riflemen) described in March 1900 the buildings in Aliwal North as being covered in bunting, and that the English inhabitants cheered and waved flags as the British forces entered. He wrote: "People very good to us. Heaps of tea and cake, etc. and they couldn't do too much for us. The ladies gave up their own beds for our wounded and nursed them."³²

As the soldiers got closer to the front they had to detrain and continue the journey on foot. These marches were often gruelling, and soldiers sometimes went without sustenance for long periods. On the baking hot western front, Private Richard Coyle (Loyal North Lancashire Regiment) wrote in March 1900 that during a march "[t]he men were dropping out in dozens".³³ On the rain-plagued Natal front, the soldiers also endured gruelling marches, as Private Putland recorded in December 1899: "It was an awful march pouring of [sic] rain, and marched through rivers, the water in places 4 feet deep, guess my feelings water running down my legs and rain down my back..."³⁴

Captain HH Northey (Royal Scots Fusiliers), who also served in Natal, remarked in December 1899 that he was "so tired...that several times I found myself dropping off to sleep whilst marching".³⁵ To make matters worse for Tommy Atkins, the soldiers had to contend with insects of all kinds in the war zone. Private Joseph Crosby (Natal Carbineers) wrote in February 1900 that sleep was out of

30 AvD: P Jackson, *South African War diaries 1900*, p 18, 5 April 1900.

31 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary...*, p 22, 25 November 1899.

32 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell* (Pretoria, 1986), p 34, 11 March 1900.

33 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle, Loyal North Lancashire Regiment March 1900 – March 1901*, p 8, 28 March 1900.

34 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 8 January 1900, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

35 AvD: Transcription of Captain HH Northey's *South African War diary* (no pagination), 12 December 1899.

the question: “[T]he mosquitos being simply dreadful.”³⁶ But daytime brought little relief, for as Crosby continued: “[T]hey [the mosquitos] don’t bother us by day, but to compensate we have wretched flies...”³⁷ Lieutenant Salt fought back, and remarked in November 1899 that the mosquitos “were troublesome”, but he wrapped a silk handkerchief around his head, which, in his words, “defeated them”.³⁸

The British soldier in the war zone

Despite the often-gruelling conditions of the journey to the frontlines, the British soldiers remained eager to engage the Boers in battle. Private Coyle wrote in March 1900 of his fellow soldiers that “they are in good health and going crazy to have a smack at the enemy”.³⁹ The three conventional phases of the war were characterised by set-piece battles, sometimes with thousands of soldiers facing each other on a battlefield. For many soldiers, this was their first taste of battle, and the intensity thereof often shocked them. At Colenso, on 15 December 1899, Buller’s army of approximately 20 000 soldiers had to advance over the flat terrain leading up to the Tugela River to attack the entrenched Boer positions directly across the river.⁴⁰ Captain Northey wrote that the “Boers let us within some 800 yards of their position without firing a shot, then, by God! They let us have it.”⁴¹ The 3 000 entrenched Boers pinned down the exposed British with heavy fire.⁴² Private Tucker, also present at the battle of Colenso, described the scene in his diary: “Mauser, rifle, pom-pom, Maxim big guns and I don’t know what else rang out until the air seemed alive with iron and lead... It was a very trying time and I think it is impossible to write of one’s feelings when under fire for the first time as we were.”⁴³

Private Putland took part in the battle of Spioenkop on 24 January 1900, and vividly recorded what he experienced: “[N]ear the top we were greeted by a shower of bullets and a lot of our men fell at once ... it was a tremendous fire meet [sic] us

36 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes taken on the Boer campaign by Arthur Joseph Crosby, Natal Carbineers* (Ladysmith, 1976), p 33, 11 February 1900.

37 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes...*, p 29, 26 January 1900.

38 GES Salt, *Letters and diary of Lieutenant GES Salt...*, 19 November 1899.

39 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle...*, p 7, 22 March 1900.

40 CJ Barnard, *Louis Botha op die Natalse front, 1899–1900* (Cape Town, 1970), pp 51–52.

41 AvD: Transcription of Captain HH Northey’s South African War diary, 15 December 1899.

42 JF Maurice (ed), *History of the war in South Africa 1899–1902 I* (London, 1906), pp 359–360.

43 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker’s Boer War diary...*, pp 30, 32, 15 December 1899.

here, and dead, wounded and dying was awful and the groaning was sickening ... the bullets were like rain around me.”⁴⁴

After the defeat of the Boers under General Piet Cronjé at Paardeberg on 27 February 1900, the first major British victory of the war,⁴⁵ the British forces under the command of Lord Roberts marched eastwards, and occupied Bloemfontein, the Orange Free State’s capital, on 13 March 1900. After a five-week halt, Roberts’s army marched northwards and occupied Pretoria, the Transvaal’s capital, on 5 June 1900. The two Boer republics were declared British colonies (Orange River Colony, 24 May 1900, and Transvaal Colony, 1 September 1900), and many Boers laid down their arms.⁴⁶

During the conventional phase of the war, the military authorities still punished the British soldiers’ destruction and looting of Boer property. Lieutenant Edward Hugh Lygon (Dragoon Guards), son of Frederick Lygon, 6th Earl Beauchamp, recorded in February 1900 that “[t]his morning we paraded for looting ...”⁴⁷ Private Milne wrote in March 1900 that “a few officers were after us too, swearing at some of us, for we were getting rare sport playing an old piano in the farm house... That was about the last case of looting that I saw as orders were read out that anyone found at it would be severely dealt with.”⁴⁸ And in April 1900 Lieutenant Pine-Coffin recorded that he had received orders that “anyone looting would be hung”.⁴⁹

After the fall of the republican capitals, the Boers changed their strategy to guerrilla warfare, henceforth targeting railways, bridges and British convoys. This proved very successful and enabled the Boer forces to prolong the war for a further two years. The nature of the war changed from set-piece battles to smaller skirmishes where the Boers engaged in hit-and-run tactics and sniping from long distances. A soldier told Private Jackson that in five battles he had only seen “two or three” Boers.⁵⁰ Lieutenant Pine-Coffin wrote in May 1900 of a scouting operation that went looking for, in his opinion, “an imaginary enemy”.⁵¹

44 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 24 January 1900, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

45 T Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p 342.

46 LS Amery (ed), *The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899–1902* IV (London, 1906), pp 1-164.

47 AvD: *Diary of the Hon. EH Lygon*, p 29, 17 February 1900.

48 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne...*, 29 March 1900.

49 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 45, 20 April 1900.

50 AvD: P Jackson ..., p 16, 5 April 1900.

51 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 59, 15 May 1900.

In an attempt to deter the Boer commandos from destroying railway lines and attacking trains, Lord Roberts declared that all farmsteads within a certain radius of such incidents would be destroyed.⁵² This eventually turned into a full-blown scorched-earth policy whereby the British forces could destroy any farmstead in the former Boer republics. Many soldiers and officers now had de facto carte blanche to break the rules of civilised warfare. Lord Roberts, and later Lord Kitchener, seemed to lose control over matters of farm destruction.⁵³ Boer farmhouses were burnt down, crops destroyed, livestock put down or confiscated, and Boer women and children were transported to internment camps. The British referred to these women and children as “refugees”. Lieutenant Pine-Coffin wrote in October 1900 that he was “sending off refugees, the country is being cleared by degrees”.⁵⁴ Four days later Pine-Coffin commented: “Removing all the Dutch and burning their houses, have got rid of a good many.”⁵⁵ In February 1902, Lieutenant Colonel JE Dewar (Dragoon Guards) described the country as “absolutely bare”, and that “all the farms had been burnt, but most of them were occupied by women and children”.⁵⁶

During this phase of the war the British forces engaged in morally dubious activities. Lieutenant Gwynne Howell recorded in January 1901 that his commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Cedric Maxwell, “always shells farms where there are always some women”.⁵⁷ Private Coyle commented that “[t]he troops got leave to go and loot the place... they turned the farm upside down... Others killed all the pigs and some went inside the house and smashed everything in the house.”⁵⁸ But some soldiers disapproved of this wanton destruction. Lieutenant Gwynne Howell wrote that burning farms is a “rotten job” and “detested by everyone”.⁵⁹ Trooper Tuffin remarked in February 1901 of a burnt down farmhouse that “the place was in ruins, as usual, it is a pity to see the lovely farms all laid in ruins...”⁶⁰

The internment camps to which the Boer “refugees” were being transported had been set up by the British Army across the war zone, including in the Cape and

52 F Pretorius (ed), *Scorched earth*, p 39.

53 F Pretorius (ed), *Scorched earth*, p 45.

54 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 161, 1 November 1900.

55 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 163, 5 November 1900.

56 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Lt Colonel JE Dewar, The Queen's Bays (2nd Dragoon Guards) (no pagination), 15 February 1902.

57 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 91, 6 January 1901.

58 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle..., p 11, 4 May 1900.

59 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 82, 13 November 1900.

60 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin..., 26 February 1901.

Natal colonies. These camps were often characterised by poor administration, which resulted in shortages of supplies, such as nutritious food, firewood and clean water, and inadequate medical care. These factors were responsible for very high mortality rates: more than 27 000 whites and at least 23 000 blacks died in these internment camps.⁶¹

The 15 soldiers wrote very little in their diaries about their interactions with the women and children who suffered from the scorched-earth policy. DI Hill attributes this to the activity of burning farmhouses, which as seen was not always liked, and the transportation of women and children to internment camps was contradictory to “the moral compass of honourable manly soldiering” as understood by the Victorian British soldier.⁶² Not all British soldiers were immune to the suffering of the civilians, as evidenced by a diary inscription of Lieutenant Gwynne Howell, who wrote in August 1901 of an encounter with an elderly Boer lady: “She is 84 years old. I gave her some milk, jam, soup, etc. as she cannot eat hard tack and they have nothing else. We do not treat them as well as we ought to.”⁶³

Although the war was often portrayed as a “white man’s war”, this was not the case. Black people were also victims of the scorched-earth policy and the internment camps. Trooper Tuffin recorded in January 1902 that they “went out clearing up kraals... brought in a lot of niggers⁶⁴ [sic]”.⁶⁵ Food for civilians was often scarce, black people included. In July 1900 Private Coyle described that black children were running after their train scavenging for the waste biscuits and bully beef that the British soldiers had discarded.⁶⁶ Some British soldiers were emotionally affected by these scenes, such as Private Jackson who reflected in April 1900 on a group of black people walking to an unknown destination: “It must be very hard for them.”⁶⁷

The British forces also used another method to counter the Boer guerrilla tactics – the construction of blockhouse lines across South Africa and engaging in large-scale “drives”. The latter entailed large numbers of soldiers marching or riding over a wide expanse of the veld to snare Boer commandos or individual Boer

61 F Pretorius (ed), *Scorched Earth*, pp 45-47.

62 DI Hill, “Masculinity and war: Diaries and letters of soldiers serving in the South African War (1899–1902)” (PhD dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne), 2011, p 225.

63 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 136, 20 April 1901.

64 This is an historical term which today is regarded as derogatory. The original word has been quoted for purposes of historical authenticity and does not reflect the authors’ views.

65 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin..., 30 January 1902.

66 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle..., p 18, 15 July 1900.

67 AvD: P Jackson, South African War diaries 1900, p 46, 29 April 1900.

combatants. Trooper Tuffin commented in March 1902 on these seemingly endless marches: “[I]t makes one weary marching and our poor legs. I don’t know about killing the Boers but it is wearing us completely out.”⁶⁸

British soldiers would often have to escort wagons carrying supplies. The Tommies called this “trekking”, and the Boers would from time to time launch attacks on these convoys to obtain supplies. During the guerrilla war phase, this escort duty was a daily routine, as Captain ECF Wodehouse (Worcester Regiment) recorded in February 1901: “The force was continuously on trek; sniping by the enemy was of almost daily occurrence.”⁶⁹ For the majority of British soldiers, the guerrilla phase was uneventful, with daily life rotating around a schedule of tasks and everyday duties.

Perhaps the most gruelling of these everyday duties was manual labour, called “fatigue duty”. This encompassed a broad range of activities, including trench digging, road building, and the building of fortifications. Diary entries frequently describe these activities, such as “Battalion was on fatigue digging forts the whole day...”⁷⁰ or “fatigue carrying luggage across the bridge all day...”⁷¹

Another British soldier’s task was sentry or outpost duty. Lieutenant Lygon wrote in November 1899 that it was “pretty hard work, getting in about midday, after a ten-mile [16 km] walk, and having to go out at once till daybreak on outpost duty.”⁷² Private Crosby remarked in October 1899 concerning one of his outpost duties that the “raining most of the time made it cold and thoroughly miserable”.⁷³ Outpost duty was even harsher in winter when temperatures would often fall below freezing. Private Coyle recorded in July 1900 that the soldiers’ blankets were “white and stiff, having frozen hard”.⁷⁴ Lieutenant Pine-Coffin noted on one occasion in May 1900 during the highveld winter that there was “ice in buckets” and “sponge frozen hard” in his tent.⁷⁵ Private Tucker found that when he wanted to make coffee after a long night in May 1900, the water in his water bottle had frozen.⁷⁶

68 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin..., 4 March 1902.

69 WMBR, Copy Archive: The diary of Captain ECF Wodehouse in the South African War (no pagination), 28 February 1901.

70 AvD: Diary of the Hon. EH Lygon, p 13, 13 December 1899.

71 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 29 March 1900.

72 AvD: Diary of the Hon. EH Lygon, p 11, 27 November 1899.

73 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes...*, p 4, 18 October 1899.

74 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle..., p 17, 4 July 1900.

75 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 69, 28 May 1900.

76 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary*, p 108, 28 May 1900.

Tommy Atkins also sometimes suffered from a lack of adequate winter clothing. Private Coyle noted in August 1900 that the members of his unit were all in rags, and in desperate need of shoes and warm clothes.⁷⁷ This lack of clothes led to an amusing incident in February 1900 when a group of British soldiers captured Boer wagons loaded with clothing. Private Tucker wrote that “[w]e began plundering immediately...[u]nderclothing was needed most urgently and soon we were changing; worn out khaki trousers were discarded, knee breeches or plaid trousers taking their place. General Lyttelton rode up and was greatly amused by us.”⁷⁸

With little enemy contact and many tedious tasks and duties, boredom is a common feature of British soldiers’ diary entries during the guerrilla war phase, such as those of Lieutenant Gwynne Howell in February 1901:

Feb 8th 1901: No news.
Feb 9th 1901: No news.
Feb 10th 1901: No news.
Feb 11th 1901: No news.⁷⁹

Being in a war without actually fighting weighed heavily upon the soldiers, and Private Crosby commented that they were “all getting or have got weary for want of some fresh excitement”.⁸⁰ Lance-Corporal FW Schofield (Yorkshire Regiment) complained in June 1900 that there is “nothing to note... sick of this continual misery. Wonder when it will finish.”⁸¹ Captain Vernon Clarke wrote in January 1902 that “we go out on patrol every day and storm kopjes and shoot at biscuit tins, there being no Boers about to practise on...”⁸² This atmosphere of disgruntlement and boredom gave rise to many rumours, or “shaves”, as many British soldiers referred to them. Trooper Tuffin remarked in January 1902 that “we are so used to rumours that they go in one ear and out the next”.⁸³

77 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle..., p 22, 26 August 1900.

78 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary*, pp 67-68, 18 February 1900.

79 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 95, 8–11 February 1901.

80 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes...*, p 11, 21 November 1899.

81 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War 1899–1902 by 4710 Lance Corporal FW Schofield, G Company 1st The Princess of Wales's Own 19th (Yorkshire Regiment) (no pagination), 18 June 1900.

82 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Captain George Vernon Clarke, 8 January 1902.

83 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin..., 30 January 1902.

The off-duty British soldier

The British soldiers alleviated the tedium of their daily existence by participating in a variety of leisure activities. This was already apparent in the troopships carrying them to South Africa. While still at anchor in Table Bay, some soldiers engaged in angling; a pastime with which they continued even during the guerrilla phase of the war.⁸⁴ Lieutenant Gwynne Howell commented on 19 November 1901: "Had nice fishing rod and line lent to me... Went fishing in afternoon... caught five yellow fish – rather good sport."⁸⁵ However, he was quickly disillusioned when he tried again a few days later, noting that he "[o]nly caught one fish. Not a good day at all."⁸⁶

British soldiers also hunted during the war, and their diaries reflect that game was reasonably plentiful in the former republics. Lieutenant Pine-Coffin noted in his diary that he went hunting every day during May and June 1900, in the Free State.⁸⁷ In the latter month, he wrote: "Went shooting...killed a stom-bok or bush-bok, don't know which it is. Shot him with the shotgun. Killed some more fish in the river with the net. Had a very good dinner when I got back."⁸⁸ Trooper Tuffin noted in January 1902 that "wild buck was [sic] galloping about the plain in thousands and also a lot of wild beast [sic]"⁸⁹ Private Milne recorded in May 1900 that a herd of springbuck stampeded through their camp: "Some of them were captured alive in the camp, with the officers were out shooting them. I saw some lancers charging after them with their lances."⁹⁰ Hunting at one point became so widespread that Pine-Coffin complained that he was being shot at by men after buck, noting in July 1900 that the would-be hunters "are more dangerous than the Boers".⁹¹

The soldiers also enjoyed music when at leisure. Private Coyle noted that the Scottish soldiers played bagpipes, and during the siege of Ladysmith the Natal Mounted Rifles formed a band, the instruments of which consisted of a big drum, a side drum, a triangle and eight tin whistles, which Private Crosby described as "causing much amusement".⁹²

84 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 31, 26 March 1900.

85 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 157, 19 November 1901.

86 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 158, 24 November 1901.

87 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, pp 60-90, 16 May – 6 July 1900.

88 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 73, 3 June 1900.

89 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of Trooper Tuffin..., 30 January 1902.

90 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne..., 9 May 1900.

91 S Pine-Coffin (ed), *One man's Boer War...*, p 91, 6 July 1900.

92 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes...*, p 18, 22 December 1899.

However, the most popular leisure activity for soldiers was sport. Victorian Britain was the birthplace of modern sport, and cricket, hockey, rugby and football (soccer) were invented or became extremely popular during the nineteenth century.⁹³ The British soldiers brought this passion for sport with them to South Africa, and during their leisure time pursued it enthusiastically. One of the first things that British soldiers did after setting up more permanent bases was to lay out sports fields, as Lieutenant Lygon helped to do on the western front in December 1899: “[I] spent a lot of time laying out a football ground and a cricket ground, which will both be very satisfactory.”⁹⁴

Cricket was the national past-time of Victorian Britain, and during this era, its values were considered an integral part of English civilisation.⁹⁵ The Anglo-Boer War occurred during cricket’s so-called “golden era” from 1895 to 1914,⁹⁶ and during the war, British soldiers often played cricket. Many diary entries point to cricket matches often being woefully lopsided affairs. The Bultfontein garrison, for example, was no match for the Cape Mounted Riflemen (CMR) in January 1901, the latter winning by 160 runs.⁹⁷ Officers and mounted soldiers often played polo, and athletics, horse racing and tug-of-war were also popular.

Parties and balls were regular and popular events from late 1901 onwards. This was a result of the British military authorities establishing so-called “protected areas” around Bloemfontein, Pretoria and the Rand. Within these “protected areas” there were no Boer incursions and normal civilian life more or less resumed.⁹⁸ Attending these events were popular with officers. On 6 February 1902, Lieutenant Gwynne Howell attended Lady Methuen’s Dance: “Very crowded. I only danced three dances.”⁹⁹ Dances were held so frequently in the Presidency in Bloemfontein that the wooden floor of the dance hall had to be replaced.¹⁰⁰ Some troops were unhappy with these activities on the part of their officers, as Private Putland commented in January 1901:

[O]ne would not think that there were Boers a few miles from here, officers playing polo, tennis, with ladies and plenty of dinner and tea parties, there are plenty of Balls but not for Thomas Atkins, he is still the same absent

93 R Tombs, *The English and their history* (London, 2015), pp 515-517.

94 AvD: Diary of Hon. EH Lygon, p 23, 30 December 1899.

95 D Allen, *Empire, war & cricket: Logan of Matjiesfontein* (Cape Town, 2015), pp 49-50.

96 D Allen, *Empire, war & cricket...*, p 49.

97 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 91, 5 January 1901.

98 T Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p 536.

99 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 169, 6 February 1902.

100 N Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the modern world* (London, 2003), p 280.

minded beggar¹⁰¹ as he was when the war first broke out, and if officers wives continue to come out of England and stay here, I am thinking the War will never be over...¹⁰²

The officers were afforded luxuries that the ordinary Tommies could only dream of, including concerning the food and drink they enjoyed. Lieutenant Lygon wrote on 22 November 1899 in his diary that he had champagne with his dinner: “[Wasn’t I glad of it.”¹⁰³ And a month later he noted: “I went and had a luncheon... of course the best of everything.”¹⁰⁴

This was in stark contrast to the experiences of the rank and file, as typified by a diary entry by Private Coyle in August 1900: “[M]et Gen. Ian Hamilton and he said we looked starved. He got us better rations and told the quartermaster to give every man 1 lb of bully beef and half a loaf each. We did get it down being very hungry.”¹⁰⁵ Private Jackson wrote in April 1900 that during an inspection his commanding officer remarked that his [Jackson’s] belt was sitting loose, and Jackson noted in his diary: “[T]here is no doubt that it was loose and that I have lost a great many pounds in weight.... Most of us have been getting lighter for want of more nourishing food.”¹⁰⁶

The quality of the food that was supplied to ordinary soldiers was also often sub-standard. Private Coyle described his bully beef and biscuits as something “you would laugh to see”.¹⁰⁷ Private Milne said that the meat they were issued with looked like a “piece of leather”.¹⁰⁸ Private Putland noted that they had been served up with something “that had been meat, but today was something else... it was not fit to eat”.¹⁰⁹ Official army rations consisted of either McConachie rations (a canned vegetable stew) or the more common canned meat (bully beef) and biscuits. Diary entries are populated with mentions of “bully beef and biscuits”.

101 Reference to Rudyard Kipling’s poem, “The absent-minded beggar”.

102 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 23 January 1901, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

103 AvD: *Diary of Hon. EH Lygon*, p 7, 22 November 1899.

104 AvD: *Diary of Hon. EH Lygon*, p 22, 24 December 1899.

105 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle...*, p 20, 6 August 1900.

106 AvD: *P Jackson, South African War diaries 1900*, p 41, 26 April 1900.

107 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle...*, p 18, 15 July 1900.

108 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne...*, 16 March 1900.

109 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 26 December 1899, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

Later in the war biscuits were sometimes replaced by flour fried in fat, which the soldiers termed “patties”.¹¹⁰

Many soldiers, therefore, reverted to scavenging from Boer farms. Private Putland wrote in February 1900 that he and a few other soldiers “got into a tangle with some geese and they came back to the camp with us and was [sic] soon cooked and eaten...”¹¹¹ There are numerous similar entries detailing the looting of foodstuffs and other goods from farmhouses. The British soldiers had to adapt to the South African diet and learn to fend for themselves, as evidenced by the diary of Private Milne, who wrote in May 1900 that they made their own mealie meal, carrying a coffee mill along with them to grind the mealies with.¹¹²

The British forces were able to defend the railway lines better during the latter part of the war, primarily as a result of the blockhouse system. Consequently, the army was able to distribute more foodstuffs to the soldiers. Tommy Atkins started getting enough to eat, even to the extent that in September 1901, Lieutenant Gwynne Howell commented as follows in his diary on the troops under his command: “Men are too fat...”¹¹³ In January 1902, Lieutenant-Colonel JE Dewar wrote that Lord Kitchener had inspected the troops under his command and had expressed the opinion that some of the men were “too big for the job”.¹¹⁴

The Tommies were also issued with a ration of alcohol, usually rum. They could also sometimes buy alcohol in the towns, but drunkenness does not appear to have been a serious problem in the British Army during the war.¹¹⁵ While alcohol was probably the most sought-after drink, water was the most crucial. The procurement of water became a pressing issue during the war. Even when soldiers managed to obtain water, it was often dirty and unsuited for consumption, as Private Coyle noted in July 1900: “We could not get tea for their [sic] was no water fit to boil. It was thick with sluck [sic]. All the same, I drank enough and filled my water bottle.”¹¹⁶ Private Jackson wrote that on one occasion the water that they were

110 AvD: P Jackson, *South African War diaries 1900*, p 61, 17 May 1900.

111 AL Putland (ed), *The personal diary...*, 14 February 1900, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html>, viewed 2021-05-05.

112 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne...*, 15 May 1900.

113 A Wessels (ed), *Anglo-Boer War diary of Herbert Gwynne Howell*, p 144, 24 September 1901.

114 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of Lt Colonel JE Dewar...*, 13 January 1902.

115 D du Bruyn & A Wessels, *The British soldiers' Bloemfontein: Impressions and experiences during the time of the British occupation*, 13 March – 3 May 1900, *Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum* 29(3), 2013, p 49.

116 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle...*, p 19, 18 July 1900.

given to drink was of very poor quality: "I told the corporal that I should not drink it. He then said that we had been drinking it. There is no wonder that men get diarrhoea and dysentery."¹¹⁷

The poor quality of water and the general unsanitary conditions in which the soldiers lived led to widespread disease and illness. Approximately 14 000 of the 22 000 British fatalities during the war were the result of illness and disease. Typhoid fever, or enteric fever as British soldiers termed it, caused more deaths than Boer bullets did, and by the end of the war, some 8 000 British soldiers had succumbed to the disease.¹¹⁸

The quality of medical care a soldier received depended on the hospital in which he was treated. Lance-Corporal Schofield, who was hospitalised in Kimberley in February 1900, commented that he was treated "exceedingly well", and received "extraordinarily good food and treatment".¹¹⁹ On the other hand, Private Crosby, who was hospitalised in Natal in 1900, wrote:

[C]ommon necessities, medical comforts there appear to be none. For bedpans, large pudding basins are substituted, for water bottles, mellins' [sic] food bottles, one easy chair in the ward for the use of over 100 patients. As for nurses, there are only two nurses trained...who take turns to do all that is humanly possible for the well-being of their patients.¹²⁰

Medical supplies in the field were rudimentary and not always freely available. Private Milne wrote that when he felt ill the doctor gave him "no. 9" pills, which according to the doctor cured "anything that was the matter with you (sore feet etc.)".¹²¹ Dental problems were something that many British soldiers had to contend with, and 2 451 British soldiers were invalided home for "defective teeth".¹²² Private Tucker commented that "a month on biscuits of the army type is enough for any man – even if his teeth are like steel".¹²³

According to the Anglo-Irish historian Thomas Pakenham, the average Tommy Atkins was more concerned with "the personal things" such as "how to get wood

117 AvD: P Jackson, *South African War diaries 1900*, p 30, 18 April 1900.

118 R Willis, A van Dyk & JC de Villiers, *Yeomen of the Karoo: The story of the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital at Deelfontein* (Bloemfontein, 2016), p 21.

119 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of the Boer War 1899–1902 by 4710 Lance Corporal FW Schofield...*, 29 February 1900.

120 Ladysmith Historical Society, *Extracts from notes...*, p 31, 1 February 1900.

121 WMBR, Copy Archive: *Diary of 8080 Private JW Milne...*, 9 April 1900.

122 *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1902-10-29.

123 P Todd & D Fordham (eds), *Private Tucker's Boer War diary*, p 94, 12 March 1900.

for the fire”, “how to steal a duck without getting caught” and “how to make their biscuits last tomorrow’s march”.¹²⁴ It is with this in mind that many British soldiers’ reactions to the end of the war on 31 May 1902 should be judged. Many were happy about the final victory but were perhaps happier that they could now return home after all the hardships they had endured during the war. After receiving the news that his regiment was to return to Britain, Private Coyle noted that “[t]here was some dancing about, I can tell you when word came, home”.¹²⁵

Concluding perspectives

The diaries kept by these selected British soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War record how they experienced the conflict. They often recorded similar experiences, but also contradictory and/or inconsistent experiences. Their recorded experiences were influenced by three primary factors, namely **when** they experienced the war, **where** they experienced the war, and their **class and rank**.

The experiences of these soldiers, and consequently the subject matter of their diaries, were firstly informed by **when** the soldiers made their entries. The operational requirements of each of the four phases of the war differed distinctly. The first phase (the Boer offensive) involved the mass recruitment and mobilisation of British soldiers, with great enthusiasm and excitement on the part of the soldiers and the British public at large. During the second phase (the first British offensive) there was the shock that the Boer resistance was much stronger than expected, especially after the defeats suffered by the British forces during “Black Week”. The third phase (the second British offensive) was characterised by long marches and logistical challenges. The fourth phase (guerrilla warfare) featured many drives, but also tedious garrison and blockhouse guard duties, which allowed many British soldiers to participate in a variety of leisure activities.

Where the soldiers experienced the war, also informed their experiences and their diary entries. The conflict raged over a large part of what is today modern South Africa, and the different climes and terrain affected how different soldiers experienced the war. The baking hot summers on the western front, the freezing winters on the Highveld, and the rainy Natal front, all gave rise to different experiences. The geographical location of these soldiers also played a role in their relationship with the local population. The inhabitants of the Cape and Natal

124 T Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p 420.

125 WMBR, Copy Archive: Diary of the Boer War written by Pri. Richard Coyle..., p 24, 13 October 1900.

colonies were generally friendly and welcoming, whilst those in the former Boer republics could be hostile and dangerous.

Lastly their **class and rank** influenced how these British soldiers experienced the war. British society was strictly class-based, with the landed classes filling the ranks of the officers. These officers received superior rations and were better positioned than the ordinary soldiers to procure food, acquire common necessities and enjoy entertainment. The ordinary soldiers' diaries are characterised by their comments about their poor health, the lack of food and clean water etc., something that is much less evident in the diaries of officers, who focused more on their leisure activities.

British soldiers' diaries provide first-hand accounts of how Queen Victoria's (and King Edward VII's) Army experienced the Anglo-Boer War. These diaries contribute towards a more complete picture and a better understanding of a conflict that had far-reaching consequences in the development of modern South Africa.

AN INVESTIGATION OF AN ANGLO-BOER WAR SITE IN BARBERTON, MPUMALANGA

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A British blockhouse and other possible remains of an Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) military site, is discussed in the article. The site is in the mountains towards the east of the town of Barberton, Mpumalanga. The article deals with the findings of the historical research done on the site whereby the site is compared to related ones. Cultural artefacts found on the site are also discussed. These include artefacts dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of which are distinctive of military origin and comparable to what had been found on other Anglo-Boer War-related sites.

Based on historical and archaeological information of such sites, it is concluded that the investigated site is indeed a British blockhouse from this period and consists of three features, namely the blockhouse, a possible heliograph position and an enclosure for horses or mules.

From the historical information, it was determined that at least ten blockhouses were erected around Barberton. The blockhouse on General's Hill is a well-known site in Barberton. The one under investigation is likely the one on East Hill, which was a double-storey Rice-pattern blockhouse. Suggestions for further research are made to identify the remaining blockhouses of Barberton.

Keywords: Abbott's Hill, Anglo-Boer War, Barberton, blockhouse, East Hill, General's Hill, Hospital Hill, Scott's Hill, South Hill

'n Ondersoek van 'n Anglo-Boereoorlogterrein in Barberton, Mpumalanga

Die oorblyfsels van wat waarskynlik 'n militêre terrein uit die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) is, en wat 'n blokhuis insluit, word in hierdie artikel bespreek. Die terrein is geleë op een van die heuwels aan die oostekant van Barberton, Mpumalanga. Die bevindinge van die historiese ondersoek na die terrein, wat die vergelyking daarvan met soortgelyke terreine insluit, word onder meer uiteengesit. Kultuurvoorwerpe wat op terrein gevind is, word ook bespreek. Dit sluit artefakte in wat uit die laat negentiende en vroeg twintigste eeu dateer, en wat gewis 'n militêre oorsprong het. Die voorwerpe is soortgelyk aan voorwerpe afkomstig van ander militêre terreine uit dié oorlog.

Gebaseer op historiese en argeologiese getuienis van hierdie terreine, is die gevolgtrekking dat die terrein wel 'n blokhuis uit die Anglo-Boereoorlog insluit. Benewens die blokhuis is daar twee ander tydgenootlike strukture, naamlik waarskynlik 'n heliograafposisie en 'n struktuur waar perde of muile aangehou kon word.

Die historiese inligting dui daarop dat Barberton oor tien blokhuisse beskik het. Een hiervan bestaan steeds, naamlik die blokhuis op *General's Hill*. Dit wil voorkom of die struktuur wat ondersoek is, die een op *East Hill* kan wees. Dit is 'n tipiese dubbelverdieping Rice-patroon-blokhuis. Ten slotte word voorstelle gemaak vir verdere navorsing om die ander blokhuisse van Barberton te identifiseer.

Sleuteltermes: Abbott's Hill, Anglo-Boereoorlog, Barberton, blokhuis, East Hill, General's Hill, Hospital Hill, Scott's Hill, South Hill

Background

In 2016 the remains of what was believed to be a British military site, including a blockhouse, dating from the Anglo-Boer War was 'discovered' in the mountains towards the east of the town of Barberton, Mpumalanga. Although the site was reminiscent of other blockhouse sites, it was the presence of some associated artefacts that indicated it could be a military blockhouse from this war.

The article deals with the findings of the historical research done at the site to provide historical context. The artefacts found on site are also discussed.

Hypothesis, problem statement, aims and method

The hypothesis is that the remains found are that of an Anglo-Boer War British military site, which consists of a blockhouse and auxiliary structures. The problem statement is therefore to determine whether this is the case. The aims are to find historical information indicating that it is a blockhouse, and if not, to determine what else it could be. The study included using archival sources, comparisons with similar sites and an analysis of cultural material found on the site.

Furthermore, the site needed to be contextualised by obtaining general historical information about Barberton during the war and information on British blockhouses of that time. Additional aspects would be to determine the military strategy embedded in this blockhouse, i.e., its function within Barberton during the war. Lastly, cultural material found on site could assist in providing additional information about the site, which will also be addressed.

Location and site description

The structures found are situated to the east of the town of Barberton in the Mpumalanga Province (Figure 1). The residents know about the site as there is a dirt road leading from the main road to the site and loops around it, without damaging any of these features. The site consists of three distinct features (Figure 2).



Figure 1: Location of Barberton.

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barberton_Greenstone_Belt, viewed 2021-09-08)



Figure 2: Close-up Google Earth image indicating the three features on site.
(Adapted on Google Earth)

What is believed to be the remains of the blockhouse lies furthest to the west and consists of a low circular stone feature of approximately 5m in diameter around an impression in the soil (Figure 3). Many small stones, approximately between 5 to 10cm in diameter, are also visible in and around the feature. The centre structure is a pile of large stones about 2m in diameter and the eastern feature consists of a rectangular-shaped stone-walled enclosure (4 x 2m) with interior dividing walls.



Figure 3: North-west view from the blockhouse remains.
(Photograph: AC van Vollenhoven, 2016)

No definitive refuse midden could be identified, but some artefacts were noted downslope towards the north of the hill. Artefacts noted include ceramic and glass shards as well as two metal objects (a bullet casing and uniform button).

Historical context

People have been living in the area known as Barberton since the Stone Age.¹ Some Middle Stone Age (150 000 – 30 000 years ago) and Later Stone Age (40 000 years ago – 1850 A.D.) tools have for instance been identified in Rimer’s Creek towards the north-east of the town.² During the Iron Age people lived in an area

- 1 P Mitchell, *The archaeology of Southern Africa* (Cambridge, 2002), pp 61, 73, 127, 162, 193; JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 4-5.
- 2 AC van Vollenhoven, “A report on a heritage impact assessment for the proposed upgrading of the Rimer’s Creek WTTW, Barberton, Ehlanzeni District Municipality, Mpumalanga Province” (Unpublished report, Archaetnos database, Groenkloof), 2015, pp 23-24.

surrounding the town up to Nelspruit and Badplaas³ and one of the early trade routes from Maputo passed through the Barberton area. A few other trade routes went through Sabie Poort and one through the Komati Poort, both to the northeast of Barberton.⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area to the north of current-day Swaziland and Barberton was inhabited by the Swazi⁵ but during the Difaquane (1823–1837) the Swazi moved further inland as a result of land becoming available due to other tribes fleeing from the area.⁶

European farmers settled in an area towards the north of the Crocodile River after 1845. This land was officially traded from the Swazi in 1846 but excluded modern-day Barberton. The Komati River formed the border between the Swazi and the South African Republic (ZAR), but the land between the Crocodile and Komati Rivers remained government land which soon led to the permanent settlement of Europeans there.⁷

The geographical area around Barberton is known as the De Kaap Valley. After the discovery of gold in this valley in 1874, there was an influx of prospectors to the area. In Barberton, gold was only discovered in 1884⁸ and the town was proclaimed in 1885.⁹ Many historical buildings dating from Barberton's establishment are still found in the town. This includes Fernlea House, the Cockney Liz Hotel, the old Cinema House, the De Kaap Stock Exchange, Belhaven House, Masonic Temple, Lewis and Marks Building, Phoenix Hotel and Stopforth House.¹⁰

Since Barberton is situated in a mountainous area and not on the main routes, the town was relatively isolated until the establishment of a railway line. In 1892

3 A Esterhuysen & J Smith, The archaeology of Mpumalanga, in P Delius (ed), *Mpumalanga history and heritage* (Pietermaritzburg, 2007), p 12; JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 6-8.

4 JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), p 9.

5 JF Eloff, S Miller & JB de Vaal, 'n Nuwe orde. Swart indringing en kolonisasie van die Laeveld, in U de V Pienaar (red), *Neem uit die verlede* (Pretoria, 2007), p 63; JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 10-11; H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), pp 2-6.

6 JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), p 11.

7 JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 16-17, 130.

8 H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), pp 11-12.

9 JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 20-22, 144.

10 U Küsel, "Cultural Heritage Resources Impact Assessment for Rimers Creek portion 14 of the farm Barberton Townlands 369 JU, Barberton Mpumalanga" (Unpublished report provided by author, Magalieskruin), 2009, pp 10-12; S Miller, "Assessment of the heritage potential of the buildings of Barberton town, Umjindi Municipality, Mpumalanga" (Unpublished report provided by author, n.p.), 2010, pp 4-20.

the Komatipoort–Nelspruit railway line was completed but Barberton was only connected in April 1896.¹¹ The town also saw action during the Anglo-Boer War. At the onset of the war, the Boers established a large camp where Boer women and children were housed. This was most likely done due to the relative isolation of the area. The town was invaded by the British on 13 September 1900 and they converted the burger camp into a large concentration camp.¹²

Investigation of the site

The Anglo-Boer War took place between 1899 and 1902 in South Africa and was fought between Great Britain and the two Boer Republics, the Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek) and the Orange Free State.¹³ As mentioned above there are two reasons for believing that the site is of military origin. The first is its similarity to other identified sites. The remains of what is believed to be the blockhouse consist of nothing more than a circular depression in the ground with some stones on its perimeter. This is identical to blockhouse remains identified on the line between Ermelo and Standerton.¹⁴ The structure is a very typical circular Rice-pattern blockhouse, which consisted of a double corrugated iron wall, filled with stones to strengthen it and prevent bullets from penetrating it.¹⁵ This section of the site appears to have been levelled for the placement of the structure.

The central structure is a stone mound, which was quite likely meant as a heliograph position. Some features are similar to other British military blockhouse sites from the Anglo-Boer War, such as Komatipoort and Greylingstad.¹⁶ It is assumed that the

11 H Bornman, *Fotogeskiedenis van Barberton 1884–1984* (Pretoria, 1984), p 59; H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), p 25.

12 JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 51, 54; H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), p 27.

13 F Pretorius, Die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902, in JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), p 247.

14 AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, “’n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuistelsel van die Tweede Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) in die voormalige Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek)” (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997, pp 82–84.

15 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinetown, 2020), p 102; J Hattingh & A Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies in die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902)* (Bloemfontein, 1997), p 118; AC van Vollenhoven, An overview of current research at the East Fort, Pretoria, a British Anglo-Boer War fortification, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 30(2), 2016, pp 78–79.

16 AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, “’n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuistelsel...” (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997, p 24; AC van Vollenhoven, “Die Britse Vrywilligersseenheid Steinaecker’s Horse in die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902): ’n Kultuurhistoriese studie” (DPhil-proefskrif, Universiteit van Stellenbosch), 2010, p 91.

heliograph was positioned as such to obtain an unobstructed view in all directions. As the view could have been blocked by the height of the blockhouse on site, the heliograph position was elevated. The eastern of the three features seem to have been an enclosure for livestock. Again, this resembles structures found, for instance at the Pampoennek blockhouse in the North West Province¹⁷ and Voortrekkerkop in Wakkerstroom.¹⁸ This would most likely be to shelter mules or horses, as these were used during the war as transport or pack animals.¹⁹

The second indication that the site is likely to be of military origin is the cultural material found on the surface. These include two ceramic pieces, six glass fragments and two metal artefacts.²⁰ All the objects date back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and can thus be linked to the Anglo-Boer War.

Ceramics are divided into different types. The most important of these, usually found on historical-archaeological sites, are stoneware, porcelain, earthenware, and pottery (Iron Age-type low-fired earthenware).²¹ Factory maker's marks are used to determine the date and origin of ceramics,²² but unfortunately, none was found on any of the ceramic pieces. Both shards originate from a kaolin smoking pipe. The first is a section of a stem and the second is a piece of a bowl with small vertical incisions at its top (Figure 4). These were common in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and were sometimes included in cases with Gin as an incentive for the buyer.²³ The same decoration was found on the identical smoking pipe remains at the East Fort in Pretoria, which is a British fortification also dating from the Anglo-Boer War.²⁴

17 AC van Vollenhoven & AJ Pelser, "Report on the archaeological investigation of an Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) blockhouse at Pampoennek, Northwest Province" (Unpublished report, Groenkloof), 2011, pp 13-18.

18 AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, "'n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuisstelsel..." (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997, p 70.

19 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinegowrie, 2020), pp 129, 170-172.

20 Since it is against the law to remove archaeological material from a site without a permit, these are limited to surface finds and excludes partially exposed artefacts.

21 J Klose & A Malan, *Ceramics of the Southwestern Cape 1650–1850. A guide to the analysis and interpretation of ceramic assemblages excavated from archaeological sites*. HARG Handbook no 1 (Cape Town, 1993), pp 2-3.

22 JP Cushion, *Handbook of pottery and porcelain marks* (London, 1996), p 1.

23 E Lastovica & A Lastovica, *Bottles and Bygones: A Guide for South African Collectors* (Cape Town, 1990), pp 37, 73.

24 AC van Vollenhoven, "Report on the analysis of cultural material recovered from the 2015 excavations at East Fort, Pretoria" (Unpublished report, Groenkloof), 2017, pp 28-30.



Figure 4: Kaolin smoking pipe pieces found at the site.
(Photograph: AC van Vollenhoven, 2016)

The two green glass fragments found are from soda or mineral water bottles. The first is a piece from the bottom, with the wording ‘ARNSL’. This is likely from the company of Rylands in Barnsley, England. They were bottle manufacturers and one can assume that the bottles were imported to South Africa where they were filled. The type of bottle is called a Codd bottle and dates back to the late nineteenth, and early twentieth century.²⁵ The second is a lip piece with no markings. These Codd bottles had a marble stopper, an example of which was also found on site (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Marble bottle stopper and lip shard from a soda or mineral water bottle.
(Photograph: AC van Vollenhoven, 2016)

25 E Lastovica & A Lastovica, *Bottles and Bygones...* (Cape Town, 1990), p 28.

Hiram Codd from London invented and patented the Codd bottle in 1872. The pressure of the carbon dioxide in the fizzy drink pushed the marble into the neck of the bottle, which preserved the fizziness. Codd licenced his invention to several bottle makers, including Ben Rylands of Barnsley. After he died in 1881, his son Dan continued with bottle making. Rylands manufactured these bottles up to 1928.²⁶

Three olive or dark green alcoholic beverage bottles' glass shards also dating from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century were also found.²⁷ One of the fragments is a bottleneck shard without any markings. The second is a bottom shard with an illegible marking at the bottom. It may be an 'I' or a '1'. As this could be from almost any type of alcoholic beverage bottle, and without any further information on the glass, nothing more could be deduced. The third piece is also from the bottom of a bottle bearing the markings 'C S' below. This seems to be the manufacturer Cannington, Shaw & Co' mark indicating that it was a beer bottle. The company operated in St Helens, Lancashire, England, between 1875 and 1913. Edward Cannington and his business partner, John Shaw operated the Sherdley Glass Works under the management of Cannington, Shaw & Co. Before 1892 the letters 'C and S' were added in a diamond shape on the bottles,²⁸ which means that the one we found, dates from after 1892 as it had no such shape.

One of the metal artefacts found is a .303 bullet casing. These were used in Lee-Enfield/Lee-Metford rifles.²⁹ This one is a Mark II cordite round from the Royal Laboratory in Woolwich, England as the headstamp shows the markings 'C II RAL'. It was commonly used by the British during the Anglo-Boer War, with this factory manufacturing bullets for the war.³⁰ Cartridges with identical head stamps have been found at many sites associated with the Anglo-Boer War. These include Fort Wonderboompoort, East Fort, and sites where the British unit Steinaecker's Horse, was stationed.³¹

26 C Munsey, *Marble-in-the-neck Soda-Water Bottles, THEN and NOW!* (Powey, 2010), pp 4-6; Devonseaglass, <https://devonseaglass.wordpress.com/2011/02/18/coddbottles/>, p 1, viewed 2016-12-23; Yorkshire Post, <http://yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/in-barnsley>, viewed 2016-12-23, p 1.

27 E Lastovica & A Lastovica, *Bottles and Bygones...* (Cape Town, 1990), pp 33-41.

28 B Lockhart, B Schreiber, B Lindsey & C Serr, Cannington, Shaw & Co., <https://sha.org/bottle/pdf/files/EdgarBreffit&Co>, pp 51-53, viewed 2016-12-23.

29 R Bester, *Boer rifles and carbines of the Anglo-Boer War* (Bloemfontein, 1994), p 193.

30 AC van Vollenhoven & J van der Walt, 'n Reddingsonderzoek na Anglo-Boereoorlog-ammunisie, gevind by Ifafi, Noordwes Provinsie, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 16(1), 2002, pp 65, 68-70.

31 Personal observation by the author during various research projects.

The last artefact we found on the site is a button from a British military uniform (Figure 6). The button bears the British coat of arms on the front and 'PLAYER BRO BIRMINGHAM' on the back. This is the general service button which was worn on British uniform coats and is the same as the ones excavated at the East Fort in Pretoria.³² This particular coat of arms design has been in use between 1902 and 1952, and, as the war ended in 1902, it must date to the last phase of the Anglo-Boer War. The company Player Brothers from Birmingham manufactured buttons during the 1880s.³³ They must have been in operation during the 1890s and early 1900s, and at least up to 1902 to have manufactured this particular button.



Figure 6: Front side of the British general service button.
(Photograph: AC van Vollenhoven, 2016)

Blockhouses in and around Barberton during the Anglo-Boer War

The site is undoubtedly an Anglo-Boer War military site that includes a blockhouse. To provide further historical context and to determine which blockhouse it may be, information on Barberton during the war was studied.

It was mentioned earlier that the Boers established a large camp for Boer women and children in Barberton (Figure 7). After the British invaded the town in

32 AC van Vollenhoven, "Report on the analysis of cultural material..." (Unpublished report, Groenkloof), 2017, pp 23, 25-26.

33 UKDFD Database, <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/pages/buttonsntoz.html>, pp 1-3, viewed 2016-12-23.

September 1900, the camp was converted into a concentration camp.³⁴ As indicated, blockhouses such as the one under investigation were built by the British during the war. This strategy commenced after the fall of Pretoria on 5 June 1900, when the Boer commandos intensified their guerrilla warfare tactics. Fortified posts were strategically positioned all over South Africa to protect routes such as railway lines and roads.³⁵

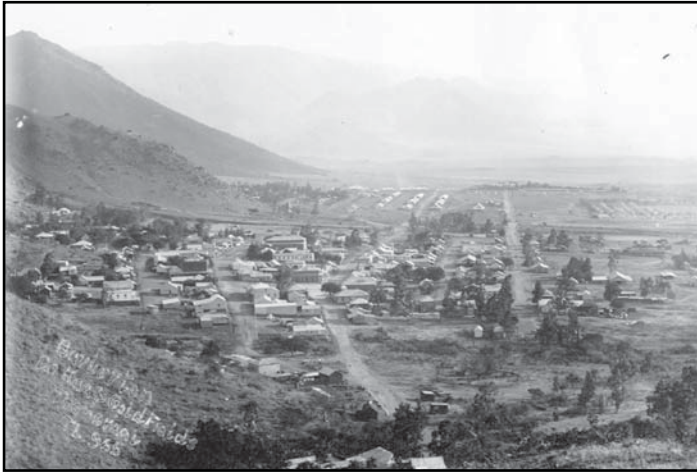


Figure 7: Barberton with the military and burgher camps in the background.
(Source: Barberton Museum, photograph number 06/534/3)

The system of blockhouses was instituted since the railway links were largely left undefended. As these lines formed an important communication system, the British decided to protect it. The first fortified post was erected in July 1900.³⁶ Most of

34 H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), p 27; JS Bergh (red), *Geskiedenis-atlas van Suid-Afrika...* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 51, 54.

35 J Hattingsh & A Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies...* (Bloemfontein, 1997), pp 34-36; J Selby, *The Boer War: A Study in Cowardice and Courage* (London, 1969), pp 50-57, 166; AC van Vollenhoven, Britse blokhuis in Pretoria gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902), *Pretoriana* 112, 1999, pp 27, 80; P Warwick, SB Spies, (eds), *The South African War. The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (London, 1980), pp 56, 78-79, 86-88, 97-98.

36 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinegowrie, 2020), p 123; TE Andrews collection, Pretoria, "Britse Blokhuisse en -Blokhuislinies in Suid-Afrika tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog". Unpublished documentation, nd, p 1; TE Andrews collection, "The Evolution of the Blockhouse system in South Africa", Unpublished documentation, nd, p 1.

these stone and masonry blockhouses,³⁷ known as Elliot Wood-type blockhouses were double-storied and took about three months to build.³⁸

By January 1901 the large-scale construction of blockhouses along railway lines was the order of the day, due to increasing attacks by Boer commandos. These were mainly corrugated iron structures as they could be erected much faster. They were called Rice-pattern blockhouses of various shapes and were usually smaller than those built from stone. The Rice pattern refers to a type of blockhouse, invented by Maj SR Rice of the Royal Engineers (RE). It was made from galvanized corrugated iron and consisted of a wooden frame, with a double corrugated iron wall attached thereto. The cavity between the two walls was filled with stones.³⁹ Sometimes surrounding stone walling added further protection or it may have been placed on a stone or sandbag basis to create height and a level surface.⁴⁰

From March 1901 these blockhouses were also erected near other strategic positions such as roads. By January 1902 the blockhouse lines were completed.⁴¹ Two types of blockhouse lines were developed. The first, mentioned above, was along railway lines, which followed the railway tracks. Later, there were also cross-country lines which were mainly used to restrict the movement of Boer commandos,⁴² but also followed other routes or protected strategic positions. One of the blockhouse lines along a railway line ran between Kaapmuiden and Barberton.⁴³ According to Green, construction on this line commenced in January

37 National Archives of South Africa (hereafter NASA), Transvaal Archives Depository (hereafter TAD), A 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system in the South African War, Professional papers of the Royal Engineers, gd, p 16; J Hattingh & A Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies...* (Bloemfontein, 1997), pp 41-46; AC van Vollenhoven, *The military fortifications of Pretoria 1880–1902. A study in historical archaeology* (Pretoria, 1999), pp 80-81.

38 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinetown, 2020), p 102; J Hattingh & A Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies...* (Bloemfontein, 1997), pp 34. Elliot Wood blockhouses were named after the Chief Engineer of the Royal Engineers in South Africa, Major-General E Wood.

39 NASA, TAD, A 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system in the South African War, Professional papers of the Royal Engineers, gd, pp 278-279; J Hattingh & A Wessels, *Britse fortifikasies...* (Bloemfontein, 1997), p 46; AC van Vollenhoven, *The military fortifications of Pretoria...* (Pretoria, 1999), p 81.

40 AC van Vollenhoven, & JW van den Bos, 'n Eerste fase ondersoek na die Britse blokhuistelsel van die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902) in die Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek), *South-African Journal of Cultural History* 14(2), pp 101,107.

41 NASA, TAD, A 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system in the South African War, Professional papers of the Royal Engineers, gd, p 286.

42 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinetown, 2020), p 125.

43 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinetown, 2020), p 265; AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, "'n Kultuurhulpbronsstudie van die Britse blokhuistelsel..." (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997, p 58.

1901 and the last blockhouse was completed here in June 1901. It included 60 blockhouses over 34 miles (55 km).⁴⁴ Investigating RE reports it seems as if the erection of blockhouses on this line came to an end in August 1901 with the final blockhouse being constructed on East Hill.⁴⁵

Information in RE reports is, however, sometimes confusing and detail about dates and blockhouses on this line is scarce. The reports would for instance refer to the kilo measurements where blockhouses were placed but do not always specify the exact line. In other cases, it mentions names that cannot be traced, and one must assume it was simply created by the British for the sake of making sense of the landscape. Sometimes information is limited to the name of the town (e.g., Barberton) without indicating the exact positions of the blockhouses.

It is nevertheless certain that the RE reported the erection of three blockhouses in February 1901 at Barberton, namely a corrugated iron one on a ridge, one at a place called Gully and the third at Belgrania (sic). Another oblong-shaped one was built in March 1901 at the Joe's Luck Bridge close to Barberton and an octagonal one on the line north of Hospital Hill. During this month a further three were constructed by a contractor named Blackwood, at Barberton, Scott's Hill, and Gospel Hill. The RE built another one at the gaol (jail) in July 1901. In August they erected octagonal-shaped corrugated iron blockhouses on East Hill and at Low's Creek.⁴⁶ The latter is approximately 27 km northwest and Joe's Luck about 14 km northwest of the town and may therefore be omitted when determining the number of blockhouses in Barberton. Of the remaining names, it was only possible to determine Belgravia's position. This could only refer to the blockhouse on Abbott's Hill (see below).

For a long time, it was believed that the British erected five blockhouses in Barberton to safeguard the hospital and concentration camp, but likely also to prevent Boer attacks. The blockhouses were situated on Abbott's Hill, Scott's Hill, General's Hill, East Hill and South Hill.⁴⁷ These blockhouses did not form part of the line between Kaapmuiden and Barberton as Barberton (like Pretoria)

44 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinegowrie, 2020), p 265.

45 E-mail conversation with SC Green (Military historian and writer) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2021-06-22.

46 E-mail conversation with SC Green (Military historian and writer) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2021-06-22.

47 H Bornman, *Baanbrekers van die Laeveld 1* (Nelspruit, 1994), p 2; E-mail conversation with A Bornman (Museum Curator and local historian, Barberton Museum) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-01-20; E-mail conversation with H Bornman (Museum Curator and local historian, Barberton) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-02-23, 2016-03-25, 2017-01-17 & 2017-01-20.

received its blockhouse defences over and above those on the line.⁴⁸ It has now been determined that there were at least ten blockhouses in Barberton (see below). These either formed part of the railway defences or may have been placed at other strategic positions, as indicated above. In Barberton for instance, they guarded the jail, concentration camp and routes towards the town.

Determining an accurate number is quite difficult, if not impossible, due to the inconsistencies in the RE reports. Some information indicates that there was also a blockhouse at a site called Tafelkop.⁴⁹ Apart from Abbott's hill, none of the other hills could be determined on any map.⁵⁰ Four of these are however indicated on a diagram showing the layout of telephone and telegraph lines in Barberton during the war. It was compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel RL Hippisley.⁵¹ The diagram is not to scale but shows Abbott's Hill to the southwest of Barberton, South Hill to the southeast, East Hill to the east and Scot's (sic) Hill to the northeast. These positions are roughly confirmed by various historical photographs.⁵²

The only surviving blockhouse can be seen in town (Figure 8). During a survey of blockhouses, it was regarded as one of the unique examples from this period, therefore increasing its heritage significance.⁵³ This one was manned by the Barberton Town Guard with Captain JW Winter as commander. It is believed that this is on the hill called General's Hill.⁵⁴

The blockhouse on Abbott's Hill guarded the concentration camp,⁵⁵ where the golf course is today.⁵⁶ It was not located on the top of the hill, probably because the lower foothill sufficed (Figure 9).

48 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses* (Pinegowrie, 2020), p 265.

49 Whatsapp conversation with P Coetzee (Anglo-Boer War historian) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2021-06-18.

50 The 1:50 000 topographic map of Barberton, indicates a hill called Abbott's Hill. This hill lies towards the south-west of the town whereas the hill with name on the Hippisley diagram lies towards the north-west.

51 Whatsapp conversation with P Coetzee (Anglo-Boer War historian) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2021-06-18.

52 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

53 AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, "n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuisstelsel..." (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997, pp 59-60.

54 SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses – a field guide* (Pinegowrie, 2022), p 154; E-mail conversation with H Bornman (local historian, Barberton) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-02-23, 2016-03-25, 2017-01-17 & 2017-01-20. Bornman indicated the name of this unit as being the Barberton Home Guard, but this is incorrect, it was the Barberton Town Guard.

55 E-mail conversation with H Bornman (local historian, Barberton) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-02-23, 2016-03-25, 2017-01-17 & 2017-01-20.

56 H Bornman, *Fotogesiedenis van Barberton 1884–1984* (Pretoria, 1984), p 63.

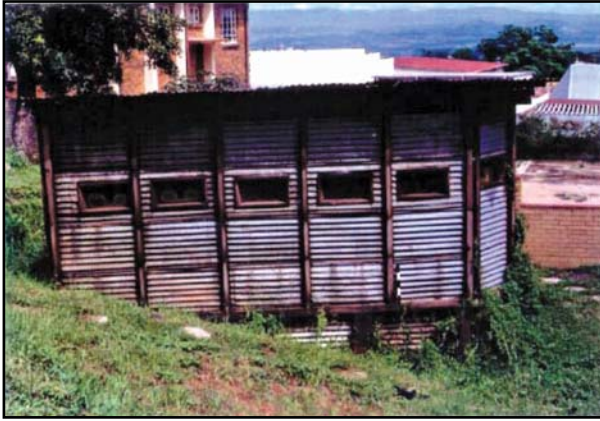


Figure 8: Corrugated iron blockhouse on General's Hill in Barberton.
(Photograph: AC van Vollenhoven, 1996)



Figure 9: Note the blockhouse on Abbott's Hill in the centre of the photograph.
(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

South Hill can then only be the hill close to, and overlooking the town, where Rimer's Creek cuts through the mountains.⁵⁷ On the 1:50 000 topographic map of the town, a blockhouse is indicated here, low down on the eastern side of Rimer's Creek, southeast of Barberton.⁵⁸

The Scottish Regiment, presumably the Royal Scots Fusiliers, was stationed in the blockhouse on Scott's Hill (Figure 10).⁵⁹ Three photographs of this blockhouse were identified.⁶⁰ The first⁶¹ photograph shows the blockhouse on the hill, including tents at the bottom of the hill and a pathway demarcated with whitewashed stones. The second photograph shows a group of British soldiers next to the blockhouse.⁶² Unfortunately only a section is visible, but it is nevertheless clear that it is a double storey, corrugated iron building. A corrugated iron water tank is visible next to the building. The third photograph⁶³ is a close-up view of the blockhouse also showing soldiers. One can see loopholes as well as an addition to the building. The angle from which the photograph was taken hides the lower storey behind



Figure 10: Blockhouse on Scott's Hill.

(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

57 E-mail conversation with H Bornman (local historian, Barberton) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-02-23, 2016-03-25, 2017-01-17 & 2017-01-20.

58 Republic of South Africa, *2531CC Barberton*, 1:50 000 topographic map (Mowbray, 2009).

59 E-mail conversation with H Bornman (local historian, Barberton) by AC van Vollenhoven (North West University), 2016-02-23, 2016-03-25, 2017-01-17 & 2017-01-20.

60 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

61 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

62 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

63 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

the rocks, which creates the impression that this is a single-storeyed octagonal Rice-pattern building.

Two photographs of the blockhouse on East Hill were identified.⁶⁴ The first is a close-up view of the blockhouse (Figure 11). It is an octagonal double-storeyed corrugated iron building with a lookout on top, loopholes, and an addition. The latter may merely have been a wall to protect the open, vulnerable entrance. It does however have a proper roof as one of the two people in the photograph is standing on top of it. The second shows the building in the background with a British soldier in the foreground (Figure 12). This indicates that the blockhouse was multi-storeyed. Another circular structure can be seen in the centre of the photograph.



Figure 11: The blockhouse on East Hill.
(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

64 H Bornman-collection, Barberton, unnumbered photographs.



Figure 12: East Hill showing the blockhouse and presumably another one on Hospital Hill.

(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

There is however another issue regarding the Barberton blockhouses. A historical photograph named Hospital Hill shows two buildings on top of a ridge⁶⁵ (Figure 13). The building on the ridge towards the right is a blockhouse. It guarded the hospital and military quarters, which can be seen in the foreground. It is believed that Hospital Hill lies between East Hill and Scott's Hill. The blockhouse on Scott's Hill is probably the second building visible on the ridge. This means that the position of an additional blockhouse in Barberton is now known, bringing the number to six.

Information contained in the RE war diaries was recently obtained and although it does not assist in determining exactly where the specific sites were, it indicates that nine blockhouses were built in Barberton. Eight of these were completed by 31 December 1901⁶⁶ and the ninth (Number 9) by March 1902.⁶⁷ It confirms the erection of four of the five known ones and suggests that there was one at Hospital Hill. It indicates that there were three more: one at South Hill, one at the Cemetery Donga and number 9. East Hill is not mentioned here but it is included

65 H Bornman photographic collection, Barberton, unnumbered photograph.

66 The diary's first entry is 2 December 1901. Therefore, it is presumed that the first eight blockhouses were built between 2 and 31 December 1901 as this is the date of this section of the diary.

67 Blockhouse 9 is mentioned in the second section of the diary dating from 1 January to 31 March 1901.

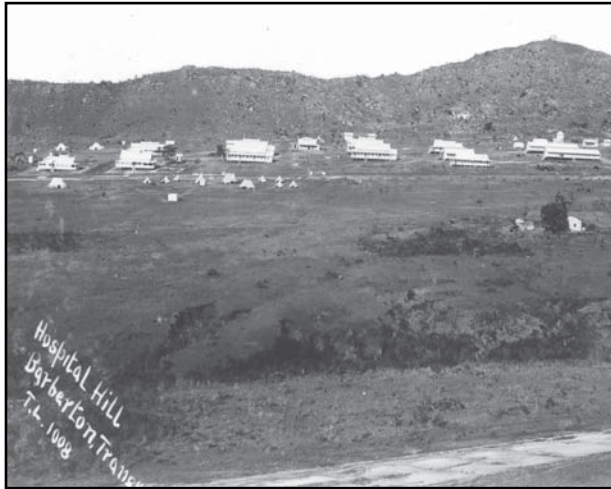


Figure 13: Hospital Hill, Barberton. Note the two buildings on the ridges. Hospital Hill is the higher hill on the right-hand side and Scott’s Hill is presumably the lower one. The buildings are probably blockhouses.

(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

later in the diary. However, this one was built as part of the blockhouse line that was completed in August 1901 and was probably mentioned in another diary. The blockhouses include:

- 2 at South Hill
- 1 at Abbott’s Hill
- 1 at Fortuna
- 1 at Scott’s Hill
- 1 at General’s Hill
- 1 at Hospital Hill
- 1 at Cemetery Donga (afterwards numbered 3)
- 1 called no 9, commanding the town⁶⁸

The diary further indicates that four stone sangars with loopholes, practically like blockhouses, were also erected. Three of them were placed at Hospital Hill and one at the reservoir. The sangars on South Hill were also improved by replacing the rough walls with corrugated iron walls, filled with stones and provided with

68 S Green-private collection, copy of Boer War diaries folder BW10, pp 6-7.

loopholes.⁶⁹ This description is that of a Rice-pattern blockhouse and thus the uncertainty regarding numbers remains. It does imply that there could have been at least fourteen fortifications in Barberton, and even more if the sangars on South Hill do not refer to the mentioned two blockhouses.

Regarding the position of the four not discussed above, it can be stated that the second one on South Hill must therefore be higher up on the mountain than the first. A photograph of South Hill (Figure 14) clearly shows a rectangular blockhouse on the summit of the hill. The lower one, discussed earlier is indicated in another photograph (Figure 15) and is circular. The Fortuna blockhouse is likely near the Fortuna Mine, southwest of the town. The cemetery donga could not be identified but the cemetery lies towards the northeast on the outskirts of Barberton. Blockhouse 9 could be anywhere as there are numerous mountains surrounding the town. Looking at the layout, it does seem as if a blockhouse could have been present on Lone Tree Hill, south of the town, as there is a long unprotected distance here that would not have been covered had there not been a blockhouse on this hill.



Figure 14: The Upper South Hill blockhouse above Barberton.
(Source: H Bornman photographic collection, unnumbered)

69 S Green-private collection, copy of Boer War diaries folder BW10, p 7.



Figure 15: Lower South Hill blockhouse.

(Source: S Green-private collection, copy of photograph no 15 from the Boer War diaries, folder BW10, TNA WO108-347)

Conclusion

Based on familiar historical and archaeological information from comparable sites, it can be concluded that the investigated site is indeed a British blockhouse from the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). Together with the blockhouse remnants, some associated features and artefacts dating back to the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries were also identified. These are typical of this period and are also similar to what was found at other military sites dating from this war.⁷⁰ The contemporary cultural material found gives an idea of some recreational activities in which the soldiers engaged i.e. smoking and drinking. It also proves that the British Army was well equipped as some of the bottles were imported

⁷⁰ AC van Vollenhoven, “’n Histories-argeologiese ondersoek na die militêre fortifikasies van Pretoria (1880–1902)” (MA-verhandeling, Universiteit van Pretoria), 1992, pp 297-322; AC van Vollenhoven, “Die Britse Vrywilligerseenheid Steinaecker’s Horse...” (DPhil-proefskrif, Universiteit van Stellenbosch), 2010, pp 270-302; AC van Vollenhoven, “A report on the analysis of cultural material...” (Unpublished report, Groenkloof), 2014, pp 6, 10-11, 17-18, 23, 26; AC van Vollenhoven, “A report on the analysis of cultural material...” (Unpublished report, Groenkloof), 2015, pp 4, 9, 17-19, 22, 27-30.

from England. Many similar bottles were for instance excavated at other British military sites in South Africa.⁷¹

Apart from the date, some artefacts are undoubtedly of British military origin. This is important as it corroborates that the military activities took place at the site and the two metal artefacts that are distinctive military objects, further indicate the site's link to the British. Although the Boers also used Lee-Enfield and Lee-Metford rifles, they were mainly used by the British. In association with other features and artefacts, the British uniform button, however, is the best proof of British military presence on site.

Apart from the blockhouse, it has been indicated that the other two features on site are possibly a heliograph position and an enclosure for horses or mules. Although there is a possible refuse midden towards the north, it is possible that, due to the relative proximity of the site to Barberton, refuse was regularly removed to town.

From the historical information, it seems that the blockhouse identified is likely the one on East Hill. It was a Rice-pattern structure and the small stones on site represent the fill between the corrugated iron walls of the blockhouse. It was indicated that it was the last one to be completed on the blockhouse line. As such its function would have been to guard the railway line. It does however also have a commanding position over the town and was likely incorporated into the town defences.

Apart from the originally known structures, a further five blockhouses were identified through studying archival documents, namely at Fortuna, a second one at South Hill, at the cemetery and one numbered 9, as well as one on Hospital Hill, also identified in historical photographs. This brings the total to at least ten⁷² (Figure 16). Further research is needed to identify the remains of the other blockhouses and sangars in Barberton. Since they were built on reasonably inaccessible mountainous terrain (to provide a good view of the surrounding countryside), their remains may still be preserved. The remains of many other

71 See for instance AC van Vollenhoven, "Die Britse Vrywilligerseenheid Steinaecker's Horse..." (DPhil-proefskrif, Universiteit van Stellenbosch), 2010, pp 166, 287.

72 The calculation of the number of blockhouses is difficult for a number of reasons. In this case, it is not always clear whether records refer to those on the Barberton-Kaapmuiden railway line or those in town. In the book, SC Green, *Anglo-Boer War Blockhouses – a field guide* (Pinegowrie, 2022), p 153, it is for instance indicated that the blockhouse on General Hill may have been moved here during the later stages of the war. This indeed has an effect on calculations.

blockhouses in other parts of the country have for instance been found during a systematic survey of such in the 1990s.⁷³



Figure 16: Interpretation indicating the location of the hills and blockhouses discussed in the text adapted on Google Earth.

- 1 – South Hill lower
- 2 – South Hill upper
- 3 – Cemetery Donga
- 4 – Abbott's Hill
- 5 – Fortuna
- 6 – Scott's Hill
- 7 – General's Hill
- 8 – Hospital Hill
- 9 – Blockhouse number 9
- 10 – East Hill

It is nevertheless necessary to mention that there is some doubt about whether the hills have indeed been identified correctly in this study. Further research could assist in providing more clarity and obtaining final proof that the one discussed in this article is indeed the blockhouse on East Hill.⁷⁴ Archaeological investigation can

73 AC van Vollenhoven & JW van den Bos, “’n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuis-stelsel...” (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum), 1997.

74 This is quite a complicated matter that will only be resolved on confirmation of the hill names. It is for instance possible that Scott's Hill lies further north and that the one identified as Scott's

also be considered at these sites. This would assist in obtaining a clear indication of the size and shape of the blockhouses and will also unearth more artefacts from the time, which would again provide a better idea of the daily activities and lifestyle of the soldiers.

Interestingly, the diary indicates that all blockhouses in the Barberton district are similar, with slight variations in form and dimensions.⁷⁵ This would make it difficult to identify them from unidentified or mislabelled photographs. However, there are some discrepancies as the ones on General's Hill and Upper South Hill are different in shape.

The large number of blockhouses built during the Anglo-Boer War indicates their importance as part of a military strategy aimed at restricting the Boers and safeguarding strategic positions. The few that remain, and even their ruins, are thus important heritage features. Unfortunately, no map indicating the blockhouses in Barberton could be found⁷⁶ and thus there remains much speculation. For a long time, however, only the blockhouse in town, which is a declared provincial heritage site, was known. It is now clear that the remains of a second blockhouse survived. This, of course, increases its heritage significance and thus it is important to be preserved and investigated further to obtain a complete picture of the blockhouses of Barberton.

Acknowledgements

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Hill is Hospital Hill. This would mean that East Hill is the one identified as Hospital Hill. This either means that East Hill had more than one blockhouse, or that the one identified has another name. Lone Tree Hill may also have been referred to as South Hill, implying that the latter has another name.

75 S Green-private collection, copy of Boer War Diaries Folder BW10, p 11.

76 Correspondence with the Royal Engineers Museum in Great Britain indicated that they have no such map.

BETHULIE-KONSENTRASIEKAMP, 1901–1902: NUWE STATISTIEK OOR KINDERSTERFTES

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Die artikel fokus op die gebeure in die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp¹ tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog), 1899–1902, met spesifieke verwysing na statistiek oor kindersterftes in 1901. Aandag word geskenk aan die ontstaan en skuif van die kamp, oorsake van siektes en sterftes, asook die impak op kinders en gesinne. ’n Vergelyking word getref met ander omliggende kampe² om te bepaal of die Britse regering gekonfronteer was met ’n unieke situasie in die Bethulie-kamp. Die statistiek word in konteks geplaas van die gebeure, veral die swak bestuur van die kamp. Aan die hand van grafieke en inligtingstabelle word ’n beeld verkry van die harde werklikheid van kindersterftes in 1901 in hierdie kamp.

Sleutelwoorde: Anglo-Boereoorlog, Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog, Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp, epidemies, kindersterftes, statistiek

Bethulie concentration camp, 1901–1902: New child deaths’ statistics

This article focuses on the events in the Bethulie concentration camp³ during the Anglo-Boer War (South African War), 1899–1902, with specific reference to statistics on child deaths in 1901. We pay attention to the establishment and

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- 1 Die eerste kamp was aan die noordoostelike buitewyke van die dorp geleë, maar is op 6 Junie 1901 na die oostekant van die dorp verskuif weens die toename in die aantal inwoners.
 - 2 Kampe in die Suid-Vrystaat (Oranjerivierkolonie), asook die kampe te Norvalspont en Aliwal-Noord in die Kaapkolonie.
 - 3 The first camp was established on the north-eastern outskirts of the town, but due to an increase in the number of inhabitants, was relocated to the eastern side of the town on 6 June 1901.

relocation of the camp, origin of diseases and causes of deaths, and the impact on children and families. The Bethulie camp is compared with other camps⁴ to determine whether the British government was confronted with a unique situation in this camp. The statistics are contextualised, focusing especially on the camp's poor management. Graphs and information tables provide a picture of the harsh reality of child deaths in 1901 in this camp.

Keywords: Anglo-Boer War, South African War, Bethulie concentration camp, child deaths, epidemics, statistics

Inleidende agtergrond

Ten einde belangrike gebeure in die geskiedenis so feitelik en akkuraat moontlik weer te gee, word onder meer staatgemaak op inligting verkry uit amptelike dokumentasie, oorleerings, dagboeke, onderhoude, nuusberigte, foto's, kaarte en selfs items uit museums se versamelings soos in hierdie studie, dié uit die Pellissierhuismuseum te Bethulie en die Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke in Bloemfontein. Dit is dikwels eers wanneer hierdie gegewens ontleed en tot statistiek verwerk word, dat gebeure nog meer tot mense spreek en verdere afleidings en gevolgtrekkings gemaak kan word, met bepaalde onderliggende tendense wat na vore kom.

Uit navorsing oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die gevolglike saamstel van 'n databasis⁵ van die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp se inwoners, staan dié kamp uit as een van die kampe waarvan die impak van die oorlog op die inwoners, veral kinders, baie fel was.⁶ Vanweë die vinnige tempo van die verskroeiende beleid is hierdie kamp oorhaastig en met weinig beplanning of infrastruktuur op 22 April

4 Camps in the Southern Free State (Orange River Colony), as well as the camps at Norvalspont and Aliwal North in the Cape Colony.

5 Ten einde amptelike Britse statistiek ten opsigte van die getal inwoners, siektes en sterftes in hierdie kamp te kontroleer, is die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis opgestel. Hierdie databasis, bekend as die "JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp" is saamgestel uit twee Bethulie-kampregisters (SRCs); verskeie amptelike argivale dokumente wat deur die Britse bestuur saamgestel is; die onderskeie naamlyste deur E van Heyninge, C Reynolds en AWG Raath van hierdie kamp se inwoners; asook geskrifte deur inwoners soos herinneringe en dagboeke. Deur die samevoeging van hierdie inligting kon ontbrekende gegewens en besonderhede van inwoners van hierdie kamp aangevul word. Ook is databasisse van die omliggende kampe se inwoners saamgestel. Hierdie omvattende databasisse, asook alle verwante dokumentasie oor spesifiek die Bethulie-kamp, is ter insae by die Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke in Bloemfontein waar dit deel vorm van hierdie instelling se dokumentversameling.

6 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

1901 geopen. Weens ongunstige omstandighede en swak bestuur het epidemies spoedig uitgebreek, wat hierdie kamp vir sy hoë sterftesyfer berug gemaak het.⁷

Alhoewel die Britse kampadministrasie en selfs kampinwoners⁸ gepoog het om rekord te hou van gebeure in die kamp, blyk dit uit Britse korrespondensie dat daar heelwat foute ingesluit het, veral ten opsigte van die rekordhouding van sterftes, in so 'n mate dat daar in Januarie 1902 voorgestel is dat 'n nuwe stelsel oorweeg word.⁹

Ten einde die hoë sterftesyfer in die Bethulie-kamp te kontroleer en leemtes aan te vul, moes 'n nuwe datalys¹⁰ saamgestel word. Inligting uit nege primêre en drie sekondêre bronne is in 'n databasis saamgevoeg, wat uiteindelik die gegewens van 5 734 mense bevat het. Belangrike gegewens oor inwoners, waaronder hul volle name, geslag, ouderdom, adres, datum van aankoms in die kamp, tentnommer, sterfdatum, oorsaak van dood en selfs diegene wat later na Uitenhage en Kabusi gestuur is, is in hierdie datalys vervat.¹¹ Hierdie databasis is dus die jongste en omvattendste rekord van inwonergetalle en is gebruik om statistiek te onttrek, om feite te staaf en afleidings te maak. So byvoorbeeld kon kruisverwysings gedoen word en kon gesinne en mense na wie ds HCJ Becker¹² in sy dagboek verwys, geïdentifiseer word.¹³

7 T Venter, *Bethulie en die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (Philippolis, 2011), pp 109-121.

8 Veral K Hamman se verwerking van Renché van der Walt se dagboek wat later gepubliseer is, *Dagboek van 'n Bethulie-kampdogter*, asook Anna Catharina Elizabeth Breedt (gebore Simkin) se dagboek “My herinneringe aan die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp te Bethulie gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902” (Oorlogsmuseum-aanwinst 5417/1), bevat gegewens van weeklikse gebeure in die Bethulie-kamp.

9 T Venter, *Bethulie en die...*, p 111.

10 Benewens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp, is voorts ook datalyste saamgestel van onder meer die Bethulie-kommando, Bethulie-Joiners, Bethulie-plase, Britse ongevallen in die distrik, SA Constabulary te Bethulie, Bethulie-krygsgevangenes, mense uit die Bethulie-kamp wat na Uitenhage en Kabusi gestuur is, asook van Bethulie-inwoners in die omliggende kampe by Norvalspont, Aliwal-Noord, Springfontein en Bloemfontein.

11 Rekords in die Nasionale Argief van Suid-Afrika (hierna NASA), Vrystaatse Argiefbewaarplek (hierna VAB), dokumentasie uit die versameling van die Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke te Bloemfontein (hierna OM), asook dagboeke, herinneringe en rekords in privaat besit, asook datalyste soos deur AWG Raath, C Reynolds en E van Heyningen saamgestel, is gekontroleer. Die finale produk is in die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis (JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling) saamgevat, waaruit bepaalde statistieke verkry kon word en deel vorm van die dokumentversameling van die OM in Bloemfontein.

12 Ds Herman Christiaan Johannes Becker (1861–1941), predikant van die Nederduits Gereformeerde (NG) gemeente te Bethulie tydens die oorlog.

13 Ds Becker het in sy dagboek (Oorlogsmuseum, 7194/149: Herinneringe van ds Becker, 1 en 2, 1908) oor die Bethulie-kamp, 'n punt daarvan gemaak om nie na gesinne (vanne) te verwys nie, maar het slegs hul tentnommers vermeld.

In 'n poging om 'n beter begrip te bekom van die verloop van gebeure in die Bethulie-kamp, is statistiek vervolgens saamgestel, soos verkry uit die Bethulie-datalys aan die hand van inligtingtabelle en grafieke. Die doel is om deur middel van hierdie inligting die leemtes wat die impak van gebeure op veral die kinderbevolking gehad het, omvattender te belig.

Onstaan van die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp

Groot-Brittanje en die twee Boererepublieke¹⁴ het vanaf 11 Oktober 1899 in 'n staat van oorlog verkeer.¹⁵ Die Britse besetting van Bloemfontein het op 13 Maart 1900 gevolg, met Pretoria op 5 Junie 1900, maar die regering van die twee republieke het geweier om te kapituleer.¹⁶ Op 16 Junie 1900 is lord Roberts¹⁷ se Proklamasie Nr 5 van 1900 uitgevaardig en drie dae later Proklamasie Nr 6 van 1900 met die waarskuwing dat, indien telegraaf- of spoorinstallasies beskadig of vernietig word, eiendom in 'n bepaalde radius van waar die sabotasie plaasgevind het, vernietig sou word.¹⁸

Met lord Kitchener¹⁹ wat sedert 29 November 1900 vir Roberts as Britse opperbevelhebber in Suid-Afrika opgevolg het, is hierdie praktyk van vernietiging met nog meer erns voortgesit. Voorts was dryfjagte,²⁰ blokhuse en die oprig van konsentrasiekampe deel van die Britse strategie.²¹ In die Vrystaat het generaal-majoor Frederick Kelley op 15 Maart 1901 Omsendbrief 31, "Clearing of the Orange River Colony", uitgevaardig, waarvolgens die Vrystaat opgeruim en alle hulp- en lewensmiddele wat tot nut van die kommando's kon wees, vernietig moes word. Hierdie skoonmaakproses, wat as verskroeiendeaardebeleid bekend staan, het 'n donker tyd vir burgerlikes in die Vrystaat ingelui.²²

Wit gesinne uit die distrikte Bethulie, Dewetsdorp, Fauresmith, Philippolis, Reddersburg, Rouxville, Smithfield, Wepener en Zastron is hoofsaaklik na die

14 Die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek en Boererepubliek bekend as die Oranje-Vrijstaat.

15 JH Breytenbach, *Die geskiedenis van die Tweede-Vryheidsoorlog in Suid-Afrika 1899–1902* 1 (Pretoria, 1969), p 139.

16 JH Breytenbach, *Die geskiedenis van...* 5, pp 540-542, 548.

17 Veldmaarskalk Fredrick Sleigh Roberts (1832–1914), vanaf Desember 1899 tot November 1900 opperbevelhebber van die Britse troepe in Suid-Afrika.

18 F Pretorius (red), *Scorched earth* (Kaapstad, 2001), pp 38-39.

19 Luitenant-Generaal lord Kitchener (1850–1916).

20 Britse krygsoptrede wat daarop gemik was om 'n bepaalde gebied of streek in die republieke van alle weerstand en ondersteuningsmiddele aan die burgers, skoon te veer.

21 F Pretorius (red), *Scorched earth*, pp 28-29.

22 A Wessels et al (reds), *Egodokumente: Persoonlike ervaringe uit die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein, 1993), p 192.

konsentrasiekampe te Aliwal-Noord, Bloemfontein, Norvalspont en Springfontein gestuur.²³ Swart plaaswerkers van die Suid-Vrystaat is deur Britse kolonnes na Edenburg weggevoer, waar ’n kamp, met ongeveer 2 000 werkers, reeds vanaf Januarie 1901 ontstaan het. George Simpson is aangestel om beheer oor hierdie kamp uit te oefen, wat spoedig as die “Edenburg black concentration camp” bekend sou staan.²⁴

Die intensiteit waarmee die verskroeiendebeleid in Bethulie en sy onmiddellike buurdistrikte toegepas is, het sedert April 1901 sodanig toegeneem dat dit tot die oorbevolking van die bestaande konsentrasiekampe gelei het. Die aantal haweloses wat tydelik op Bethulie-dorp gehuisves moes word, het toegeneem en ’n heenkome moes dringend elders vir hulle gevind word.²⁵

Magistraat AGH Daller, reisende inspekteur van kampe, is deur kaptein Arthur Grant Trollope, hoofsuperintendent van kampe in die Oranjerivierkolonie (Orange River Colony, ORC), opdrag gegee om die onderskeie kampe te besoek en elkeen se behoeftes te bepaal.²⁶ Daller is verder versoek om ondersoek in te stel na ’n geskikte terrein vir ’n kamp te Bethulie. In sy verslag van 12 April 1901 beveel Daller ’n terrein aan die oostekant van die dorp aan: “a pleasant valley sloping to the Orange River”²⁷ Hierdie terrein is om verskeie redes aanbeveel, aangesien dit naby die Smithfield-pad en langs ’n standhoudende waterbron, bekend as die Marokspruit, geleë was. Voorts was daar ’n nabygeleë put, bekend as “Adams Well”, vanwaar skoon water met waterkarre aangery kon word. Daller het ’n skets van die omgewing en die beplande kampterrein gemaak en dit by sy verslag aangeheg.²⁸

Luitenant-goewerneur Hamilton Goold-Adams, adjunkadministrateur van die ORC, het die vestiging van ’n kamp by Bethulie goedgekeur.²⁹ Om redes onbekend,

23 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis van Bethulie-inwoners in die Aliwal-Noord-, Springfontein-, Norvalspont-, Bloemfontein- en Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

24 S Kessler, *The black concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein, 2012), pp 110-111.

25 NASA, VAB, Colonial Office (CO), 18, 1460/01: Mr Daller’s report on Springfontein, Bethulie and Aliwal North camps, 1901-04-12.

26 E van Heyningen, *The concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War: A social history* (Johannesburg, 2013), p 86.

27 NASA, VAB, Superintendent of Refugee Camps (SRC), 41, 1206: Report on Edenburg, Springfontein and Bethulie with rough sketch on site for Bethulie Camp, 1901-04-12.

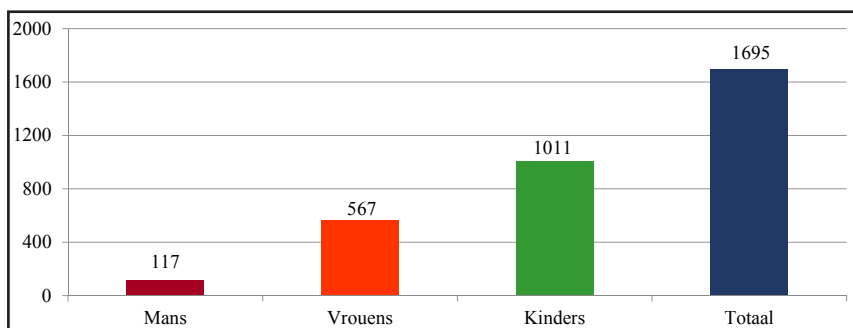
28 NASA, VAB, SRC, 41, 1206: Report on Edenburg, Springfontein and Bethulie with rough sketch on site for Bethulie Camp, 1901-04-12; *Volksblad*, 2015-01-09, p 6.

29 NASA, VAB, SRC, 39, 10/10A: Deare and tents arrived, 1901-04-18.

is daar egter nie aan Daller se aanbevelings gehoor gegee nie en is daar op 'n terrein noordoos van die dorp besluit. Henry Russell Deare word op 4 April 1901 as superintendent van die nuwe kamp aangestel.³⁰ Hierdie terrein was geleë aan die voet van 'n digbegroeide koppie met doringbome en het dus spoedig onder inwoners bekend gestaan as die “Doringboomkamp” of “Rooibultkamp”.³¹

Op 21 April 1901 ontvang Deare 'n telegram met die nuus dat meer as 1 000 mense van Springfontein af na Bethulie op pad was. Die telegram het verwys na Dewetsdorp- en Reddersburg-inwoners wat vroeër deur 'n Britse kolonne weggevoer is.³² Hierdie groep mense het op 22 April 1901 in die nuwe kamp by Bethulie gearriveer waar daar bykans nog geen infrastruktuur of tente opgerig was nie.³³

Alhoewel daar geen verdere akkommodasie in die kamp beskikbaar was nie, het die getal mense in die Doringboomkamp teen 31 Mei 1901, binne 40 dae ná die kamp se ontstaan, reeds tot 1 695 toegeneem (sien Grafiek 1). Bykans 60% van die inwoners was kinders onder die ouderdom van 16 jaar.³⁴



Grafiek 1: Bethulie-kamp – Getal mans, vroue en kinders soos op 31 Mei 1901.

30 NASA, VAB, SRC, 3, 1069: Appointment of Mr Deare, 1901-04-04.

31 *Marble Koerier*, 1981-08-14, p 2.

32 NASA, VAB, SRC, 39, 10/11A: Arrival of more refugees, 1901-04-21.

33 *St James Gazette*, 1901-11-02, p 4.

34 NASA, VAB, SRC, 31, 1725: Return of refugee camps, 1901-05-04; NASA, VAB, SRC, 31, 1725: Total number of refugees in camps, 1901-05-31.

Verskuiwing van die Bethulie-kamp

Trollope het die Doringboomkamp op 2 en 3 Junie 1901 besoek. Dit was duidelik dat die terrein te klein was vir die toenemende aantal inwoners, dat die Eseldam³⁵ nie aan hul waterbehoefte kon voorsien nie en dat besoedeling ’n groot probleem was. Trollope was van mening dat Daller se aanbevelings heroorweeg moes word.³⁶

Die Bethulie-kamp is dus op 6 Junie 1901, midde-in die Vrystaatse winter, na ’n nuwe terrein aan die suidoostekant van die dorp en slegs drie kilometer van die Oranjerivier (Gariep) af, verskuif.³⁷ Die nuwe terrein het potensiaal vir uitbreiding gebied en was nader aan ’n sterk waterbron, die Marokspruit, maar was op ’n laagliggende gebied met ’n vleiagtige voorkoms geleë, wat nie bevorderlik vir die inwoners se gesondheid was nie. ’n Swaar misbank het elke oggend en aand oor hierdie gebied gehang en reënwater het in die laagte opgedam sodat dit ná elke reën bui in ’n moeras omskep is, vandaar die inwoners se verwysing na die kamp as “Moeraskamp”.³⁸ Op 15 Junie 1901 word Deare per telegram vanaf Edenburg laat weet dat ’n verdere 1 200 mense na die kamp te Bethulie onderweg was, ten spyte daarvan dat slegs 700 in tente gehuisves sou kon word.³⁹ In die maande wat hierop sou volg, is die inwoners van hierdie kamp aan onmenslike omstandighede blootgestel wat gelei het tot een van die grootste tragedies van die Anglo-Boereoorlog.⁴⁰

Oorsake van siektes en die uitbreek van epidemies

Benewens die ligging van die kamp, is Deare se vermoë om die kamp suksesvol te bestuur ’n paar maande later, vanweë die groot aantal sterftes in die Bethulie-kamp, deur die Britse bestuur in Bloemfontein onder die vergrootglas geplaas – veral na die Dameskomitee se bevindings⁴¹ oor hierdie kamp. Die grootste uitdagings was dat:

35 ’n Klein dammetjie digby ’n Britse kamp, wat deur soldate opgerig is en waarop twee afbeeldings van esels in wit verf aangebring is.

36 NASA, VAB, SRC, 56, 8770/1: Camp at Bethulie, 1901-06-03.

37 OM, 4886/16: Report on the concentration camps in South Africa, by the Committee of Ladies, appointed by the Secretary of State for War – Containing reports on the camps in Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal, p 57; Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkundige Museum en Navorsingsentrum (NALN), *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-04-07, p 9.

38 OM, 4886/16: Report on the concentration camps..., p 57.

39 NASA, VAB, SRC, 56, 2722: Tents needed at Bethulie, 1901-06-15.

40 AWG Raath, *Die konsentrasiekamp-gedenkreëks 1: Die konsentrasiekamp te Bethulie gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein, 1991), pp 70-71.

41 OM, 4886/16: Report on the concentration camps..., p 57.

- Hierdie kamp oorbevolk was en dat dit reeds teen Oktober 1901 oor 'n inwonertal van 4 813 mense beskik het.⁴² Volgens Deare was daar ses mense in elke tent, maar daar is bevind dat sommige tente agt en ander selfs tot 12 mense moes huisves.⁴³
- Die gehawende tente het tydens reënbuie gelek en kon inwoners dus nie teen gure weersomstandighede beskerm nie.⁴⁴
- Sosiale afstand kon nie gehandhaaf word nie, aangesien die tente te naby aan mekaar opgeslaan was. Selfs die Britsgesinde *Bloemfontein Post* het in Oktober 1901 berig dat “the tents are to be weeded out and planted further afield to give increased air-space”.⁴⁵
- Gebrekkige rantsoene van swak gehalte en met 'n lae voedingswaarde, het daartoe bygedra dat inwoners nie die nodige weerstand teen siektes soos maagkoors kon bied nie. In 'n poging om hul dieet aan te vul, was veral kinders genoop om uintjies, knolle van veldvygies, waterwortels van katbosse, brakvye en ander veldkos te eet.⁴⁶
- Die mediese sorg in die kamp was nie op peil nie en dokters en hospitaalsorg is met groot wantroue bejeën.⁴⁷
- Groot druk is op die beskikbare hulpbronne geplaas. Die Marokspruit, met 'n standhoudende fontein, genoeg waterpoele en 'n groterige kuil, het in Junie 1901 'n oplossing gebied, maar pogings om die waterbron skoon te hou, is deur die toenemende konsentrasie van inwoners bemoeilik.⁴⁸
- Die onvoldoende en primitiewe sanitêre geriewe, bestaande uit slegs sewe latrines, het spoedig tot die besoedeling van die omgewing rondom die fontein en spruit aanleiding gegee. Alhoewel die kampowerheid gepoog het om hierdie besoedeling te beperk deur die fontein in September 1901 te omhein, was hierdie pogings te laat en het talle inwoners reeds gesterf.⁴⁹

42 *Bloemfontein Post*, 1901-10-12, p 4.

43 OM, 4886/16: Report on the concentration camps..., p 57.

44 HL Neethling, *Vergeten: Mijn ondervinding in het martelkamp te Bethulie* (Kaapstad, 1917), p 50.

45 *Bloemfontein Post*, 1901-10-12, p 4.

46 K Hamman, *Dagboek van 'n Bethulie-kampdogter* (Bloemfontein, 1965), pp 11, 23.

47 OM, 6028/1(a): Papers on the working of the refugee camps in South Africa, 1901-09-06, p 291.

48 NASA, VAB, SRC, 21, 6672: Outbreak of enteric at Bethulie RC [refugee camp], 1901-12-10.

49 OM, 4886/16: Report on the concentration camps..., p 57; *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-05-19, p 12.

- Die Marokspruit is voorts besoedel aangesien sy opvanggebied deur 'n gebied gevloei het waar karkasse van beeste wat as gevolg van die runderpes⁵⁰ gevrek het, begrawe was.⁵¹



Figuur 1: Inwoners van die Bethulie-kamp, meestal kinders, staan in 'n tou vir water. (Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/2397)

Van Junie 1901 tot Desember 1901 het die ongunstige omstandighede in die Moeraskamp tot die uitbreek van epidemies soos masels, longontsteking en maagkoors aanleiding gegee, wat veral 'n impak op die kinderbevolking gehad het.⁵²

Gebrekkige rekordhouding

Die Britse administrasie in die ORC het in Junie 1901 begin om die besonderhede van oorledenes, per kamp, maandeliks in die *Government Gazette* te publiseer.⁵³ Amptelike dokumentasie oor inwonergetalle en sterftes in die onderskeie konsentrasiekampe soos deur die Britse kampbestuur opgestel, bevat egter inligting

50 Virussiekte onder beeste wat in 1897 na die Vrystaat versprei het.

51 NALN, *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-05-19, p 12.

52 AWG Raath, *Die konsentrasiekamp-gedenkreëks...*, p 127; OM, 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 7.

53 NASA, VAB, SRC, 74, 75: Bethulie deaths, 1901–1902.

wat bevraagteken kan word weens swak of gebrekkige administrasie.⁵⁴ Reeds vroeg in die bestaan van die Doringboomkamp blyk dit dat daar nie behoorlik rekord gehou is van die sterftes nie.⁵⁵ Volgens die inligting wat aan Trollope gestuur is, is daar teen 1 Mei 1901 slegs een sterfgeval in die Bethulie-kamp aangemeld.⁵⁶ In haar dagboek verwys Rensché van der Walt⁵⁷ egter na ten minste twee sterfgevalle in dieselfde tyd, naamlik ’n driejarige seuntjie wat 15 dae ná sy aankoms in die kamp oorlede is en ’n 12-jarige seun wat vyf dae later oorlede is.⁵⁸

Dr George Pratt Yule, die hoof- mediese ordonnans van kampe in die ORC, se data van 31 Mei 1901 dui sewe sterftes te Bethulie aan, waarvan vyf mense weens longontsteking gesterf het.⁵⁹ Die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis toon egter agt sterftes tot en met 31 Mei 1901 aan, waarvan sewe kinders was.⁶⁰ Hierdie sterftes vroeg in die kamp se bestaan, moes vir die kampbestuur en mediese personeel ’n aanduiding gewees het dat kinders meer vatbaar vir siektes en hul risiko derhalwe hoër was.

Dit blyk dat goeie rekordhouding maande later steeds ’n probleem was. Luitenant St John Cole-Bowen,⁶¹ wat in Desember 1901 die leisels by Deare oorgeneem het, verwys in Januarie 1902 na die feit dat “[t]he books were kept badly and the register [kampregister] was so deficient that it had to be restarted”.⁶² JS Wilkins, in daardie stadium waarnemende hoofsuperintendent van kampe in die ORC, het in April 1902 die onderskeie superintendente daarop gewys dat “mistakes have

54 In Januarie 1902 is verwys na ’n insident wat in Desember 1901 in die Bethulie-kamp plaasgevind het, aangesien assistentsuperintendent Percival wat vir die kampregister verantwoordelik was, dit nie op datum gehou het nie en nuwe aankomelinge gevolglik nie rantsone kon ontvang nie. Dit het tot oproer in die kamp gelei. Hierdie was een van vele verwysings na die swak administrasie in die kamp onder superintendent Deare se bestuur. Selfs die koloniale administrasie in Bloemfontein het verwys na hierdie kamp se gebrekkige administrasie.

55 NALN, *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1979-08-19, p 10.

56 NASA, VAB, SRC, 32, 1646: Returns of deaths in RC, 1901-05-01.

57 Rensché van der Walt van die plaas Uitkyk, Reddersburg, wat saam met haar weduweemoeder en twee susters in die Bethulie-kamp was. Sy het ’n dagboek oor haar ervaringe daar bygehou wat later gepubliseer is.

58 K Hamman, *Dagboek van ’n Bethulie-kampdogter*, p 10.

59 NASA, VAB, SRC, 26, 2257: Death rate from death reports received, 1901-06-01; NASA, VAB, SRC, 72, 7124: Statistics on RCs, 1901-11-24.

60 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

61 St John Cole-Bowen, superintendent van die Norvalspont-kamp, is sedert Desember 1901 as “Travelling Inspector of Refugee Camps” aangestel. Hy het ná Deare se ontslag verskeie hervormings by die Bethulie-kamp ingestel wat tot ’n afname in die aantal sterftes gelei het.

62 T Venter, *Bethulie en die...*, p 111.

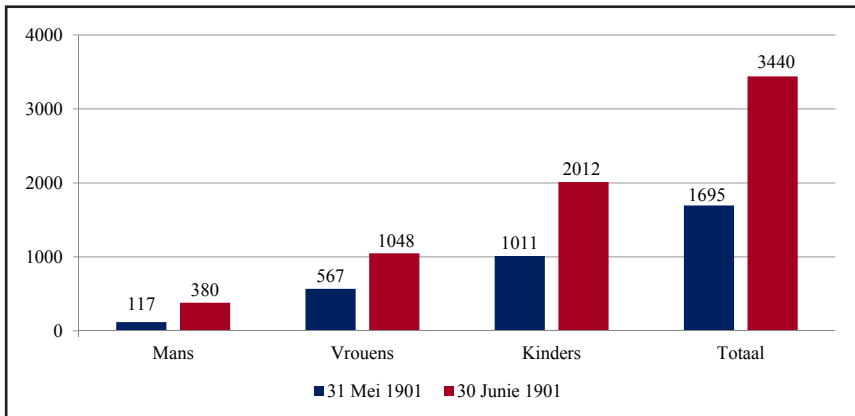
occurred again in the figures of weekly returns from superintendents ... thus making it difficult for me to compile a correct return".⁶³

Die meer volledige verhaal: verwerking van data tot statistiek

Die afleiding is dat die administrasie van die Bethulie-kamp nie altyd op peil was nie of dat die amptenary die ware toedrag van sake van sir Alfred Milner⁶⁴ probeer weerhou het, juis omrede daar druk op hulle was om die omstandighede in hierdie kamp te verbeter en sterftes te beperk. Deur die amptelike Britse statistiek te kontroleer, word dit met die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis vergelyk ten einde 'n geheelbeeld te verkry.⁶⁵

Aantal inwoners in die Bethulie-kamp, 31 Mei 1901 tot 30 Junie 1901

Binne die bestek van 'n maand het die getal inwoners van die Moeraskamp meer as verdubbel, dit ten spyte van 'n voortdurende gebrek aan lewensmiddele, huisvesting, sanitasie, skoon water en mediese sorg. Teen 30 Junie 1901 het die kamp 3 440 wit mense gehuisves, waarvan 2 012 kinders onder die ouderdom van 16 jaar was (sien Grafiek 2).⁶⁶



Grafiek 2: Bethulie-kamp – Getal mans, vroue en kinders soos op 31 Mei en 30 Junie 1901.

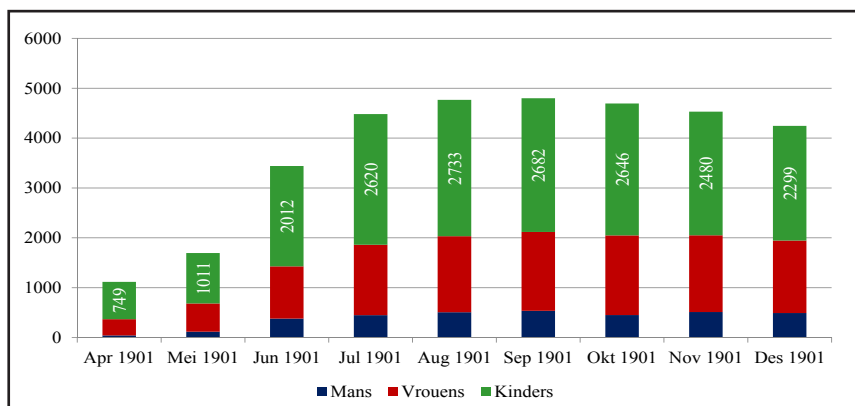
63 NASA, VAB, SRC, 41, 8041: Returns of deaths in RC, 1902-04-04.

64 Britse hoë kommissaris in Suid-Afrika tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog. Vanaf 1901 bekend as lord Milner, burggraaf van St James's en Kaapstad.

65 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

66 NASA, VAB, SRC, 28: Statistics for June 1901, 1901-06-30; JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

Met die aanbreek van die winter in 1901, het die toepassing van die verskroei-deaardebeleid in die Suid-Vrystaat 'n hoogtepunt bereik, met inwoners wat vanaf Fauresmith, Dewetsdorp, Reddersburg, Smithfield, Philippolis, Bethulie en Wepener na die Bethulie-kamp weggevoer is.⁶⁷ Alhoewel heelwat minder as in die voorafgaande drie maande, het die getal inwoners wat na die kamp te Bethulie weggevoer is, vanaf Julie 1901 tot September 1901 geleidelik toegeneem, wat 'n aanduiding is dat die Britse kolonnes steeds voortgegaan het om gesinne na hierdie kamp weg te voer, ten spyte van die feit dat dit reeds oorbevolk was. Vanaf Oktober 1901 tot Desember 1901 was daar 'n geleidelike afname in die kamp se inwonertal, aangesien die getal nuwe aankomelinge deur die getal sterftes in hierdie kamp oorskry is. Die impak van die omstandighede op die kinderbevolking blyk duidelik uit die onderstaande grafiek (Grafiek 3), wat aantoon dat die getal kinders van 2 733 in Augustus 1901, tot 2 299 in Desember 1901 gedaal het.⁶⁸



Grafiek 3: Bethulie-kamp – Getal mans, vroue en kinders, 30 April tot 31 Desember 1901.

Sedert die kamp se ontstaan op 22 April 1901 tot en met 31 Mei 1902, is 5 734 mense hier gehuisves. Dit verwys na die totale getal inwoners wat hulle op enige gegewe stadium gedurende die genoemde tydperk, in die kamp bevind het. Weens die byvoeging van nuwe aankomelinge, hetsy deur geboortes, vroue en kinders wat van hul plase weggevoer is en mans wat die wapen neergelê het, asook die vermindering van mense deur sterftes en enkele gevalle van weglopery uit die kamp, het die getal inwoners maandeliks gewissel. Die meeste inwoners was

67 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

68 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

vroulik en ten minste 58% was kinders onder die ouderdom van 16 jaar (sien Tabel 1).⁶⁹

Tabel 1: Bethulie-kamp – Getal inwoners, 22 April 1901 tot 31 Mei 1902.

Lewensfase	Manlik	Vroulik	Onbekend	Totaal	Persentasie
Volwassenes (21+ jaar)	627	1 269	6	1 902	33,17%
Jong volwassenes (16–20 jaar)	112	403	7	522	9,10%
Kinders (0–15 jaar)	1 740	1 502	54	3 296	57,49%
Onbekend	5	3	6	14	0,24%
Totaal	2 484	3 177	73	5 734	100,00%

Die dagboek van Susara (Sarie) Roos van Dewetsdorp, wat sedert Junie 1901 as verpleegster in die Bethulie-kamphospitaal werksaam was, bevestig dat sterftes onder kinders reeds vóór hul aankoms in die kamp begin het. Roos se gesin was deel van ’n groep inwoners wat op Sondag, 14 April 1901, deur ’n Britse kolonne van Dewetsdorp af weggevoer is, en tydens ’n swaar donderstorm in oop kooltrokke vervoer is.⁷⁰ Die groep se aankoms op Springfontein het saamgeval met ’n besoek deur Emily Hobhouse, die bekende Britse humanis, wat haar in daardie stadium op hierdie spoorwegstasie bevind het.⁷¹ Hobhouse en Clara Sandrock⁷² het koffie, brood en blikkiesvleis aan die groep honger vroue en kinders uitgedeel. Hobhouse meld dat: “I heard the whole lot were to be sent to Bethulie for now a camp is forming there. I have just heard from a man who met the same trainload at Edenburg that four children died⁷³ on the journey.”⁷⁴ Kort ná die groep se aankoms

69 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

70 OM, Aanwins 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 2.

71 E Brits, *Emily Hobhouse, beloved traitor* (Kaapstad, 2016), p 68.

72 Die dogtertjie van eerwaarde Christoph Sandrock van die Berlynsse Sendinggenootskap op Springfontein.

73 Emily Hobhouse het tydens hierdie spesifieke besoek die laaste oomblikke van drie kinders wat aan ontbering dood is, op die Springfontein-stasie waargeneem. Die beeld van een van hierdie sterwende kinders het haar bygebly, sodat sy jare later hierdie toneel aan die beeldhouer, Anton van Wouw, beskryf het, waarna hy hierdie toneel in die skepping van die sentrale beeldegroep vir die Nasionale Vrouemonument uitgebeeld het. Volgens rekords was dit mense van Dewetsdorp en Reddersburg wat op pad was na die nuwe kamp te Bethulie en daar deur Hobhouse aangetref is.

74 J Hobhouse Balme, *To love one's enemies: The work and life of Emily* (Cobble Hill, Canada, 1994), p 174.

het ds Becker die begrafnis van Brechie Joubert se dogtertjie⁷⁵ in die Bethulie-dorpsbegraafplaas behartig.⁷⁶

Roos⁷⁷ bevestig dat daar reeds met hul aankoms op Bethulie 'n sterfgeval aangemeld was. Proponent AD Lückhoff⁷⁸ het 'n dogtertjie in herinnering geroep wat koors gehad het ten tye van die gesin se aankoms op 21 Augustus 1901 te Bethulie-stasie.⁷⁹ Die dogtertjie was deel van 'n aantal gesinne afkomstig uit die distrikte Fauresmith en Philippolis, waarvan nege mense uit hierdie groep oorlede is kort na hul aankoms in die Bethulie-kamp.⁸⁰ Die situasie het teen einde Oktober 1901 steeds voortgeduur, soos blyk uit 'n amptelike Britse opgawe wat verwys na die “deplorable condition” van mense wat na kampe in die ORC geneem is, “scantly clad, half starved, and with disease amongst them”.⁸¹

Siektes en sterftes in die Bethulie-kamp, Augustus 1901 tot Desember 1901

Sedert Augustus 1901 was daar 'n skerp toename in die getal sterftes, veral onder kinders, weens die uitbreek van masels in die Bethulie-kamp.⁸² Volgens Sarie Roos het masels teen middel Augustus 1901 soos 'n veldbrand in dié kamp versprei. Op 'n enkele dag is 400 gevalle aangemeld, meestal hiervan kinders, maar die pasiënte kon nie almal in die swak toegeruste hospitaal opgeneem word nie.⁸³ Hierbenewens het diegene wat masels oorleef het, dikwels sekondêre gevolge soos kinkhoes en brongitis opgedoen, en gesterf. Dit het die donkerste tyd in hierdie kamp se bestaan ingelui, en het tot Desember 1901 geduur.⁸⁴ Teen einde Augustus 1901 was die amptelike Britse sterftesyfer in die Bethulie-kamp 175 (199 volgens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis), die hoogste van al die kampe in die ORC, naas Kroonstad en Aliwal-Noord.⁸⁵ Selfs Trollope telegrafeer op 28 Augustus 1901 aan Deare: “Please explain the present high death rate in your camp. I noticed from your death notices you had 24 deaths on the 23rd August.”⁸⁶ 'n Kruisverwysing

75 Aletta Sophia Joubert van Daggafontein, Ladybrand, wat op 22 April 1901 in die ouderdom van agt maande aan longontsteking oorlede is.

76 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

77 OM, Aanwins 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 2.

78 August Daniël Lückhoff.

79 AWG Raath, *Die konsentrasiekamp-gedenkreeks...*, p 86.

80 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

81 OM, Aanwins 7194/108: Report on the concentration camps..., 1901-10-31, p 125.

82 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

83 NASA, VAB, SRC, 28: Statistics for June 1901, 1901-06-30; OM, 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 8.

84 E van Heyningen, *The concentration camps...*, pp 140-141.

85 NASA, VAB, SRC, 41, 4588: List of deaths at various RCs in the ORC, 1901-09-08.

86 NASA, VAB, SRC, 41, 4484: High death rate at Bethulie RC, 1901-08-28.

met die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis toon dat daar inderdaad 24 sterftes op 23 Augustus 1901 plaasgevind het.⁸⁷

Ten spyte van die swak bestuur en haglike omstandighede wat in die Bethulie-kamp geheers het, het die Britsgesinde media in die ORC gepoog om die blaam vir die masel-epidemie op die inwoners van hierdie kamp te plaas. So het die *Bloemfontein Post* berig dat die masel-epidemie toegeskryf kon word aan 'n enkele siek gesin wat per ossewa in die Bethulie-kamp aangekom het en dat “Boer curiosity is responsible for the spread of the infection ... for it was found [that] camp residents were surreptitiously visiting this waggon.”⁸⁸

Met die aanbreek van die lente en weens die besoedelde water, het die eerste tekens van 'n nuwe epidemie, naamlik maagkoors, verskyn. In die eerste week van September 1901 is 228 mense, hoofsaaklik kinders, gehospitaliseer. Die dokters was onsimpatiek en medisyne steeds 'n skaars kommoditeit.⁸⁹ Teen die einde van hierdie maand het 236 mense (241 volgens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis) weens masels, longontsteking en maagkoors, beswyk.⁹⁰ Rensché van der Walt skryf op 22 September 1901 in haar dagboek dat daar reeds 461 grafte, hoofsaaklik dié van kinders, in die kampkerkhof was.⁹¹

Vroeg in Oktober 1901 is die warm en bedompige weersomstandighede gevolg deur swaar reënneerslae, wat daartoe gelei het dat 294 inwoners teen 25 Oktober 1901 gehospitaliseer was. 'n Verdere 108 sterftes, meestal kinders, het gevolg. Teen 30 Oktober 1901 het hierdie sterftes tot 154 (157 volgens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis) uitgebrei.⁹² Dit blyk dat die masel-epidemie ná Oktober 1901 grotendeels onder beheer gebring is, aangesien 'n Britse opgawe melding maak van slegs 20 mense wat vroeg in November 1901 aan masels oorlede is. Longverwante siektes, as sekondêre gevolg van masels, was egter hierna die grootste oorsaak van sterftes.⁹³ Die nat weersomstandighede wat veral sedert 10 Oktober 1901 geheers het, was nie bevorderlik vir mense met longverwante siektes nie. Om sake te vererger, het dit op 30 Oktober 1901 besonder swaar gereën en is

87 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

88 *Bloemfontein Post*, 1901-10-12, p 4.

89 OM, 6028/1(a): Papers on the working of the refugee camps in South Africa, 1901-09-06, p 291.

90 NASA, VAB, SRC, 72, 7124: Statistics on RCs, 1901-11-24; JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

91 K Hamman, *Dagboek van 'n Bethulie-kampdogter*, p 19.

92 K Hamman, *Dagboek van 'n Bethulie-kampdogter*, p 19; JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

93 OM, 4899/625: Papers relating to the working of the refugee camps in South Africa, 1901-10-31, p 124.

die kamp weereens in 'n moeras omskep.⁹⁴ Gebrekkige rantsoene, swak behuising en blootstelling aan hierdie elemente het daartoe gelei dat kinkhoes hierna onder veral die kleiner kinders toegeneem het.⁹⁵

Teen einde November 1901 het die sterftes in die Bethulie-kamp vir daardie maand op 236 (242 volgens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis) gestaan. Die grootste oorsaak was steeds longverwante siektes, wat die lewe van 127 mense geëis het, terwyl 85 sterftes weens maagkoors was.⁹⁶ Weereens was die grootste sterftes onder kinders. Op 10 Desember 1901 stel Trollope vir Goold-Adams per telegram in kennis van 'n "bad outbreak of enteric [illness] at Bethulie camp".⁹⁷ Die Bethulie-kamp het die hoogste sterftesyfer vir Desember 1901 in die ORC gehad toe 'n rekordgetal van 276 sterftes (289 volgens die Bethulie-konsentrasiekampdatabasis) aangeteken is.⁹⁸



Figuur 2: Die sentrale paneel van WH Coetzer se triptiek, wat 'n begrafnis van 'n kind in die Bethulie-kamp uitbeeld, met onder meer ook 'n uitgeteerde seuntjie op die voorgrond. Die botteltjies op die grafte, soms selfs drie per graf, het briefies in gehad met die name van die onderskeie oorledenes daarop. (Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/32)

94 K Hamman, *Dagboek van 'n Bethulie-kampdogter*, pp 20-21.

95 *Marble Koerier*, 1981-12-02, p 2.

96 NASA, VAB, SRC, 57, 6652: Increase of enteric at Bethulie RC, 1901-12-01; JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

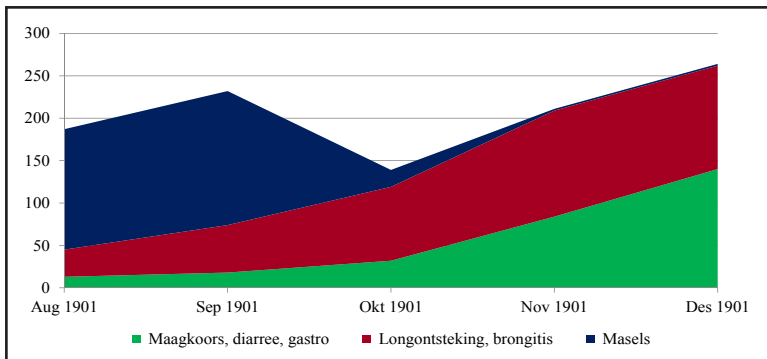
97 NASA, VAB, SRC, 57, 6672: Outbreak of enteric at Bethulie RC, 1901-12-10.

98 OM, 4899/628: Further papers on the working of the refugee camps in the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Cape Colony and Natal (Cd. 853), Desember 1901, p 4; JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

Die Britse bestuur in die ORC, en selfs Milner, moes erken dat daar groot fout in die Bethulie-kamp was.⁹⁹ Hul ingryping om Deare as superintendent te ontslaan en St John Cole-Bowen¹⁰⁰ na Bethulie te stuur om sake daar in orde te bring, was egter te laat, omrede meer as 1 100 mense teen 10 Desember 1901 reeds in hierdie kamp gesterf het.¹⁰¹ Onder Deare se bestuur het die Bethulie-kamp ’n reputasie as ’n “moordkamp” verwerf.¹⁰² Cole-Bowen verwys kort ná Deare se ontslag na die uitsonderlike groot aantal sterftes in hierdie kamp en meld dat “[s]ome of the people in Bethulie-camp are really skeletons”.¹⁰³

Tabel 2: Bethulie-kamp – Oorsake van sterftes, Augustus tot Desember 1901.

Oorsaak van sterftes	Aug 1901	Sept 1901	Okt 1901	Nov 1901	Des 1901
Masels	142	158	20	2	2
Longontsteking, brongitis	32	56	87	125	122
Maagkoors, diarree, gastro-enteritis	13	18	32	84	140
Wanvoeding, verswakte toestand	3	1	4	20	16
Koors, stuiptrekkings	2	6	9	7	3
Ander	7	2	5	4	6
Totaal	199	241	157	242	289



Grafiek 4: Bethulie-kamp – Hoofoorse van sterftes, Augustus tot Desember 1901.

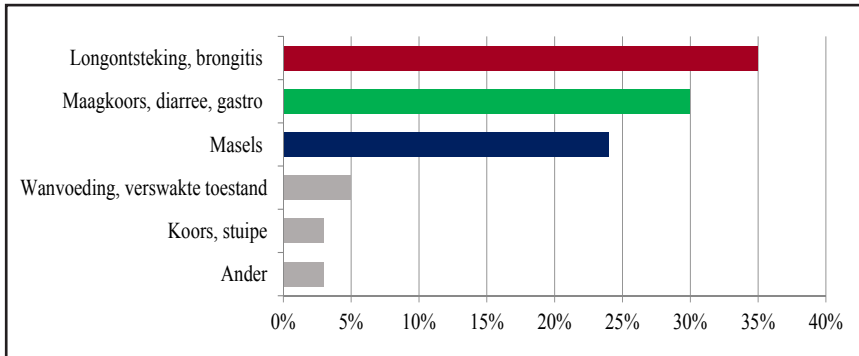
99 NASA, VAB, SRC, 41, 4544: Exceedingly high death rate at Bethulie RC, 1901-09-04.

100 St John Cole-Bowen, superintendent van die Norvalspont-kamp, wat sedert Desember 1901 as “Travelling Inspector of Refugee Camps” aangestel is. Hy het ná Deare se ontslag verskeie hervormings by die Bethulie-kamp ingestel wat tot ’n afname in die getal sterftes gelei het.

101 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp; OM, 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 17.

102 T Venter, *Bethulie en die...*, p 145.

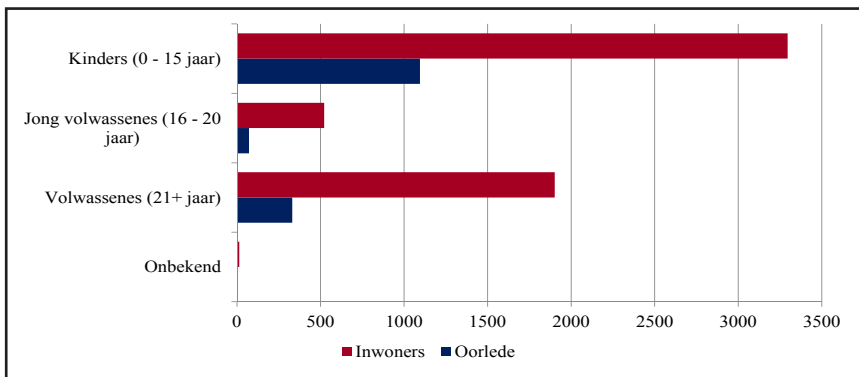
103 A Hocking persoonlike versameling, koerantknipselboek: *Adelaide Advertiser*; 1902-04-12.



Grafiek 5: Bethulie-kamp – Oorsaak van alle sterftes as 'n persentasie.

Impak op kinders en gesinne

Volgens 'n verslag insake konsentrasiekampe in die ORC was veral kinders in die Bethulie-kamp weerloos.¹⁰⁴ Dit blyk uit statistiek dat dit juis kinders was wat min weerstand teen die epidemies kon bied, aangesien 1 095 kinders onder die ouderdom van 16 jaar in die Bethulie-kamp gesterf het (sien Grafiek 6). Dit verteenwoordig 73% van die totale getal sterftes in die kamp.¹⁰⁵

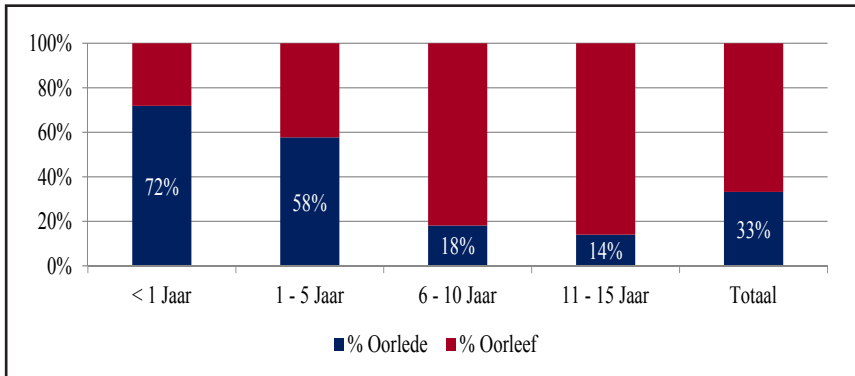


Grafiek 6: Bethulie-kamp – Totale getal sterftes per lewensfase van inwoners.

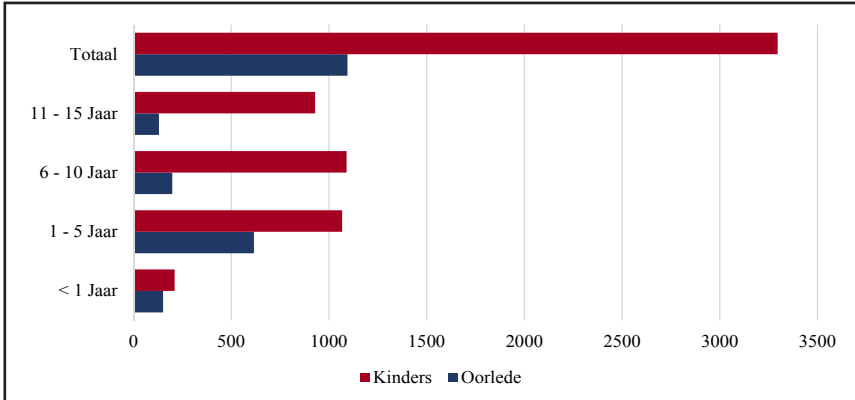
104 OM, 4899/625: Further papers on the working of the refugee camps in the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Natal (Cd. 853), Desember 1901, pp 4-5.

105 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

’n Vergelyking tussen die totale getal inwoners en die totale getal sterftes aangemeld, dui ook aan dat ongeveer 33% van die totale kinderbevolking van die Bethulie-kamp gesterf het. Voorts is dit belangrik om daarop te let dat veral kinders onder een jaar (72%) en tussen een en vyf jaar (58%) gesterf het (sien Grafieke 7 en 8).¹⁰⁶



Grafiek 7: Bethulie-kamp – Totale kindersterftes per ouderdomsgroep as ’n persentasie.



Grafiek 8: Bethulie-kamp – Totale getal kindersterftes per ouderdomsgroep.

106 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

Alhoewel die geboorte van kinders nie altyd goed gedokumenteer is nie, is bewyse gevind van ten minste 102 babas wat in die Bethulie-kamp gebore is, en waarvan 63 gesterf het. Slegs 59 kinders (28%) van die 210 kinders onder die ouderdom van een jaar, het oorleef. Uit die totale kinderbevolking van 3 296 (15 jaar en jonger) in hierdie kamp, het 33% gesterf. Vir inwoners uit die Bethulie-distrik is 15 babas gebore, waarvan slegs vier oorleef het.¹⁰⁷

In sommige gevalle is gesinne bykans uitgewis. Twee gesinne word as voorbeelde gebruik. Die Grobbelaar-gesin (sien Tabel 3) van die plaas Ganspoort, Bethulie, het binne vier maande vyf kinders aan die dood afgestaan. Die tweede voorbeeld is die De Jager-gesin (sien Tabel 4) van die plaas Glasford, distrik Bethulie, wat vyf seuns aan die dood afgestaan het. Slegs die ouers en die oudste kind, 'n dogter, het oorleef.¹⁰⁸

Tabel 3: Besonderhede van die Grobbelaar-gesin.

Naam	Ouderdom	Geslag	Oorlede	Oorsaak van dood
Dina Grobbelaar	34	Vroulik	–	–
Petrus Jacobus Grobbelaar	14	Manlik	–	–
Herkulaas Frederick Grobbelaar	12	Manlik	–	–
Hester Elizabeth Grobbelaar	11	Vroulik	–	–
Magdalena Jacomina Grobbelaar	8	Vroulik	1901-11-28	Longontsteking
Willem Jacobus Grobbelaar	6	Manlik	1901-12-29	Maagkoors
Daniël Venter Grobbelaar	4	Manlik	1901-10-21	Masels
Johannes Jacobus Grobbelaar	3	Manlik	1901-10-20	Masels
Hendrina Christoffel Grobbelaar	10 maande	Vroulik	1902-01-14	Diarree/gastroënteritis

Tabel 4: Besonderhede van die De Jager-gesin.

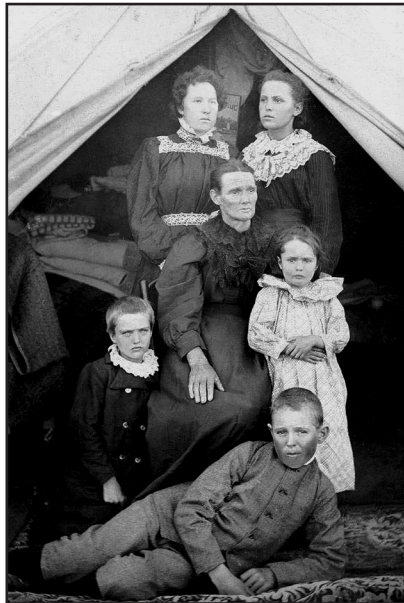
Naam	Ouderdom	Geslag	Oorlede	Oorsaak van dood
Gert Johannes de Jager	36	Manlik	–	–
Petronella de Jager	33	Vroulik	–	–
Classina Eleanor de Jager	10	Vroulik	–	–
Carolus JP de Jager	9	Manlik	1901-09-20	Maagkoors
Johannes Martinus de Jager	8	Manlik	1901-05-22	Koors/stuipe
Gert Johannes de Jager	5	Manlik	1901-12-12	Longontsteking
Hendrik Christoffel de Jager	4	Manlik	1901-09-02	Masels
Gideon de Jager	2	Manlik	1901-10-20	Longontsteking

107 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.

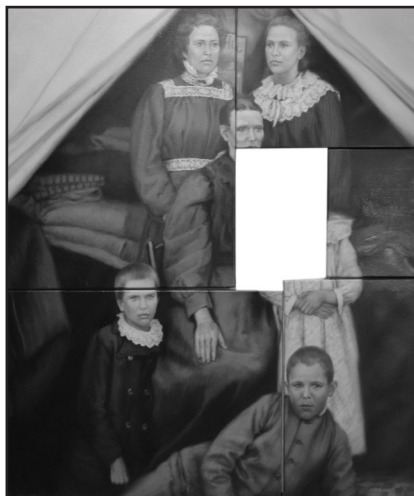
108 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.



Figuur 3: Die Bethulie-kampkerkhof waarvan die meeste grafte dié van kinders is.
(Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/5981)



Figuur 4: Die Botha en Oosthuizen families voor hul tent in die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.
(Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/8461)



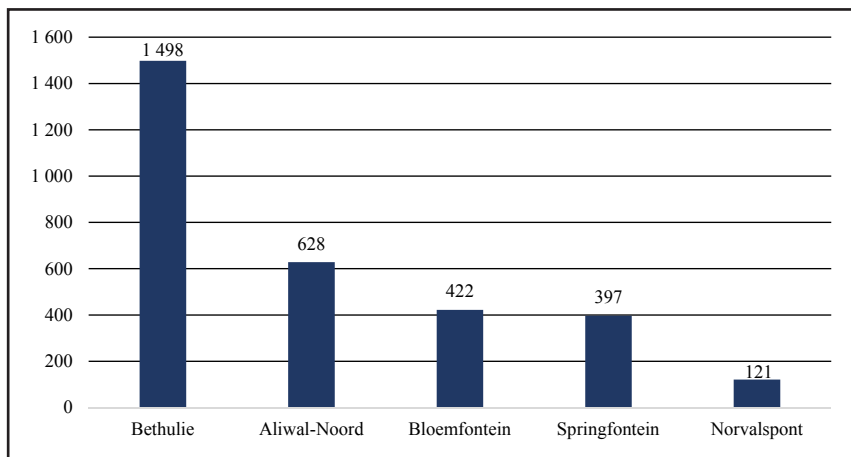
Figuur 5: Jaco van Schalkwyk se kunswerk “She did not have a candle” (olie op doek – 2013), verwys daarna dat moeders nooit sal vergeet hoe hul kinders in die donker moes sterf nie. Hierdie skildery, wat uit verskillende panele bestaan, is na aanleiding van ’n foto van ’n gesin in die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp geskep. Dit beeld die heengaan van ’n gesinslid (kind) uit. Hierdie kunswerk vorm deel van ’n versameling van 128 werke deur Suid-Afrikaanse kunstenaars wat spesiaal geskep is vir die 100-jarige herdenking van die onthulling van die Nasionale Vrouemonument.

(Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/9145)

Vergelyking met ander kampe

Die data vir die onderskeie kampe in die Suid-Vrystaat en Noordoos-Kaapkolonie toon dat die grootste aantal sterftes in die Bethulie-kamp aangeteken is, gevolg deur Aliwal-Noord (sien Grafiek 9). Die sterftes in die Aliwal-Noord-kamp is grootliks toegeskryf aan ’n masel-epidemie wat nie dadelik onder beheer gebring is nie.¹⁰⁹ Alhoewel die Bethulie-kamp ná die ander kampe ingerig is en dus verskeie bestaande modelle as voorbeeld kon gebruik, het die groot getal sterftes in hierdie kamp, soos wat die onderstaande tabel toon, net weer bevestig dat hierdie kamp oorhaastig ingerig en swak bestuur was, spesifiek wanneer dit met die omliggende kampe se sterftesyfers vergelyk word.

109 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Aliwal-Noord-, Springfontein- en Norvalspont-konsentrasiekamp.



Grafiek 9: Suid-Vrystaat kampe – Sterftes, alle inwoners.

Maatreëls en hervormings deur Cole-Bowen

Luitenant St John Cole-Bowen het in Desember 1901 die leisels by Deare oorgeneem en maatreëls ingestel wat onmiddellik ’n drastiese verandering in kamptoestande meegebring het. As ’n knap kampsuperintendent, het Cole-Bowen groot aansien onder die Norvalspont-kampinwoners, die Britse administrasie, die Fawcett-kommissie¹¹⁰ en selfs Emily Hobhouse geniet.¹¹¹ In Desember 1901 het Goud-Adams per brief vir Milner in kennis gestel van ’n groot uitbraak van masels by Bethulie, maar bygevoeg: “Cole-Bowen is there, have dismissed superintendent Deare for apathy.”¹¹²

In ’n poging om kampinwoners se lewenstandaard en lewensverwagting te verbeter, het kwessies soos voldoende skoon water, beter rantsoene, behuising en mediese versorging aandag geniet. Cole-Bowen het met klein, dog uiters noodsaaklike hervormings in en om die kamp begin, en die spasiëring tussen die tente op 21 Januarie 1902 was die eerste hiervan. ’n Kampinwoner bevestig dit deur te verwys na Cole-Bowen wat “die digbewoonde tentgebiede wat feitlik teen mekaar opgerig

110 ’n Kommissie van dames (ook genoem Ladies Committee) onder voorsitterskap van mej Millicent G Fawcett wat in Julie 1901 deur die Britse regering aangewys is om verslag te doen oor die omstandighede in konsentrasiekampe.

111 E van Heyningen, *The concentration camps...*, p 195.

112 NASA, VAB, SRC, 21, 6672: Outbreak of enteric at Bethulie RC, 1901-12-10.

was, se rye laat uithaal het”,¹¹³ met die gevolg dat die kamp na die noordoostekant uitgebrei het. Ná hierdie veranderinge het die siektes merkbaar begin verminder.¹¹⁴

Cole-Bowen het voorts nog twee dokters, asook meer verpleegpersoneel en beddens aangevra. Milner het hierdie pogings ondersteun en laat weet: “I have sent an urgent wire to the Principal Medical Officer for the nurses you require.”¹¹⁵ Wat die versorging en voeding van kinders betref is die volgende gedoen:

- ’n Sopkombuis is begin waar daar daagliks sop met vleis, groente en gort aan die kinders voorsien is, deur van nege 120 ℓ-stoomketels gebruik te maak.¹¹⁶
- 26 Soyer-stowe is bestel, elk van ongeveer 212 ℓ, waarop voedsel vir kinders en pasiënte in die hospitaal voorberei kon word.¹¹⁷
- Nuwe rantsoenskale is op aanbeveling van die Fawcett-kommissie ingestel.¹¹⁸ Voortaan sou veral kinders onder vyf jaar prioriteit geniet, aangesien sekere voedselsoorte soos meel, hawermout, rys, sout, konfyt, suurlemoensap, kondensmelk of ingedamppte melk, koffie en suiker voortaan by hierdie groep se rantsoen gevoeg is, asook spesiale “hospital comforts”, soos aartappels.¹¹⁹
- Beter vleis is voorsien. So verwys ’n kampinwoner daarna: “In die plek van slegte en maer vleis is nou kouevleis [gevroesde vleis] en blikkiesvleis ontvang.”¹²⁰

Verpleegster Roos beskryf Cole-Bowen as “’n man wat leef en sien wat verkeerd is ... So is die verbetering aan mnr. Cole-Bowen te danke en van toe af het die dood en siekte ook sommer afgeneem.”¹²¹ Uit statistiek (sien Grafiek 10) is dit duidelik dat die getal sterftes in hierdie kamp, danksy Cole-Bowen se hervormings, sedert Januarie 1902 drasties afgeneem het.¹²²

113 NALN, *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-06-16, p 9.

114 NALN, *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-06-16, p 9.

115 NASA, VAB, CO, 48: Despatch from High Commissioner regarding Bethulie RC, 1901-12-12.

116 NASA, VAB, SRC, 21, 7191: Scale of rations in the ORC RCs, 1902-01-16.

117 NASA, VAB, SRC, 73, 5044: Boilers needed in refugee camps, 1901-09-24.

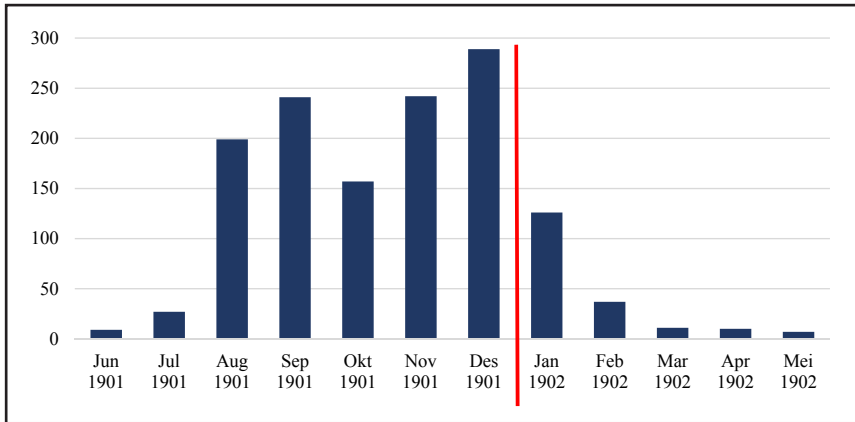
118 NASA, VAB, SRC, 108, 6705: Rations issued to Boer refugees, 1901-12-13.

119 NASA, VAB, SRC, 108, 6705: Rations issued to Boer refugees, 1901-12-13.

120 NALN, *Bethulie Nuusbrief*, 1978-06-16, p 9.

121 OM, 6455/1: Dagboek van Susara Johanna Roos, p 12.

122 JJR van Zyl persoonlike versameling: Databasis – Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp.



Grafiek 10: Bethulie-kamp – Vergelyking van sterftes voor en na hervormings: 1 Junie 1901 tot 31 Mei 1902.



Figuur 6: Kinders in die Bethulie-kamp tydens wasdag.
(Bron: NASA, Transvaalse Argiefbewaarplek, TAB 3710)



Figuur 7: Carla Krige het in 'n skildery, “Wasdag in die Bethulie-kamp” (olie op doek – 2013), hulde gebring aan kinders in die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp. Hierdie kunswerk vorm deel van die Nasionale Vrouemonument se 100-jarige herdenkingsversameling. (Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/9113)

Slotperspektiewe

Met die verloop van jare het Bethulie en sy gemeenskap weer geleidelik van die gevolge van die Anglo-Boereoorlog herstel, maar die nalatenskap van die konsentrasiekamp oorheers vandag steeds herinneringe aan dié dorp. Die statistiek vertel die verhaal van 'n oorlog teen burgerlikes en die verlies aan lewens, veral kinderlewens, en bevestig dat 'n groot menslike tragedie op die vlakte digby Bethulie afgespeel het.

Die statistiek van die Bethulie-konsentrasiekamp is nie net 'n stil getuie van 'n aantal gesinne wat bykans heeltemal uitgewis is nie, maar onderstreep die nalatigheid aan die kant van die Britse bestuur. Die oorhaastige inrigting en die onoordeelkundige bestuur van die Bethulie-kamp het 'n permanente impak op die lewens van die inwoners gehad. Cole-Bowen se effektiewe bestuur van die kamp sedert Desember 1901 staan in sterk kontras met Deare se swak bestuur. Cole-Bowen het binne die bestek van twee maande 'n groot verandering aan die lewenskwaliteit en lewensverwagting van die inwoners in hierdie kamp

teweegebring, sodat die vraag ontstaan wat die impak sou gewees het indien die kamp van die begin af reg bestuur was.

Die impak en nadraai van die verskroeiende beleid op Bethulie en sy buurdistrikte, word steeds deur hierdie gemeenskap onthou, by wyse van 'n jaarlikse kerkdiens en kranslegging. Hierdie 'onthou', deur herinneringe lewendig te hou, word versterk deur verskeie persoonlike items van oorlede kinders uit hierdie kamp wat in die Pellissierhuismuseum op Bethulie bewaar word. Vir besoekers aan die Bethulie-kampkerkhof bly die aangrypendste nalatenskap van swaarkry, die kopsteentjies van graffies met die name en gegewens van honderde kinders daarop. 'n Monument by die Oorlogsmuseum te Bloemfontein bring ook hulde aan die kinders wat in die Bethulie-kamp gesterf het (sien Figuur 8).

Die gebeure in die Bethulie-kamp het inderdaad 'n beduidende invloed op die wit bevolking se aanwas in die Suid-Vrystaat gehad en daar word dikwels verwys na 'n geslag wat verlore gegaan het. Die wetenskap van statistiek gee betekenis aan inligting, en die waarde van die datalys en die nuwe statistiek wat daaruit verkry kon word, is daarin geleë dat dit ondersteunend is tot verdere begrip en insig in gebeure rondom die geskiedenis van die Anglo-Boereoorlog. Sodanige datalys dien ook as 'n hulpmiddel om bestaande historiese gebeure en publikasies te kontroleer en leemtes aan te vul. Voorts verskaf dit ook waardevolle inligting vir genealogiese navorsing.



Figuur 8: Die Bethulie-monument op die terrein van die Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke wat in 2010 tydens 'n konferensie oor konsentrasiekampe onthul is. 'n Replika van 'n engelbeeldjie, waarvan die oorspronklike eens in die Bethulie-kamp was, vorm deel van hierdie monument wat hulde bring aan die kinders wat in hierdie kamp gesterf het.

(Bron: Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke, OM 0/9404 en OM 0/9405)

VALUING MEMORY AND LEGACY IN AND AROUND THE PARYS (FEZILE DABI) REGION: A BROADENED HISTORICAL AND COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

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The Fezile Dabi District in the Northern Free State, South Africa, consists of four local municipalities, namely Moqhaka (Kroonstad), Metsimaholo (Sasolburg), Ngwathe (Parys) and Mafube (Frankfort). The district's main attraction as far as public interest is concerned, is the Vredefort Dome which is the third-largest meteorite site in the world. The Parys district includes unique natural and environmental assets, such as the Vaal River with several islands in the proximity of Parys. However, when investigating these prominent landmarks, one should not overlook the fascinating historical legacy and memories that are also a feature of the region. These are memories that can broaden people's knowledge of past migrations, wars, the quest for land, early economies, township settlements and cultural life in precolonial, colonial, and post-apartheid times. Exploring the local and regional experience of these communities also slots seamlessly into South Africa's master narrative, but offers notable uniqueness, worthy of being remembered and re-examined as "history that surrounds us". In this presentation the authors share the region's historical legacy, as an exposition on how local communities value their diverse, broadened legacy in the post-1994 period.

Keywords: community, Fezile Dabi, memory, micro-history, Ngwathe, Parys, regional legacy

'n Waardering van herinnering en erfenis in en om die Parys (Fezile Dabi)-streek: 'n Verruimde historiese en gemeenskapsperspektief

Die distrik Fezile Dabi in die Noord-Vrystaat, Suid-Afrika, bestaan uit vier plaaslike munisipaliteite, te wete Moqhaka (Kroonstad), Metsimaholo (Sasolburg), Ngwathe (Parys), en Mafube (Frankfort). Die prominentste toeristaantreklikhede in die distrik is die Vredefortkoepelsterrein: geassosieer met die derde grootste meteorietsterrein ter wêreld. Die distrik Parys het ook unieke natuurlike en

omgewingsbates, soos die Vaalrivier met sy verskeie eilande geleë na aan Parys. Met sulke opvallende landmerkers word die historiese nalatenskap van die minder bekende herinneringe oor die hoof gesien, wat ongeligtes se insig sou kon verbreed het oor migrasies, oorloë, 'n soeke na grond, vroeë ekonomieë, township-nedersettings en kulturele lewe in prekoloniale, koloniale en postapartheidstye. Streek- tot plaaslike ervaringe en herinneringe of geskiedenis van gemeenskappe is verteenwoordig in etlike standaardpublikasies oor Suid-Afrika. Tog bied elke streek, soos Parys, 'n eiesoortige noemenswaardige uniekheid, waardig om van kennis te neem en onthou te word as “geskiedenis is oral om ons”. In hierdie bespreking word 'n snit van die streek se historiese nalatenskap gedeel, asook hoe die post-1994- plaaslike gemeenskappe hul diverse, verruimde plaaslike nalatenskap koester.

Sleutelwoorde: erfenis, Fezile Dabi, gemeenskap, herinnering, Ngwathe, Parys, plaaslike geskiedenis

Introduction

This article and the thoughts it raise were inspired by KT Motumi's doctoral study between 2017 and 2021.¹ The research project involved recording the perceptions and experiences of an “educational community” in the Parys area, examining the dictum that “history is all around us”.² Yet the project went further. It set out to explore what the local residents of Parys and Tumahole regard as the region's “history”, in a methodological way, and what motivates post-1994 communities, in particular, to remember.³ In this article the area's historical legacy is deliberated from diverse angles. The researchers closely studied community voices based on recent fieldwork done in the Parys region.

The Ngwathe Local Municipality region falls within the northern part of the Fezile Dabi District. Ngwathe refers to the Renoster River that runs between the towns of Kroonstad and Parys (Figure 1). The Vaal River in the north serves as the boundary between the Free State, Gauteng, and the North West Province. The town of Parys, and the adjacent African township, Tumahole, are the foci of this discussion and are situated in the Vaal River catchment area. These vibrant residential areas are steeped in the region's history of permanent settlement since the early 1830s.⁴

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- 1 See KT Motumi, “Practicalising the significance of ‘history-is-all-around-us’ approach in and outside the classroom” (PhD thesis, NWU), 2021.
 - 2 Compare KT Motumi, “Practicalising the significance...”, Chapter 2.
 - 3 KT Motumi, “Practicalising the significance...”, Chapters 3-4.
 - 4 JS Bergh, “African reaction to white penetration: The Central Districts of the Transvaal in the 1870's”, *Historia* 45(1), 2000, pp 47-56.



Figure 1: Map of the Fezile Dabi District Municipality (DC20)⁵

It is true that some of these early histories date from early pre-colonial times when narrations were undocumented and were kept alive in African storytelling and traditions passed down through generations. Some local narratives are less familiar, while others in colonial and post-colonial times are relatively better known. The discussion aims to unveil the known and the unknown as related and creating an understanding of human dynamics that are shaped by circumstances.

Research method

A mixed research method was followed in this community project. In addition to consulting an array of published scholarly works, KT Motumi conducted extensive fieldwork and interviewed the educational community, including school principals and teachers in Parys and the surrounding areas. Several learners also formed part of the research project. Participants were requested to complete an open-ended questionnaire using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” and were also invited to add any “additional comments” to each question if they wished to elaborate on their experiences or express an opinion about the value, they attach to taking history as a school subject.

The authors also conducted qualitative interviews with various community members using the three common types of interviews, namely, structured, semi-structured, and narrative interviews. The participants were selected from

5 District Municipalities of South Africa 2012–2020, Fezile Dabi District, <https://municipalities.co.za>, viewed 2020-05-01.

five public schools chosen specifically because of their rich history as offering a sound education to learners⁶ and being situated in the vicinity of Parys and its adjacent townships of Tumahole and Schonkenville, in the Free State province of South Africa.

In total, the sample group for this project comprised 50 learners from Grades 7 to 10 who studied social sciences and history.⁷ Additionally, education professionals including five social sciences teachers and two history teachers; five school principals; two subject advisors (of which one works in the social sciences and one who specialises in history) were also part of the research group. Representatives from outside the education sector, but with a close interest in the quality of education offered, included 20 learners' parents, and three community leaders, one each from the three designated residential areas, namely Parys, where the more affluent residents reside and the two former (apartheid era) segregated townships, Tumahole and Schonkenville. In the following sections we accentuate snippets of historical information and memories as obtained from the interviews within the region's broader historical context.

By interpreting the data gleaned from Motumi's research project, a section below about the "known" and the apparently "less familiar" local history as analysed from the resultant research, is shared and aims to accentuate what educators and learners know as historical legacy and experience as a legacy to be remembered. This research, and what was discovered about the familiar or lesser known/unfamiliar, was also complemented by the knowledge (that is, memory and legacy) proffered by the educational community (learners, teachers, principals, subject advisors, parents, and community leaders), and from a timely, and valued research project

6 For example, HF Verwoerd Primary is named after Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who was a South African politician, a scholar of applied psychology and sociology, and chief editor of *Die Transvaler* newspaper. He is commonly regarded as the architect of apartheid. AM Lembede Primary is named after Anton Muziwakhe Lembede who was a South African activist and founding president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944. He has been described as the "principal architect of South Africa's first full-fledged ideology of African nationalism" and was a teacher at the same school in the township of Tumahole in the late 1930s. Barnard Molokoane Secondary is named after Barnard Kgasitsiwe Molokoane who was an uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member and was killed near Secunda while attempting to sabotage the Sasol petroleum plant in November 1985. Schonkenville Intermediate School is named after Pienaar Schonken who Parys' town clerk was and who donated the land for the establishment of the coloured township in accordance with the policy of separate residential areas in apartheid South Africa. The neighbourhood took his name in 1980.

7 See KT Motumi, "Practicalising the significance...", Chapter 4.

undertaken by a resident, ET Martins, in 2007.⁸ This is a valuable unpublished source on the local history of the area.

From the historically “known” towards the “unknown”

The “known” can perhaps be defined as that history (or memory) that is “out there” and is the result of decades of reflecting on the local history of Parys and the wider region. In contrast, the “unknown,” less tangible and intangible memories appear to have faded and are now only familiar to the serious individual scholar or academic, or also to local people – but often on their terms. These “own terms” may well be without the necessary validation or be influenced by individual opinions. On the other hand, one may express the “known” in tangible, observable legacies that serve as everyday reminders, such as monuments; buildings; street names etc. More intellectual space seems necessary for the “unknown” to become fully recognised and some interesting available snippets on some (as yet) lesser-known histories of the Parys region have yet to be discovered.

The Parys region: blended precolonial legacies in environmental harmony

The Vredefort Dome World Heritage site⁹ is located in the Parys Municipal area and is undoubtedly the region’s best-known tourist attraction.¹⁰ Two major rivers, the Vaal and the Renoster run through the region and together with various dams, serve as prominent water sources for agricultural purposes.¹¹ Indigenous San, Sesotho and the Setswana linguistic groups once lived here along the banks of the Vaal River as far back as the Late Stone Age and Late Iron age (the latter dating from about the 13th to the 19th century).¹² Later they migrated as far east as the Vet River. Historian Martin Legassick recounts that stone kraal remains were identified on the hills around the Vredefort Dome. Some Sesotho and Setswana-speaking people lived here from the 15th to the 17th centuries.¹³ These people

8 ET Martins (compiler), “Tumahole yesterday, today and tomorrow”, unpublished manuscript, Tumahole, Parys, 2007.

9 WU Reimold & RL Gibson, *Meteorite impact! The danger from space and South Africa’s mega impact the Vredefort structure* (Pretoria, 2005), pp 197-209.

10 WU Reimold & RL Gibson, *Meteorite impact!...*, pp 197-209.

11 Vredefort Dome-UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1162/>, viewed 2020-05-01.

12 PJ Byrne, “A landscape approach to the archaeology of the Vredefort Dome” (MA Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand), 2012, Chapter 1.

13 MC Legassick, “The politics of a South African frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the missionaries, 1780–1840” (PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles), 1969, Basler Afrika Bibliographien: Basel.

were exploiting the area for stones to be fashioned into weapons, as well as for gold and granite.¹⁴

Three major cultural historic architectural styles are still visible in the Kopjeskraal agricultural area near Parys. The oldest, known as circular shelters, probably have no association with the gold-mining activity in the Venterskroon mining area.¹⁵ Their approximately one-metre-high rock walls have withstood the weathering process through the ages and were home to Sotho and Tswana farmers between the 1500s and the 1700s.¹⁶



Figure 2: Stacked rock-wall kraals of the Sesotho/Setswana-speaking people, near Parys.
(Photograph: KT Motumi, October 2022)

The tumultuous period known as the Mfecane (Zulu) or Difaqane (Sotho) saw destructive wars between various indigenous communities in the interior from 1818 to 1835. The Mfecane caused desolation and famine over large areas, resulting in depopulation and displacement of people.¹⁷ There was a scramble for better grazing, and unoccupied territories along the rivers, such as the Vaal River, were targeted.¹⁸ The Bataung under their leader Moletsane caused havoc along

14 Granite mining commenced in the Vredefort Dome area in about the 1890s and continued for a century in the Kopjeskraal area near Parys. In ca 1998 most mines closed down due to the decline in the mining of the Parys pink granite, and the environmental pressure applied by the local population and companies involved. See PJ Byrne, "A Landscape Approach...", pp 95-96.

15 WU Reimold & RL Gibson, *Meteorite Impact!...*, pp 197-209.

16 WU Reimold & RL Gibson, *Meteorite Impact!...*, pp 197-209.

17 M Garstang, AD Coleman & M Therrell, "Climate and the Mfecane", *South African Journal of Science* 110(5/6), 2014, pp 1-7.

18 JWN Tempelhoff, "Water and Human Culture of appropriation: The Vaal River up to 1956", *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 2(2), 2006, pp 431-452.

the Vaal during this period, attacking various groups such as the Korana and the Sesotho/Setswana-speaking people. With the arrival of Mzilikazi, leader of a group collectively known as the Matabele (or Ndebele) from Natal the power dynamic in the region changed completely. Mzilikazi's warriors ravaged the country to the north of the Vaal River and almost exterminated the Moletsane's Bataung.¹⁹

Most of the villages in the Parys area along the Vaal River were built in defensive positions on the crests of the hills, but this failed to protect them from destruction by Mzilikazi's warriors. They raided cattle and abducted women, and in the process, the "area along the Vaal River was decimated".²⁰ Rasmussen traces Mzilikazi's movements southwest towards the central Vaal River area in ca 1823. This is where Mzilikazi consolidated his kingdom, gathering more followers such as "Nguni refugees, or incorporating local Sotho women and children he had captured".²¹ Mzilikazi's territory stretched from the confluence of the Vaal and Suikerbos Rivers in the east to the confluence of the Vaal and the Mooi Rivers in the west. His position remained secure until the arrival of the European settlers from the Cape Colony. Khoisan people also migrated into the previously uncolonised central interior. Later, in what became known as the Great Trek (1835–1854), the settlers (also known as Voortrekkers) moved further into the interior.²²

Due to the Mfecane/Difaqane wars, a large part of the interior and the central Highveld on both sides of the Vaal River was in a state of turmoil, but not depopulated. Several isolated battles in the region, such as the Battle of the Vaal River (25 August 1836) can be recalled.²³ A group of Hendrik Potgieter's followers crossed the Vaal River in a northern direction, which was Mzilikazi's territory's southern border. This prompted Mzilikazi's warriors to launch an attack on the Voortrekker party near the present-day Parys (the farm Rietpoort, adjacent to

19 Compare ES van Eeden, Land Reform in South Africa: Questions and politics with regard to land claims as officially proposed: A case study of the farm Deelkraal IQ142, North West Province, *South African Historical Journal* 57, May 2007, pp 179-200; H Giliomee & B Mbenga, *New history of South Africa* (Cape Town, 2007), pp 124-138.

20 J Visagie, Migration and Societies North of the Gariep River, in F Pretorius, *A history of South Africa. From the distant past to the present day* (Pretoria, 2014), pp 107-108; H Giliomee & B Mbenga, *New history of South Africa*, pp 124-138.

21 RK Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (London, Collings, 1978).

22 M Naudé, Beyond the frontier history of the Vredefort Dome area, in WU Reimold & RL Gibson, *Meteorite impact! The danger from space and South Africa's mega-impact the Vredefort structure* (Pretoria: Chris van Rensburg Publications, 2005), pp 197-209; JS Bergh, African Reaction to White Penetration..., *Historia* 45(1), 2000, pp 47-56.

23 J de Villiers, Cape Colonial Society under British Rule, in F Pretorius (ed), *A history of South Africa...*, pp 108-116.

Kopjeskraal camp),²⁴ wiping out almost all of them.²⁵ A bronze plaque reminds the inhabitants of the region of this massacre.

Parys, South Africa: A river runs through it

As a person pages through accounts of Parys' history, one of the first colonial towns to be established near the Vaal River, it is evident that outsiders influenced the community as farms were established. This was apparent in the case of Parys residents who, in an idyllic fashion, associated themselves with the French capital.²⁶ Then too, in the first decades of the twentieth century, traces of German involvement in business establishments became evident although these gradually disappeared because other areas were regarded as economically better positioned.²⁷

Parys was first established on the farm Klipspruit in 1876 (see Figures 3 to 6). The Klipspruit development is associated with the three Van Coller brothers Hans, Dolf, and Philip, and their brother-in-law, Willem Davel who migrated from the Heilbron area. On 14 June 1876, the first seven erven on Klipspruit were measured for sale by Mr Fleck the land surveyor. These erven were auctioned by Wouter de Villiers, and the starting "price of the erven was 25 pounds each". Streets were named after Van Coller, Dolf, and Philip in memory of these original property owners.²⁸ Suggestions after 1876 have been made about the origin of the name Parys. The most likely is that it was suggested by a German land surveyor, C Schilbach. Schilbach served in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)²⁹ and participated in the siege of Paris. Another factor that may well have influenced Schilbach's decision, was the Vaal River which he likened to the Seine. In choosing the name, he was

24 JJ Retief, The Voortrekker and the Ndebele, Part 1: Attacks at the Vaal River and Liebenbergskoppie, 21 and 23 August 1836, *Military History Journal* 16(6), 2015.

25 J Visagie, The emigration of the Voortrekkers into the interior, in F Pretorius, A history of South Africa..., p 138; C Potgieter & NH Theunissen, *Hendrik Potgieter*, (Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, 1938), p 50; JS Bergh, African reaction to white penetration..., *Historia* 45(1), 2000, pp 47-56; JS Bergh, 'To make them serve': The 1871 Transvaal Commission on African labour as a source for agrarian history, *History in Africa* 29, 2002, pp 48-53.

26 Fochville close to Parys was named after General Foch of France, who fought in the First World War. See also ES van Eeden, "Die geskiedenis van die Gatsrand vanaf die vestiging van die Trekkergemeenskap omstreeks 1839 tot die proklamering van Carletonville in 1948", (MA, PUvirCHO, 1988); ES van Eeden, "Ekonomiese ontwikkeling en die invloed daarvan op Carletonville, 1948–1988: 'n Historiese studie" (PhD, PUvirCHO, 1992).

27 See the discussion on Parys.

28 R Horn (ed), Parys, its story, *Parys Post*, 8, 15, 22 & 29 March 1927; 5, 12 & 19 April 1927.

29 Compare F Brown, *For the soul of France: Culture wars in the age of Dreyfus* (New York: Knopf, 2010).

possibly also predicting that one day the town would develop on both sides of the Vaal River, as the Seine River runs through Paris. In similar vein, Schilbach named the two adjoining farms Issy and Versailles, after two of the forts outside Paris.



Figure 3: The Vaal River near Parys in 2019.



Figure 4: A Vaal River cruise in 1889
(Source for both photos: Parys Museum)



Figure 5: Riviera-on-the Vaal Hotel and Country Club, Gauteng South Africa, 2021.
(Source: https://gauteng.hotelguide.co.za/Gauteng_Info-travel/vaal-area-gauteng.html, viewed 2021-10-17)

Figure 6 below displays a copy of the deed of sale of the first stands on the farm Klipspruit (currently Parys) on 14 June 1876. For these first erven the land surveyor was a Mr Fleck from Heilbron. The Volksraad only recognised the town on 16 May 1882 and was then officially named Parys (from surveyor Schilbach's inspiration).³⁰

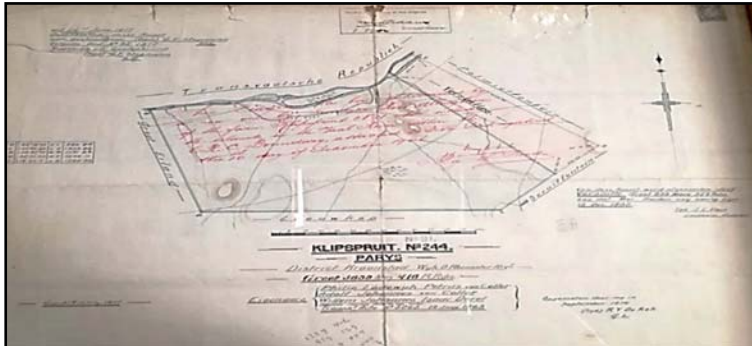


Figure 6: A copy of the deed of sale of stands, Klipspruit farm, No. 244 (Parys, 14 June 1876). (Source: Parys Museum)

During the first few years of the town's existence, very little development was recorded. What may be termed the beginning of municipal administration was in 1883 when a Village Management Board was appointed. The first progress in the emerging town was made in 1882 when Sir John Brand acceded to requests for some form of justice – a magistrate – but that he be positioned much closer than Heilbron which was 44 miles (70.8 kilometers) away. The first and only office holder until 1897 was JP Steytler when a resident magistrate for Parys replaced him.³¹ Shortly thereafter, in 1899, the South African War (also known as the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902)) broke out, which resulted in an array of devastating effects. Once peace was signed the town management was returned to a Village Management Board, under the chairmanship of Reverend JK Derry. Families who had been ruined economically by the war and had no means of survival, saw hope in the 1905 relief work development to build a railway line between Parys and Dover Station. This was a branch of the main Johannesburg–Bloemfontein railway line and enters Parys from the west, ending at the town of Vrededorp (Figure 7).³²

30 Free State Archival Repository, Bloemfontein, Oranje-Vrystaat Volksraad, Notulen der verrichtingen, 1881-05-21, pp 169-175 and 1882-05-16, pp 212-213; R Horn (ed), Parys, its story, *Parys Post*, 8, 15, 22 & 29 March 1927; 5, 12 & 19 April 1927.

31 R Horn (ed), Parys, its story, *Parys Post*, 5, 12 & 19 April 1927.

32 H Muller, The Free State forgotten railway line, *The Heritage Portal*, April 2019.



Figure 7: The opening ceremony of the Dover–Parys railway line in 1905.
(Source: H Muller, “The Free State’s forgotten railway line”,
The Heritage Portal, April 2019)

The completion of the Dover–Parys railway line led to the development of Parys as a holiday resort and an industrial centre.³³ The new town was now marketed as the “Pride of the Vaal” and city dwellers flocked to the lush green riverbanks by train. Special swimming facilities were provided, and luxury accommodation was offered at Mimosa Gardens. Bungalows were built on Woody Island and were serviced by the Woody Island Ferry. However, this venture did not last very long due to the inaccessibility of the island during periods when the Vaal River was in flood.

Before the completion of the Dover–Parys railway line in 1905, the residents believed that a bridge across the Vaal River was long overdue. To reach the town, one had to make use of the Woody Island Ferry service to cross to Woody Island, and from there another ferry completed the crossing. Then too, farmers on the Transvaal side of the Vaal River often decided to go to Potchefstroom, 48 kilometres away rather than face the “trouble and expense of a ferry crossing to [get across the river to] Parys”.³⁴ Towards the end of 1913, tenders were advertised for the construction of a reinforced concrete bridge over the Vaal River joining Parys and the farming community on the Transvaal side. The contract for the

33 R Horn (ed), Parys, its story, *Parys Post*, 5, 12 & 19 April 1927.

34 R Horn (ed), Parys, its story, *Parys Post*, 8, 15, 22 & 29 March 1927.

construction of the bridge was awarded to a certain Mr Warren, who started work in May 1914. However, due to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, there were long delays, and the concrete bridge was only completed and opened for traffic by ca. Christmas 1915.

The completion of the Dover–Parys railway line in 1905, the construction of the concrete bridge over the Vaal River in 1915, and the reliable water supply from the Vaal River, all accelerated the economic development of Parys. One of the first industries to be established, which also “coincided with the completion of the railway line in 1905, was a jam factory”.³⁵ According to Percy Ramaholi, Parys was affectionately known as *Diperekising*, which can roughly be translated as “place full of peaches” due to the abundant supply of peaches in the region and the constant supply of peach jam to outside markets.³⁶ Though peach farming in the region is not as lucrative as it was, Parys remains well known for peach farming, and its tobacco, corn (maize), sorghum, and cattle farming in the Free State. The brothers Max and Louis Benjamin established a roller mill in 1919 (Figure 8), to serve the local corn (maize) and sorghum-producing farmers in the Parys area. By 2021, the industry was still doing brisk business in the town, trading as Parys Roller Milling Co.



Figure 8: The Parys Roller Milling Company in 1928.
(Photograph: KT Motumi, August 2019)

35 AG Oberholster, Parys on the Vaal, *Contree* 3, January 1978, pp 10-15. See also *Parys on the Vaal*, <https://showme.co.za>.

36 KT Motumi private collection (KTM), Interview: P Ramaholi (former school principal), The Oral History of Tumahole Township, 2019-07-10.

Other industries that also employed locals were The Parys Basket Works (1927),³⁷ and The Vaal River Boeren Tabak Maatschappij (1928). Both became thriving concerns. The tobacco company applied locally grown tobacco on co-operative principles.³⁸ An interesting fact about the Parys Basket Works is that they used a special kind of willow, planted only along the banks of the Vaal River near Parys.³⁹

Though the Second World War (1939–1945) impacted the South African economy, some Parys industries remained stable. By the mid-1950s, large and sophisticated industries such as Germany’s industrial giants, ARWA,⁴⁰ the hosiery factory (Figures 9 and 10),⁴¹ BASA, a factory that produced nuts and bolts (Figure 11),⁴² Vetsak (an agricultural co-operative), and the Metro Clothing Company, all had factories in the industrial area of Parys.⁴³



Figure 9: The ARWA hosiery factory building, 1977.
(Source: Parys Museum)

37 Parys Gazette, Parys Basket Works, *Parys Museum*, Parys, 1927.

38 South African Railways and Harbours Brochure, Parys Municipality and South African Railways and Harbours, Parys, Orange Free State, 1927, p 22.

39 L Scheepers, The Memory of Parys Basket Works, *Parys Gazette*, 2018-06-20.

40 Arwa is associated with a female name in Arabic and means “gracefulness and beauty”. See <https://thenamesdictionary.com/name-meanings/27417/name-meaning-of-arwa>, viewed 2021-10-19.

41 ARWA opened business in the industrial area of Parys in 1951 as Parys Hosiery (Pty) and by 1977 it had more than 500 black and 150 white people on its payroll.

42 “BASA-Brochure, 1977”, Parys Museum, Parys, 2019.

43 J de Beer, It’s not Paris, but Parys has lots to offer, *The Saturday Star Travel*, 2005-05-28.

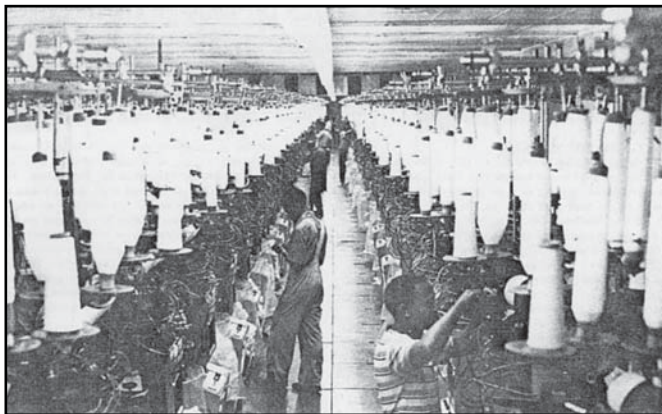


Figure 10: Knitting machines in the ARWA hosiery factory, Parys.
(Source: AG Oberholster, Parys on the Vaal, *Contree* 3, January 1978, pp 10-15)

However, ARWA and BASA closed their business enterprises in Parys in 1994⁴⁴ and 1991⁴⁵ respectively, terminating the proud Parys–German connection. However, almost a century later, the legacy of these large industrial buildings is still evident. They are an indelible testimony to celebrated economic activity in town. Apart from several churches dating back to the early twentieth century, many new buildings have since become operational as economic and social activity centres, fuelled by traffic between Johannesburg and Bloemfontein passing through Parys.



Figure 11: The BASA factory building, Parys.
(Source: AG Oberholster, Parys on the Vaal, *Contree* 3, January 1978)

44 According to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) card of one of the workers, Dorothy Lehoko, who worked at ARWA from 1974, the factory closed in December 1994.

45 In the case of BASA, the UIF card of Joseph Ramabulana who worked in that factory from 1968, indicates that the company closed its doors in December 1991.

An iconic building which reminds residents and by-passers alike of Parys' historical heritage, is the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) which stands proudly in the middle of town. It was used as a "fortress for the British soldiers" during the South African War.⁴⁶ Parys also has other iconic culturally significant churches, such as the Methodist Church (1898) and the Church of England (Anglican) (1915). The Anglican church was built with blue granite blocks and reminds us of a time when precolonial establishments gradually infused British colonial South Africa. The historic courthouse, transformed into the Parys Museum in 1967, was initially housed in the old magistrate's office opposite the Town Hall. The building represents the short-lived Orange River Colony architectural style, and the complex was proclaimed a "provincial heritage site in 1986".⁴⁷

The Parys suspension bridge was built in 1919 for the convenience of those who wanted to cross the river from Golf Island to Parys on the mainland. An elderly resident remembers:

In my younger years [ca 1968] I remember that we crossed this bridge in order to occupy a picnic spot close to the river, finding places where one could swim... The bridge is not in use now, it is actually blocked off on the far end. This is because the island has been taken over by the golf club and they would not want people to take a shortcut onto the fairway to play a free game. It's a pity that the island is not available anymore for picnicking.⁴⁸

Recently, the water under the suspension bridge has become a "collective people's place, and a space to be remembered as part of the history of Parys".⁴⁹

The railway line connects Vredefort and Parys to Dover Station which is on the main line from Vereeniging to Kroonstad. Amongst these cultural-historical buildings are the Parys railway station erected in 1930. Its style is reminiscent of Dutch colonial architecture.

46 Photo of the Dutch Reformed Church, Parys Museum, Parys, 1899.

47 'Parys Free State', *Pathfinda*, Parys Museum, February 2018. At the time of writing the museum was not open to the public.

48 Anon., "Rural & Urban Exploration", <https://ruralexploration.co.za/Parys.html>, viewed 2021-10-19.

49 TJ Mboweni & EP de Crom, A narrative interpretation of the cultural impressions on water of the communities along the Vaal River, Parys, Free State, *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 12(1), 2016, pp 1-7.

As part of the restructuring of Transnet, the Dover–Parys railway line was closed in 2001, and the Parys station (1930) was sold to a rail construction company.⁵⁰ In the apartheid era before 1994, the government’s separate amenities policy was implemented by the South African Railways, with a prominently displayed “Whites only” sign on the Parys railway station platform bearing testimony to that effect. By 2019, just before the global outbreak of the Covid-19-pandemic created havoc in South Africa and the world at large, Parys was widely known as the jewel of the Vaal River.

Entertainment and tourism suitable for a region with a river

Between 1930 and 1980, Mimosa Gardens, a popular riverside resort in Parys was developed on the banks of the Vaal and was named the “Queen of the Vaal” (Figure 12). It was a prime entertainment area offering a variety of leisure activities and the brainchild of the Parys Village Management Board of 1887.⁵¹ Mimosa Gardens became a well-known holiday resort in South Africa’s apartheid years.



Figure 12: Mimosa Gardens, known as the “Queen of the Vaal” in the 1980s.
(Photograph: KT Motumi, August 2019)

50 H Muller, “The Free State’s...”, *The Heritage Portal*, 2019-04-12.

51 R Horn, “Parys, its history and interesting points, 1876–1976”, *Parys Post*, March–April 1927.

A twentieth century colonial economy: Accentuating cultural identity and the struggles of the past

Motumi highlighted an interesting aspect in his doctoral research (and likely typified what was happening elsewhere). This was how the local Parys schools became institutions that engraved specific identities and ideas on the residents and governing authorities in the area.⁵² Motumi's research indicated that the broader national voice in post-1994 South Africa was mirrored and became apparent in Parys in the particular histories embraced by the divergent cultural groups. African learners and town management officials tend to take their identities from struggle heroes, while the history remembered, and identities adopted by other residents in the Parys suburbs differ remarkably.

For example, the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek (1838–1854) in Parys were commemorated with enthusiasm. Two Voortrekker monuments were erected in the town. One at the Parys High school reminds learners of the great sacrifices made by the brave Voortrekkers in their quest for independence from British rule.⁵³ At the time, the principal, J van Huyssteen called upon educators to ensure that the learners were guided, indeed “inspired”, towards becoming “good Afrikaners, true to themselves [true to] ... their language, their religion ... [and] their Motherland”.⁵⁴

On the other hand, other residents' ideas of “home” appear to hark back to European imagery or memory (such as mentioned above in the choice of naming Parys and Fochville). Brave deeds and events, which took place far away may have engraved an identity upon a white immigrant whose ancestors lived a very different life on another continent. Ideas of “home” are apparent in the church architecture tradition' the aesthetics and surroundings and the international aura that businesses from abroad established. All these “histories” impacted residents and were unconsciously part of a slow process of identity formation in the Parys region.

Schools as Volkskole and later as places to preserve the memories of political heroes

After the South African War and the signing of the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, most of the teachers at the Parys School were of English, Scottish or

52 KT Motumi, “Practicalising the significance...”, Chapters 3-4.

53 Parys High School, “Voortrekker Eeufees”, 1938-11-31; 1938-11-02.

54 J Huyssteen, “Parys High School Logbook entry”, Parys High School, Parys, 1939-10-31.

Irish descent in line with Lord Milner’s “Anglicization policy in South Africa”.⁵⁵ Then, in 1905, the Parys Town Council presented the Department of Education with a large piece of land for educational purposes, and the main building of the Parys Volksskool (the current HF Verwoerd primary school) was built (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Parys Volksskool central building, 1905.
(Source: Parys Volksskool Archives)

During the 1960s, it was common for all primary schools in the Free State Province, which were not given a specific name, to be known as “Volkskole” following the government policy of Christian National Education. The Parys Primary School, therefore, was known as “Parys Volksskool” until 1967 and its motto was simply, “*Skouer aan die wiel*”, which is translated as “shoulder to the wheel”.⁵⁶ These political-inspired, emotional interventions in school affairs and identity intensified in the formal apartheid years in South Africa. This rankled other, diverse cultures seeking a right to existence and their right to individualised political identities. There are interesting examples of this in the Parys region: the Parys Volksskool changed its name after the assassination of Dr HF Verwoerd the prime minister of the Republic of South Africa, on 6 September 1966.⁵⁷ In 1967 the school principal, GCS Meyer took the initiative to change the name of the school to HF Verwoerd Primary School.⁵⁸

55 JL Thompson, *Forgotten patriot: A life of Alfred, Viscount Milner of St. James's and Cape Town, 1854–1925* (New York, 2007), p 131.

56 Skool Jaarboek, 1967, Parys Volksskool, Parys; KTM private collection, Interview: C de Swart, HF Verwoerd Primary School principal, April 2019.

57 CJ Beyers, *Dictionary of South African Biography* 4 (Durban, 1981), pp 730-740.

58 HFV Geskiedenis, “Primêre Skool Parys”, <https://psp.parys.co.za/index.php>, viewed 2019-05-12.

Other examples make interesting comparisons. Due to the country-wide political pressure in 2015 to erase all public reminders of colonialism, another politically inspired move was made, this time under the banner of the “#colonial and apartheid statues must fall” campaign. History again came to bear on South African society.⁵⁹ The name, HF Verwoerd Primary School was changed back to Parys Primary School on 1 October 2015 and the statue of HF Verwoerd was removed from its site.⁶⁰

Unwelcome identities?

Another apartheid government legacy which affected Parys was the strict “enforcement of the laws which denied Indian people access to the Free State”.⁶¹ A general dealership on the far side of the bridge over the Vaal River, that had existed since the 1930s, belonged to a Mr Jalalpor (snr). Being of Indian descent, Mr Jalalpor was prohibited to own a business in Parys in terms of the 1891 Statute Law of the Orange Free State. As his son put it in an interview, in those days his father had to have a “day pass to enter the town of Parys”.⁶²

From Ntshwephepa to Tumahole after 1899 – and further from water sources

Before the present township of Tumahole was established in ca. 1899 people of colour were compelled to live along the Heilbron-Koppies road in an area currently known as Vaal Parys. Later, they were relocated to the Sunnyside area, where Pula Hardware is currently situated. This area was known as “die Swartblok” in those years.⁶³

After the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902, many irrigation canals were built to lead water from the Vaal River to Parys and the African township. However, the African people were relocated to the other side of the canal and about 800 metres away from the edge. The canal became a boundary separating Parys’ white residential area from the people of colour’s homes. This was the first time in Parys’ history

59 Z Matebeni, “#Rhodes Must Fall – It was Never Just About the Statue”, *Perspective* 3, December 2017, pp 14-17.

60 “School Logbook entry”, Parys Primary School, Parys, 2015.

61 The Statute Law of the Orange Free State, 1891. This law prohibits “all Indian Businesses, and are forced to close by 11 September 1891”, and their owners deported from the Orange Free State province without compensation, <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org>, viewed 2021-03-31.

62 KTM private collection, Interview: Jalalpor junior, 2020-02-20. In 2021, Jalalpor junior was still operating his general dealership business on the banks of the Vaal River on the side of the North West province.

63 ET Martins (compiler), Tumahole yesterday, today and tomorrow, unpublished manuscript, Tumahole, Parys, 2007.

that legislated residential separation was applied. The coloured people were located closer to the town and the water canal. Their residential area was known as the “Cape Stands”.⁶⁴ As for the black Africans of Tumahole, they were resettled on land some distance away from the water canal and the white residential area. The township’s name changed many times during the years when it was moved from one site to another. Because many of the inhabitants are Sesotho/Setswana-speaking it was first called Ntshwephepa and later became known as Tumahole.

According to a resident’s memoirs, there is a small hill, a few kilometres south of Parys and east of the road to Vredefort, where Sesotho/Setswana-speaking people used to live. Their kraals’ ruins are still visible today. This community farmed here for centuries.⁶⁵ During the South African War the bush-covered hillside was also known as Kafferskop (see the monument in Figure 14) This memorial was erected in memory of Frans Jooste and commemorates his bravery in capturing an ammunition wagon which subsequently exploded, causing his death.⁶⁶ This and other memorials and significant heritage sites and objects in and around Parys are worthy of further investigation. Another memorial commemorates a Canadian woman, Sylvia Blanche Lee, who taught the children in refugee camps in the area. She sadly died of typhoid fever at a young age.⁶⁷ (See Figures 15(a) and 15(b)).



Figure 14: The monument in memory of Frans Jooste erected at Kafferskop farm, between Parys and Vredefort.
(Photograph: KT Motumi, 2019)

64 River Lodge Estates, The Origin and early History of Parys and surrounding areas, <https://riverlodgeestate.co.za>, viewed 2020-05-13.

65 TN Huffman, Regionality in the Iron Age..., *Southern African Humanities* 14, 2002, pp 1-22; Anon., Venterskroon, Rural and Urban exploration, ruralexploration.co.za>Venterskroon, viewed 2020-03-19.

66 D van Vuuren, Anglo Boer War graves, Frans Jooste monument, Parys, *Boer and Brit, our last South African heritage*, 24 November 2016, from <https://www.boerenbrit.com> archives.

67 See <https://ruralexploration.co.za/Parys.html> in which Ms Ria Myburgh (archivist at the Parys Museum) shared the Waterloo Advertiser of Canada’s report on Lee with readers, 1903-04-11.



Figure 15(a): Tombstone of Sylvia Blanche Lee (Parys Cemetery).
(Photograph: KT Motumi, 2019)



Figure 15(b): Sylvia Blanche Lee.
(Source: E Maud Graham, *A Canadian girl in South Africa* (Toronto, William Briggs, 1905), p 12)

Reverting to the history of Ntshwephepa, meaning “white shiny stones”, it is suggested that many bright, white stones, which twinkled after the rain, covered the little hill described above. According to legend, the name was used until 1905.⁶⁸ The subsequent development of a variety of industries in the region resulted in a name and status change for the township. Ntshwephepa became Diperekising (place of peaches and jam) in 1905. In 1920 the township received recognition and registration as a permanent residential area for black people.⁶⁹ From the early 1950s, Diperekising changed to Dikausing, amusingly meaning ‘place of socks’ because the ARWA hosiery factory had opened nearby. In 1960 there was yet another name change, this time Dikausing became Dikolobeng (place of pigs) because of the largest pork market). The latest name change was in 1980 when the township became known as Tumahole. Daniel Hlalele (the former principal of AM Lembede Lower Primary School) a businessman and councillor in the local government,⁷⁰ proposed that the name Tumahole was appropriate because it was the name of the former post office of the area. He felt this name should not

68 KTM private collection, Review: P Ramaholi (Ntshwephepa Primary School principal, 1999–2016), 2020-01-03.

69 TJ Skhosana, “A Pentecostal response to the challenges of HIV/AIDS in Tumahole” (MA thesis, University of South Africa), 2000, p 12.

70 The Black Local Authorities Act, 1982, made provision for the establishment of a series of local government structures like those operating in the South African apartheid “White areas”. For the first time, under apartheid, black African residents in urban locations gained something like autonomy.

disappear or be erased from the historical records in the African township.⁷¹ To preserve the name for future generations, he recommended that the name Tumahole be adopted, and this was duly accepted.⁷² Ironically, Tumahole means “a place without borders” or “a well-known place”. Sadly, the history of the township’s existence as Ntshwephepa from 1899 is not fully documented. Documented memory lives mainly through a missionary perspective and the recording of oral memories was only initiated in 2007.

Presently, parts of Tumahole are referred to as the “Old Location” while new houses are being built on the other side of Brown Street, the town’s main street. “New Location” was later nicknamed the Mahlomola section, due to the tragedy and misery that, according to the local people, befalls its residents in wet weather. They claim that whenever it rains for more than a week in the catchment area all the houses in the New Location are completely “demolished and washed away by heavy rain torrents”,⁷³ hence the name, Mahlomola, which means, tragedy or misery.

As Tumahole developed, township challenges also escalated and soon there was discord between the community and the Orange-Vaal Administration Board authorities. One example was the march against beer in the early 1940s.

March against the beer

In the early twentieth century, there was a municipal-owned local beer outlet at the entrance to Tumahole. After a hard day’s work, it was the perfect place where the men were entertained and could relax. However, in 1943 the female residents, under the leadership of Ms Ramailane and Ms Malope, marched to the beer hall demanding its closure. The women complained that their husbands were “spending too much time and money at the beer hall, and they were neglecting their

71 University of Witwatersrand Archive (hereafter UWA), Historical Papers, “Delmas Treason Trial, 1985–1989: Tumahole, (Parys)”, Wits University, Johannesburg, 2009, pp 698-714.

72 ET Martins (compiler), *The History of Old Location, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, Parys, 2007. Tumahole, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow is a compilation of the oral history of the township of Tumahole mostly done by schoolteachers and other local community leaders in preparation of ‘Tumahole Day, celebrations, 15th of July 2007. The information was orally sourced from old people who were born and bred in this part of the Free State; J Rampai, “The origins of Tumahole township, 1957–1990”, Oral interview, 2019-07-10; Parys Museum, “Tumahole then, 1948”, Parys.

73 ET Martins (compiler), *The history of Old Location... Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, Parys, 2007.

duties as fathers and as heads of their families”.⁷⁴ Due to the women’s action, the municipality was forced to close the beer hall permanently. With its closure, new and unique social problems arose, as township taverns and shebeens opened their doors in Tumahole. The number of illegal taverns and shebeens in the township increased due to high demand for beer, leisure, and entertainment for the men after work and over weekends. At the same time, the municipality was losing a great deal of revenue from the sale of beer.

All the townships in the northern part of the Free State, such as Tumahole and Zamdela, were under the “jurisdiction of the Orange-Vaal Administration Board between 1970 and 1990”.⁷⁵ The Orange-Vaal officials who were in charge of the township beer hall instructed the municipal police, dubbed the “green beans”,⁷⁶ to raid and close down all illegal taverns and shebeens in Tumahole and to arrest the owners. Bitter clashes took place between the municipal police and the beer sellers. Township residents stoned police vans and several people, including an irate Mr Molobeng, were arrested and fined for attacking a policeman.

One prominent local community leader, Mr Ramailane, whose wife led the women’s march against the municipality for selling beer, organised a “fund-raising of one shilling [per person] from the residents to pay for Mr Molobeng’s fine”.⁷⁷ Tumahole people were accustomed to clashing with the authorities. The “Tumahole rent boycott of 15 July 1984 was not something new in the history of this township” and this was in an era where politics was a hot topic and was already impacting local identities.⁷⁸

Changing the politics – and changing the game towards identity and the meaning of “home”

In 1874 the Kroonstad Wesleyan Circuit planned to establish another “congregation between the Renoster and Vaal rivers”.⁷⁹ To achieve this, Reverend Kingstone Derry

74 ET Martins (compiler), *The history of Old Location... Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, Parys, 2007.

75 DC Ganz, “Information to all residents of Tumahole”, Orange-Vaal Administration Board, Office of the Chief Direct, Vanderbijlpark, 30 June 1985.

76 The Tumahole police was known by this name because of their distinctive green uniforms. See David Zucchini, Out of challenge came death, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12 March 2009, https://www.inquirer.com/philly/online_extras/Out_of_challenge_came_death.html, viewed 2022-01-18.

77 ET Martins (compiler), *The history of Old Location, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, Parys, 2007.

78 UWA, Tumahole (Parys), *Wits Historical Papers*, Johannesburg, 2009, pp 698-715.

79 Kroonstad Methodist Church, “Golden Jubilee” 83, December 1953, p 3.

from the Kroonstad Methodist Church established a congregation at the present town of Parys on the banks of the Vaal River in 1898. He also founded the first two Wesleyan mission schools for African children in the area, calling them the “Parys and Vredefort Wesleyan (Methodist) Mission schools”.⁸⁰ The accent here should focus momentarily on the “mission” schools as distinct from the “Volkschools” at the time, which served the definite purpose of engraving a western identity.

The “scramble” for African souls in the township of Tumahole, 1903–1975

During the early twentieth century, the segregation movement was inexorably on its way to full-blown apartheid under the National Party government (1948–1994). Education for the African elite was growing in the Eastern Cape mission schools and this trend was also accelerating further north. In Tumahole in particular, there was what has often been coined “the scramble for African souls”.⁸¹

A typical example of the “scramble” is seen in the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in Parys. It lost no time in establishing its mission school for children in Tumahole which was up and running by 1926. The improved economic conditions experienced by different churches in the country from 1927 onwards led to the establishment of more so-called “native” schools in Tumahole and by this time there were four mission schools. They were the Wesleyan (Methodist), American Methodist Episcopal (AME), DRC, and Baptist mission schools, and their church halls were used as classrooms. A request for the amalgamation of these four schools was made in October 1927, and this newly formed mission school called the “Parys United Native School” was duly opened.⁸²

In 1932, after about 30 years since the churches had first provided education to the children of Tumahole, a permanent school building was planned.⁸³ Historically, both African and mixed-race⁸⁴ children were accommodated at Parys United

80 Parys-Vredefort Mission, Parys, “Parys–Vredefort Native Day Schools Accounts, 1900–1924”, October 1904.

81 Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1942–1951, Pretoria: Native Affairs Commission, p 22; A Phillips, “Bantu Education”, *The Review: A Journal of Undergraduate Student Research* 2, 1999, pp 22-27.

82 Parys Wesleyan Mission, Parys, Parys–Vredefort Native Day Schools, Wesleyan Church Synod Returns, 1928.

83 FAD, Bloemfontein, (NED, OFS), Parys United Native School, letter, School Manager/Inspector, 1931-08-02.

84 A mixed race refers to people whose parents or ancestors are from different ethnic backgrounds. Whether it is white, black, or Indian.

Native School in the 1930s, thus allowing identities to emerge. Seeing the Parys region as “home” became a reality; they “belonged”. In 1938, a separate school for coloured children was opened in the area known as Cape Stands. The school was named the Parys Coloured School (currently, the Schonkenville Combined School) which also suggests that the residents wanted to retain and even cherish the memory with which they were formerly associated.⁸⁵

Between January 1939 and March 1940, the first fully qualified principal, Mr Anton Muziwakhe Lembede⁸⁶ who came from Natal, arrived at Tumahole as the principal of the Parys United Native School.⁸⁷ Although Lembede was a devout member of the Roman Catholic Church, he had to succumb to the ambient colonial norm and participate in DRC activities as its lay preacher, translator, and Sunday School teacher. According to Tom Lodge, Lembede’s participation was a “tactic to maintain his job at Parys United Native School because the Chairman of the School Board was a minister in the DRC”.⁸⁸

The United Native School in Tumahole was governed by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and had to toe the apartheid line. Firstly, the school was renamed the Parys Bantu Community School, and Daniel L Hlalele was appointed as principal.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the previous Parys Native School building and its records were destroyed by fire in August 1956. The school has since been rebuilt but AM Lembede’s legacy lies in the fact that the school is called the AML Lower Primary School. The new school building opened in 1957.

85 Parys Coloured School, Parys, Inspectors’ Reports, 1929–1953, (Mr DJG Orloop), *Report*, 1941-04-30. Due to lack of space the Schonkenville community experience and memory is not discussed in depth.

86 Lembede was a former teacher and principal of Parys United Native School (later renamed AM Lembede Lower Primary). He was one of the founder members of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL).

87 T Lodge, Pioneer of Black Consciousness, *The Journal of African History* 2000, pp 160-161.

88 T Lodge, Pioneer of Black..., *The Journal of African History* 2000, pp 131-172.

89 Tumahole Township, A.M. Lembede Primary School, “School Logbook entry”, Parys, 1958-11-08.



Figure 16: Mr Anton Muziwakhe Lembede.
(Source: T Lodge, *Pioneer of Black Consciousness*,
The Journal of African History, 2000)

From the “known” into the “unknown”? Studying community memories⁹⁰

Part of the research project was to select a particular educational community’s level of interaction with the history of the adjacent town and/or township in which they lived. From the learners’ voices, it is evident that most are aware of the historical and natural features of the area.

Politics and humanity in Tumahole

The political awareness as illustrated in the struggle against apartheid in Tumahole is visible in the community’s committee names. For example, the 1971 school board was known as the Phehelling Secondary School Committee, meaning “Persevere even if this is difficult”, loosely translated into Sesotho/Tswana.

In the northern part of the Free State, students in the Tumahole township near Parys became politically conscious as early as 1975 when the Parys African Students’ Organisation (PASO) was formed in December of that year.⁹¹ Its founder members, such as Tom Letshoenyo, Fezile Dabi and others, tried to ensure that Tumahole students and the youth become politically aware. One way of doing this was by performing semi-political plays, the first being “Panga man”. However, because

90 KT Motumi, “Practicalising the significance...”, Chapter 4. The detail of the fieldwork and methodology can be revisited in this study.

91 C Twala, Role of (Orange) Free State youth prior and after 1976 student uprising, *News Archive*, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, 2017.

of disagreement among the students, PASO was disbanded in 1976. To further the Tumahole youth's political aspirations, a new youth movement, the Tumahole Students' Organisation (TSO), was launched in June 1980.⁹²

The TSO's founding members included some politicians who influenced the political landscape of the region and South Africa in general, namely, the late Lister Skosana and Fezile Dabi. Others include Tate Makgoe, the current MEC for Education in the Free State province and Ace Magashule who was, until his recent suspension, the Secretary General of the ANC.⁹³ The TSO was concerned with the production of plays to raise political awareness amongst the youth, like its predecessor PASO. Due to the formation of TSO, Tumahole Township was never the same again, it became engulfed in political "fire from July 1984 when students, mostly from Phehellang Secondary School initiated anti-apartheid protests which spread all over the country".⁹⁴

15 July 1984, the day now known as Tumahole Day,⁹⁵ was a turning point in Tumahole's political landscape. Schuster claims that this is the day when the "violent 1984–86 uprising, an event that changed the course of black and white politics, began".⁹⁶ The residents of the dusty township took to the streets in protest against the payment of municipal rates and taxes.⁹⁷ The lives of the people of Tumahole and other townships in South Africa were suddenly overwhelmed by politics in what is today known as the "liberation struggle".

At the entrance to Tumahole, there are some photos of local town heroes, painted on several tall towers. One of these images is that of James Seipei, also known as Stompie Moeketsi, or Stompie Seipei (1974–1989). Stompie was a 14-year-old United Democratic Front (UDF) activist. He became nationally known for his

92 J Seekings, Political Mobilisation in Tumahole, 1984–1985, *African Perspective* 1(7-8), 1986, pp 105-144.

93 L Schuster, The making of a young radical. At the murdered youth's funeral, blacks in Tumahole Township vowed to continue fighting South Africa: anti-apartheid activism, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 1989-02-28.

94 UWA, Tumahole (Parys); Delmas Treason Trial, 1985–1989, *Historical Papers*, 2009, pp 1-18; J Seekings, Political Mobilisation in Tumahole, 1984–1985, *African Perspective* 1 (7-8), 1986, pp 105-144.

95 UWA, Tumahole (Parys), *Wits Historical Papers*, Johannesburg, 2009, pp 698-715.

96 L Schuster, The making of a young radical..., *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 1989, pp 1-8.

97 DC Ganz, Information to all residents of Tumahole township and employers: Increase house rental and service charges from 1 July 1984, Orange-Vaal Administration Board, Notice No. 10/14/5, Parys, no date.



Figure 17: Moeketsi Stompie Seipei.

(Source: Tumahole Township heritage sites, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/news/2018-04-07>, viewed 21/10/2022)

murder and the history of resistance involving Winnie Mandela⁹⁸ in the violent 1980s (Figure 17).

In line with the post-apartheid government's spirit of reconciliation and recognition of the histories of previously neglected people in South Africa, changes were also made in the streets of Parys on 26 November 2017. Kruis Street was renamed. This road runs from the Mimosa Gardens along the banks of the Vaal River towards Tumahole, passing the Partuma Hotel between the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches next to Mosepidi Hall, before reaching the township. It was renamed to Father Lewis Balink Street, the well-known cleric who came to South Africa from the Netherlands in 1985 and was committed to uplifting the politically and economically neglected societies in Tumahole.⁹⁹ Some of his community projects in the mid-1980s include "a clinic, a bursary programme for young students, and the Lehlohonolo (Lucky) Day Care Centre for orphaned and vulnerable children".¹⁰⁰

In 1994, Father Balink was presented with the Nelson Mandela Peace Award in recognition of his contribution. Ten years later, in 2007, he passed away

98 F Bridgland, Winnie may face fresh murder charge, *Independent Newspapers*, 2011-10-23.

99 L Scheepers, Father Balink Street opened, *Parys Gazette*, 2017-11-29.

100 L Scheepers, An epic adventure while spreading a little cheer, *Parys Gazette*, 2019-07-19.

and a memorial stone was erected on the Roman Catholic Church premises in Tumahole. The re-named Father Balink Street confirms the everlasting legacy of his contribution.

Other streets were also renamed after local heroes and legends. In Tumahole, street names such as Mtimkulu and Makgoe are common. Mtimkulu was one of the pioneers who played a role in the provision of transport in Tumahole using his horse cart, while Makgoe was one of the first teachers at the Parys United Native School which opened in the 1920s.¹⁰¹

From the fieldwork done in the Parys region, the voices of the educational community of Parys have spoken, and importantly, they have been heard. However, having said that, it is clear that the wealth of local history from the familiar to the unfamiliar, and how societal change has impacted the lives of ordinary people, still await more scholarly attention.

To conclude

From the qualitative research and the local fieldwork done in the Parys (Ngwathe) region in the Fezile Dabi District, some early community memories have been unearthed and current community voices have spoken. In this discussion, an effort is made to expose some known and some lesser-known histories of the Parys region to broaden an understanding of the cultural, economic and political legacy of the region. The face of history in South Africa has to be transformed and be less engrained with politics. History should not be abused to fight political battles. Instead, in the view of the Parys region's educational community, history in the local area must become more inclusive and more diverse to acknowledge the memories and identities established through many decades.

101 KTM private collection, Interview: AM Lembede Primary School, respondent A, Tumahole Township, 2017-05-8.

OBLITERATING HISTORY THROUGH UNDESIRED MONUMENTS, CONTESTATIONS, AND THE POST-APARTHEID NATIONAL UNITY: THE CASE OF THE GENERAL BARRY HERTZOG MEMORIAL IN BLOEMFONTEIN

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This article essentially differs from numerous publications that deal with heritage transformation. It uses the General Barry Hertzog Memorial in Bloemfontein as a case study to propose various strategies dealing with “the problematic” post-apartheid South African monuments and memorials. A far broader and more inclusive approach is applied to accommodate apartheid monuments in a post-apartheid dispensation. Arguing within the realm of nation building, the article’s focus is to preserve and use apartheid monuments to promote dialogue that developed under the notion of a shared history that might legitimise the post-apartheid South Africa as the new nation-state. The article further argues that should we continue to ignore our apartheid heritage, we will have an incomplete comprehension of the forces that shaped South African history and memory. We will not understand why white South Africans systematically began to implement their white supremacy and filled the South African heritage landscape with monuments.

Keywords: apartheid, heritage, Hertzog, identity, memorial, nation building, post-apartheid, social cohesion, transformation

Uitwissing van geskiedenis deur middel van ongewenste monumente, verzet en postapartheid- nasionale eenheid: die geval van die generaal Barry Hertzog-monument in Bloemfontein

Hierdie artikel verskil in wesenlike opsigte van talle werke wat oor erfenis-transformasie handel. Die JBM Hertzog-monument in Bloemfontein word as ’n gevallestudie gebruik om ’n verskeidenheid strategieë voor te stel wat handel oor die problematiese postapartheid monumente en gedenktekens in Suid-Afrika. ’n Veel breër en meer inklusiewe benadering word gevolg in terme van die akkommodering van apartheidsmoimente in ’n postapartheidsbedeling. Deur te argumenteer binne die bestek van nasiebou, fokus hierdie artikel op die bewaring en gebruik van apartheidsmoimente om dialoog te bevorder wat ontwikkel het

uit die opvatting van gedeelde geskiedenis wat die postapartheid-Suid-Afrika as die nuwe nasiestaat kan legitimeer. Die artikel voer verder aan dat as daar voortgegaan word om die apartheidserfenis te ignoreer, ons 'n onvolledige begrip sal hê van die kragte wat die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis en geheue gevorm het. Ons sal ook nie verstaan waarom wit Suid-Afrikaners sistematies begin het om hul wit oppergesag te implementeer en die Suid-Afrikaanse erfenislandskap met monumente gevul het nie.

Sleutelwoorde: apartheid, erfenis, Hertzog, identiteit, gedenkteken, nasiebou, post-apartheid, sosiale kohesie, transformasie

Introduction

The considerable body of knowledge dealing in depth with the transformation of the heritage landscape in South Africa pays little attention to apartheid memorials and monuments as physical and historical markers that can be used to develop post-apartheid national identity, and promote nation-building and social cohesion.¹ More challenging is the fact that writing about post-apartheid heritage became a central line of inquiry with which scholars had to grapple. Besides, the post-apartheid public schools, tour guides, local history and heritage societies, and public educators do not seem to be interested in using apartheid monuments and memorials in teaching history. Furthermore, little consideration is given to the educational values and the reconciliatory element that these colonial and apartheid monuments might offer and benefit the post-apartheid South African nation building project.

This article differs in essence from the plethora of works that deal with heritage transformation. It presents various strategies that deal with problematic post-apartheid monuments and memorials. The focus of this article is to promote the

1 EA Mare, Monumentality complexity, searching for meaning of a selection of South African monuments, *South African Journal of Arts History* 22(2), 2007; EA Mare, The aesthetics of ideology: The vicissitudes of monuments, *SA Journal of Cultural History* 16(2), 2002; S Marschall, Forging national identity. Institutionalizing Foundation myth, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 19(1), 2005; S Marschall, Pointing to the dead, victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa, *South African Historical Journal* 60, 2008, pp 103-123; S Marschall, Setting up a dialogue: monuments as a means of writing back, *Historia* 48(1), 2003, p 309; RK Autry, The monumental construction of memory in South Africa, *The Voortrekker: Theory, culture and society* 29(6), 2012, pp 146-164; B Baines, The Freedom Park fracas and the divisive legacy of South Africa's Border War liberation struggle, *Social Dynamics* 35(2), 2012, pp 330-344; AE Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa* (Durham, 2003).

symbiotic relationship and dialogue that developed between all participants in the debate over apartheid monuments and memorials. To grapple with issues raised in this debate, it is argued that, if we continue to ignore our apartheid heritage, we will not be able to understand the forces that shaped South African history and memory. Our understanding of why white South Africans systematically implemented their white supremacy narrative and filled the South African heritage landscape with monuments, will be lacking.

The article is divided into three sections. The first part is a historical background of General Barry Hertzog, the erection of his statue and the current state of the Hertzog Square. To contextualise apartheid memorialisation, this section also investigates why Hertzog was celebrated as a hero in the 1960s and 1970s – how the split within the ruling National Party in the 1960s and 1970s intensified the need for memorialising him as the Afrikaner hero. The second part raises important questions pertaining to sustainability, responsibility, and care for “undesirable apartheid memorials” in the post-apartheid era. It also reflects on how the transformation of the heritage landscape in South Africa appeared to erase any physical representations of the apartheid era from city centres. This part of the article also demonstrate how this transformation generated considerable opposition from those who insist that this was tantamount to the erasure of history. The final part engages with the issues of historical representation, it grapples with questions on how the Hertzog memorial could be preserved and reimagined if viewed through the objectives of reconciliation, social cohesion and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa. How could Hertzog be used as an excellent candidate towards the promotion of the spirit of national unity?

Theoretical context

Before describing the Hertzog memorial and how it might be used as a reconciliation tool to improve national unity, it is important to position this discussion within the theories that wrestle with monuments and national unity. A key reference point for analysing Hertzog’s memorial is the work of the American BJ Little who proposes that heritage workers might support social healing and truth telling through the rehabilitation of narrative.² In the context of Hertzog Square, Little draws our attention to the value of heritage sites and their increasing importance for healing and nation building. Seitz supports her argument that selective memory omits key elements of the past, especially those that reflect poorly on white people,

2 BJ Little, Violence, silence and the four truths: towards healing in U.S.-American historical memory, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25(7), 2019, pp 631-640.

avoiding what is painful, shameful, or immoral.³ Drawing upon these arguments, Hertzog's memorial is about the relationship between blacks and whites and other people of colour and about the oppression of the former by the latter. In a different but related inquiry, PA Shackel argues that public memory serves as a vehicle to create a common standard of history. He further asserts that, often there are competing interests that struggle to make their memory of events part of a wider audience.⁴ This is evident in the Hertzog memorial and other apartheid memorials and monuments. Because the memorial was built by the white apartheid government, the state had a choice to exclude non-whites when telling Hertzog's story omitting some South Africans in the story, clearly illustrating that there are different versions of the past associated with the memorial under review. For example, the commemoration of Hertzog's role in the story of black oppression and resistance as opposed to white heroism was deliberately omitted during the commemoration symbolised by the statue. While we accept that Hertzog's native bills played an important role in designing the foundation of apartheid, it makes his story more complicated. However, the inclusion of black history, associated with his repressive initiatives, makes for a richer and more inclusive story that is relevant for reconciliation, social cohesion, and nation building. This allows us to look at race relations in the past that included blacks and whites, and racialised groups, such as Jews who were once disregarded by the right-wing Afrikaners.⁵

The argument presented by cited scholars is echoed by scholars who have grappled with the notion of cultural heritage and nation building. P Nora concluded that national memory in the United States, as in France, went through different stages. In both nations, moreover, political, and cultural tensions had to be reconciled under

3 P Seitz, No more white history, *Curator* 55(3), 2012 pp 279–285.

4 PA Shackel, *Memory in black and white: Race, commemoration, and the post-bellum landscape* (Walnut Creek, 2003).

5 During apartheid, the Afrikaners perceived the Jews as migrants at the bottom of the evolutionary scale and perceptions of these new immigrants certainly impacted the way they were treated. For example, Hendrik Verwoerd who was not a lone purveyor of antisemitic rhetoric, set out his premise that there was "A conflict of interests between the disadvantaged Afrikaner majority and a privileged Jewish minority (*vreemdelinge* – strangers/outsideers)," which had entered the towns and cities long before the Afrikaners, and now dominated commerce and industry along with people of British descent. See IP Kapelus, <https://www.sajbd.org/media/how-true-a-reflection-of-the-afrikaner-jewish-relationship-was-the-pre-1948-antisemitism-of-the-afrikaner-press-and-politicians-part-1>, viewed 2022-07-12; D Coetzee, Fires and feathers: Acculturation, Arson and the Jewish Community in Oudtshoorn, South Africa, 1914–1948, *Jewish History* 19(2), 2005, pp 143-187.

the signs and symbols of the nation.⁶ In a similar vein, RM Harlow contended that US presidents have certain ways of deploying rhetorical tactics in times of war and of peace to galvanize and inspire the American public opinion. She maintained that American presidents engage with Americans rhetorically “around sites of war to reinvigorate a collective national ethos”.⁷ Various state presidents understood that if certain memorial sites, even physically distant in space and time, have served to build a collective imagination in the past, they can be recollected to create a desired effect in the present.

Although Giddens does not explore problems of cultural heritage or a national past, he understands that democracy and conservatism remained strong, long after the Enlightenment. He argues that even after the democratic revolutions, “grand traditions” such as nationalism, patriotism, new forms of representative government and patriarchy were invented.⁸ Owing to the ongoing inquiry into national unity and memorials described above, Marschall has argued persuasively that monuments and memorials, such as the Hertzog memorial can be thought of as palimpsests,⁹ or slates, upon which history is layered.¹⁰ In her work, she cites Mills and Simpson who similarly argues that, “the old message is not erased, but new language is written over it or beside it.” History can be layered: “[t]he old message is not erased, but new language is written over it or beside it.”¹¹ In a similar vein, Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo believe that an approach through public spaces and memorials first allows a fresh interpretation of what apartheid was and what its consequences are in present-day South Africa. The very importance of public spaces during apartheid, makes exploring its post-apartheid dynamics imperative, considering that blacks were subjected to violent dispossession, marginalisation, and strict state control since the time of white settlement.¹² The works presented by these scholars are complex and perhaps contradictory. However, their collective contention explains how the Hertzog site could remain important as the site for national self-reflection, simultaneously acknowledging national guilt. It also

6 P Nora & D Lawrence (eds), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Part 1, Conflicts and Divisions* (New York, 1999).

7 RM Harlow, *Souvenir battlefields: How Presidents use rhetoric of place to shape the American ethos*, *American Communication Journal* 18(1), 2016, p 46.

8 A Giddens, *Beyond left and right: The future of radical politics* (Stanford, 1994), p 7.

9 A piece of writing material or manuscript on which the original writing has been effaced to make room for other writing.

10 S Marschall, *Landscape of memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-Apartheid South Africa* (Brill, 2009).

11 S Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments...*

12 S Marschall. *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments...*

explains how submerged histories of victims could be integrated while constructing new narratives.

Although some of the scholars cited above wrote from different geographic contexts, their work reflects directly on challenges that South Africa is currently facing. If we look at the post-apartheid South Africa today, race is still an integral part of how South Africans look at the world. By examining historical issues related to race and gender we can become more aware of our prejudices and hopefully act by promoting tolerance changing the way we think about the world. This argument is supported by section 5(1)(d) of the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999, which reads as follows, "heritage resources have the capacity to promote reconciliation, understanding and respect, and contribute to the development of a unified South Africa."¹³ This plausibly explains why some memorials and monuments should be retained and in turn, provokes a new understanding and highlights the kind of listening and dialogue needed for change. Besides, the heritage act recognises that there are multiple communities in South Africa who may have different ideas of what is significant in heritage terms. The Act speaks of redressing the imbalance of the heritage landscape, which has been dominated by white Afrikaner values for decades.

Historical context of the Hertzog statue

Prime Minister Barry Hertzog was a highly qualified lawyer with practical experience at the bar, as a judge, a soldier, politician and statesman, and his legal training and experience had an impact on the administration of justice well beyond his ministry.¹⁴ Like other Boer commanders and politicians, Hertzog had a profound impact on public life in South Africa. He was a forceful man of action and a prominent Afrikaner political agent critical in proposing and promulgating the notorious "Hertzog Native Bills" in 1936. In effect these bills assumed that black and white life was essentially separate, and it created a legal framework

13 The National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999) (NHRA) was promulgated in a post-apartheid era when legislation such as the National Monuments Act (1969) did not, and had never since its inception, served the needs of all communities in South Africa. The challenge that faced the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) with the promulgation of the new Act was the need to redress the years of neglect and disregard for the many facets of heritage and the extensive cultural treasures associated with non-white communities. See C Scheermeyer, A changing and challenging landscape: Heritage resources management in South Africa, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 60(182), 2005, pp 121-123.

14 L Rood, South Africa's ministers of justice, https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.10520/AJA02500329_8681, viewed 2022-08-02.

for apartheid. They proposed the removal of African voters from the ordinary electoral roll in the Cape Province and placing them on a separate roll. This proposal became law as the Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936. At the same time, the Natives' Trust and Land Act Bill proposing the creation of the South African Native Trust, became law as the Natives' Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936.¹⁵ Associated with the emerging African political élite, white liberals and philanthropists who developed an ideology or tradition later known as Cape liberalism opposed these bills.¹⁶

It is clear from the promulgation of these bills that Hertzog was ideologically drawn into the ideological legitimization of white domination. With strong Afrikaner support, Hertzog established a racial policy that resulted in greater segregation of whites and blacks. As the South African Prime Minister that served from 1924 to 1939, his government introduced the bans to isolate and silence political dissent, removed the Africans from the common voters' roll in the Cape, and passed legislation upholding the industrial colour bar.¹⁷

His successors were to build on these foundations to create apartheid as it later became known. He also pursued policies of South African freedom from British control and dual-medium education in Afrikaans (the language of Afrikaners) and English, and he encouraged bilingualism among civil servants. As the Afrikaner leader, Hertzog believed that the destiny of the Afrikaner was defined in terms of "a severe and sustained struggle for dominance in South Africa".¹⁸ Because of the role that Hertzog played as the Afrikaner's political leader, a hero that served as a Commandant-General during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and the Prime Minister of South Africa, his contribution was honoured and his statue was erected in the memorial park named Hertzog Square in President Brand Street in Bloemfontein in 1960.

A government committee was tasked with the construction of the Hertzog memorial, which involved developers, architects, and members of the public. All these stakeholders engaged in profound debates over how they should approach this new symbolic space. Initially, it was recommended that the Hertzog

15 S Dubow, *Racial segregation and the origins of Apartheid in South Africa* (London, 1989).

16 For an analysis of Cape liberalism see inter alia S Tradipo, "Liberalism the Cape in the 19th and 20th centuries", ICS postgraduate seminar paper, 1972; and P Lewsen, "The Cape Liberal Tradition – Myth or Reality"; Paper delivered to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, November 1969.

17 EH Brookes, *The Color Bar in South Africa*, *Current History* 36(4), 1932, pp 429–432.

18 LE Neame, *General Hertzog – Prime of the Union of South Africa since 1924* (London, 1930).

monument should be built on a *koppie* (hillock) in Pretoria between Schanskop and Klapperkop, near the Fountains.¹⁹ An architectural competition was launched in 1960.

The late sculptress Elly Holm approached both her architect sons of which Albrecht was willing and able. Their proposal saw a file of columns rising to the edge of the site where a sculpture of Hertzog was placed on a pedestal at the foot of the tallest, inspired by the 'Charioteer of Delphi'. After some time, a letter arrived advising of partial success; henceforth, Albrecht Holm would be working with the sculptor Danie de Jager, whose entry consisted exclusively of sculptures. Such is the power of promoters.²⁰

Subsequently, the Hertzog statue was erected and commemorated in 1960. Following this erection, a 4-metre-high statue of Hertzog was erected on the front lawn of the Union Buildings in 1977. The erection of the Hertzog monument in 1960, was followed by one of the important years in South African history when South Africa became a Republic. This was the period when

...the material interests of the alliance of the Afrikaner petit-bourgeoisie, workers and landowners required that the political economy be re-ordered in accordance with their (overlapping) economic interests. This took the form of 'concrete' change such as the forced re-settlement of blacks into racial group areas; job segregation and protection; and the transfer of wealth from English-speaking capitalists to the Afrikaner-dominated state/bureaucratic sector.²¹

At the same time, the apartheid discourse was articulated and actively promoted through modernist architectural styles and incorporated into monument and memorial design. As a result, many state sponsored architectural buildings and monuments reshaped different city landscapes. H Judin argues that in this period, buildings took on an ideological role; the visible massive brutalist blocks that were built in these decades marked progress, economic growth, success, triumphalism and expansion.²² According to Tomaselli and Mpofu, this period

19 W Peters and JL du Preez, The idealism of architectural competitions, *New Contree* 77, December, p 228.

20 W Peters and JL du Preez, The idealism of..., p 228.

21 KG Tomaselli and A Mpofu, The re-articulation of meaning of national monuments: Beyond Apartheid, Research document, p 5, Centre for Cultural and media Studies, University of Natal.

22 H Judin, *Architecture, state modernism and cultural nationalism in the Apartheid capital* (New York, 2021).

“necessitated a redefinition of the purpose of Afrikaner monuments, such as indicating Afrikanerdom as dominant, as living and as future – for example, an ultra-modern monument was built to commemorate the Afrikaans language in Paarl, near Cape Town.”²³

This was the time when white South African politicians pursued state-building programmes that involved appropriating history to serve present interests. They devoted substantial energy and resources to commemorate past heroes in monumental form. At the same time, major cities received dozens of new monuments, along with new exhibitions in city museums. Built on one of the historically significant sites of the city, the Hertzog statue organically connected with its surroundings. Structurally, the Hertzog statue generated a feeling of Afrikaner identity connectedness that corresponded with the design qualities of buildings and other memorials of President Brand Street in Bloemfontein.

The craftsmanship and aesthetic quality of monuments and memorials erected in the 1960s, such as the Hertzog statue expresses their significance and the primary objective of their creation. For example, the grandness of the Hertzog figure on Hertzog Square symbolises the powerful and heroic role that he played. In addition, the theme of heroism is elaborated in the symbolism of the humble figures of Boer women, children, and men associated with Hertzog’s huge dominant bronze figure placed above them. In its artistic form, the Hertzog figure epitomises masculinity and physical power over women and children and the associated male figure.

The way the statue is displayed invites a respectful response from the viewer. Dwyer and Alderman warn, “[t]he subtle power of memorials is that they often communicate seemingly authentic and unproblematic representations of history”.²⁴ Hertzog’s heroic depiction represents an elaborate apartheid and colonial narrative that conceals other aspects of South African history that could benefit the policy of social cohesion, reconciliation, along with the nation building project. The Hertzog Square incorporated landscape design as an element in conceptualisation, with gardens, ponds, and a welcoming space for leisure activities. As the inner-city public space, this memorial park has a range of functions and meaning. Apart from commemorative purposes, it was accorded special significance and imbued with special values and virtues. Among these values, public education and cultural enlightenment was the priority. Besides, it offered an urban resort for people with no access or exposure to the countryside’s beauty and pastoral settings.

23 KG Tomasselli and A Mpfu, *The re-articulation of...*, p 9.

24 OJ Dwyer, DH Alderman, *Memorial landscapes: Analytic questions and metaphors*, *GeoJournal*, Collective memory and the politics of urban space, 73(3), 2008, p 168.



Figure 1: The statue of General Hertzog and the associated women, children and male figure splashed with red paint.
(Source: Photo by the author)



Figure 2: The grandness of the Hertzog figure.
(Source: https://www.tripadvisor.co.za/Attraction_Review, viewed January 2021)

Site selection

As indicated, there was a call from the Free State NP constituency for the memorial to be erected in Bloemfontein. As a result, the location was reconsidered, and President Brand Street was chosen. The specific location in a specific city was

crucial for the national encapsulation of Afrikaner legitimacy while reflecting the national aims of unification and harmony among the Afrikaner, and between the English and Afrikaners. President Brand Street in Bloemfontein is one of the historic streets named after a South African lawyer and politician who served as the fourth state president of the Orange Free State from 1864 until his death in 1888. It is also where President Brand's house was located. This residence was built on the site of the original farmhouse belonging to pioneer settler Rudolph Brits and his son Johan. The dwelling used to be the main residence for the last three presidents of the Orange Free State, dating back to 1885 and is now a fabulous museum displaying their lives and history.

This street has been an important boulevard of Bloemfontein since the nineteenth century. The site where the Hertzog statue was built was chosen because of its proximity to the cluster of important iconic art deco architectural administration buildings that preserve the visual qualities and ambience of the old colonial Orange Free State. These buildings were designed by notable architects, such as Lennox Canning, a Johannesburg architect, built by noted builders, such as JJ Kirkness and TR Robertson of Johannesburg, which reflect the evolution of the area and its importance as a place to reside.²⁵ This cluster of buildings serve as a powerful reminder of the everyday bureaucracy of colonialism and apartheid and this area of the city epitomizes the values of republican Afrikaner nationalism and presented an implicit threat to those who would challenge it.

This historic boulevard also boasts impressive buildings as the Appeal Court that was built in 1929. Apart from the Constitutional court, the Appeal Court is the highest court that renders Bloemfontein the judicial capital of South Africa. It is where Hertzog presided as Chief Justice. The city hall is a sandstone building that was used for conventions, municipal offices, and council suits and was completed in 1936 and set on fire by vandals in 2017. Even more remarkable in this important edifice, are old photographs and paintings that depicted the historical development of Bloemfontein. It is where the statue of one of the prominent Boer heroes, General Christiaan de Wet, a man who endured pain, suffering and brutality with fortitude even unto his death was also erected. Just opposite this hall, is where the fountain and the statue of General Hertzog is located. President Brand Street is also the

25 The building designed by Canning is the Raadsaal of the Orange Free State Republic and is in President Brand Street. The history of the Raadsaal of the Legislative Assembly or Volksraad of the former Republic of the Orange Free State is the story of the development of the nomadic farming community into a settled, matured thriving people. See JJ Oberholster, *The Monuments of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1972).

address of the Fourth Raadsaal, where the Free State Provincial Legislature, meets and is located opposite the Supreme Court of Appeal. The foundation stone of this monumental building was laid by President FW Reitz in 1890, and the structure was completed in 1893. During the Anglo-Boer War (also named South African War), the British forces occupied Bloemfontein and the building became a military hospital in March 1900.

The schism of the National Party and Hertzog as the unifying figure

The aim of this article is not to engage with the National Party politics of the 1960s and 1970s, but for context, it is important to briefly touch on the party's political history and draw synergy between the erection of the Hertzog statue, Afrikaner unity, along with the split between the *verkramptes* (the conservatives) and *verligtes* (the progressives) within the National Party. This would assist us in answering the question why the Bloemfontein and Pretoria statues of Hertzog were built during the contentious period that threatened Afrikaner unity in the 1960s and 1970s.

Until 1960, Hertzog's importance was neglected, if not forgotten. Although he played an important role in the Afrikaner struggle, he never managed to generate genuine popular response or attract emotional resonance. His complex journey towards constructing a coherent past, which embraced his anti-imperial and pro-republican role, as well as his position as a chief commandant of the Free State forces and a resourceful and daring guerrilla leader, was forgotten. A deeper awareness of the symbol of Hertzog as an important figure was silenced in various ways. His significance never proliferated on stage, in art galleries, and in novels. He never appeared in later television series and there were no annual celebrations that commemorated his role.

It could be argued that the National Party's split may have opened the way for Afrikaner nationalists to reclaim Hertzog. The reconstruction of his heroism was used to unite Afrikaners with historical provenance and providential purposes to try and prevent the party's fragmentation. This helps to explain why the ruling party made prodigious efforts to cast Hertzog as a national hero. For the benefit of the National Party as the ruling party, the commemoration of Hertzog's role helped to orchestrate a common narrative culminating in the rather muted, not to say bathetic, re-enactment of Boer struggle against English imperial domination.

This draws our attention to the complexities of using apartheid monuments and memorials for the post-apartheid nation building projects. It forces us to take a closer look at the role that Hertzog could play in the post-apartheid construction

of common identity and social cohesion government projects. It also challenges us to question what it meant for the ruling National Party to invert Hertzog as the central figure and projects him as a major figure in South African history in the 1960s²⁶ and the role that his memorialisation played within the Afrikaner communities in the 1960s and 1970s. More to the point – how did the government of the time engage Hertzog in intense struggles to reunite Afrikaners and what was the significance of the commemoration? This prompted the author to investigate whether the idea of commemorating Hertzog was a political strategy to deal with the National Party and Afrikaners' crises. The relevance of these questions is to determine how Hertzog could be used for nation building today. How could Hertzog as a “Boer patriot” and a political figure be used to provide the historical, social, economic, and political struggles that all South Africans experienced in their efforts to achieve citizenship rights.

According to AO Yacoob, apartheid's class dimension, almost never discussed in popular Afrikaans discourses, was generally obscured by self-determination of the *volk* through the capture of political power which became the key aim of Afrikaner mobilisation.²⁷ Many stories associated with contestations with the Afrikaner community were silenced. For example, Afrikaner academics, such as Prof Bennie Keet and Prof Ben Marais had been increasingly attacking the intolerant atmosphere created by the NP leadership, especially around the debate of the coloured voters roll and the rights of black people in the 1950s. An Afrikaner scholar, Van der Westhuizen cites *Die Burger* by the end of 1950s editorialising that apartheid had “become a fossilised, unimaginative separation-for-separation's sake”.²⁸ The leading Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) academic Prof Bennie Keet, asked whether apartheid was just “wishful thinking”, something that was impossible which helped avoid the task of grappling with reality while Prof Ben Marais said that apartheid could not be justified biblically.²⁹ These contesting voices of disquiet and others such as Beyers Naudé were raised further in the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960, with three ministers asking for the pass system to be scrapped. Such voices remained dormant until Verwoerd's assassination on 6 September 1966. This situation created class tension that cut

26 SC Nolutshungu, Issues of the Afrikaner “Enlightenment”, *African Affairs* 70(278), 1971, pp 23-36.

27 AO Yacoob, “An examination of the relationship between national identity and sovereignty: debates around the South African nation-state from 1990 to 2010” (PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), 2017.

28 C van der Westhuizen, *White power and the rise and fall of the National Party* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2007), p 84.

29 C van der Westhuizen, *White Power and...*

across the old ethnic blocs. This rupture became a genuine dilemma facing the Afrikaner nation. For example, under the leadership of Dr A Hertzog, the new Afrikaner middle class converged to form the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*, this movement was supported by the affluent English-speakers on economic and social questions³⁰ and threatened Afrikaner unity, and Afrikanerdom.

The current state

The memorial park where the statue of Hertzog is currently standing is in a state of neglect. The site is at the mercy of vandals, predators, and thieves, who have already looted bronze plaques. Currently, the Hertzog statue, along with associated statues of the Boer women, men and children on site are spray painted with graffiti. The grass is overgrown, ponds are contaminated, and littered with paper and plastic (see figure 3). Scholars that address the international problem of memorial neglect, such as Kuchler assert that tracing the relation between political histories and material remnants allows us to discover the labour of the negative in memory-making related to neglect, sacrifice, displacement, abandonment or defacement.³¹ In addition, Martinez notes, “memorials [do] not only produce meaning in their preservation, but also in their destruction and disrepair, generating an interpretive excess and, in some cases, liberating negative energy during their entropic decay.”³² In the context of Hertzog’s statue and other apartheid monuments and memorials, the existing neglect might be a conscious process, which often follows a systematic and institutionalised attempt of producing oblivion.

Oblivion and sustainability of an undesired monument

Considering the current state of Hertzog Square, this article raises important questions pertaining to the sustainability of and responsibility and care for undesirable memorial legacies from the past. It also reflects on how the transformation of the heritage landscape in South Africa appeared to erase any physical representations of the apartheid era from city centres; new monuments, street names and museums quickly emerged, and the old, stigmatised ones produced itineraries that call to mind symbolic imprisonment or quarantine. Considering

30 C Charney, Class Conflict and the National Party Split, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10(2), 1984, pp 269-282.

31 S Kuchler, The place of memory, in A Forty & S Kuchler (eds), *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford, 1999), pp 53-72; M Taussig, *Defacement. Public secrecy and the labor of the negative* (Stanford, 1999).

32 F Martínez, Memory, Don’t Speak! Monumental neglect and memorial sacrifice in contemporary Estonia, *Cultural Geographies* 29(1), 2022, p 73.

transformation, it created opportunity for material decay, aesthetic devaluations, breakage and dirtiness of the colonial and apartheid memorials and monuments, such as the Hertzog memorial that may perhaps be considered by local authorities unworthy of maintenance.

Since the Hertzog Square is not properly maintained, the “neglected” nature of the memorial is what makes it somewhat fascinating. Besides, the official maintenance of this site requires an understanding of the relations between the site and the city authorities. In this regard, the management, heritage grading, the jurisdiction, and the upkeep of Hertzog Square is the heritage department of the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality’s responsibility.

It is, however, not clear whether the neglect of this memorial is the reflection of a political performance, or whether the untidiness of the memorial under review is the reminder of an obligation to remember, whereas its neglect and disarray can be considered as an invitation to forget, or to remember Hertzog in a bad light. We remain uncertain whether the neglect of this site is the disruption of historical representation, rather stems from the poor performance of the local authorities, or the city is engaged in “strategic forgetting” of sites that represent white domination. No matter how and why the memorial is neglected, South Africans remain stuck with the question, what to do with them.



Figure 3: The contaminated fountain in the memorial park.
(Source: Photo by the author)



Figure 4: The Hertzog Square before 1994.

(Source: Photo from the Dr van der Merwe private collection)

More worrying is that information about the site's maintenance is not accessible. Dr Marianna Botes, a researcher and cultural historian at the National Museum in Bloemfontein outlines the following:

The maintenance of Bloemfontein's monuments and parks are the responsibility of the Municipality of Bloemfontein's Parks Department. All Bloemfontein's public parks are in a neglected and sorry state – it is really a shame. In some cases, the residents themselves are trying to maintain the parks that are situated in the neighbourhoods. Bloemfontein's municipality is apparently bankrupt, so, this might explain the current condition of the city.³³

Certainly, it is the city parks and the heritage unit of the city that is responsible for the maintenance of the Hertzog Square. But it is not clear who is in charge and who is responsible for the decision making in those departments. When the author asked for interviews, no one agreed to be interviewed. As a result, it is uncertain whether the municipality is willing to maintain the site, or whether the section of the city officials aligned to the political grouping that resent Hertzog deliberately advocate the neglect of this site for it to disintegrate. Ultimately the neglect could be associated with the lack of competency and accountability of the city.

33 Vusi Kumalo personal collection, E-mail conversation with Dr Marianna Botes (National Museum, Bloemfontein) with Vusi Kumalo, 2020.

It is, however, clear from academic literature on cultural districts that it is common administrative practise that the city's heritage precinct, such as the President Brand Street precinct, should have at least one person with institutional knowledge, holding regular coordinating meetings with stakeholders, managing shared projects, connecting people internally and externally.³⁴ It is extremely worrisome that no one in the relevant city departments claimed responsibility for the memorial, and that no-one responsible individual within the city administration could be identified. It is therefore important to note that, unless a major effort is mounted against the existing neglect and vandalism, this site has no future and resources to rescue this memorial site from neglect should be raised.

The current use of the site

In terms of attraction, visitors of different races and ages continue to visit the site throughout the day. Some of the visitors that the author met were young blacks who go there to relax in a pleasant atmosphere while looking at the site and its environment. Their motivation is thus far from solemn, yet still relying on the design qualities of the space.

The deteriorating condition of the Hertzog Square memorial also adds an edgy touch to the decay of the city centre, which gives another dimension to the use and significance of the site. The atmosphere of contemplation generated by material decay, is an attraction embraced by the so-called homeless, and vagrant people of the city who come to the square in the evening to drink and smoke. The lack of lighting gives the space an intriguingly dark aura, which turns the Hertzog Square into a haven for the city criminals.

As the institution, responsible for the conservation of heritage sites, the city of Bloemfontein should focus virtually all its energy on the Hertzog site and other sites at risk, often in poor condition after periods of avoidable neglect. Some scholars have noticed other similar neglect and vandalism that the Hertzog Square is currently experiencing. In her work on South African monuments, S Marschall has observed that, "little attention is paid to the pervasiveness of neglect and the ubiquitous evidence of defacement or abuse of statues and commemorative

34 See, for example, L Lazeretti (ed), *Art cities, cultural districts and museums. An economic and managerial study of the culture sector in Florence*, (Firenze, 2004).

markers across the country, which has affected both old monuments and new statues installed under the aegis of the post-apartheid government.”³⁵

Transformation of the heritage landscape

For the past years, South Africa has experienced a profound heritage landscape transformation. Many statues, monuments, and memorials of the apartheid era, such as the statue of Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, were removed. Even years later, statues, such as the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town, was removed. To a certain extent, the removal of the Rhodes statue became a dramatic event associated with the #Fees Must Fall movement.³⁶ This movement heightened awareness among younger militant generations who also called for the name changes of some university buildings. This undertaking led to the controversy surrounding the renaming of the University of the Witwatersrand administration building from the Senate House to Solomon Mahlangu.³⁷ It also sparked a wave of statue defacements across South Africa and gave fresh impetus to the national debate about colonial and apartheid era monuments.³⁸

Unlike the “born frees”, some of the advocates of the “Rhodes Must Fall” campaign, were not even born in 1994. With exception of the select few anti-apartheid activists, such as Nelson Mandela and others, the older generation could no longer bear to have the symbols of their oppression present in public squares, city parks, and in the grounds of the parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings in Pretoria. This led to the removal of many apartheid monuments and memorials, including the Hertzog statue from the Union Building lawns on the 22 November 2013. This statue was removed to make way for a 9-metre-high statue of Nelson Mandela, and the removal was certainly not without controversy.

35 S Marschall, Monuments and affordance, *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 227(3), 2017.

36 Starting in October 2015, South African public universities experienced a wave of student protests initially over proposed fee increases for the 2016 academic year. The protests started at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), and they soon spread to all the government funded universities. See G Mavunga, #FeesMustFall protests in South Africa: A critical realist analysis of selected newspaper articles, *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa* 7(1), 2019, pp 8199.

37 For the author of this article, the renaming of Senate house into Solomon Mahlangu does not make sense. There was nothing wrong or derogatory about the name “Senate”. The renaming of the Senate House after Solomon Mahlangu is not intelligible. There is nothing that connects Mahlangu with the University of the Witwatersrand. He might have not even set his foot on the university campus.

38 S Marschall, Monuments and affordance..., p 671.

Precedents – not without protest – for the removal of monuments in other parts of the world such as eastern Europe, where monuments dedicated to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels exist.³⁹ The removal of white political statues, such as the bronze statue of Hendrik Verwoerd, which had stood in front of the headquarters of the Free State provincial administration since 1969, along with white treasured monuments was criticised by few militant Afrikaners who vowed to take up arms to protect the more treasured monuments. Some like Kobie Gouws, a former white legislator in the Orange Free State and a member of the Freedom Front, told the *New York Times* journalist that: “You don’t heal an old wound by making a new one.”⁴⁰ As in the case of creating monuments, their removal does not happen in a cultural vacuum, but is a reflection of the current social and political landscape and power dynamics within society at a given time.

The spirit of national unity

In the spirit of national unity, the Mandela government retained the Hertzog statue that still looms in President Brand Street in the centre of Bloemfontein. Although some might differ, this action appealed to a need to respect and “save” South African history. More importantly, the Hertzog statue represents the country’s history, no matter how complicated, and explains why it should be preserved. As a former Prime Minister, he played a critical role in the early formation and shaping of the country, although the understanding of historical context makes it more difficult to claim that the Hertzog memorial is simply “heritage”, devoid of racial meaning. Indeed, Hertzog disfranchised black voters, and he played an important role in legalising segregation. Despite his racist ideas, this article argues that Hertzog is an excellent candidate for the contextualization of South African history. By removing his memorial at the Union Buildings was to censor, whitewash, and potentially forget that history. The preservation of his statue in Bloemfontein confirmed South African history, and that the Hertzog statue is considered a work of art. To remove it from sight would create a sense of eradicating the apartheid heritage and to censorship an era that promoted apartheid.

Principle of racial reconciliation

Reflecting on Nelson Mandela’s principle of racial reconciliation, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s dream of a “rainbow nation”, President Mandela warned his more

39 NJ Nula, Mapping monuments: The shaping of public space and cultural identities, *Visual Communications* 1(3), 2002, pp 51-65.

40 *New York Times*, 1994-09-25.

spirited colleagues to be sensitive when removing Afrikaner icons. “We must be able to channel our anger without doing injustices to other communities... Some of their heroes may be villains to us. And some of our heroes may be villains to them.”⁴¹ President Mandela’s Government of National Unity spelt out the vision for a South African nation, which embraces all races and cultures. This initiative embraced the vision of the Freedom Charter, the document that called for a non-racial South African nation. This document that served as a blueprint of the constitution of South Africa called for non-racialism and common identity. In an attempt to fulfil the objectives of the Freedom Charter, the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki outlined that, “The government reconfirms that the aim of reconciliation, social transformation, and nation-building, which he (Nelson Mandela) struggled for at great personal cost, remains the cornerstones of its policies.”⁴² We should recall that presidents Mbeki and Mandela have repeatedly tried to include the Afrikaner community in the new South Africa. In a statement, Mbeki declared that “Afrikaners are Africans. And because we are all Africans... our endeavour [is] to accept our shared legacy and our inextricably bound destiny.”⁴³ The principle of reconciliation was embraced by scholars, such as S Cornelissen and S Horstmeier who observed that:

The process of nation-building embarked upon by the ANC is one of the legitimising elements of the newly created political institutions. It is also a process whereby a common national identity linked to the South African state is sought. This is done mainly through the promotion and use of political symbols, such as the national flag, the new national anthem (which coalesces the anthems of apartheid South Africa and that of the liberation movement), and national holidays that commemorate key moments in the recent history of the country.⁴⁴

When one considers Nelson Mandela’s call for racial reconciliation, the main concern that this article raises, is how can Hertzog’s memorial assist South Africans to reach Mandela’s goal, especially during a time when the South African society is still significantly divided along racial lines, the rich and the poor, the economically marginalised and the benefactors, the beneficiaries, and the victims of apartheid. More importantly is how the removal of the Hertzog memorial could fulfil the

41 *New York Times*, 1994-09-25.

42 T Mbeki, Birthday telegram to Nelson Mandela, 1999-07-17; Office of the President <https://www.polity.org.za/>, viewed 2022-05-06.

43 Toespraak van president Thabo Mbeki tydens ’n gesprek met die Afrikanerbond, 27 Julie 1999, Stadsaal, Pretoria.

44 S Cornelissen & S Horstmeier, The social and political construction of identities in the New South Africa: An analysis of the Western Cape Province, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40(1), 2002, pp 55-82.

provisions and the legal framework along with the legal status of the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999, and its preamble that reads as follows:

To promote good management of the national estate, and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations. Our heritage is unique and precious, and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural identity and therefore lies at the heart of our spiritual wellbeing and has a power to build our nation. It has the potential to affirm our diverse cultures, and in so doing shape our national character.⁴⁵

Due to the legacy of colonialisation and apartheid, the question of memory, heritage and common identity in South Africa is an uneasy one. The end of apartheid has brought about the need for new identities to be forged among South Africans.⁴⁶ This was the response to the apartheid system that created distinct racial identities that were the hallmark of South Africa's defining population. Even within broad racial categories, there existed further distinctions based on class, ethnicity, and affiliation.⁴⁷

Thus, the main question that the article raises, is how the Hertzog memorial could be preserved and reimagined if viewed through the objectives of reconciliation, social cohesion, and nation building. How could the government, as the agents of memory with enough power and influence, reframe the story of Hertzog to facilitate patriotism rather than racial divisions and oppression. The goal here is not simply to shed light on how Hertzog should be remembered and fixed in "history", but to inquire more deeper into how his memorial could be useful and appeal to post-apartheid South Africa. In the context of the memorial under review, it is perhaps important to draw on D Bunn who suggests that "the absence of engaging with questions of black citizenships on white monuments means that such monuments cannot claim to represent nationhood."⁴⁸ This suggests that existing apartheid monuments should genuinely contribute to peaceful post-apartheid coexistence. In

45 National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999, <https://www.gov.za/documents/national-heritage-resources-act>, viewed Januarie 2021.

46 S Cornelissen & S Horstmeier, The social and political construction of identities in the New South Africa: An analysis of the Western Cape Province, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40(1), 2002, pp 55-82.

47 S Dubow, *Scientific racism in modern South Africa* (Cambridge, 2005); S Cornelissen & S Horstmeier, The social and political construction of identities in the New South Africa: An analysis of the Western Cape Province, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40(1), 2002, pp 55-82.

48 D Bunn, Whited Sepulchres: On the reluctance of monuments, Rotterdam, in H Judin & I Vladislavic (eds), *Blank: Architecture; Apartheid and After* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998), p 103.

other words, the Hertzog memorial should promote a dialogue that would be able to build more inclusive, post-apartheid national identities. This public discourse should allow the stories of victims and perpetrators of apartheid to share a single representational space without either dominating.

Conclusion

Despite neglect, vandalism, and the dilapidated condition of the Hertzog Square, which makes the area unsafe, unhealthy, and abandoned, the memorial can be reviewed, restored to its former state, and be adapted to become relevant in today's political climate. The value of this public space, its function, meaning, and its relevance to grapple with the memory of the difficult pasts could be employed in the service of engendering new forms of national identity, while serving as a source of dialogue and healing. Being the first and most powerful capital city of the Boer Republics and as a key regional centre of apartheid and Afrikanerdom, Bloemfontein could be one of the leading cities.

It should be taken into account that “ideological work of national identity formation, the responsibility of creating ‘good citizens’, are in some ways being shifted from the schools to heritage institutions and mediums of public culture”.⁴⁹ It is concluded that the Hertzog memorial could open doors for people to talk openly about Hertzog while providing a practical framework for addressing issues of contested heritage in relation to specific historic objects. As Zubrzycki point out, the icon can alter its content or meaning, forfeit its sanctity, and perhaps push the articulation of new identities.⁵⁰ It can take on new meanings, differing from those originally intended. Thus, this memorial could be remodelled in a way that is acceptable, a way that considers and overcomes its previous victimisations and exclusions of the victims of apartheid. It could be used to illustrate the common bonds of pain and to provide a healing resolution as symbol of a new South African national identity based on unity, equality, freedom, and togetherness. Because of the segregation role that the site played, not all South African people feel part of what the site commemorates. For nation building, reconciliation, and preservation of South African history, it is suggested that the Hertzog memorial site should be a place to which all South Africans are able to relate, and perhaps be proud of. It should encourage South Africans to think more explicitly about what exactly is being remembered or forgotten, and why, when we make choices about historical representations in public spaces.

49 C Rasool, The rise of heritage and the reconstitution of history in South Africa, *Kronos* 26, 2000, p 1.

50 G Zubrzycki, Aesthetic revolt and the remaking of national identity in Québec, 1960–1969, *Theory and Society* 42(5), 2013, pp 423–475.

DISCUSSION FORUM / GESPREKSFORUM

OPINION ARTICLE

THE DREAM OF BUILDING A SOUTH AFRICAN NATION: ABANDONED OR ALIVE?

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What is a nation?

A group of people sharing citizenship of a country, forms a ‘nation’. These citizens need not represent the same culture, race, or religion. A ‘nation’ therefore differs from a ‘cultural group’ (people who predominantly share the same culture) and also differs from ‘race’ (people who predominantly share similar physical characteristics). When a nation consists of more than one ethnic or cultural group, it naturally becomes more challenging to form and maintain a stable, functional nation and country. In South Africa, even if only theoretically, a large variety of cultures, ethnicities and languages forms the nation, because they share citizenship. If there is a South African nation, one might ask what the significance of “nation-building” is? Why is it necessary to build something and what should be built?

Although I acknowledge the role that a government and political structures are supposed to fulfil in building and inspiring a functional nation, I would like to approach the above questions from a non-political point of view. I want to touch on contributions that the individual can make, and perhaps a fresh approach to some, how the study of cultural history can contribute to the process of nation-building. This is not a pedantic, prescriptive, or moralising essay, but, as the platform suggests, it is merely expressing of a few thoughts and opinions.

Unachievable dream?

“Nation-building” is no longer a fashionable term, nor a popular concept. Many consider it naïve and unachievable, because South Africans are disillusioned after 300 years of colonialism, followed by 40 years of apartheid, followed by

30 years of a dispensation that was supposed to recover and restore and rebuild and reconcile. Instead, we have to cope with harsher racism and hatefulness than before, not to mention the legacies of destruction, corruption, horrific crime, and almost complete darkness. These facts form the reality of our everyday existence.

We need not cling to an idealistic dream of perfect, harmonious co-habitation for everybody, because that will never happen. The question then arises: what exactly does a nation want to achieve if they speak about ‘nation-building’? If we put aside the dream of perfect harmony, what is there to strive for? Perhaps coherence and cooperation are necessary to create a functional and relatively peaceful society. But whatever it is called, should we as individuals not start thinking about this concept of working and living together as different cultural groups and races? Is it possible? Is it necessary? Is it desirable?

Some building blocks

In my opinion the three key aspects in which any nation should invest in terms of promoting coherence and cooperation, are respect, relationships, and responsibility.

A variety of cultures in one country opens the possibility for a cultural historian to compare these cultures and analyse the interaction between them, and to study how acculturation takes place. The findings of such studies can and should be applied to create awareness of the significance of cultural differences and to understand and appreciate these differences to cultivate respect across cultural boundaries. South Africans who have the means to travel are often excited about their various cultural experiences abroad, be it in the form of cuisine, the way people dress, architecture, or history. When at home, they forget that they have the advantage of experiencing all those aspects on their doorstep. In my experience many South Africans have not yet learned to love and enjoy the variety of cultures in their own country and to respect the principles of those cultures.

To build healthy relationships between different cultural groups, people of different races, religion, languages, and world views, is probably one of the most complicated issues in a multi-cultural society. One of many barriers on this path is that people often do not feel a need to move closer to compatriots of another culture or language, because they are self-sufficient and satisfied to live in their own comfort bubble – they do not need the other. There are of course multiple other barriers, like prejudice, hatred, the tendency to generalise, arrogance and in some cases a reluctance to move towards solutions. These are the matters that private individuals, organisations, academics, and politicians need to analyse in

an attempt to find solutions. Many of the efforts (especially from governments and politicians) are often window dressing and covering of festering wounds. Once again cultural history as a discipline is ideally orientated to investigate the impact of cultural differences on the process of reaching out and building relationships.

Responsibility, though abstract in nature and therefore weightless, is nevertheless heavy cargo that many choose not to carry – it is far easier to pass the buck. In the context of this essay, the focus is on the individual's responsibility to cultivate healthy inter-cultural relationships and collaborations. Governments, governing bodies, organisations, churches, and schools can educate and try to create a climate where mutual respect thrives, but in the end every individual is responsible to reach out, heal and respect. Every individual has the choice not to mount the wagon of social media where disrespect and hatred often thrive and where, in fact, a nation is divided by uncalled for comments.

The role of heritage

Those who are not ofay with the subject, might find it strange that the study of cultural heritage could contribute towards positive inter-cultural collaboration. In the hands of politicians, the management of heritage becomes a political gamble that can cause tremendous harm to existing fragile relationships. But when cultural artefacts, customs, traditions, and ways of living are exposed by means of study, people may become interested in other cultures and learn to respect them. Furthermore, when this knowledge and information, acquired and processed in an academic environment, leads to the understanding of how some of these cultural expressions becomes heritage and how important heritage is for the shaping of community identities, then a huge step was taken towards eliminating cultural obstacles.

Is it necessary?

Why and how did it happen that nation-building in South Africa has gradually become a myth and is today seen as a redundant concept, a naïve dream? Possibly through the disillusionment with a post-apartheid dispensation that has not fulfilled hopes and dreams; perhaps through experiencing explicit hatred and racism in the workplace and on social media; maybe through the harsh reality of poverty and horrible living conditions... Although many people experience this for a fact, it should not prevent us from reaching out and trying to create a culture of respect and appreciation for each other. These are the basic steps in a flight of stairs with many, many steps. Because by doing this we are laying the foundation of a structure that just might become a successful nation.

Is nation-building necessary? Yes, because we have already proved that a divided nation is dysfunctional. If we had not learnt some lessons during the past 70 years, what was the use of all the suffering? Nation-building, as I see it, is not the “live happily ever after” rainbow nation at the southern tip of Africa. It is rather a group of people representing many different cultures and customs, reaching out to each other to better understand one another and to be able to build together towards a purpose for this country.

Huldeblyk: Jan-Ad Stemmet (1977–2022)

Dit was hartseer tyding toe daar op 20 Augustus 2022 verneem is dat dr Jan-Ad Stemmet oorlede is. Teen die tyd van sy dood was dr Stemmet ’n senior lektor by die Militêre Akademie in Saldanha (wat deel van die Stellenbosch Universiteit is) en het ’n nuwe graad in intelligensie-studies vir die vermelde akademie geskep. Sy afskeidsdiens is op 29 Augustus 2022 by die NG Kerk Onze Rust in Bloemfontein gehou en was deur familie, oudkollegas en oudstudente en vriende bygewoon. Dit was by sy afskeidsdiens duidelik wat hy vir die vermelde groepe mense beteken het. Hy was hoog geag vir sy kennis van geskiedenis, sy medemenslikheid, sy vriendelikheid en natuurlik sy humorsin.

Dr Stemmet het sy BA & BA(Hons) in Geskiedenis aan die Universiteit van die Vrystaat (UVS) voltooi. Hy het ook sy PhD-graad in Geskiedenis by dieselfde universiteit ontvang (’n studie, so wel nagevors en geskrywe dat dit van MA tot PhD gepromoveer is). Sy proefskrif “Apartheid under siege, 1984–1988: Actions and reactions” was een van die voortreflikste proefskrifte van 2002 en is relevant vir enige studie oor die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag, die PW Botha-regering en Suid-Afrika gedurende die Koue Oorlog. Dr Stemmet het 18 jaar lank by die UVS klas gegee voordat hy die geleentheid in 2020 gekry het om by die Militêre Akademie aan te sluit. Uit sy pen het boeke oor die geskiedenis van *Die Volksblad*-koerant en Jamie Uys en die Suid-Afrikaanse rolprentwese verskyn. Gedurende sy loopbaan het interessante artikels oor die geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse pers en filmwese, netwerk-teorie en Suid-Afrikaanse politieke geskiedenis plek in vele joernale gevind. Sy laaste werk was die boek *Prisoner 913* wat gebaseer is op die dokumentasie van minister Kobie Coetsee oor die vrylating van oorlede president Nelson Mandela.

Dr Jan-Ad Stemmet was altyd gretig om artikels vir die *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* te beoordeel en het onlangs ’n boekresensie vir hierdie vaktydskrif geskryf. Sy nalatenskap stryk veel verder as sy pennevrug, soos wat sy oudstudente, kollegas, familie en vriende sal beaam.

Emile Coetzee, NWU Mahikeng



Dr Jan-Ad Stemmet met sy geliefde bulhond, Meiring.
(Foto van netwerk24.com)

BOOK REVIEWS/BOEKRESENSIES

JOHANN LODEWYK MARAIS

Die Platberg van Harrismith: 'n Geskiedenis

Imprimatur, 2021

146 pp, illustrasies, eindnotas en bronnelys

ISBN: 978-0-620-93882-2

Vir menige motoris wat al die besige N3 na KwaZulu-Natal se kusdorpe aangedurf het, is Harrismith se Platberg 'n imposante baken wat nie misgekyk kan word nie. Jy voel of jy jou hand wil uitsteek en aan die berg raak. Hierdie ooglopende “plat” berg, ook onder die swart inwoners bekend as Intabazwe, vorm 'n imposante agtergrond vir die dorp. Die digter Lina Spies skryf in haar gedig *Harrismith, Noordoos-Vrystaat* oor Platberg wat “waak oor my grootword-dorp” (p 110). Ek glo baie motoriste wat al by Platberg verby gery het, het gewonder oor die geskiedenis van hierdie berg. Gelukkig hoef hulle nie langer daaroor te wonder nie, want die digter en skrywer, Johann Lodewyk Marais, het 'n besonder insiggewende boek geskryf oor Platberg, sy geskiedenis, en die rol wat die berg in Harrismith en sy mense se lewens gespeel het.

Die 15 hoofstukke is tematies ingedeel en ondersoek bykans elke faset van die berg. Die temas wat aangeraak word, sluit in geologie, weer, klimaat, plantegroei, dierelewe, water, en die sosiale geskiedenis van die berg, om maar enkeles te noem. Die hoofstukke is redelik kort, maar verskaf genoeg inligting om enige nuuskierige leser se dringende vrae te beantwoord. Dit is verstommend hoe veelkantig en kompleks die geskiedenis van 'n natuurverskynsel kan wees – veral as dit, soos Platberg, 'n integrale deel van 'n gemeenskap se lewe en bestaan vorm. Dit is duidelik dat die skrywer, self 'n boorling van die distrik Harrismith, na jare se navorsing goed met die onderwerp vertrou is. Om so 'n boek te skryf is geen maklike taak nie en die skrywer skryf tereg dat om “hierdie geskiedenis te ontfafel, is moeilik en verg insigte en kennis wat op verskillende maniere uit 'n magdom bronne bekom moet word” (pp 1-2).

Die boek is ryk aan insiggewende inligting wat die skrywer uit primêre sowel as sekondêre bronne bekom het. Hierdie bronne sluit mondelinge onderhoude in, wat met plaaslike inwoners gevoer is. Die hoofstukke oor die fisiese kenmerke van die berg en sy onmiddellike omgewing, asook die plante- en dierelewe, is fassinerend. Wie sou kon dink dat daar nie minder nie as 669 plantspesies – insluitend fynbos – op die berg groei? (Hoofstuk 5). Die waardevolle rotskuns van die San (let wel dat

die term “Boesman” soos gebruik deur die skrywer nie meer aanvaarbaar is nie) in Platberg se rotsskuilings en grotte beeld die dierelewe uit wat volgens die skrywer tussen 4 000 en 120 jaar gelede in die omgewing voorgekom het (Hoofstuk 8). Die hoofstuk oor die sosiale geskiedenis van Platberg en Harrismith (Hoofstuk 9) is ook boeiend en vertel die verhaal van ’n berg wat besonder nou met die dorp en sy mense verweef is. Klink Platberg Apteek, Platberg Bande, Platberg Drankwinkel en Platberg Skietklub bekend?

Hierdie werk behoort sowel die deursnee-leser as ernstige navorsers tevrede te stel. Die eindnotas en volledige bronnelys maak van hierdie boek ’n handige naslaanwerk vir diegene wat meer oor die onderwerp wil nalees. Marais se skryfstyl is gemaklik, vloeiend en baie leesbaar. As digter en skrywer is hy vaardig met die pen en die keurige Afrikaans sorg vir leesplezier. Die enigste kritiek is dat die foto’s in die boek swart-en-wit is en nie kleur nie. *Die Platberg van Harrismith: ’n Geskiedenis* is ’n welkome en tydige bydrae tot die Vrystaat se streeksgeskiedenis – ’n genre wat deesdae afgeskeep word.

Derek du Bruyn, Nasionale Museum, Bloemfontein

ANTON CARL VAN VOLLENHOVEN

Die geskiedenis van Pretoria: van vroegste tye tot hoofstad en Jakarandastad

Pretoria: FAK, 2021

105 pp, illustrasies, verwysings en indeks

ISBN: 978-0-620-95040-4

Die geskiedenis van Pretoria: van vroegste tye tot hoofstad en Jakarandastad slaag daarin om te midde van bestaande literatuur rakende die geskiedenis van Pretoria, 'n unieke en verfrissende aanslag te bied. Die boek dek 'n aantal faktore van Pretoria se verlede en die leser sal aangenaam verras wees oor die verskeidenheid inligting wat bespreek word. Die invalshoek van hierdie boek is om nie net 'n oorsig van Pretoria gebaseer op bestaande geskiedkundige bronne aan te bied nie, maar ook om die historiese met argeologiese en ongepubliseerde navorsing te verweef. Hierdie benadering maak dit moontlik om die geskiedenis van die stad ook binne 'n wyer konteks van omgewingsgeskiedenis te plaas. Die boek volg hoofsaaklik 'n kronologiese benadering wat in ses hoofstukke verdeel word en 'n duidelike tydlyn skep. Sodoende word die leser in staat gestel om georiënteerd te bly ten opsigte van die historiese verloop van gebeurtenisse. 'n Spesifieke gebied kan egter nie altyd in isolasie bestudeer word nie en Pretoria is ook onlosmaaklik deel van sekere omgewingsfaktore in die omliggende area (p 3). Die Pretoria-gebied word reeds in die proloog geografies gekontekstualiseer, sodat die leser ook verstaan hoe dit met ander stede, dorpe en distrikte in die omliggende area skakel.

'n Mensgemaakte verskynsel soos 'n stad word ook onteenseglik deur die omgewing beïnvloed en daarom begin die eerste hoofstuk gepas met 'n uiteensetting van die natuurlike omgewing ten opsigte van geologie en biodiversiteit. Van Vollenhoven toon aan hoe sekere omgewingsfaktore in die area vir die mens voordelig was vir vestiging en ontwikkeling. Die berge in die area bied skuiling, die valleie beskik oor vrugbare grond, natuurlike poorte bied deurgange vir wild wat voordelig is vir jag en gesteentes in die area was ook geskik vir prehistoriese werktuie. Verder is die gebied waterryk vanweë natuurlike fonteine en natuurlike biodiversiteit maak ook die gebied hoogs geskik vir menslike bewoning (p 6-8). Van Vollenhoven vestig in hierdie hoofstuk aandag op 'n deel van die area se geskiedenis wat dikwels oorgesien word, maar tog belangrik is om die menslike geskiedenis later te kan kontekstualiseer. Sodoende word die leser ook herinner dat die omgewing ryk in geskiedenis was, selfs voordat Pretoria amptelik as 'n dorp gevestig is.

In hoofstuk twee word die prehistoriese tydvak van Pretoria bespreek en dit is ook een van die hoofstukke wat hierdie boek grootliks van ander bronne onderskei, aangesien die prehistoriese geskiedenis van Pretoria, net soos die omgewingsgeskiedenis, soms afgeskeep word. Van Vollenhoven benut in hierdie hoofstuk hoofsaaklik argeologiese rekords met inligting uit die Steentydperk en Ystertydperk. Die area rondom hedendaagse Pretoria het 'n ryk voorgeskiedenis en in hierdie hoofstuk word verskeie bewyse voorgelê wat aandui dat mense en menstipes reeds sedert die vroeë Steentydperk daar woonagtig was. Die teenwoordigheid van mense tydens die Ystertydperk word ook blootgelê aan die hand van besprekingspunte soos die verskillende groepe mense, oorblyfsels van potwerk, klipmure en rotsgravures. Van Vollenhoven argumenteer ook ten gunste van die moontlikheid dat daar in die toekoms selfs meer oor hierdie tydperk geleer kan word. Die eerste twee hoofstukke is 'n uitstekende aanduiding dat die geskiedenis van Pretoria nie net beperk is tot die moderne historiese tydvak nie.

Die prehistoriese tydperk word opgevolg deur 'n bespreking van die vroeë historiese tydvak in hoofstuk drie. Van Vollenhoven verdeel hierdie historiese periode in Suid-Afrika in twee fases. Die eerste fase behels die tydperk waar bronne grootliks uit mondelinge oorlewering bestaan, asook skriftelike bronne wat deur buitelanders, soos Europese sendelinge, geskryf is. Die tweede fase behels die permanente vestiging van geletterde persone en daarmee saam, verdere skriftelike bronne. Hoofstuk drie bespreek die Afrikataalsprekende groepe wat gedurende hierdie tyd in die omgewing van Pretoria teenwoordig was. Sommige navorsing toon dat die eerste groepe in hierdie area die Sotho-Tswana was, terwyl ander bronne erkenning aan die Transvaalse Ndebele gee (p 24-25). Van Vollenhoven bespreek egter die Afrikataalsprekende groepe op 'n omvattende wyse wat historiese prosesse soos die Difaqane in ag neem en aandui dat vroeë samelewings in die gebied komplekse patrone van beweging en interaksie bewerkstellig het. Voorts word in hoofstuk drie ook gefokus op die vestiging van Europese pioniers in die area. Laasgenoemde is 'n aspek van geskiedenis wat meer gereeld aandag in bestaande navorsing en publikasies geniet het en hierdie hoofstuk bou gepas voort op die wye seleksie van bestaande bronne.

Hoofstuk vier skenk verdere aandag aan die tema van die eerste pioniersbewoners van die Pretoria-omgewing. In die bespreking hiervan dui Van Vollenhoven op 'n paar onwaarhede rakende Pretoria se pioniersgeskiedenis wat hy oopvlek. Daar word byvoorbeeld ondersoek ingestel na die opvatting dat LC Bronkhorst die eerste wit bewoner van die Pretoria-omgewing was en dat die oorblyfsels van sy huis in Groenkloof die eerste pionierstruktuur in die area was. Hierdie hoofstuk weeg verskeie bronne teen mekaar op om nader aan die waarheid te kom en gee

ook 'n gedetailleerde beskrywing van die navorsingsproses. Van Vollenhoven kom egter deur deeglike navorsing tot die gevolgtrekking dat beide hierdie stellings in 'n mate onwaar is. Van Vollenhoven dui meer as een keer in die boek aan dat geskiedenis voortdurend hersien kan word aan die hand van nuwe navorsing en hierdie hoofstuk is 'n uitstekende voorbeeld daarvan.

Die vyfde hoofstuk fokus op die tydperk nadat die Bronkhorst-broers in die area van Pretoria gevestig het en baie meer pioniers na die gebied getrek het. Gedurende hierdie tydperk het Pretoria al hoe meer die kenmerke van 'n dorp begin aanneem. Hoofstuk vyf verskaf stawende inligting vir Van Vollenhoven se argument dat Pretoria se ontstaan gekoppel is aan die funksie daarvan as hoofstad. MW Pretorius het hierdie gebied in 1853 voorgestel nadat 'n mosie by die Volksraad van die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) ingedien is om 'n sittingsplek in die middel van die land te vestig. Hoewel die gebied al sedert die 1840's deur pioniers bewoon is, 'n groeiende aantal inwoners gehad het en volgens Pretorius hoogs geskik was vir bewoning, het die Volksraad dié voorstel afgekeur. Eers in November 1855 is die stigting van 'n dorp deur die Volksraad goedgekeur. Die naam Pretoria is daarna amptelik gekies, vernoem na Andries Pretorius – voorheen is die name Pretoria Philadelphia, Pretoriusdorp, Pretoriusstad en Pretorium gebruik. Teen 1858 het Pretoria ook die regeringsetel geword en teen 1860 ook die hoofstad van die ZAR (p 48-51). Van Vollenhoven bespreek Pretoria se geskiedenis verder vlugtig met betrekking tot belangrike historiese gebeurtenisse in die daaropvolgende jare, soos die anneksasie van Pretoria deur die Britte in 1877, die Anglo-Transvaalse oorlog vanaf 1880 tot 1881, die Anglo-Boereoorlog vanaf 1899 tot 1902 en Uniewording in 1910. Hierdie hoofstuk dui duidelik aan dat Pretoria spesifiek gestig is met die doel om as hoofstad te dien, al sou dit 'n paar jaar neem om hierdie visie te verwesenlik.

Die boek sluit af met 'n besondere tema in hoofstuk ses, naamlik die geskiedenis van die jakarandabome wat aan Pretoria die bynaam “Jakarandastad” voorsien het. Die hoofstuk weeg weereens verskeie bronne teen mekaar op rakende die geskiedenis van hierdie bome, wat reeds in die 19de eeu na Suid-Afrika gebring is en in 1888 vir die eerste keer in Pretoria geplant is. Die verskeie figure in hierdie verhaal wat bygedra het tot die plant van jakarandas (die sogenaamde “Jakaranda Jims”) word ook vermeld en bespreek.

Die jakarandabome is nie net 'n unieke deel van Suid-Afrikaanse kultuurgeskiedenis nie, maar is ook belangrik vir die erfenis van Pretoria. Die eerste twee bome wat in die stad geplant is, staan vandag nog. Van Vollenhoven bespreek nie net hoe die bome in Pretoria gekom het nie, maar ook die bewaringsaspekte daarvan

deur die jare, wat soms kontroversieel is. Dié hoofstuk skeep dus ook 'n omgewing vir interessante gesprek rakende erfenisbewaring. Die belang van die jakarandas word uitstekend deur Van Vollenhoven gemotiveer as deel van die hoofstad se “geestelike kultuur” en kan in aspekte soos plaaslike volksgeloof, musiek, digkuns en skilderkuns aangetref word (p 68-69). Hierdie hoofstuk is beslis 'n spesiale een, aangesien Pretoria se ikoniese jakarandabome aan die meeste Suid-Afrikaners bekend is, maar nie noodwendig die geskiedenis daarvan nie.

Die boek bevat ook 'n aantal illustrasies wat bydra tot die boeiende materiaal en ook die leser help om 'n beter visuele geheelbeeld te skeep. Die skryfstyl is ook leservriendelik en Van Vollenhoven slaag daarin om inligting op 'n maklik verstaanbare wyse oor te dra, sonder om deur oorvereenvoudiging af te doen aan die waarde daarvan. Van Vollenhoven bied in hierdie boek die geskiedenis van Pretoria op 'n veel wyer vlak aan as wat gewoonlik aangetref word. Daar word nie net na die geskiedenis van Pretoria as amptelik gevestigde dorp gekyk nie, maar ook na die omgewingsgeskiedenis en tydvak toe die gebied nog nie amptelik die naam “Pretoria” gedra het nie. Om 'n gebied se geskiedenis van die voortye tot moderne era uit te beeld, is 'n enorme taak, aangesien honderde jare ter sprake is. Boonop word nuwe inligting voortdurend gevind – soos wat Van Vollenhoven tereg uitwys. Nogtans benader hierdie boek die wye tydraamwerk effektief en 'n bevredigende aantal inligting word op 'n bondige manier vasgevang, wat uiteindelik bydra tot die sukses daarvan. Hierdie boek word hoogs aanbeveel en is die tipe leesstof wat by menigte aanklank sal vind – van geskiedenisliefhebber tot gesoute akademikus.

Suné Kleynhans, Noord-Wes Universiteit Potchefstroomkampus

ALBERT BLAKE

Afrikaner-sondebok? Die lewe van Hans van Rensburg, Ossewabrandwagleier

Jonathan Ball Uitgewers, 2021

344 pp, illustrasies, eindnotas en bronnelys

ISBN: 978-1-776-19086-7

'n Biografie van Hans van Rensburg, 'n komplekse historiese figuur wat hoofsaaklik bekend is vir sy tyd as die kommandant-generaal van die Ossewabrandwag (OB), is lank reeds 'n tekortkoming in die historiografie. Gegewe die magdom primêre bronne wat in die Ossewabrandwag-argief in Potchefstroom beskikbaar is, is hierdie uitdaging beslis moontlik. Albert Blake, 'n kenner van die geskiedenis van die Ossewabrandwag,¹ het hierdie taak ter harte geneem en die eindproduk is *Afrikaner-sondebok? Die lewe van Hans van Rensburg, Ossewabrandwagleier*, wat in die tweede helfte van 2021 deur Jonathan Ball Uitgewers vrygestel is. Jonathan Ball Uitgewers is duidelik bewus van die gewildheid wat die OB tans onder die Suid-Afrikaanse leserskring geniet, veral diegene wat toenemend in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog belangstel.² Hierdie onlangse belangstelling in die OB het gevolglik ook die kollig op die organisasie se charismatiese leier gerig, en soos Blake dit self stel: "Daar was nog nooit 'n biografie van Hans van Rensburg nie – só asof hy net 'n kantaantekening in die geskiedenis is."³

Vir dekades lank het die OB, en dus die organisasie se leier, slegs oppervlakkige akademiese aandag geniet. Ander aspekte van die Suid-Afrikaanse ervaring van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog het baie meer akademiese en lesers gelok. Tussen belangrike verskynsels en temas soos die gebeure by Tobruk, die ervaring van Suid-Afrikaanse vlieëniers tydens die oorlog en die 6de Suid-Afrikaanse Gepantserde Divisie se rol in die Italiaanse veldtog, het die Suid-Afrikaanse tuisfront tydens die oorlog dekades lank nie die nodige aandag geniet nie. In vergelyking met die tuisfront-ervaring van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog kon die bogenoemde gebeure 'n veel breër leserskring bereik. Hierdie neiging neem egter toenemend af, en die Suid-Afrikaanse ervaring van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog word tans deur verskeie akademiese vanuit verskeie invalshoeke (anders as alleenlik vanuit 'n krygsoogpunt)

1 A Blake, *Wit terroriste: Afrikaner-saboteurs in die Ossewabrandwagjare* (Kaapstad, 2018); sien ook enkele opmerkings oor die Ossewabrandwag in A Blake, *Robey Leibbrandt: 'n lewe van fanatisme* (Jeppestown, 2019).

2 In 2021 het Jonathan Ball twee prominente publikasies gepubliseer wat oor die Ossewabrandwag handel: sien E Kleynhans, *Hitler's spies: secret agents and the intelligence war in South Africa* (Jeppestown, 2021); en A Blake, *Afrikaner-sondebok? Die lewe van Hans van Rensburg, Ossewabrandwagleier* (Jeppestown, 2021).

3 A Blake, *Afrikaner-sondebok? ...*, p 5.

bestudeer.⁴ Een van die beste voorbeelde hiervan is die uiteenlopende belangstelling wat die OB tans geniet. Die tyd is inderdaad ryp vir 'n biografie van die organisasie se sentrale figuur, Hans van Rensburg, en Blake kwyt homself goed van dié taak.

Wat veral 'n besondere bydrae is, is Blake se fokus op Van Rensburg se vrou, Katie van Rensburg, 'n figuur wat lank geen aandag geniet het nie. Met hoofstukke soos “Katie en omstredeheid” en “Katie – 'n liefdestragedie?” kan die leser verwag om interessante aspekte van haar lewe te ontdek. 'n Verdere verskynsel wat aandag geniet, is die ondergang van die OB as 'n organisasie, oftewel die organisasie se “laaste stuiptrekkings”, asook die impak daarvan op beide Van Rensburg as 'n individu en die Van Rensburg-gesin.⁵ Die publikasie bevat ook verskeie foto's wat nog nie in ander publikasies verskyn het nie, en hierdie visuele materiaal vul die teks goed aan.

Alhoewel die publikasie heelwat nuwe inligting aan die lig bring, is daar ongelukkig ook baie inligting wat oorvleuel met Blake se ander OB-publikasie, *Wit Terroriste*. Lesers wat al twee publikasies onder oë neem, sal besef dat sommige aspekte herhaal word – soos die omvattende beskrywings van die onluste in Johannesburg tussen die OB en Unieverdedigingsmagsoldate in 1941, die uiteenlopende beskrywings van beide die Stormjaers en die Terreurgroep, asook die sabotasie wat deur die twee groepe gepleeg is. Nietemin, Blake se biografie oor Van Rensburg is 'n billike samevatting van hierdie omstrede tydgenoot se komplekse lewe. Die boek is 'n broodnodige toevoeging tot die groeiende OB-historiografie, en 'n goeie grondslag waarop verder voortgebou kan word.

Anna la Grange, Universiteit van Potsdam, Potsdam

4 Voorbeelde sluit in: FL Monama, 'Blind warfare': radio propaganda dynamics in South Africa during the Second World War, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 2021, pp 1-22; E Kleynhans, The Rooseboom operation: uncovering the embryonic German intelligence network in South Africa, 1940–1942, *Intelligence and National Security* 37(1), 2022, pp 38-56; A la Grange & C Bignaut, Die ikonografie van Afrikanernasionalisme en die 'vryheidsideaal' van die Ossewa-Brandwag in die Suid-Afrikaanse interneringskampe van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog, *Historia* 66(1), 2021, pp 88-118; asook K Horn, *In enemy hands: South Africa's POWs in World War II* (Jespestown, 2015).

5 A Blake, *Afrikaner-sondebok? ...*, pp 247-254.

HENDRIK SNYDERS

Blitzboks Rugby sevens in South Africa – a history, 1904–2019

Gansbaai: Naledi, 2021

268 pp, illustrations & references

ISBN: 978-1-928-53030-5

Blitzboks Rugby sevens in South Africa – a history, 1904–2019 is a concise history of this sporting code which has long been regarded as the fifteen-a-side code of the Rugby Union. It provides a thorough narrative of the history of sevens rugby in South Africa, includes the men's and women's games, and refers to other codes such as six, nine and ten-a-side rugby.

The author, Hendrik Snyders, a well-known sports historian, and his thorough research of the subject becomes apparent when one regards the vast number of related primary sources, including various minutes of meetings and newspaper articles he used. Unfortunately, it seems that he did not critically evaluate these sources resulting in some apparent inconsistencies in the text. For instance, sometimes he would refer to the number of teams or players in a tournament, but when these are listed, not all the names are given, providing an incomplete record.

Another issue is that very few newspapers from the northern part of South Africa were consulted, which may have created a biased narrative. Furthermore, it is a pity that there is no comprehensive list of references, as footnotes do not always provide complete information. A few reputable secondary sources were also not used. Sources about rugby during different wars,¹ and the relationship between politics and rugby,² would have added value to the status of *Blitzboks* as an academic source – even if only referred to briefly.

Unfortunately, the first chapter has no scientific depth and only refers to the possible origin of the game. The chapter's references are questionable, which stands in sharp contrast with the remainder of the book. One could perhaps understand why this chapter was included, but at least a comment in this regard would have better contextualised the need to include this information in the book.

1 See for instance LA Changuion, Die lewe in die Groenpuntkrygsgevangenekamp tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog, 1899–1902, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 10(2), 1996, p 66; FJG van der Merwe, Sportontwikkeling onder Boerekrygsgevangenes tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899–1902), *South African Journal of Cultural History* 12(1), 1998, p 49; FJG van der Merwe, Sport en spel onder Suid-Afrikaanse krygsgevangenes tydens die Tweede Wêreldoorlog (1939–1945), *South African Journal of Cultural History* 13(2), 1999, pp 129-135.

2 FJG van der Merwe, Rugby en Afrikanernasionalisme gedurende die Tweede Wêreldoorlog, *South African Journal of Cultural History* 14(2), 2000, pp 83-93.

Quite the opposite is true of chapter 10 where the author has included relevant and well-researched information within the context of sevens rugby. He successfully integrates the information with the rest of the book and brings previously lesser-known facts to light without which the story would have been less valuable.

In general, some information is unnecessarily repeated, for example amplifying the fact that the South African Rugby Union (SARU) was multiracial, whereas the South African Rugby Board (SARB) was originally for whites only. Although this is important, it is over-emphasised. There are also a few inconsistencies showing a lack of proper editing. For instance, on page 11, the 1899–1902 war is called the South African War, whereas it is called the Anglo-Boer War on page 18. Another example is the indication on page 28 that sevens rugby was first played on the big stage in South Africa before a test against New Zealand in 1928, whereas on page 35, it is indicated to have been at a test against Australia in 1969.

A few other editing and printing issues were also noted. The printing on some pages is faint and difficult to read; the source on page 85 is provided in Afrikaans, whereas the rest of the content is in English. There are also some spelling mistakes. In most cases where scores are given, it is done with precise detail, adding to the value of the information. However, in some cases, the individual scores of certain matches in specific tournaments are omitted. This is especially a problem when round-robin scores are given but those of quarter or semi-finals are not. More important is omitting the date when sevens was acknowledged as an Olympic sport and the confusing indication of which team was victorious. On page 257, the author indicates that France won the gold medal, but on page 258, it is stated that they lost to the United States of America in this final.

It is impossible to write a history of sevens rugby without referring to the fifteen-player code. Snyders masters this by including the necessary information to understand this relationship without providing too much content about the latter, thus ensuring that the book does not turn into a history of fifteen-a-side rugby. The author writes fluently and creates a pleasant reading experience.

The book is indeed valuable for people interested in rugby, especially its history. Given the abovementioned issues, this book will, unfortunately, always be used in conjunction with other sources. It is important to realise that although many books have been written about the fifteen-a-side rugby code, this is the first about sevens rugby in South Africa and, therefore, a valuable piece of pioneering work.

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KAREL SCHOEMAN

Herlewing: Transvaal en die grensgebiede in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910

Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2022

315 pp, verwysings, indeks

ISBN: 978-1-485-31334-2

Karel Schoeman (gebore 26 Oktober 1939) word tereg as een van die mees vooraanstaande skrywers beskou wat Suid-Afrika (en die Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap in die besonder) tot dusver opgelewer het. Soos die waarskynlike leser weet, was Schoeman nie slegs ’n ongelooflike produktiewe (en bekroonde) skrywer van fiksie nie, maar het hy ook, naas sy bekende romans (waarvoor hy dalk vir die Nobelprys vir Letterkunde oorweeg kon gewees het) met verloop van tyd historiese werke van besondere waarde gelewer.

Naas geskiedenisboeke, byvoorbeeld *Bloemfontein: Die ontstaan van ’n stad 1846–1946* (1980) en *Armosyn van die Kaap: Die wêreld van ’n slavin, 1652–1733* (2001), en die 15 boeke in die “Vrijstatia”-reeks wat hy geredigeer het (gepubliseer 1988–2005), het hy ook ’n omvangryke reeks van agt boeke oor die vroeë geskiedenis van die Kaap geskryf, onder die sambreeltitel “Kolonie aan die Kaap” (gepubliseer 2008–2016). Dít het hy opgevolg deur nog ’n reeks (van ses) publikasies, dié keer onder die sambreeltitel “Imperiale somer”, wat ’n samevattende kultuurhistoriese oorsig van die geskiedenis van “Suid-Afrika” in die jare 1902 tot 1910 verskaf; dit wil sê, die tussenfase vanaf die einde van die Anglo-Boereoorlog (31 Mei 1902) tot en met Uniewording (31 Mei 1910). Ten tyde van Schoeman se ontydige dood op 1 Mei 2017, het die eerste deel van dié reeks boeke reeds verskyn, naamlik *Imperiale somer: Suid-Afrika tussen oorlog en Unie 1902–1910* (2015). Schoeman het talle boekmanuskripte nagelaat, insluitend Dele 2–6 van die “Imperiale somer”-reeks, en Protea Boekhuis gaan voort om dié boeke te publiseer, wat *Rekonstruksie: Die naoorlogsjare in Suid-Afrika, 1902–1905* (2021) en *Babilon: Johannesburg in die koloniale tydperk, 1902–1910* (2021) insluit.

In die vierde “Imperiale somer”-boek, *Herlewing: Transvaal en die grensgebiede in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910*, word die boek se titel gebruik as sambreel vir ’n wye verskeidenheid en uiteenlopende onderskeibare dog nie skeibare temas, van die hoofsaaklik swart woongebied Marabastad in Pretoria, en die geskiedenis van swart separatistiese kerke, tot die opkoms van Afrikaners in die naweë van die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die emigrasie van sommige van hulle na Oos-Afrika, en verder ook nog Mohandas Gandhi se veldtog ten behoeve van die Indiërbevolking. Dit was ’n era van welwillendheid, met generaals Louis Botha en Jan Smuts wat

bande met Brittanje wou bou en versoening gepredik het, terwyl andere weer ou slagordes tussen Boer en Brit wou handhaaf. Tussen-in, in 'n niemandsland, was daar die “hensoppers” en “joiners” van die Anglo-Boereoorlog. Soos in die ander boeke in hierdie reeks, word die vertelling deur anekdotes en kameebeskrivings ingekleur.

Die boek se inhoud word in ses afdelings verdeel, elk met 'n aantal hoofstukke. In die eerste afdeling (“Hoofstad”), word ten eerste 'n beeld van Pretoria (wat “verbasend dorps” (p 17) gebly het) geskets. Daarna kom die geskiedenis van en lewe in Marabastad aan die bod, gevolg deur 'n kort hoofstuk oor “Die immigrant”: die merkwaardige Sammy Marks. Die tweede afdeling word aan verskillende fasette van die Transvaalse geskiedenis gewy, insluitend hoofstukke oor die gebied as Britse kolonie; plekke soos Standerton en Lichtenburg; armoede; Kas Maine, en die Ngkane-gesin; blanke vrese vir swart mense; en vroeë pogings tot wildbewing. In die afdeling “Grensgebied” is daar hoofstukke oor Suid-Rhodesië (die huidige Zimbabwe) en ander gebiede in suidelike Afrika – waar sommige Transvalers hul vroeër of later gaan vestig het.

Transvalers wat in Europa as bannelinge gaan woon het (byvoorbeeld president Paul Kruger), leiersfigure in die naoorlogse jare in Transvaal, die rol van die Het Volk-politieke party, die taalkwessie, en selfbestuur aan die Transvaal (1906), is van die temas wat in die vierde afdeling (“Oplewing”) onder die loep geneem word. In die afdeling “Uitverkorenes”, kom die bogenoemde separatistiese kerke (die Ethiopiërs, die Sioniste, en die Pinksterkerke) aan die bod, terwyl in die slotafdeling (“Ongewenstes”), die geskiedenis van die Indiërs wat hul in Transvaal gevestig het, aan die orde gestel word, insluitend Gandhi se leiersrol en sy geweldlose protes, genaamd “satjagraha”. Die boek werp dus lig op 'n minder bekende tydperk in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika; 'n tydperk wat van groot belang was vir die daarstel van die eerste “nuwe Suid-Afrika” in 1910, en 'n periode wat etlike dekades lank reeds nie die aandag kry wat dit verdien nie.

Schoeman het 'n groot aantal en verskeidenheid bronne geraadpleeg tydens die navorsing wat hy vir *Herlewing* gedoen het. Kyk die bronnelys (pp 267–308) wat, terloops, ooreenstem met dié van *Imperiale somer* (pp 490–531) en *Rekonstruksie* (pp 271–312). Dit sluit in algemene naslaanwerke, biografiese woordeboeke, adresgidse, bibliografieë, koerante, tydskrifte, sensusopnames, webblaaië, reis- en besoekersgidse, digbundels, fiksie, huishoudkundige handboeke, kookboeke, skoolboeke, programme, notules, jaarverslae, en uiteraard ook 'n groot aantal sekondêre werke. Hoewel heelwat primêre bronne geraadpleeg is, is – net soos in baie van Schoeman se ander historiese werke – nie 'n groot volume argivale

bronne geraadpleeg nie. Sommige sal dit as 'n leemte in die werk beskou, maar dan moet in gedagte gehou word dat Schoeman 'n oorsig en geheelbeeld van 'n bepaalde era wil verskaf; en die breë tydsgees wil vasvang. Sy werk sal wel hopelik ander navorsers aanspoor om sekere van die sake wat hy aanroer, in veel meer besonderhede en in-diepte na te vors, iets wat ook méér argivale speurwerk sal verg. Deurgaans gee Schoeman die nodige erkenning aan sy geraadpleegde bronne. Kyk in hierdie verband die 967 endnote – wat, ideaal gesproke, as voetnote onderaan die onderskeie bladsye gedruk moes gewees het.

Met die uitsondering van die treffende foto op die voorblad van die stofomslag, naamlik van die Britse militêre dankseggingdiens op Kerkplein (8 Junie 1902), is daar ongelukkig geen ander fotos's in die boek nie. In die Voorwoord (p 8) dui Schoeman aan dat die foto's vir die hele reeks in *Imperiale somer* verskyn. In laasgenoemde boek is daar inderdaad 'n omvangryke foto-seksie met 98 foto's wat tussen pp 192 en 193 ingevoeg is, maar ideaal gesproke moes elke boek 'n aantal toepaslike foto's bevat het. Dit is jammer dat nie al die temas in die boek volledig beskryf en afgerond is nie; 'n tekortkoming wat Schoeman self erken (p 7). Daar is 'n omvattende register aan die einde van die boek (pp 309–315), wat dit vir die ernstige navorsers moontlik maak om die goudmyn van 'n inhoud maklik te ontgin. Die publikasie het – soos talle van Schoeman se ander boeke – in hardebladformaat by Protea Boekhuis die lig gesien; nogmaals 'n pluimpie vir Nicol Stassen en sy span.

Alles in ag genome, lewer *Herlewing: Transvaal en die grensgebiede in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910* 'n besondere kultuurhistoriese bydrae tot die historiografie van Transvaal in die dekade na afloop van die Anglo-Boereoorlog; al is die teks nie altyd so volledig of goed afgerond nie. Die waarde van kultuurgeskiedenis en die kaleidoskopiese aard van dié dimensie van die geskiedenis-as-wetenskap word ook deur hierdie publikasie benadruk. Die boek word sterk aanbeveel vir historici en studente wat oor die betrokke periode navorsing doen, maar enigiemand wat in dié periode belangstel, sal veel daaruit kan put. Daar word uitgesien na die verskyning van die laaste twee boeke in die “*Imperiale somer*”-reeks, naamlik *Moederstad: Die Kaap in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910* en *Nuwe begin: Die Oranjerivierkolonie en Natal in die naoorlogsjare, 1902–1910*.

André Wessels, Navorsingsgenoot, Departement Geskiedenis, Universiteit van die Vrystaat

KEVIN SHILLINGTON

Charles Warren: Royal Engineer in the Age of Empire

Pretoria: Protea Book house, 2021

486 pp, illustrations, references & index

ISBN 978-1-485-31281-9

Sir Charles Warren is a name most Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) students know, but only as a peripheral character, and as the man that was to blame for the British defeat at the Battle of Spioenkop. Other than that, some know him for his service in Griqualand and as the inept Commissioner of Police that allowed Jack the Ripper to slip through his fingers.

This is, however, a very limited view of Warren. Kevin Shillington has done history a service by relying on published or public records on Warren, and on his and his family's private papers.

What is further refreshing is that it is a book on a British general that was published in South Africa. Most local publications have unfortunately relied heavily on material from the Boer perspective of the Anglo-Boer War and haven't shifted the focus enough to obtain reasonably objective, well researched publications highlighting the "other side" of the war. Therefore, in my opinion, this book represents a positive change and the beginning of a more holistic and balanced account of the Anglo-Boer War.

The value of the book is not only found in the balanced view of Warren during the Anglo-Boer War, but also on all forces and influences that shaped him as a person and his command style. The chapters are seamlessly put together, but each chapter clearly focuses on a different period of Warren's life.

His early life and military career are documented and expanded upon for the first time. His father was a British Army general and his brother a serving officer, both veterans of the Crimean War. His time as a cadet at the Royal Military Academy is properly documented, as is the influences that urged him to pursue a career in the Royal Engineers.

The chapter on his early service and survey of Gibraltar is a subject that has never been explained in such detail and focuses on his development as a very thorough person from a young age. He mapped every inch of this British outpost, and also constructed models of the terrain to be used as learning tools and as a guideline for commanders on how to defend this posting. Furthermore, Warren went out of

his way to do something no hide-bound British officer would have thought of at the time – to explore the caves and their possible military value, under Gibraltar.

It is also in this section of the book that the author does something novel – he discusses the beginning of Warren’s career as a Freemason. Historians have always tended to ignore this subject or treat it subjectively. This theme and how it influenced Warren’s personality runs right through the book, and thus gives us a complete insight into his personality. The subject of Freemasonry as an historical subject is one that has finally been acknowledged and explored by historians in the last few years. Although many, especially Afrikaner historians, still shy away from it, it is an integral part of any historical and cultural narrative. This book helps to break new ground on the subject and is an indication that the negative perceptions or total ignorance of the subject is slowly disappearing.

Warren’s sterling work on behalf of the Jerusalem Exploration fund, his mapping of the Bible countries and his excavations on these sights are described and written with great care to detail. His explorations, although guided by his Christianity and Freemasonry, has contributed greatly to the archaeological knowledge of sites such as the Temple Mound, Nazareth, and the old part of Jerusalem. His maps of the Holy Land aren’t ordinary maps, but also include archaeological, historical, and other sites, that guided many later expeditions. Warren further broke the mould, as it were, by engaging with locals, tapping their knowledge on possible historical sites.

Regarding his time in South Africa, Warren explores conflicts, many of whom virtually nothing has been written on in detail. His Bechuanaland expedition, his expedition against the rogue republics of Stellaland and Goosen and his involvement in the Xhosa Wars are well documented – from his own, but also from a broader perspective. The book is a great contribution to subjects of South African history that have always been on the periphery of research and publication.

The section on his period as Commissioner of Police and his actions regarding the Ripper case is, to my mind, the first proper and thoroughly researched piece written on these matters. This author is not apologetic or revisionist, but objective in dealing with Warren’s shortcomings in this regard. It also reveals all the challenges Warren had to deal with regarding the modernising of the London Police in an ever-growing metropolis. His handling of the Ripper case is objective and simply clearly states his actions and decisions. It does however explore some of the fringe theories on the subject and dispels them.

Warren is best known for his leadership in the Anglo-Boer War and this aspect is explored in detail. His actions in Natal, his warnings to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Redvers Buller, and his command at Spioenkop is approached objectively. It dispels the myth that Warren alone is to blame for this military defeat. It also gives an insight into the politics behind the war and how Buller, with his political connections, tried his best to smear Warren and shift the blame on him. This chapter gives us new insight on Warren and Buller's command styles. The narrative tracks Warren's reassignment by Lord Roberts to the Northern Cape, an area with which he was most familiar, and where he achieved great military success. The book covers Warren's battle to clear his name and how the final vindication came about.

The remainder of the book documents virtually unknown aspects of Warren's life. It covers his career in Freemasonry, the Boy Scouts Movement, and his involvement with the St John's Ambulance.

The author has represented an objective and holistic biography of Warren who was an ardent imperialist, but also a humanitarian. He deeply cared for the local inhabitants of the areas where he was stationed. This book shows Warren to be an exception and how his perception of the British Empire but also its responsibilities differed from most of his contemporaries. Being a duty driven soldier and a benign governor could sound like a contradiction in terms, but Warren's actions should be seen within the context of his time.

This publication on General Sir Charles Warren is a must-read for every serious student of the Anglo-Boer War, South African history, British Imperialism, and those who are curious about Freemasonry. One can only hope that this is not the last book Dr Shillington writes on South African history.

Johan Wolfaardt, President Pretorius Museum, Potchefstroom

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INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

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- The *SA Journal of Cultural History (SAJCH)* adhere to “The code of best practice in scholarly journal publishing, editing and peer review” – March 2018 as proposed by the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf).
- The Journal publishes analytical articles on original research, as well as review articles, short communications, book reviews, and opinion pieces (see also the vision and focus of the *SAJCH* on the first pages of this issue).
- Authors should take note that material published elsewhere will not be considered for publication.
- It is the responsibility of the author to certify that the article, submitted for the *SAJCH*, is not under consideration by another publication, and will not be submitted to any other journal until a final rejection decision (or formal withdrawal) from the present journal has been received.
- Priority is given from the date of acceptance of an article (i.e. once the peer review has already taken place), not from its date of receipt.
- Authors from the African continent and internationally are encouraged to submit articles for publication in the *SAJCH*.
- The peer-review process of the Journal is conducted on a ‘double blind’ basis, that is, the author(s) does not know who the reviewers are and vice versa. A reviewer also does not know who the other reviewers are.
- Opinions expressed are those of the author(s) and are not those of the Editorial Board or the Society. The Journal is published twice annually.
- Authors from institutions receiving subsidies for the publication of articles should take note that page fees are payable to the *South African Journal of Cultural History (SAJCH)*.

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Submission of manuscripts:

- Manuscripts must be typed with 1,5-line spacing in Times New Roman 12-pt font size.
- Please note that after the final acceptance of any manuscript for publication it must be edited professionally and submitted as the final approved manuscript to the *SAJCH*. Proof must be provided in this regard.
- Contributions are limited between 4 000 and 8 000 words.
- It must be accompanied by a summary of approximately 250 to 300 words in English and in Afrikaans. The factual and concise summary should give an indication of the content of the article. The Afrikaans summary begins with the translation of the title if the article is written in English.
- Authors must present a list of 6 to 10 keywords in Afrikaans and English just after the summaries.
- Illustrations or drawings must be provided with suitable captions placed below the illustration and should be in a size appropriate to the format of the journal.

Title page:

MAIN HEADING: Must be short (no longer than 15 words), in capital letters and is in bold; there is a space between the main heading and the text.

Author: Name(s) of author(s).

Address: Name and address of the institution to which the author is affiliated, and the author's postal address if this differs from the former.

Subheadings are in lower case and in bold; there is a space between the heading and the text.

Figures: Place it in the correct position within the text.

All figures (photographs, sketches, tables and maps) must be numbered consecutively (e.g. **Figure 5:** ...) and captions must indicate the origin (photographer, artist repository, as well as a source and date).

Example

Figure 3: The ruins of the Zak River church today (Photo: Doreen Atkinson, 2001)

- **Quotes** are not printed in italics, even if they are in other languages. Quotes three lines and shorter, come in quotation marks within the text. Quotes longer than three lines are indented on the left and do not have quotation marks. Any insert within a quote is enclosed in square brackets.
- **Abbreviations** should be avoided as far as possible.
- **Copyright:** Authors are responsible for obtaining the copyright and reproduction rights on all figures. Copyright of all material published in the Journal rests with the *South African Journal of Cultural History*.

Submission of manuscripts: By e-mail to the Editor: linda@akademie.co.za.

Inquiries can also be sent to the Editor, Dr Linda Brink: linda@akademie.co.za

GUIDELINES FOR REFERENCES AND FOOTNOTES

References: All source references in the text should be cited in the footnotes. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals and be placed at the bottom of each page. It is preferable to use the language of the source in the reference. The use of the abbreviations *ibid*; *op.cit* and *cf* are not allowed in the footnotes.

Shortened references: In the case of sources that are referred to more than once, a shortened version of the title may be used after the first reference.

Article in a journal, a newspaper or in an Archives Yearbook for South African History

Provide the author's initials and surname, the title of the article followed by a comma, the main title of the journal or newspaper or Yearbook printed in italics, the volume number in Arabic numerals (without the word "vol"), the number or issue in between brackets in Arabic numerals, the year, month and day of the issue and the page number(s).

Example

- LE Hudson & RH Jackson, Mormon pilgrimage and tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19(1), 1992, p 1081.
- Anon. (or a journalist's name), The Royals arrived, *The Star*, 1947-02-17.
- M Arkin, John Company at the Cape. A history of the agency under Pringle (1794–1815), based on a study of the 'Cape of Good Hope factory records', *Archives Yearbook for South African History* 2 (Cape Town, 1960), pp 189-194.

Shortened references:

- LE Hudson & RH Jackson, Mormon pilgrimage..., p 1095.
- M Arkin, John Company at the Cape..., p 119.

Book

Provide the author's initials and surname followed by a comma, and then the title of the book, in italics, and the volume number (if applicable) in Roman numerals (without the word "vol"). In parentheses, add the place and the year of publication, separated by a comma. Lastly provide the page number(s).

Example

- LJ Lickorish & AG Kershaw, *The travel trade* (London, 1958), p 18.
- JA Böesekeken (red), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad I* (Kaapstad, 1957), p 218.
- JE Young (ed), *The art of memory: Holocaust memorials in history* (New York, 1994), p 9.

Shortened references:

- JA Böesekeken (red), *Resolusies...*, p 221.
- JE Young (ed), *The art of memory...*, p 11.

Chapter in a book

Provide the author of the chapter's initials and surname, followed by a comma, and "in" in italics. Add the initials and surname of the author(s) or editor(s), followed by a comma, and then the title of the book in italics. In parentheses, add the place and year of publication, separated by a comma. Lastly provide the page number(s).

Example

- HC Groenewald & S Makopo, The political song: Tradition and innovation for liberation, in E Sienaert, N Bell & M Lewis (eds), *Oral tradition and innovation: New wine in old bottles?* (Durban, 1991), p 79.

Shortened reference:

- HC Groenewald & S Makopo, The political song..., in E Sienaert, N Bell & M Lewis (eds), *Oral tradition and innovation...*, p 81.

Unpublished post-graduate dissertations or theses

Provide the initials and surname of the author, the title of the dissertation in inverted commas. Then provide the qualification, and the university where the degree was awarded in parentheses, followed by a comma, the date, and the page number(s).

Example

- BL Michler, "Biographical study of HA Junod: The fictional dimension" (MA thesis, University of Pretoria), 2003, pp 41-43, 45, 48-49.

Shortened reference:

- BL Michler, "Biographical study of HA Junod...", pp 45-47, 51.

Unpublished paper

Provide the initials and surname of the presenter, followed by the title of the paper and a full stop. Add the name of the conference, the place and date where it was held, and the page number if applicable.

Example

- C Hong, Africa in Chinese ancient publications. Unpublished paper, Conference of Blacks and Asians in time and space, Boston University, April 2002, p 4.

Shortened reference:

- C Hong, Africa in Chinese ancient..., pp 4, 7.

Government/official documentsExample

- Limpopo Province, Provincial Legislature, T Mufamadi, Limpopo Appropriation Bill, Budget speech delivered by the MEC for Finance and Economic Development, Lebowakgomo, 2004-02-26.

Shortened reference:

- Limpopo Province, Provincial Legislature, T Mufamadi, Limpopo Appropriation Bill, Budget speech..., 2004-02-26.

Archival references

Provide the name of the archive in full in the first citation followed by the word “hereafter” and the abbreviation in parentheses. This is followed by a colon, the source, series, and other details of the archival record. In the case of letters, the sender should be separated from the recipient by a dash, followed by the date. In archival references the finding place can be provided in the language the author is writing if it is also known as such in the language used.

Example

- National Archive of South Africa (hereafter NASA), Transvaal Archive Sources (hereafter TAB), LA 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system in the South African War, Professional papers of the Royal Engineers, 1903, p 286.

Shortened reference only necessary when the file title is elaborate, for example:

- NASA, TAB, LA 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system..., 1903, p 286.

Interview

Provide the finding place: For example, A van Vollenhoven personal archive (hereafter AVV), researcher NWU Mafikeng Campus, followed by the file name: For example, Oral Archive file 1 (OA1) followed by a comma, then the initials and surname of the interviewee, his/her occupation, the place of the interview, a comma and date of the interview.

Example

- Interview: A van Vollenhoven personal archive (hereafter AVV), Oral Archive file 1 (hereafter OA1), Mr TE Andrews, Researcher, Military Museum Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria, 1990-04-18.
OR
- A van Vollenhoven, personal collection (hereafter AVV), Interview: Mr TE Andrews, Researcher, Military Museum Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria, 1990-04-18.

Shortened reference:

- Interview: AVV, OA1, Mr TE Andrews..., 1990-04-18. *OR*
- AVV, Interview: Mr TE Andrews..., 1990-04-18.

E-mails**Example**

- C Hlongwane collection (hereafter CHC), E-mail conversation with G Groenewald (University of Johannesburg) by C Hlongwane (North-West University), 2014-07-12.

Shortened reference:

- CHC, E-mail conversation: G Groenewald (UJ)/C Hlongwane (NWU), 2014-07-12.

Internet

Provide all possible details such as author, a description, the URL (underlined/activated) and the date the site was accessed, all separated by commas.

Example:

- Anonymous, The chronicles of Wallmannsthal II, <http://www.repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/1>, viewed 2013-04-28.
- J Oosthoek, Environmental history: A transatlantic perspective, conclusion, podcast interview with Donald Worster, podcast 22, 2009-05-26, <http://www.eh-resources.org/podcast/podcast2009.html>, viewed 2010-05-07.

Shortened reference:

- J Oosthoek, Environmental history..., 2009-05-26, <http://www.eh-resources.org/podcast/podcast2009.html>, viewed 2010-05-07.

SUID-AFRIKAANSE TYDSKRIF VIR KULTUURGESKIEDENIS

VOORSKRIFTE AAN OUTEURS

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Die *SA Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* hou by “The code of best practice in scholarly journal publishing, editing and peer review – March 2018” soos voorgestel deur die Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf). Die Tydskrif publiseer analitiese artikels gebaseer op oorspronklike navorsing, sowel as resensie-artikels, kort mededelings en boekresensies, sowel as meningstukke (kyk ook die *SATKG* se visie en fokus in die eerste bladsye van hierdie uitgawe). Outeurs moet kennis neem dat enige materiaal wat reeds gepubliseer is, nie vir publikasie oorweeg sal word nie. Enige menings wat hierin uitgespreek word, is slegs dié van die outeur(s) en nie noodwendig dié van die Redaksionele Bestuur of die SA Vereniging vir Kultuurgeskiedenis (SAVK) nie. Die Tydskrif word jaarliks twee keer gepubliseer. Bladgeld is betaalbaar aan die SAVK indien die outeur se instansie subsidie vir die publikasie van artikels ontvang. Die beginsel van ewekniebeoordeling sal gebruik word.

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- Bydraes word beperk tussen 4 000 en 8 000 woorde.
- Dit moet vergesel gaan van ’n opsomming van ongeveer 250 tot 300 woorde in Afrikaans en in Engels. Die feitlike en bondige samevatting moet ’n aanduiding gee van die inhoud van die artikel. Die Engelse opsomming word begin met die vertaling van die titel indien die artikel in Afrikaans geskryf is.
- Outeurs moet ’n lys van 6 tot 10 trefwoorde in Afrikaans en Engels aanbied net na die opsommings.
- Illustrasies of tekeninge moet van toepaslike onderskrifte voorsien wees en moet ten opsigte van grootte rekening hou met die formaat van die Tydskrif.

Titelblad:

HOOFOPSKRIF: Moet kort wees (nie langer as 15 woorde nie), verskyn in hoofletters en is vetgedruk; daar is ’n spasie tussen die hoofopskrif en die teks.

Outeur: Naam (name) van outeur(s).

Adres: Naam en adres van die instansie waaraan die outeur verbonde is en die outeur se posadres, sou dit van die instansie se adres verskil.

Subopskrifte is in kleinletters en vetgedruk; daar is ’n spasie tussen die opskrif en die teks. Daar is geen punte na opskrifte nie.

Figure: Plaas dit in die korrekte posisie binne die teks.

Alle figure (foto’s, sketse, tabelle en kaarte) moet agtereenvolgens genommer word (bv. **Figure 5:** ...) en byskrifte moet die oorsprong aandui (fotograaf, kunstenaar, bewaarplek, sowel as ’n bron en datum).

Voorbeeld

Figuur 6: Maynie Fleck op 'n gevorderde ouderdom besig om op haar spinwiel te spin (Bron: VAB, Bloemfontein: VA4434)

- **Aanhalings** word nie kursief gedruk nie, ook nie as hulle in ander tale is nie. Aanhalings drie reëls en korter, kom in aanhalingstekens binne die teks. Aanhalings wat langer as drie reëls is, word ingekeep en het nie aanhalingstekens nie. Enige invoegsel binne 'n aanhaling staan tussen blokhakies.
- **Afkortings** moet sover moontlik vermy word.
- **Kopiereg:** Outeurs is verantwoordelik vir die verkryging van die kopiereg en reproduksieregte op alle figure. Kopiereg van alle materiaal gepubliseer in die Tydskrif berus by die *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*.

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Navrae kan gestuur word aan die Redakteur, dr Linda Brink: linda@akademie.co.za

RIGLYNE MET BETREKKING TOT VERWYINGS EN VOETNOTE

Alle bronneverwysings in die teks moet van voetnote vergesel wees. Voetnote moet opeenvolgend genummer word met Arabiese syfers en aan die onderkant van elke bladsy geplaas word. Dit is verkieslik om die taal van die bron in die verwysing te gebruik. Die gebruik van die afkortings *ibid*; *op.cit* en *cf* word nie in die voetnote toegelaat nie. Geen punte moet gebruik word na “ed” of “eds” wanneer na 'n Engelse bron verwys word nie en “red” of “reds” wanneer 'n Afrikaanse bronneverwysing gebruik word. Dieselfde geld vir akronieme soos “PhD” wat sonder punte gebruik moet word, asook geen punte na die titels en voorletters van persone nie. Datums moet soos volg geskryf word: 1997-05-18.

'n Artikel in 'n tydskrif, koerant of Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis

Voorsien die outeur se voorletters en van, die titel van die artikel gevolg deur 'n komma, die hoof-titel van die tydskrif of koerant in kursief gedruk, die volume nommer in Arabiese syfers (sonder die woord “vol”), die nommer of uitgawe tussen hakies in Arabiese syfers, die jaar, maand en dag van die uitgawe en die bladsynommers.

Voorbeeld

- LE Hudson & RH Jackson, Mormon pilgrimage and tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research* 19(1), 1992, p 1081.
- Anon. (of naam van joernalis), Minister leef nie in vrees, maar is 'n man met 'n plan vir 'n veiliger SA, *Rapport*, 2014-08-03, p 4.
- J Ploeger, Onderwys en onderwysbeleid in die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek (1881–1900), *Argiefjaarboek vir die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis* 15(1) (Kaapstad, 1952), p 186.

Verkorte verwysings:

- Anon. (of naam van joernalis), Minister leef nie in vrees..., *Rapport*, 2014-08-03, p 4.
- I Bredenkamp & A Wessels, Melita: Die geskiedenis van die Rooikruisshut..., *SATKG* 30(1), 2016, pp 1-22.

Boek

Voorsien die outeur se voorletters en van, die titel van die boek in kursief gedruk, die volumenummer (indien van toepassing) in Romeinse syfers (sonder die woord “vol”), dan die plek en jaar van publikasie tussen hakies, geskei deur kommas, en die bladsynommers.

Voorbeeld

- LJ Lickorish & AG Kershaw, *The travel trade* (London, 1958), p 18.
- JA Böeseken (red), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad I* (Kaapstad, 1957), p 218.
- JE Young (ed), *The art of memory: Holocaust memorials in history* (New York, 1994), p 9.

Verkorte verwysings:

- JA Böeseken (red), *Resolusies...*, p 223.
- JE Young (ed), *The art of memory...*, p 11.

’n Hoofstuk in ’n boek

Voorsien die outeur van die hoofstuk se voorletters en van, asook die titel van die hoofstuk gevolg deur ’n komma, dan volg “in” in kursief gedruk, die outeur of redakteur(s) se voorletters en van gevolg deur ’n komma, asook die titel van die boek in kursief gedruk en dan, tussen hakies, die plek en jaar van publikasie, daarna ’n komma, en die bladsynommer.

Voorbeeld

- JC Pretorius, Die tuisnywerheid van die Afrikaner, in PG Nel (red), *Die kultuurontplooiing van die Afrikaner* (Pretoria, 1979), p 10.
- G Hall & C Birchall, New cultural studies: Adventures in theory (Some comments, clarifications, explanations, observations, recommendations, remarks, statements and suggestions), in G Hall & C Birchall (eds), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp 1-28, 34.

Verkorte verwysing:

- G Hall & C Birchall, New cultural studies..., in G Hall & C Birchall (eds), *New cultural studies...*, pp 40-42.

Ongepubliseerde nagraadse verhandeling, of proefskrif

Voorsien die outeur se voorletters en van, die titel van die verhandeling/proefskrif in aanhalingstekens, gevolg deur die kwalifikasie en die universiteit in hakies, daarna die jaar waarin die graad verwerf is en die bladsynommer(s).

Voorbeeld

- CM de Villiers, “Die ‘African National Congress’ en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand (1912–1956)” (MA-verhandeling, Universiteit van Pretoria), 1965, pp 40-48.

Verkorte verwysing:

- CM de Villiers, “Die ‘African National Congress’...”, pp 45-46.

’n Ongepubliseerde referaat

Voorsien die aanbieder se voorletters en van, die titel van die referaat, gevolg deur ’n punt. Voorsien dan die naam van die konferensie en die plek en datum waar dit aangebied is.

Voorbeeld

- ES van Eeden, Aspekte van die kultuurlewe in die Wesrand met fokus op die invloed van mynontwikkeling op kulturele aktiwiteite van gemeenskappe – ’n historiese perspektief met Carletonville as voorbeeld. Ongepubliseerde referaat, Streekskonferensie, Suid-Afrikaanse Kultuurhistoriese Vereniging, Springs, Maart 1997, p 5.

Verkorte verwysing:

- ES van Eeden, Aspekte van die kultuurlewe in die Wesrand..., p 6.

Regerings-/amptelike dokumenteVoorbeeld

- Republiek van Suid-Afrika (RSA), Departement van Landbou en Waterwese (DLW), Verslag 8-0-1, Droogtehelpskema aan boere in die Oos-Kaap, 1972-03-10.

Verkorte verwysing:

- RSA, DLW, Verslag 8-0-1, Droogtehelpskema..., 1972-03-10.

Argivale bronne

In die eerste aanhaling word die naam van die argief ten volle aangedui, gevolg deur die woord “hierna” en die afkorting wat voortaan gebruik word. Dit word gevolg deur ’n dubbelpunt, die bron, reeks en ander besonderhede van die argivale rekord. In die geval van briefwisseling, word die naam van die persoon wat die brief geskryf het, deur ’n aandagstreep van die ontvanger geskei, gevolg deur die datum. In argivale verwysings kan die vindplek aangedui word in die taal waarin die artikel geskryf word, mits dit ook in dié taal sodanig bekend is.

Voorbeeld

- Nasionale Argiefbewaarplek van Suid-Afrika (hierna NASA), LA 9, 497: Brief GJT Beelaerts van Blokland – SJP Kruger, 1890-02-16.
- Kaapse Argiefbewaarplek, Kaapstad (hierna KAB), C500, ZK 1/169: Politieke Raad Uitgaande Brieven, 1896-05-12.

Slegs verkorte verwysing as die lêer titel omvattend is. Voorbeeld:

- Nasionale Argiefbewaarplek van Suid-Afrika (hierna NASA), TAB, A 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system in the South African War, Professional papers of the Royal Engineers, 1903, p 286.

Verkorte verwysing:

- NASA, TAB, A 1619: EH Bethell, The Blockhouse system..., 1903, p 286.

'n Onderhoud

Voorsien die vindplek: Byvoorbeeld A van Vollenhoven persoonlike argief (AVV), die navorser se besonderhede gevolg deur die lêernommer, byvoorbeeld mondelinge onderhoude lêer 2 (MO2), die ondervraagde se voorletters en van, asook die plek en datum van die onderhoud.

Voorbeeld

- Onderhoud: A van Vollenhoven persoonlike argief (hierna AVVA), Mondelinge Argief lêer 2 (hierna MA2), Mnr TE Andrews, Navorser, Militêre Museum Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria, 1990-04-18. *OF*
- A van Vollenhoven, persoonlike versameling (hierna AVVP), Onderhoud: Mnr TE Andrews, Navorser, Militêre Museum Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria, 1990-04-18.

Verkorte verwysing:

- Onderhoud: AVVA, MA2, Mnr TE Andrews..., 1990-04-18. *OF*
- AVVP, Onderhoud: Mnr TE Andrews..., 1990-04-18.

E-posgesprek**Voorbeeld**

- C Hlongwane versameling (CHV), E-poswisseling met G Groenewald (Universiteit van Johannesburg) deur C Hlongwane (Noordwes-Universiteit), 2014-07-12.

Verkorte verwysing:

- CHV, E-poswisseling: G Groenewald (UJ)/C Hlongwane (NWU), 2014-07-12.

Die Internet

Voorsien alle moontlike besonderhede, soos die outeur, 'n beskrywing, die URL (geaktiveer/onderstreep) en die datum van die besoek aan die webblad.

Voorbeeld

- Anoniem, Die kronieke van Wallmannsthal II, <http://www.repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/1>, besoek 2013-04-28.
- J Oosthoek, Environmental history: A transatlantic perspective, conclusion, podcast interview with Donald Worster, podcast 22, 2009-05-26, <http://www.eh-resources.org/podcast/podcast2009.html>, besoek 2010-05-07.

Verkorte verwysing:**Voorbeeld:**

- J Oosthoek, Environmental history..., 2009-05-26, <http://www.eh-resources.org/podcast/podcast2009.html>, besoek 2010-05-07.

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