

" From the Anglo-Boer to the Great War"

International Military History Conference

115TH ANNIVERSARY ANGLO BOER WAR 1899-1902

CENTENARY THE GREAT WAR 1914-1918

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Conference Proceedings

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PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE BOER WAR – THE STORYTELLER

GERT THEART

There are a number of presenters who have been unable to supply their papers for publication.

Where we have a powerpoint publication only please double click on the title page and this will open the power point presentation.

Dr Spencer Jones video talk

A list of all delegates – including presenters with their e-mail addresses is attached at the end of the papers.

Gert was born 1966 in Kuruman in the Northern Cape province.

During his computer studies he met his wife Ronel in Bloemfontein. She introduced him to history. Together they have studied various aspects regarding the Anglo Boer War.

In 2005 Gert became the Chairman of the Friends of the War Museum in Bloemfontein. During this period he started to organize tours on behalf of the Friends association and visited battlefield sites all over South Africa.

Currently he farms near Kuruman and is also the editor of an electronic newsletter in Bloemfontein.

In 2005 my wife was involved in a project to collect photos for a book about General Koos De la Rey. This is where my quest and interest in photos started. The project expanded to the collecting and digitizing of these photos and any other photograph with reference to the Boer War period. As the years passed I developed an eye for these photographs. I know where and when the photos were taken so I believe and am able to assist other people with photos that are available.

I realized I had a lot to learn and this knowledge I want to share today.

There are a few different types of photos taken during the war in South Africa.



Photos of people taken in a studio and in the field, some on horseback. Group photos in studio and in the field.



Then you get camp photos, persons around the fire. Preparing something to eat, or shaving or just sitting around.



There is a difference in the field photos taken by professional photographers and those of the Kodak box camera's which was used by troops. The photos taken by professionals were big group photos, some with very good resolution. Like this photo of Jan Bosman and his commando which was taken by Bennet at Christiana.

The next photo is to illustrate the good quality of this photo.

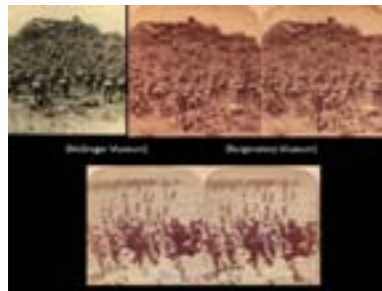


Look how beautiful these children were lined up for the photo. But did you see on the previous photo the young boy on the bags?



The best photos to us are photos taken by the soldiers. These photos are like a photo storybook. You can follow the movement of the units as well as their activities as he (the soldier) is taking the photos. These photos are not normally the best quality but they show you more about the life of the troops on march and in camp. These photographs are the real storytellers. They were not so staged.

This group of photos is part of a photo collection at the National Archive in Pretoria. Most of the photos taken by J. M. Troop are photos in the Eastern Cape and the Karoo. He took beautiful snow photos in the Dordecht region in June 1902. In his photo collection you can follow the units movement throughout the country.



The last group of photos is staged photos which you normally see as part of the Underwood-Underwood collection of 3D photos. These photos are a headache, because they confuses everybody. The description do not correlate with the place where they were taken. The rocks in the background are not even in that area. Some of these photos even has the same description but the location differs.

The photo on top left: Fearless Suffolk's storming the Kopje, Colesberg Dec 31 - many were captured later

The photo on the top right: Methuen's gallant infantry storming a Kopje at Graspan

The photo at the bottom: Fearless Suffolk's storming the Kopje, Colesberg Dec 31 - many were captured later

This is the description on the three Underwood-Underwood 3D photo cards.

Professional photographers which played a big role in creating a photo story are persons like, Van Hoepen, Steger, Millbrook, Bennet, the Lund Brothers, Van der Nest, B.W. Caney and Barnett. Van Hoepen, and a few of these photographers was the first to Photoshop photos by using other photographer's photos and with marks on the negative, they remove the copyright marking of the other photographer.



The photographic studio of F. H. Hancox, Du Toitspan road, Kimberley was damaged by the bombardment of the Long Tom, better know as the Jew. But this didn't stop the photographer to capture the siege, for us to see. This photo also point out the problem the Boers had with the Long Tom: not every shell explode when it hits the target.



Photos of the different companies at the redoubts.

Top photo: No. 2 redoubt with M Company on guard during the Siege of Kimberley

Bottom photo: No. 1 Section under command of captain Mandy at Belgrave Fort during the Siege of Kimberley



The photo on the left is the Conning Tower at the De Beers mine which was use as a watch tower. This tower was not only use to check on the Boer movements, but also as a early warning system to warn the people when the Long Tom came into action. The designer and builder of the Long Cecil ignore one of these alarms and stay in his room in the Grand Hotel. A shell of the Long Tom hit the room of George Labram and explode, which took his life.

The photo on top right is of the theatre in Kimberley. This is another example of the shells of the Long Tom which didn't explode.

The photo at the bottom right with Cecil John Rhodes and guests at the Sanatorium, the current McGregor Museum, shows how the building was reinforced to minimize the damage during an attack.

There were a lot of photos taken during the siege of Kimberley, such as the search light at the Reservoir, the barricade at Kenilworth, the bomb shelters, damaged houses and business building, etc. By close inspection of these photos you will see how well the defense of Kimberley was organize. This just proofs what you read in the books did happen.

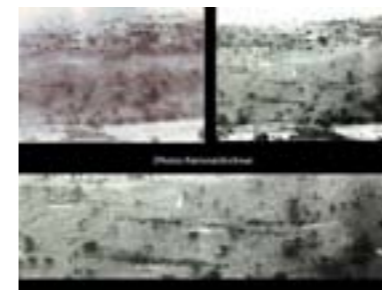
The next few photos will illustrate the roll that photographers played by illustrating what the Boers in the trenches on Harts Hill and Pieter's Hill was facing during the battle of Harts Hill and Pieter's Hill.

The top left photo is a rear photo of artillery in action.

The top right and bottom photo illustrate the build up of troop across the Tugela before march on Harts Hill.



In some diaries of Boers you read of the wave on wave of troops attacking their position. In some documents you read that the troops attack in open order. These photos illustrate it very well.



Photos of the Anglo Boer War just make the war more real. They prove that the war happen. It also proves that war is not always about bullets and shells flying around the whole day. It shows joyful times, hardship, the wrong done by both sides. Photos never lie, but people manipulate the description of the photo to fit their story. Unfortunately too many people fall in that trap believing the captions is the alpha and omega. Then there is the description on the back of the photos in museums and archives. These were normally done on what the donor of the photos tell them and that can also be misleading.



One photo had a few stories to tell. The first story the truth, the second - the one story I want you to believe and the third the story you want to believe.





A few photos that tell their own story

IMAGING THE NATAL REBELS OF THE ANGLO BOER WAR (1899-1902)

PROF. JOHAN WASSERMANN – UKZN

Professor Johan Wassermann is head of History Education in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. He teaches on the Bachelor of Education and Bachelor of History Education Honours qualifications. He also supervises History Education students at both Masters and Doctoral level. Research wise he has published widely in both History and History Education. His current research interests focuses on History textbooks, Youth and History and the experiences of minorities and the minoritised in Colonial Natal.





Wellbuilt. Light brown hair.
 Beard etc. Long nose. Grey eyes.
 Scar left brow. 3868
 Age 28 yrs Height 5.9
 $\frac{3127}{00}$ Thomas Collyer
 Crime: High Treason
 Sentence: 1 yrs Impr + £50 fine
 failing payment, another 3 mo Impr.
 Date: 18 Oct 1900
 Reg: Special Const



NATAL REBELS IN FRONT OF THE NEWCASTLE TOWN HALL





Long old moustache with close
beard etc. Wellbuilt. Left
collar bone broken. 3821

Age 30 yrs. Height 5:9. 3/4

1594
00 Philip Rudolph Vermaak

Crime: High Treason

Sentence: 3 years + £1500 fine

failing payment, another 2 years Impr.

Date: 18 Sept 1900

By: Special Court

1594
1900
P. R. Vermaak
3 years



outbreak of the war - was associated
with the Biggarsberg rifle association -
a private one - not supported by
Govt - The Wapenschouwer
elected Philip R. Vermaak
as Commandant & held
2 drills a year - in March
& Dec. - but it ^{did not} drill in
1899 - tho the association was
in existence - ~~that~~ all the
members ^{were} ~~the~~ Boers -

Graham J. P.
Peace
Prosecutor Special Magistrate

See photo 2

1606/4

VEROORDEELDE REBELLEN IN DE GEVANGENIS TE PIETERMARITZBURG.
De opgelegde geldboetes, die de onderhoudskosten kunnen dekken, gevolgen van een lang practischen zin.
GESCHENK VAN DE POLITIEKE GEVANGENEN TE PIETERMARITZBURG
aan Dr. W. P. ROUSSEAU.
1 Februari 1902.

7163



1450
02
P. C. Slabbert
2 years
9 months H.L.

Penis Contracted
Slabbert. 3823
Crime High Treason & Theft
Sentence 2 years Impr
9 mths to be with H.L.
Case of } 4th March 02
Sentence } 4th March 02
By whom? Special Ct
Admitted. Duval
15700 Description
Strongly built. Slight
mole on face. whiskered
beard, dark hanging eyes
Mole R shoulder.
Scar L arm.
Age 19 yrs
Height. 5ft 1 1/4
Weight. 184 lbs.



2043
00
Peter Hogg.
Crime: High Treason & Theft.
Sentence: 2 years of 300 fine
failing payment, another year's Impr
Date: 26 Sept 1902
By: Special Court.

Blue eyes. Fair build. shrunk
with age. Right nose & ear deformed
Grey Beard etc. 3842
Age 72 yrs. Height 5.5 1/2



4617
00
J. J. A. Prozesky
Crime: High Treason 3869
Sentence: 1 Year + £500 fine
failing payment, another 9 mo Impr.
Date: 15 Oct 1900
By: Special Court, Newcastle
Longer hair beard so turned
Grey Strong build. Scar on nose
Cumps all over body & arms
a German. Freckled.
61 yrs Height 5.6 1/2 160 lbs



For Europeans. 3853
Name: Vandermeer C. J.
Age: 23 Height: 6 ft. 1 1/2
Weight: 162 lbs Build: Muscular
Colour of Hair: Fair
" " Eyes: Blue
" " Complexion: Fair
Physical peculiarities: None
Marks: Scar inside left knee
Scar inside R knee
Small mole left eye
11/23/01
Crime: High Treason
Sentence: 10 years H.L.
By whom sentenced & where: Military, Newcastle
Date of Sentence: 29. May, 1902
Previous or subsequent convictions:
Admitted Rm Bury Hill June 30
1902
Released 38th August 1902



Crumpled thigh, scar on thigh
& shins. Gray eyes, well built,
dark sawney hair beard etc.

3860

40 yrs age. Height 5:11

$\frac{3064}{00}$ N. P. Jordan

Crime: High Treason

Sentence: 2 years + £200 fine

failing payment, another year's Impr.

Date: 26 Sept 1900

By: Special Court, Dundee

M. J. B.



$\frac{3131}{00}$ J. Brookes 3849

Crime: High Treason

Sentence: 11 months Impr.

Date: 23 Oct 1900

By: Special Court.

Sawney Hair, Beard etc. scar
each brow, slightly bald, well built,
Blue Eyes, scarred knees & shins,

Age 46 yrs Height 5:9.5 ft 147 1/2 lbs

M. J. B.

REMEMBRANCE: MEMORIALS TO THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 1899-1902

MEURIG GM JONES MA



“Born in Swaziland, studied African History at the University of Sussex and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.

Meurig has combined a successful career in IT with his enthusiasm for the Anglo-Boer War to create the on-line Register of The Anglo-Boer War - a unique index of the men and women who fought for the British Empire.

Meurig has published articles on the war in a variety of military history journals and in 1999 with his late father, Huw Jones, published the acclaimed “A Gazetteer of the Second Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902”.

This paper will provide an overview of the war memorials erected for the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902 in the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland.

The figure in the heading is indeed a Roman, this is not an error, more of him later.

What is a war memorial? After over 25 years of studying war memorials I will not attempt definitive answer; war memorials are very personal and take many forms. For example this is the title page from *For Remembrance* (Colonel Sir J Gildea, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1911). This book is a catalogue of Anglo-Boer War memorials and is itself dedicated in memoriam to the men and women of the British Empire who served in the war.



This particular copy of *For Remembrance* was given “To Jonathan Smith and his grandchildren” in remembrance of Staff Quartermaster-Sergeant Geoffrey Smith-Senior, 6th Dragoon Guards who was killed in action at Boschpan on March 31, 1902.



In 2005 the mother of a US Marine killed in action in Iraq had a Hummer vehicle painted as a memorial. The car is painted with images of her son and his colleagues killed in the same incident. The choice of a vehicle was deliberate, she wanted a mobile memorial that went with her and enabled as many as possible to see the memorial.

Mobile memorials, though, are not new. At least two British Army units; Q battery Royal Horse Artillery and the 7th Dragoon Guards had memorial plaques made commemorating their dead from the Anglo-Boer War, that were to travel with their headquarters wherever in the world they served.

Why study war memorials, what can they tell us? The first reason and perhaps the simplest is that they “are there”, memorials are a man-made creation; how many are there, where are there, what form do they take. A catalogue of war memorials is required. War memorials can provide genealogical details for a soldier. In the Victorian era service papers for soldiers who died in service were destroyed. A memorial can provide the soldier’s first name(s), date and place of birth, parents’ and/or siblings’ names, education and even place of employment. Everything needed to progress research on just a name from a casualty roll.

Names on a war memorial provide a useful cross reference to the official casualty lists. There are names on war memorials not in the official casualty lists; why, who were they and where did they die? are some of the questions to be asked.

War memorials are an expression of the era in which they were created, what do they tell us about Victorian and Edwardian social history, how did society view the military and how did the military perceive itself. In one instance the war memorial shows one unit, the Royal Engineers, being very insular. When discussing the question of fund raising senior officers objected to donations from family of the deceased soldiers; the war memorial was for the corps, not civilians not even the families of the dead.

Prior to 1899 the most common type of war memorial found are to individuals, almost exclusively officers. Memorials erected by those with sufficient wealth for such a discretionary expense. Regimental memorials are less common, where they are found they usually only list officers by name and the other ranks are simply referred to as a number; “230 other ranks died”.



The 2nd Royal Irish Regiment erected a memorial in St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin for the 1852-55 Burma campaign. Five officers who died are named, the 403 other ranks are just a number. Similarly the 74th Highlanders erected a memorial in 1864 in St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh covering four campaigns from 1789 to 1882 and the wreck of HMS Birkenhead off the Cape in 1852. Only the officers are named, not naming the other ranks is not simply a matter of expense. The Royal Irish Regiments’ memorial is certainly large enough to list 403 names, the choice to exclude them was deliberate.

All Anglo-Boer War memorials name the other ranks, apart from the Wiltshire County memorial which commemorates the service of a number units and only names the officers. Two regiments used the occasion of commemorating their Anglo-Boer War dead to remember and name the dead of previous campaigns on the same memorial. The King’s (Liverpool) Regiment remembers the officers and men from Afghanistan 1878-80 and Burma 1886-87. The Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry included their dead from Egypt 1882-86.

Prior to the Anglo-Boer War the largest campaign in terms of men and women and duration was the Crimean War (1853-56). A national memorial was erected in 1857, but not in Britain. Queen Victoria wanted the memorial to be erected close to the men who died and this memorial is in Istanbul, Turkey, in the Haidar Pasha cemetery. Most Britons will never see this memorial or even know its existence.



The Anglo-Boer War sparked a movement that only lasted until after World War 1 to publicly commemorate all the war dead, why was this? No comprehensive catalogue of Anglo-Boer War memorials in the UK and Republic of Ireland exists, this is a task I am undertaking. The table below shows the number of memorials in Gildea and “Additional”, those not in Gildea that I have catalogued.

	Gildea	Additional	Total
Channel Islands	6	1	7
England	643	833	1476
Northern Ireland	16	1	17
Republic of Ireland	31	4	35
Scotland	58	10	68
Wales	41	15	56
Total	795	864	1659

Gildea deliberately excludes memorials to those who survived the war, the “Additional” count includes them. This is unfortunate, as this facet of war memorials is common (and perhaps a “first”) in Anglo-Boer War memorials. Amongst Gildea’s records are war memorials no longer in existence. We won’t know any volunteer war memorials are missing until they are stumbled upon in a newspaper report or the like.

The only other catalogue to exist is that created by the National Inventory of War Memorials (now War Memorials Archive) run by the Imperial War Museum. In their on-line database (www.ukniwm.org.uk) they list 1,888 memorials for the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902. The Inventory excludes the Republic of Ireland

and will not contain all the destroyed or disappeared memorials in my “Additional” count.

What is “new” amongst Anglo-Boer War memorials? We have already alluded to the inclusion of names of all ranks who died on the memorial. To date the names of 15,493 fatalities have been recorded on a war memorial (world-wide), this represents 63% of total casualties for the British Empire forces. With further recording to be done this figure will grow. The names of 4,300 who survived have been recorded. The role of women is widely recorded, memorials in schools are widespread, the horses and mules killed and died are commemorated and there are “thanksgiving” memorials for the safe return of individuals and the declaration of peace.

What factors gave rise to this new and expanded remembrance of war dead (and those who survived). At the end of the 19th century Victorian Britain was far richer than before, more people had more money (despite grinding poverty in many places), the middle class was larger, the richer were very rich indeed. All classes had more disposable income, whether it was sixpence or six hundred pounds; more people could donate to a memorial fund.

The Victorians created their own “values” – service to God, Queen (and King) and the Empire (“jingoism” in its extreme expression). The author Marc Girouard in *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (Yale 1981) wrote about “muscular Christianity” a movement of the mid 1800’s amongst artists and educationalists that had a profound impact on the Victorians who went to war in South Africa and those who remembered them. It was these educationalists who taught the boys who became not only officers in the British Army and Navy, but the rank and file too. Philanthropy, looking after the less fortunate, was common amongst many Victorians; cottage homes for wounded or retired soldiers were used as a war memorial.

The media played a great role in reporting the war and shaping attitudes to the military and the war. Stereotypes emerged of the sailor “jack tar”, the “handyman”, always willing always able. The kilted highlander, Queen Victoria’s favourite, the epitome of soldierly aggression.

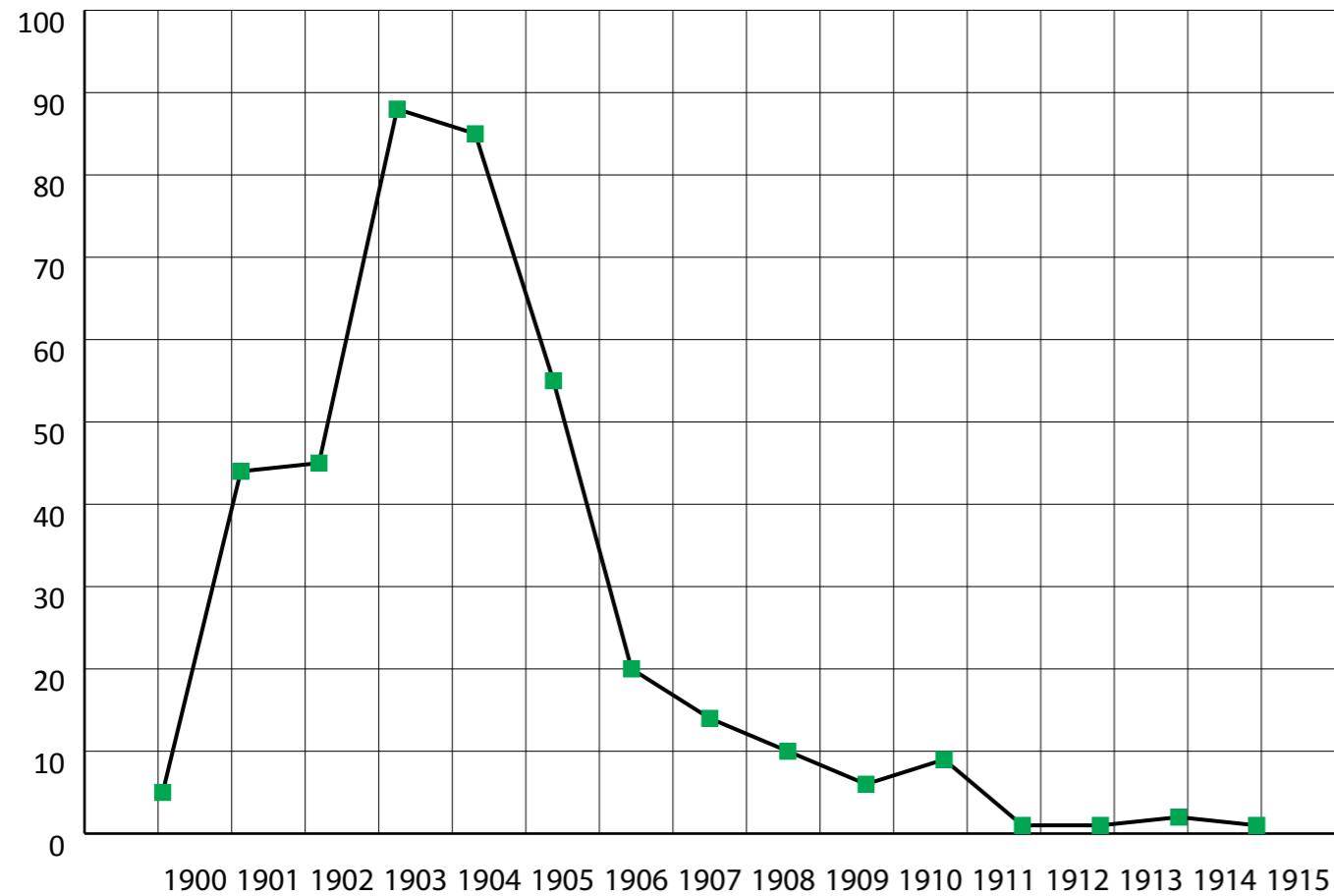


More women served in an official capacity (as nurses) in the Anglo-Boer War than any previous British military campaign. Approximately 1,800 women served as nurses, 29 died and they all commemorated on a nurses memorial in Aldershot. Seven who died are commemorated on other memorials and five who returned are remembered on volunteer memorials. No memorial to an individual commemorates a nurse. One nurse, Florence Bell who died in 1900, was not remembered until after the First World War. Her name is found at the bottom of the village’s First War memorial in Banwell, Somerset.

Of the recorded memorials the year of unveiling, if not the actual date, is known for 384 or 23% of recorded memorials. The data shows that memorials began to be erected in 1900 and that most were unveiled in the years 1903-1904, the last being erected in October 1914. Planning for many began during the war years, the Wkyehamists (old boys of Winchester College) first met in December 1900 to discuss a war memorial.

Most memorials commissioned during the war were to individuals who had been killed, and one for the safe return of Cpt J Knowles, 15th Hussars by his mother. Just because the war had not ended did not prevent some units and towns erecting war memorials – somehow confident there would be no further losses. Examples of such units are HMS Doris, 2nd volunteer battalion The King’s (Liverpool) Regiment, Metropolitan Corps, St John’s Ambulance Brigade (unveiled the day peace declared 31 May 1902) and the 5th company Imperial Yeomanry (unveiled 1 June 1902). The village of Eamont Bridge in Cumbria and the town of Ryde on the Isle of Wight erected memorials to their dead in 1900 and 1901 respectively.

Year Memorials Erected



In February 1901 the Leicestershire and Derbyshire Yeomanry unveiled a memorial celebrating the Army’s achievements that occurred during their annual encampment in May-June 1900. Listed on the memorial were the occupations of Kroonstadt, Johannesburg and Pretoria and the relief of Mafeking.

The one memorial unveiled in October 1914 (this must be very unusual, unveiling a war memorial to a previous conflict during a subsequent conflict) is to the 18th Hussars in York Minster. The reason for the apparent tardiness is explained on the memorial. The regiment had originally built cottage homes but “*since these failed to fulfill their object they were sold and the memorial substituted*”. One wonders what the memorial committee thought of their decision as they read the ever increasing casualty lists from France & Flanders.

Most memorials were erected in public buildings and spaces where they could be seen and noted by anyone, a church (protestant) being the most popular. Other places of worship included Roman Catholic, non-conformist (protestant), synagogues and a Greek Orthodox Church.

Public Buildings		Private Buildings	
Churches	1108	Schools	170
Town Hall/Guild Hall	46	Barracks/Military	44
Museum	13	Workplace/Association/Institute	15
		Other	11
		Hospital	6
		Library	5
		Court House	1
Public Spaces			
Street	110		
Cemetery	61		
Park/Green	58		
Square	6		
Hillside/Lakeside	3		

106 individual schools and colleges erected memorials, these are not just the most well-known public schools such

as Eton, Marlborough & Harrow. Schools for the poor and disadvantaged also sought to instill the ethos of muscular Christianity and promote the memory of their war dead as proponents of faith, duty, fidelity and sacrifice. The ‘Other’ buildings includes a Boy Scout hut and the wall of a swimming baths.

Types of War Memorial:

Plaque	748	Obelisk	25
Tablet	272	Wooden Tablet	15
Window	170	Drinking Fountain/Trough	14
Grave	117	Reredos	8
Building	67	Lych Gate	4
Monument	61	Fountain	3
Cross	54	Painting/Drawing	3
Statue	49	Prize/Award	3
Furniture	44	Roll of Honour	1

The most common types of war memorial are those found in churches, the commonest location. Graves are popular, using a family headstone to remember typically a son killed in the war. One can also find a second son killed in World War 1 named on these headstones. Fitting in the Victorian theme of philanthropy are the utilitarian memorials; buildings (libraries and sports halls (usually in schools) and cottage homes), drinking fountains and animal watering troughs (there are 3 in England). The cottage home was, typically, a substantial three bedroom two storey “house” in today’s parlance with a small but sufficient garden for a vegetable patch, 41 such houses were built. Some cottage homes are still in use by the regiment. Furniture is typically found in a church – chancels, altar screens, pulpits, lecterns and even gas lighting. The more unusual type of memorial, such as gas lighting, could have been coincidental; the idea, desire for the item was already there and marrying it to a war memorial assisted with fund raising and even acceptance for the structure.

To Whom?		Commissioned By?	
Individual	867	Regiment	382
Regiment	309	Family	365
City/Town/Village	155	School	156
School	141	Association	142
Parish	40	City/Town/Village	129
County	38	Parish	70
District	33	County	44
Association	18	Individual	41
Family	18	District	34
National	14	Friends	21
Peace	13	Borough	10
Borough	9	National	1

Most memorials were erected to individuals and most memorials were erected by a military unit “Regiment”, this is any formation from a company of Imperial Yeomanry to a regiment or ship. The City of London Imperial Volunteers, the most well-funded unit of the war, erected 63 memorials to its 69 war dead, a plaque being placed in the dead man’s church. They are found throughout the British Isles. One regiment, the, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, ended up with three memorials; two in Enniskillen and one in Omagh, each with names of the dead.

Families were responsible for the second highest number of memorials and this is a reflection on the wealth of a large number of Britons. Some families commissioned multiple memorials; the Wilson family of County Durham lost three members (all officers) and erected two cottage homes, one lych gate and five plaques.

Three brothers from the Rose family served as officers, two died; two cottage homes and a stained glass window were erected by the family.

There is only one national memorial in the British Isles and that was erected by the Welsh nation in Cardiff.



This is the Yorkshire County Memorial, York erected in 1905 with 1,487 names of the dead on the slate tablets. When the first designs were proposed there were to be “warrior saints” in the niches. This was later replaced by contemporary military figures, including a nurse. These would have been more recognisable to the general population who were invited to donate money and many had been bereaved in the war. The figure of the sailor shows him holding rope and chain, the tools of his trade. This is a replacement figure for the first sailor who was holding a rifle – an accurate representation of the Navy’s contribution of shore based Naval Brigades during the war. This figure was rejected, presumably by the individual who paid for it. Happily this figure still exists

today in Lichfield, Staffordshire the town where the stone masons were located. The sailor was put on the wall of the town’s Carnegie library.

The inscriptions on war memorials tell us much about what people were remembering about the individual, how they thought the soldier died and about the cause for which they died. Here are some examples:

WHO IN THE FAITH WHICH THEY
LEARN'T AS BOYS WITHIN THESE
WALLS LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR
ENGLAND

Cranleigh School, Surrey

LEAVING AN EXAMPLE OF OBEDIENCE TO
THE CALL OF DUTY
Lt. R. F. Flowers IY Hamman's Kraal 20 Aug 1900

A BOY OF UNSULLIED CHARACTER AND FINE ASPIRATIONS
“FROM HIM I LEARN'T HONOUR: HE TAUGHT ME ALL THE GOOD I HAVE”
IN HIM HIS FATHER AND MOTHER HAVE GIVEN TO OUR COUNTRY THEIR ONLY CHILD:
BUT NOT IN VAIN PURE, GENTLE, BRAVE. HIS EXAMPLE WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN AND
HE WILL STILL BE LOVED.

Lt. F. H. Raikes KRRC Wagon Hill 6 Jan 1900 - School of Handicrafts, Chertsey, Surrey

In an address at the unveiling of a memorial destroyed by enemy action in 1941, the Vicar remembered Pte WM Johnson, Imperial Yeomanry:

[he] took his departure..to fight under the old flag and gave his life for the cause of his country.

[He] would be remembered for his manliness. Nobody ever saw him do an unmanly thing:

he could look the world in the face. Besides being manly, he was brave and absolutely sincere.

Wilfred Johnson was a volunteer officer in the Lancashire Volunteer Artillery who ignored the step down in rank in order to fight, he was killed at Hameelfontein 17 December 1900. All that remains of this man’s memorial is the Order of Service and newspaper reports.

A wide range of people were invited to unveil the war memorials, the list includes; King (Prince), Princess, Field-Marshal, Generals, Bishops, Lord Lieutenants, Mayors and assorted nobility. The most popular person who performed the most unveilings was Britain’s favourite soldier, Field-Marshal Lord Roberts VC who unveiled 22 memorials. Second was Edward as Prince of Wales then later as King with 13 and Lieutenant-General Sir JDP French unveiled 12. Other famous personalities of the war were not so popular, General Sir Redvers Buller VC unveiled four, Colonel RSS Baden-Powell the defender of Mafeking unveiled two and Winston Churchill, war correspondent, soldier and politician unveiled just one.

There was some opposition to war memorials. The local Quakers in Darlington felt the statue of a soldier charging with rifle and bayonet too aggressive and war like. One correspondent wrote regarding the Yorkshire County memorial that it would be better to get jobs for the men (volunteers) returning from the war rather than create war memorials.

Since 1914 war memorials have fared quite well, only 54 of those recorded have been destroyed, lost or are not where they should be (i.e. in private hands). Petty vandalism is a constant threat, especially where metal is concerned. In 1968

the bronze statue of a soldier in Hartlepool was sawn off at the ankles, for many years just the boots remained on the plinth. Institutions can also be accused of vandalism, notably the Church of England. In 1948 the Dean & Chapter of Winchester Cathedral decreed that the memorial tablets to the King's Royal Rifle Corps and Rifle Brigade were "in poor artistic taste" and should be removed. The regiments complied with the request and these memorials have been lost, they were replaced with tablets listing senior officers.

Eighteen memorials have been destroyed, most to enemy bombing during WWII. The CIV lost 12 with another five not located after being removed from damaged churches.

In the last 20 years the UK has been fortunate to see a great interest amongst the general public for war memorials and the need to preserve and conserve. Charities such as Friends of War Memorials have been set up to record, monitor and provide funds and advice for restorations. The War Memorials On-line website (www.warmemorialsonline.org.uk) was created to encourage monitoring of war memorials by local people. There are a number of regional and local groups actively recording memorials whose work is on the internet; North East War Memorials Project (www.newmp.org.uk), The Scottish War Memorials Project (www.scottishmilitaryresearch.co.uk) and the Irish War Memorial Project (www.irishwarmemorials.ie).

The Roman – this is Augustus Caesar, first Roman Emperor. The 4' statue was commissioned by William and Mary Simpson of Lancashire from the well know Barbedienne Foundry in Paris. It is a copy of a statue dating from 20BC. The Simpsons lived on "their own means", they were wealthy. On the base of the statue is a plaque dedicating the statue as a thanksgiving for the services of Lords Roberts and Kitchener and the sailors and soldiers "who maintained ... their country's cause". Not satisfied with this they also commissioned a replica of a 9th century runic cross with a similar inscription.



I HAVE FOUGHT A GOOD FIGHT.
I HAVE FINISHED MY COURSE.
Lt. C. W. Hulse, IY Braklaagte 4 June 1901

ANALYSIS OF IMPERIAL DEATHS IN THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 1899-1902

STEVE WATT

Steve Watt has been engaged in research in military history both on and off the field for forty years.

He is a tour guide to places of conflict principally in KwaZulu-Natal.

He is the author of narratives some of which appeared in Military History Journal.

He is the author of five publications relating to the Anglo-Boer war.

PRELUDE: THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

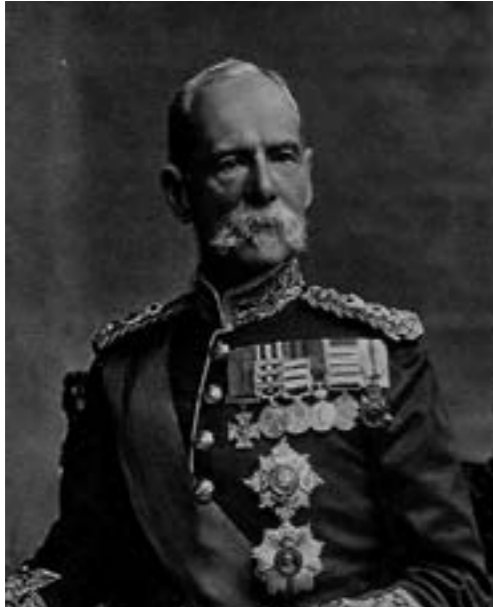
The Boer invasion of the British colonies of Natal and Cape province resulted in heavy fighting. With tide of invasion reversed, British entered the Boer republics followed by the occupation of Bloemfontein and Pretoria.

The guerilla war. Hit and run tactics. The plunder of the convoys.

The sweeps (drives) across the country results in Boer women and children confined to concentration camps. The scorched earth policy lays waste to vast tracts of country.

Peace declared in May 1902.

THE ROLE PLAYERS



**FIELD MARSHAL [RT HON EARL] FREDERICK SLEIGH
ROBERTS
(1832-1914)**



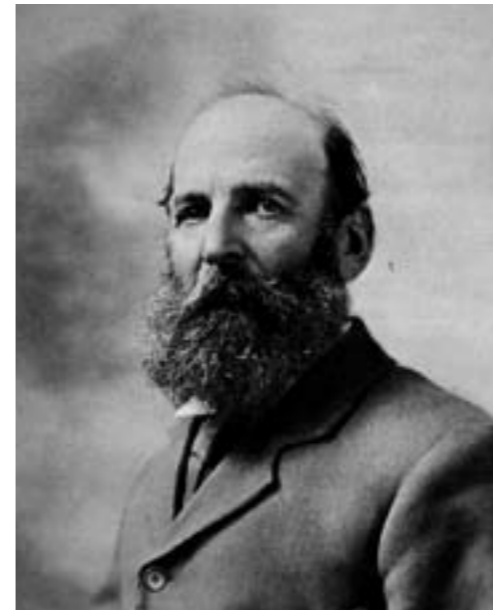
**GENERAL [VISCOUNT] HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER
(1850-1916)**



**COMMANDANT-GEN LOUIS BOTHA
(1862-1919)**



**GENERAL CHRISTIAAN DE WET
(1854-1922)**



**GENERAL JACOBUS H DE LA REY
(1847-1914)**



**GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS
(1870-1950)**

WATER

“On the march, the hotter the day the more important is not to drink till the end. Carry something in the mouth to keep it moist.

No old campaigner drinks on the march. Once drink and one wants to drink all the way. But carry full water bottles to drink at the end”.

Capt Howell of the 2nd Bn Worcester Regiment.

FLIES

“Frightfully hot. Flies if possible, worse than ever. You have to sweep the flies off your spoon before you can put anything into your mouth, and unless you cover up your cup with a book or saucer or something, you have about ten drowned flies in as many seconds”.

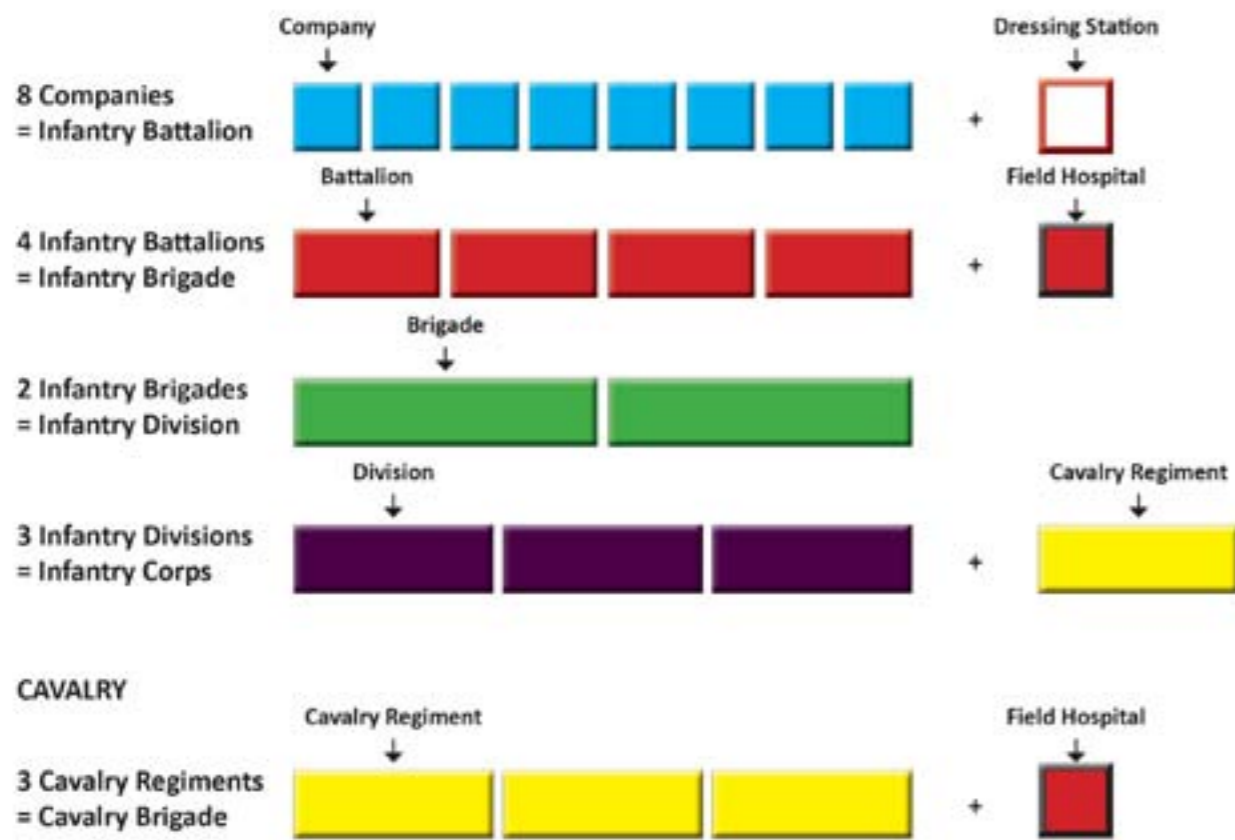
Major Marling, 18th Hussars in Ladysmith - 1 December 1899.



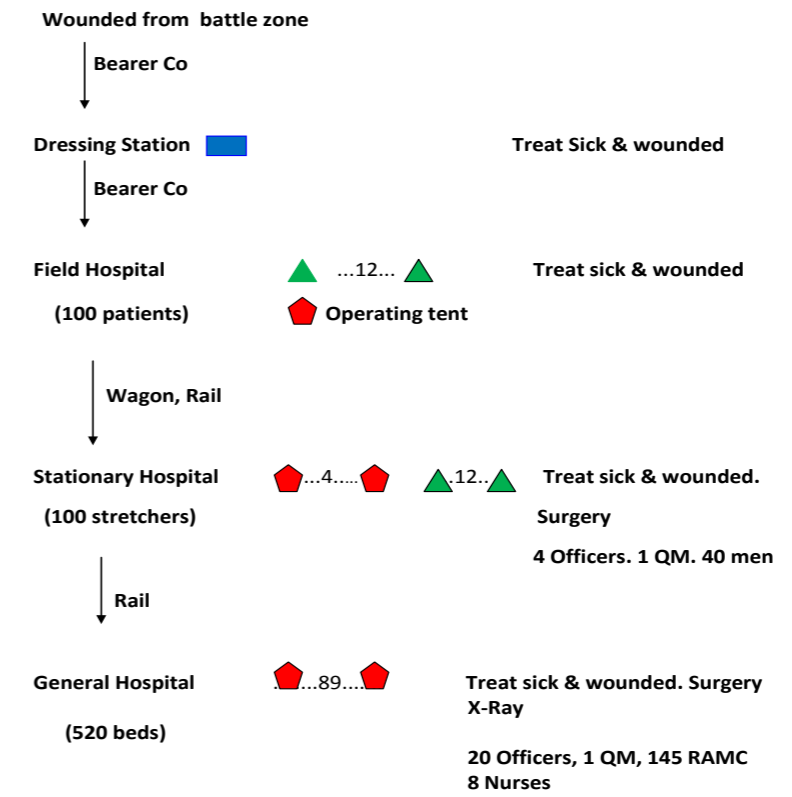
It looks to me” Colonel Rawlinson wrote on 13 May 1900. “as though the war could last for a good many months more. The enemy will, I have always said, break up into small parties and take to guerrilla war, which will entail much time and blood to conquer”.

ANATOMY OF THE BRITISH ARMY

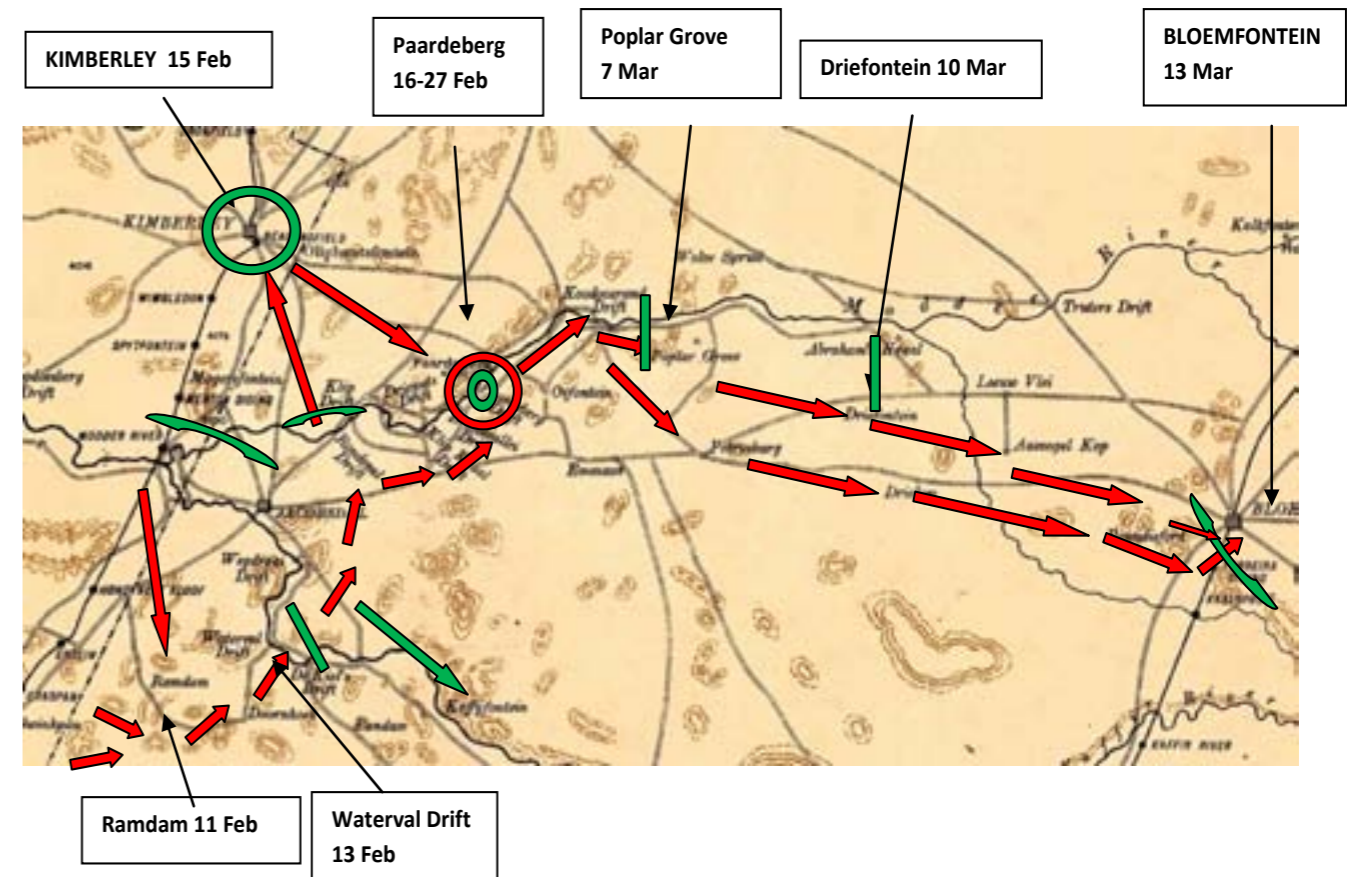
INFANTRY



TRANSPORT OF PATIENTS



BRITISH ADVANCE 12 FEB - 13 MAR 1900





The Raadzaal



Parliament building (now)

RAADZAAL

The assembly hall of the Raadzaal contained the principle ward occupied by non-officers while officers were hospitalised in two smaller rooms

The building contained an X-ray room and an operating theatre.

When responsible government was granted in 1907 the Raadzaal resumed its normal role, but with the advent of Union

in 1910 the building became the headquarters of the OFS Provincial Council.



Parliament Building (Raadzaal)



Parliament Building (Raadzaal)



Presidency (now)

The ballroom was occupied by Lord Roberts's staff. Before being converted into a hospital ward for wounded

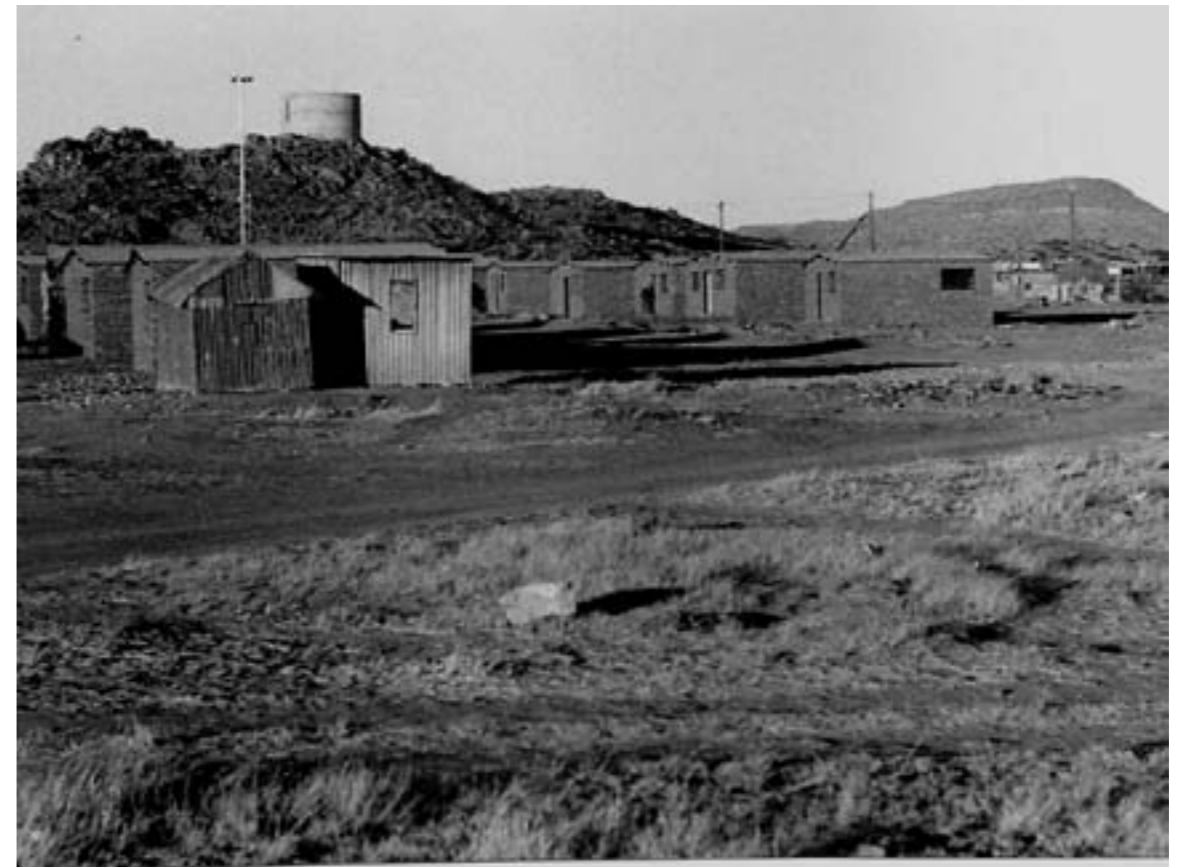
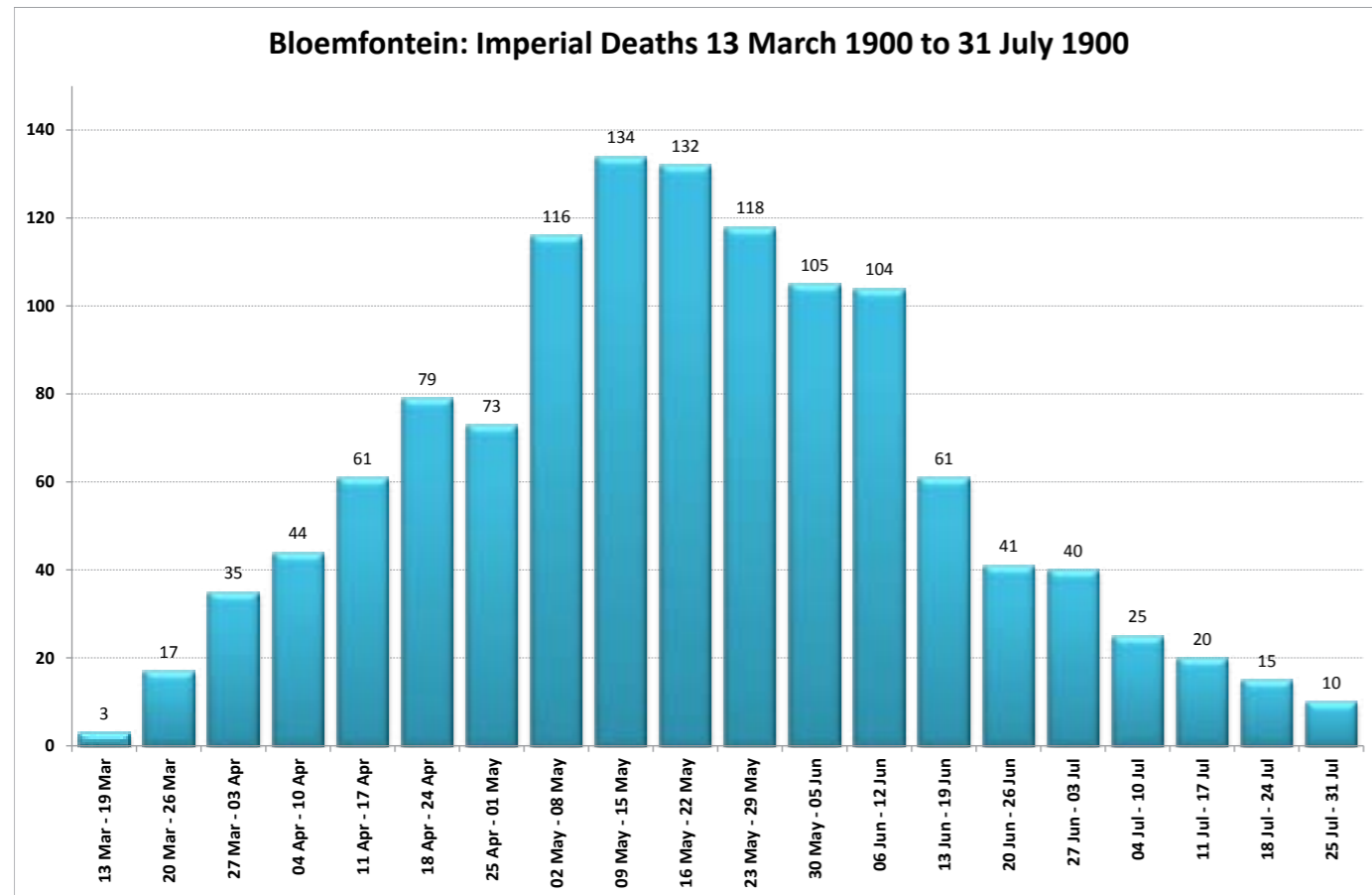
convalescent soldiers, was utilized as by Lord Roberts's staff. The soldiers preferred to call the 36- bed ward the "Lady Roberts Ward"



Presidency (now)



Springfontein: The Welsh hospital



Springfontein Now

SPRINGFONTEIN



DR. DAVIES
Welsh hospital—Died of enteric

Surgeon Herbert Davies (1874-1900) died of dysentery on 15 June 1900. He was on the staff of the Welsh Hospital. Within a week of opening the Welsh hospital lost Professor Thomas Jones, Sister Florence Sage, Surgeon Davies both of whom returned from Bloemfontein after serving in the No. 8 General Hospital



THE LATE PROFESSOR T. JONES

Professor Thomas Jones (1848?-1900) came to South Africa as Surgeon in Chief to the Welsh Hospital. He died at Springfontein on 18 June 1900. His death was 'attributed to suffering from insomnia, lost appetite and irregular pulse'



Graves of Dr Herbert Davies, Professor Thomas Jones, Sister Florence Sage

SPRINGFONTEIN THEN UK



THE LATE PROF. A. W. HUGHES
Originator and Chief Organiser of the Welsh Hospital in South Africa

Hughes, Alfred W. Prof. Took over the management of the Welsh hospital at Springfontein and later continued in this capacity in Pretoria. When he returned to Britain he had developed symptoms of enteric and died of the disease on 3 November 1900 aged 39. A memorial to his memory is located at Corris Merionethshire





Treves; (later Sir) Frederick (1853-1923)

Appointed as a consultant to the BEF, he joined Sir Redvers Buller's force in Natal. During the time he spent at Chieveley, he dealt with the fatally wounded Fred Roberts, the only son of Lord Roberts. He accompanied Buller's force to Mount Alice being attached to the No 4 Stationary Hospital. Later published his recollections in South Africa in *The Tale of a Field Hospital*.

Together with Sir William MacCormac, they returned to London in April 1900 and both of them spoke of the excellence of the medical service of the British Army in South Africa. A few weeks later when the devastating enteric epidemic in Bloemfontein became known in London, Treves was accused of misinforming the public. Before the Romer Commission he defended what he said.

In 1900 he became surgeon to Queen Victoria. In 1902 a baronetcy was conferred on him after he removed King Edward's appendix.

He died on the shores of Lake Geneva where he had gone to live after World war 1.



MacCormac; Sir William (1836-1901)

Despite being president of the British College of surgeons, Sir William accepted a six months' appointment as a consultant surgeon to the BEF in South Africa. He travelled widely including visiting patients in Pietermaritzburg informing himself about the surgical care of British soldiers. As an experienced war surgeon, he wrote with clarity and insight and provided an objective and critical look at the British army's medical services.

After returning from South Africa he enjoyed a successful centenary celebrations of the College under his presidency and was awarded a life peerage. He died on 4 November 1901.



Lord Justice (later Sir) Robert Romer (1840-1918)

Led the 5-man Royal Commission to consider and report upon the care and treatment of the sick in South Africa. This was the result to the news received in Britain of the devastating enteric outbreak in Bloemfontein. The Commission sat in Bloemfontein from 31 August to 4 September 1900 during which 60 people testified at seven venues. The Commission published a report of its findings concluding with "for substantial grounds there is nothing in them to justify any charge of inhumanity or of gross or wilful neglect, or of disregard for the sufferings of the sick and wounded on the part of the medical authorities or others having the duty of looking after them"

ANALYSIS: HOSPITALS INVESTIGATED				
	12 Field Hospital	8 General Hospital	9 General Hospital	Private Hospitals
Duration	8 weeks	23 Apr - 31 Aug	19 Apr - 30 Sep	
Stretchers	Few	Few	Few	
Beds	0	Few	Few	
Doctors / Orderlies	Few	Few	Lack of	
Patients	455	1,200 to 1,419	555 to 1,582 to 1,644	
Nurses	Few	3 to 12 to 14	26	
Bell Tents	49	150	150	
Marquees	2	68	?	
Bed Pans / Commodes	Few	Few	Lack of	
Patient Discomforts				
Delay in Serving Meals	Y	Y	Y	
Patients Not Washed	Y	Y	Y	
Linen Not Washed	Y	Y	Y	
Clothing: No Change / Lack of	Y	-	-	
Few Blankets	Y	Y	Y	
Little Milk	Y	-	Y	
Slop Water Not Removed	Y	Y	-	
Discomforts Hospital Staff	Overworked	Overworked 36 out of 48 hours	Overworked 36 out of 48 hours	
Deaths	?	216 23 Apr to 31 Aug	279 19 Apr to 30 Sep	
Conclusion	Unsatisfactory, lack of organisation	Lack of organisation, administration and management	Lack of organisation, administration and management	Buildings satisfactory. Temporary deficiency in beds, bed utensils

BLOEMFONTEIN: ROMER COMMISSION FINDINGS

In its findings the Romer Commission did draw attention to the problem of poor military sanitation, and the need to return to strict awareness of basic hygiene of the army. It recommended that a committee be appointed to review the position of the RAMC. "From the medical point of view, the main lesson the British Army from the South African war, until then one of the most exacting in campaigns in history, was that of the vital importance of hygiene and sanitation".

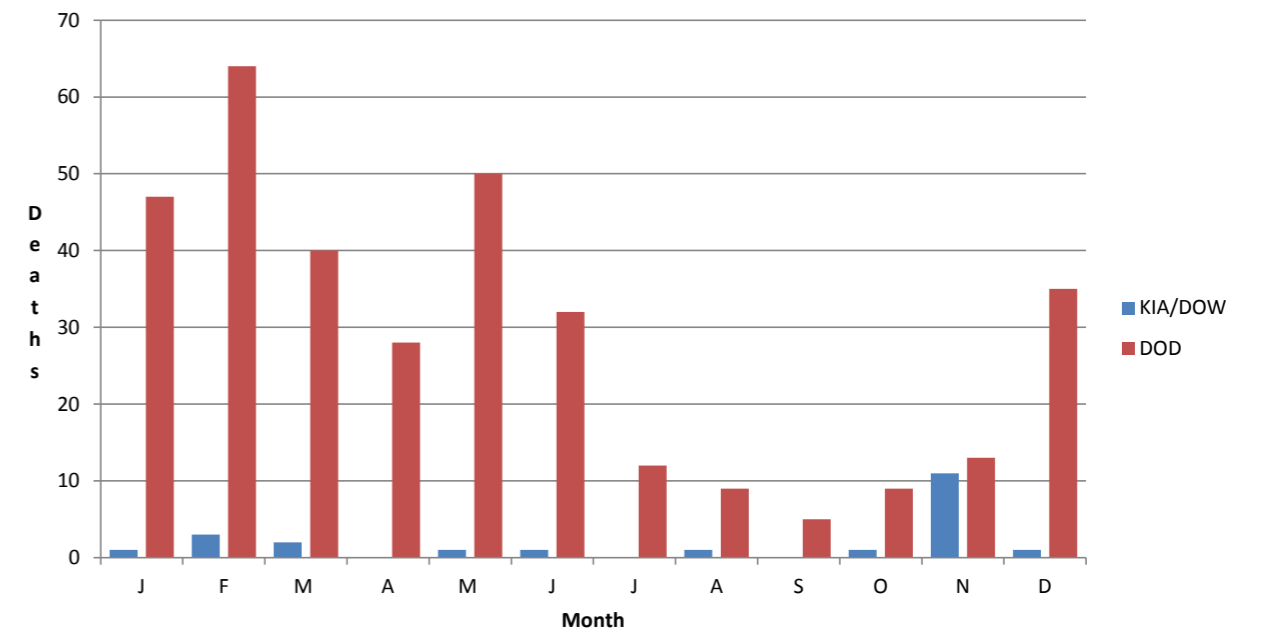


Then: Bloemfontein 1900. The cost of deaths from disease

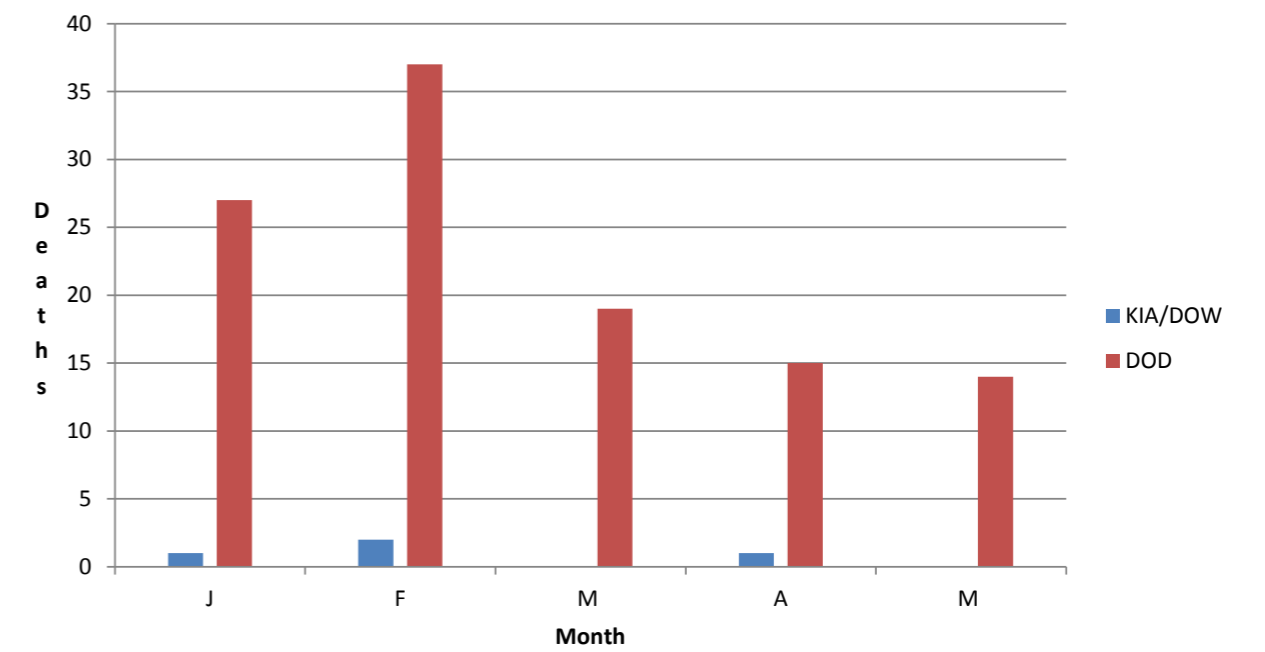


Now: Bloemfontein in 2000

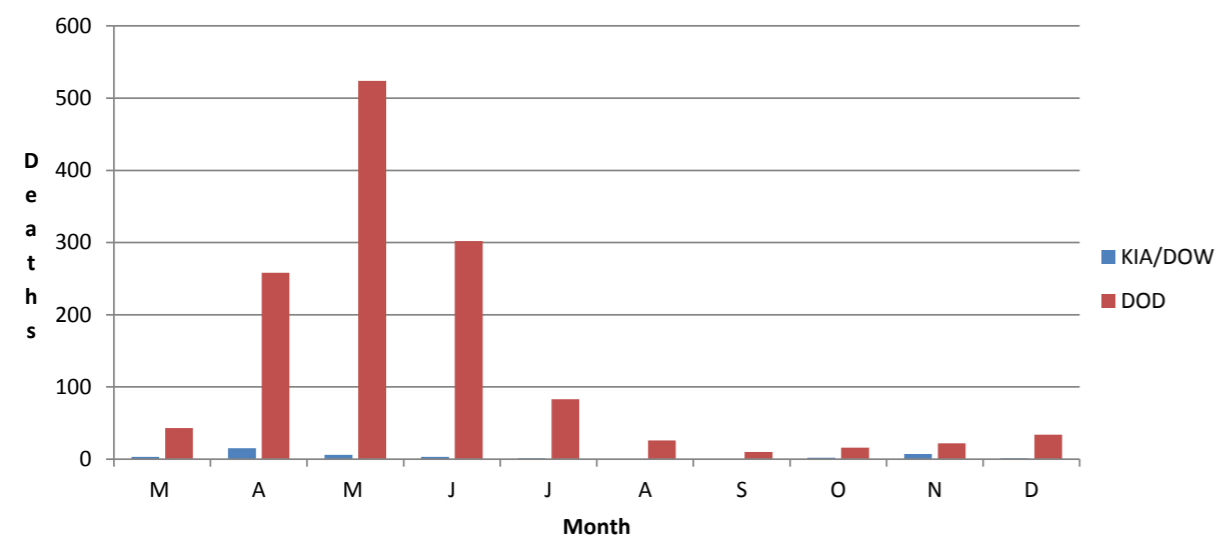
Bloemfontein: Imperial deaths 1901



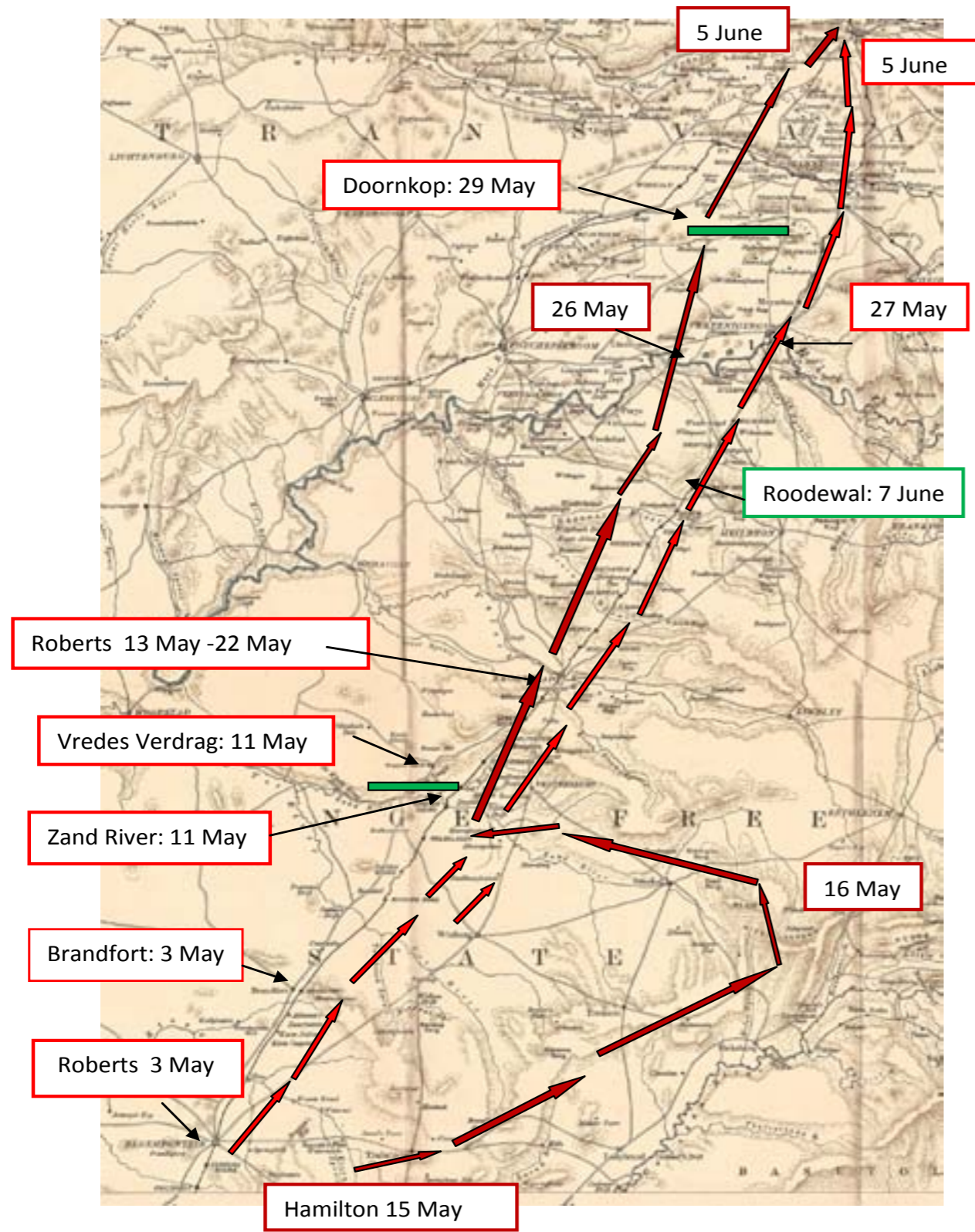
Bloemfontein: Imperial deaths 1902



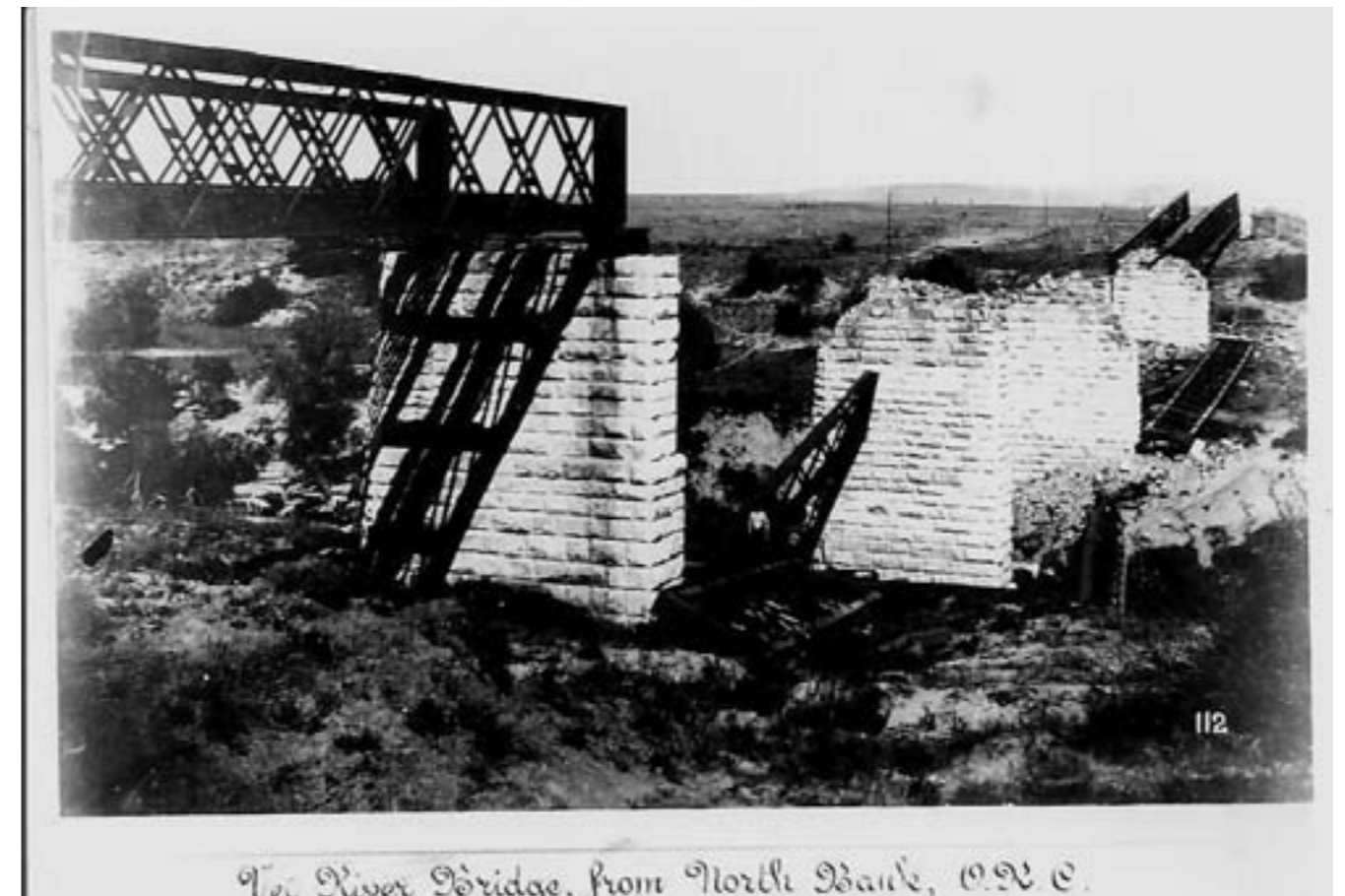
Bloemfontein. Imperial deaths 1900



LORD ROBERTS MARCH: BLOEMFONTEIN TO KROONSTAD TO PRETORIA



Bridge: Vet River (then)



Vet River Bridge, from North Bank, O.D.C.

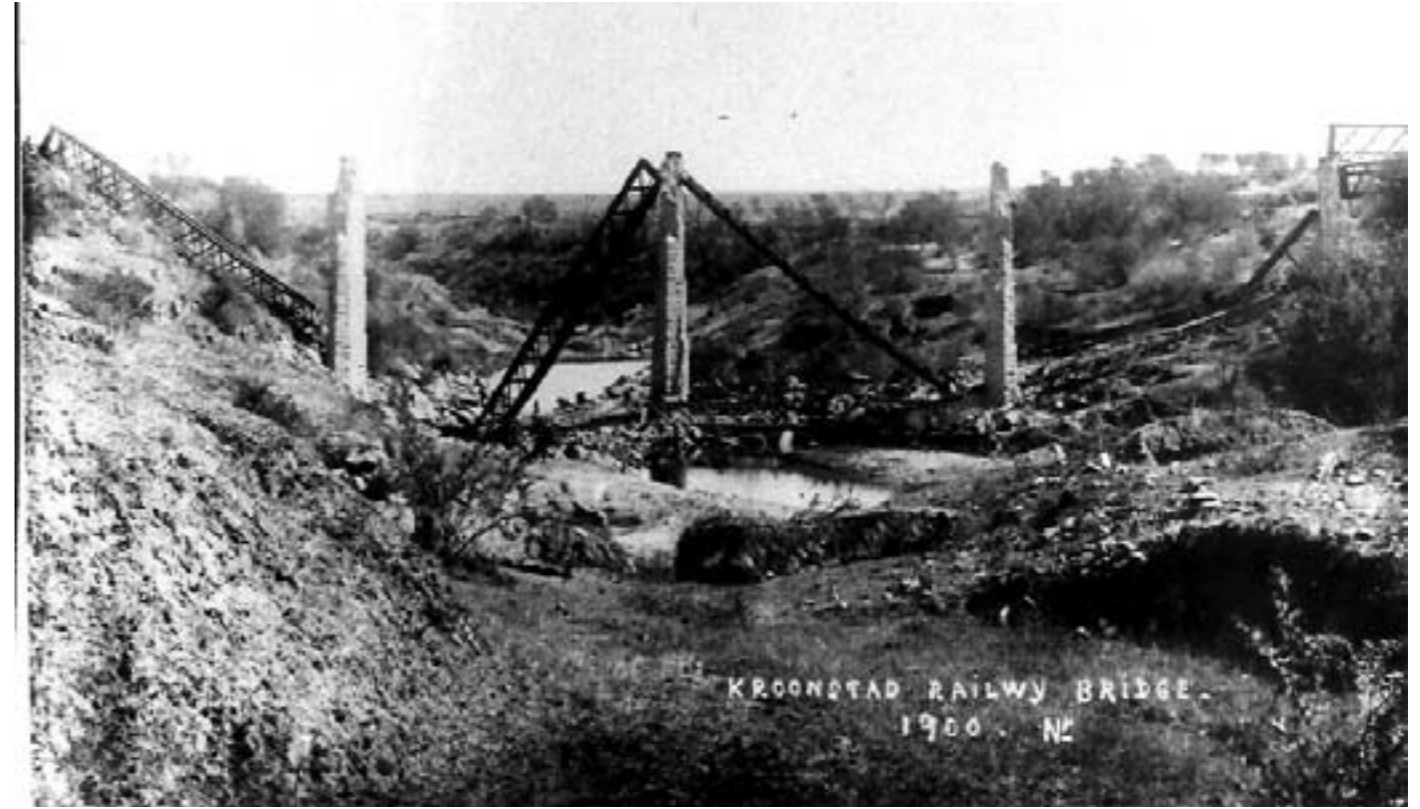
Vet River (now)



Bridge: Zand River (then)



Bridge: Sand (Zand) river (now)



Bridge: Vals River (now)



Bridge: Valsch river bridge (then)





Surgeon-General William Wilson (1)

Surgeon-General (later Sir) William Wilson was one of a five staff members of the Army Medical Service, accompanied Sir Redvers Buller to South Africa. He filled the post PMO. He was stationed Cape Town then moved to

Bloemfontein, Kroonstad and Pretoria. Apart of the management duties of hospitals he praised the work of civil surgeons and the work done by the nursing sisters.

He expressed his displeasure of the Palace of Justice, in Pretoria, used as a hospital "about the dirt and discipline" and being unprepared to provide service at a time of desperate need before any other major hospitals became available.

After his arrival in Kroonstad he arranged for a hospital train to convey the critically ill and wounded patients to be sent to Bloemfontein while the patients who less seriously ill were sent down in ordinary trains and open trucks.



Vet River work party in 1900



Vet River: The site in 2000

EVIDENCE OF PROFESSOR EDWARD CLARK (SCOTTISH HOSPITAL)

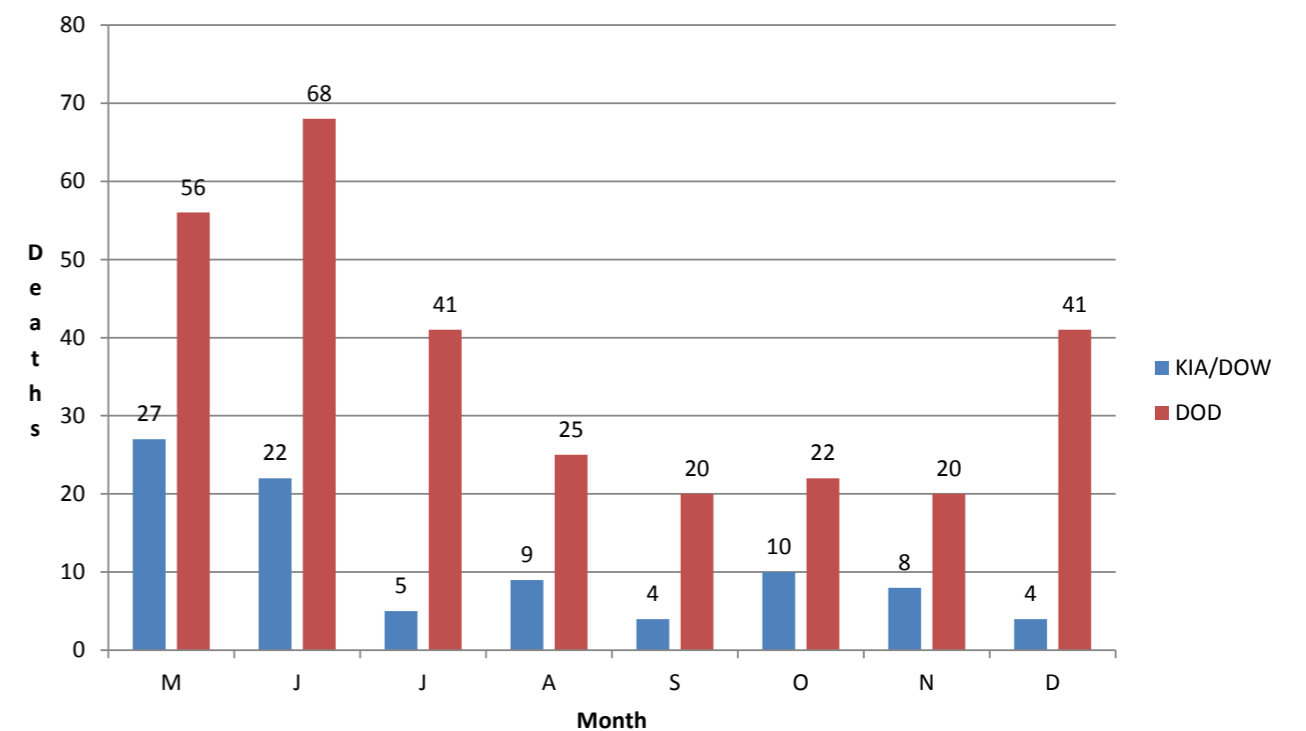
Deficiencies were:

- All buildings used as hospitals were overcrowded.
- About 75% of the patients slept on mattresses on the floor.
- Some patients lay unwashed for days owing to the lack of orderlies.
- Some patients had no change of clothing.
- There was a shortage of medicines and milk.

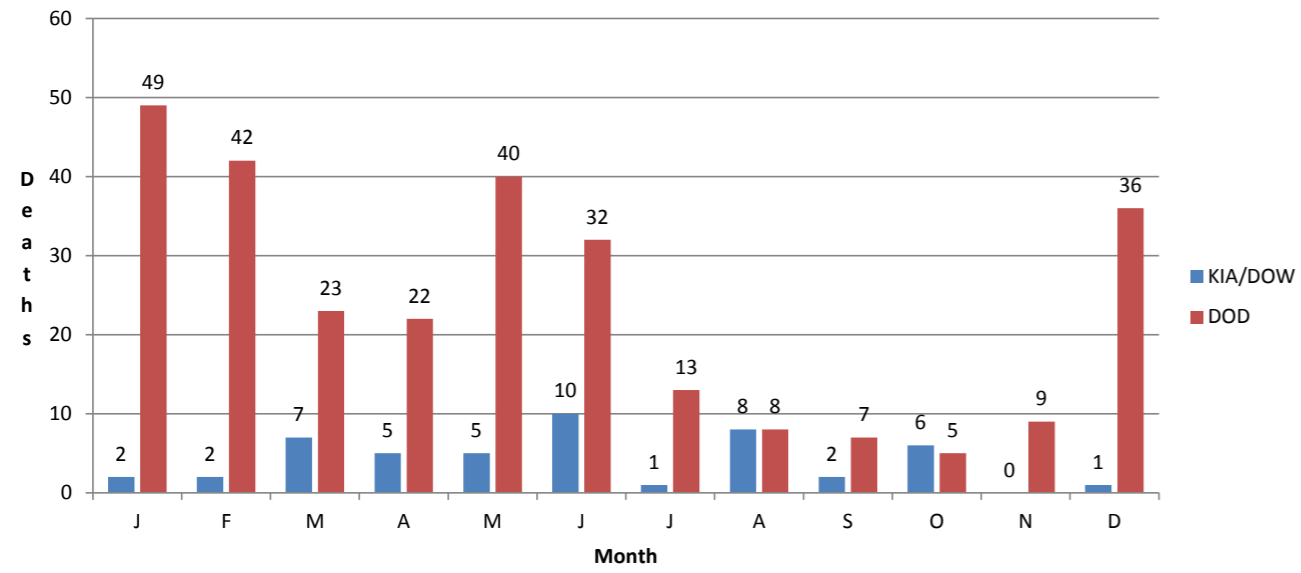
KROONSTAD: ROMER COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

-concluded that the blame could not be placed on the medical authorities for not despatching doctors, nurses and trained orderlies before the railway was opened. However the Commission noted that the shortfall of medical arrangements was due to:
- Insufficient number of Field Hospitals
- Deficiency in staff amongst the ranks of the RAMC
- Difficulties of transport.

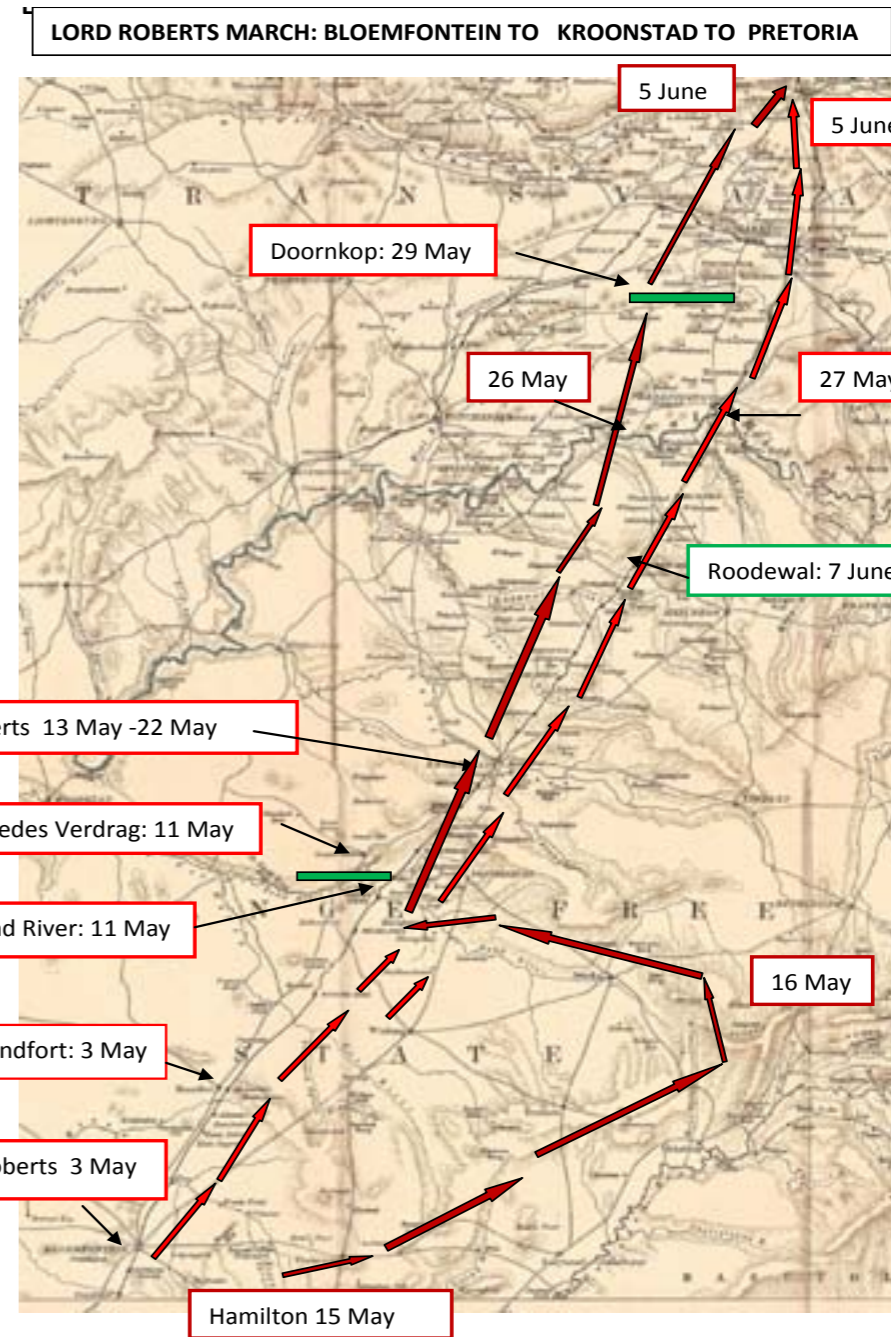
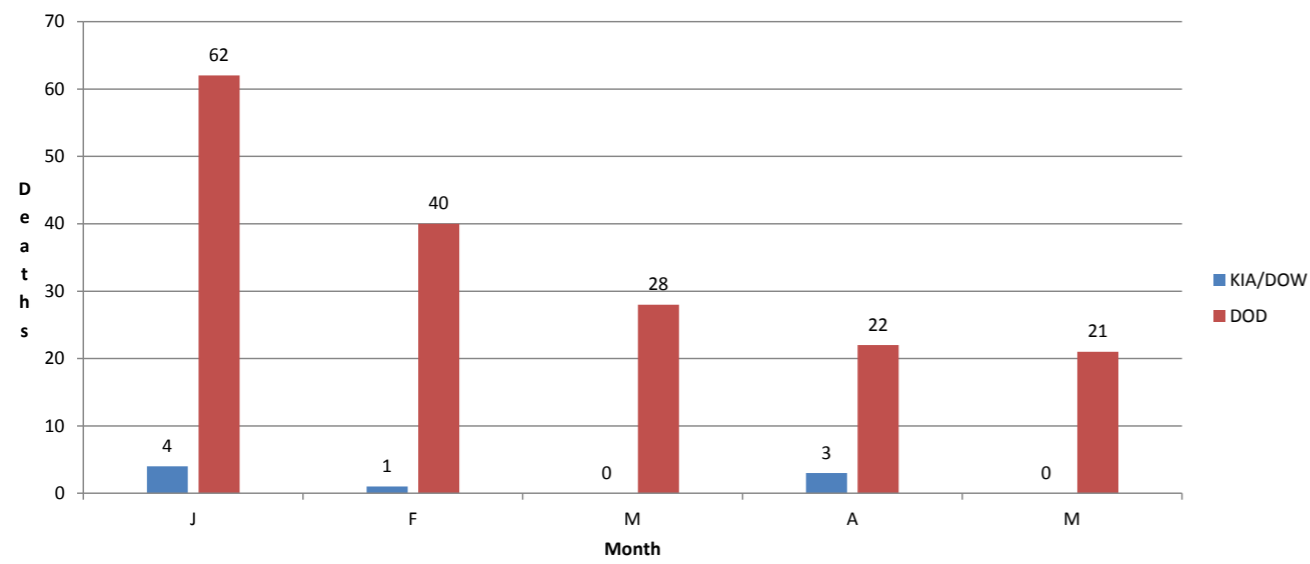
Kroonstad: Imperial deaths 1900 (incl reburials)



Kroonstad Imperial deaths (incl reburials): 1901

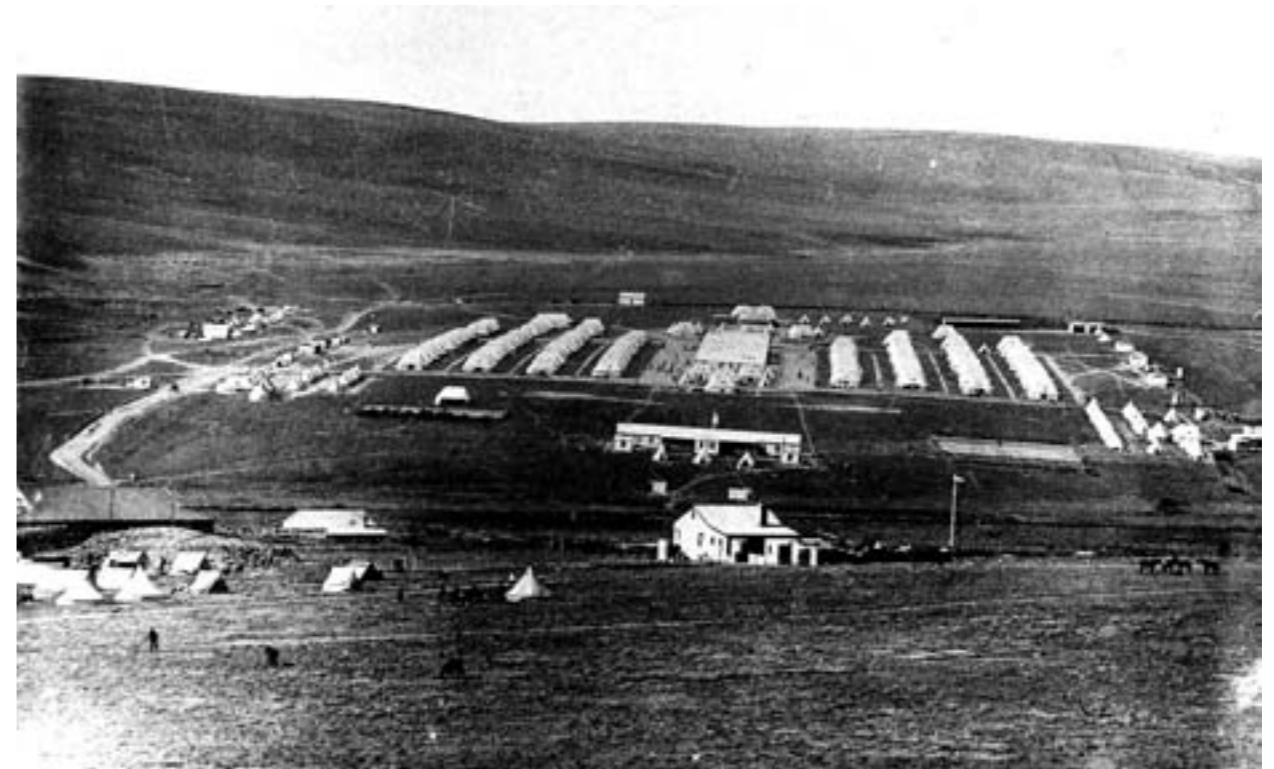
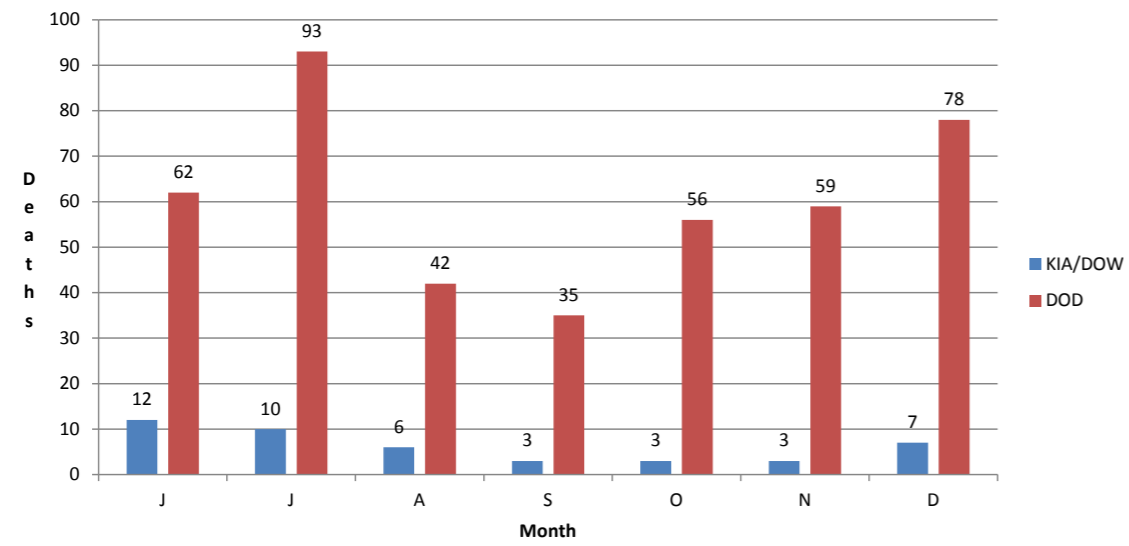


Kroonstad: Imperial deaths 1902 (incl reburials)

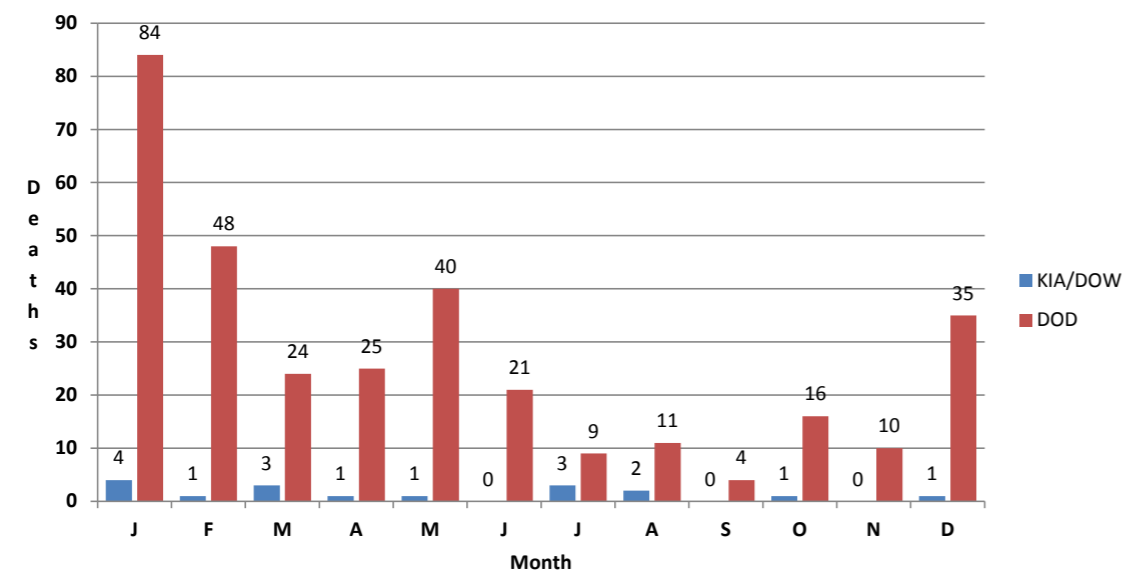


Lt-Gen Ian Hamilton

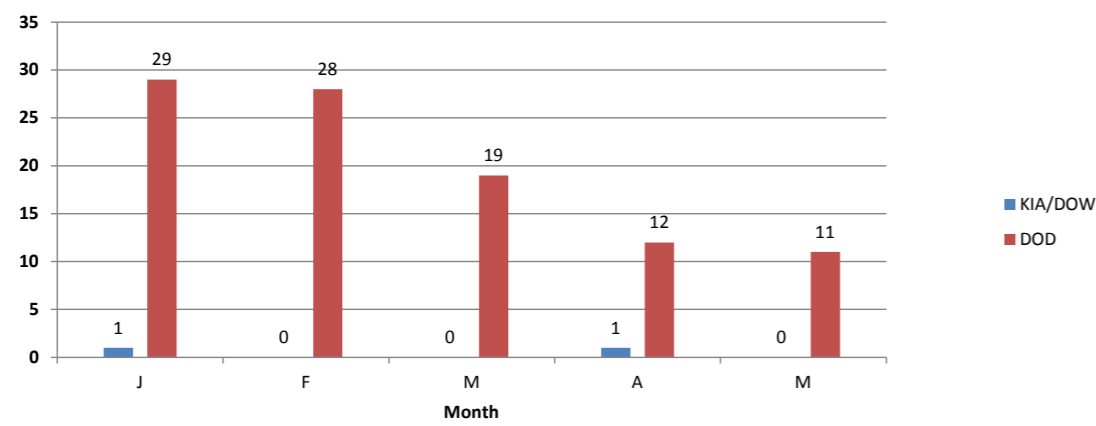
Pretoria: Imperial deaths 1900



Pretoria. Imperial deaths 1901



Pretoria: Imperial deaths 1902





Sir William Stokes

Consulting Surgeon to Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. He visited the No 4 General Hospital at Mooi River.

He noted that the medical personnel consisted of 13 civil surgeons, 2 warrant officers 134 non-officers. The nursing section consisted of a lady Superintendent and 18 sisters.



Maj-Gen Sir Edward Prevost Woodgate (1845-1900).

Selected to command the

1 700 man force detailed for the capture of Spioenkop.

He was mortally wounded early in the action and taken by stretcher to the No 4 Stationary Hospital located at Spearman's farm. From there he was carried to Frere then by rail to the No 4 General Hospital in Mooi River. He never recovered from his wound and died on 23 March 1900. He is buried in St John's churchyard in Mooi River.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. T. SLOGGETT
(Medical Superintendent Yeomanry Hospital)

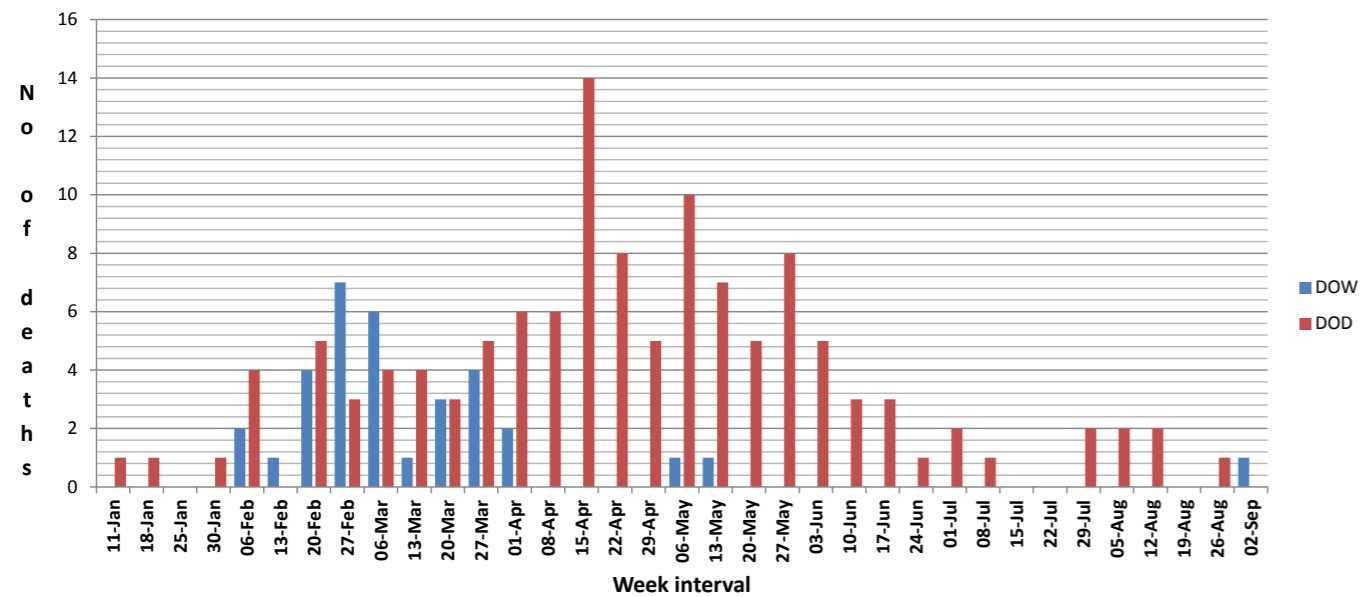
Lt-Col A T Sloggett



MR. ARTHUR FRIPP

Mr Arthur Fripp

Deaths No 4 Gen Hospital: Jan-Aug 1900

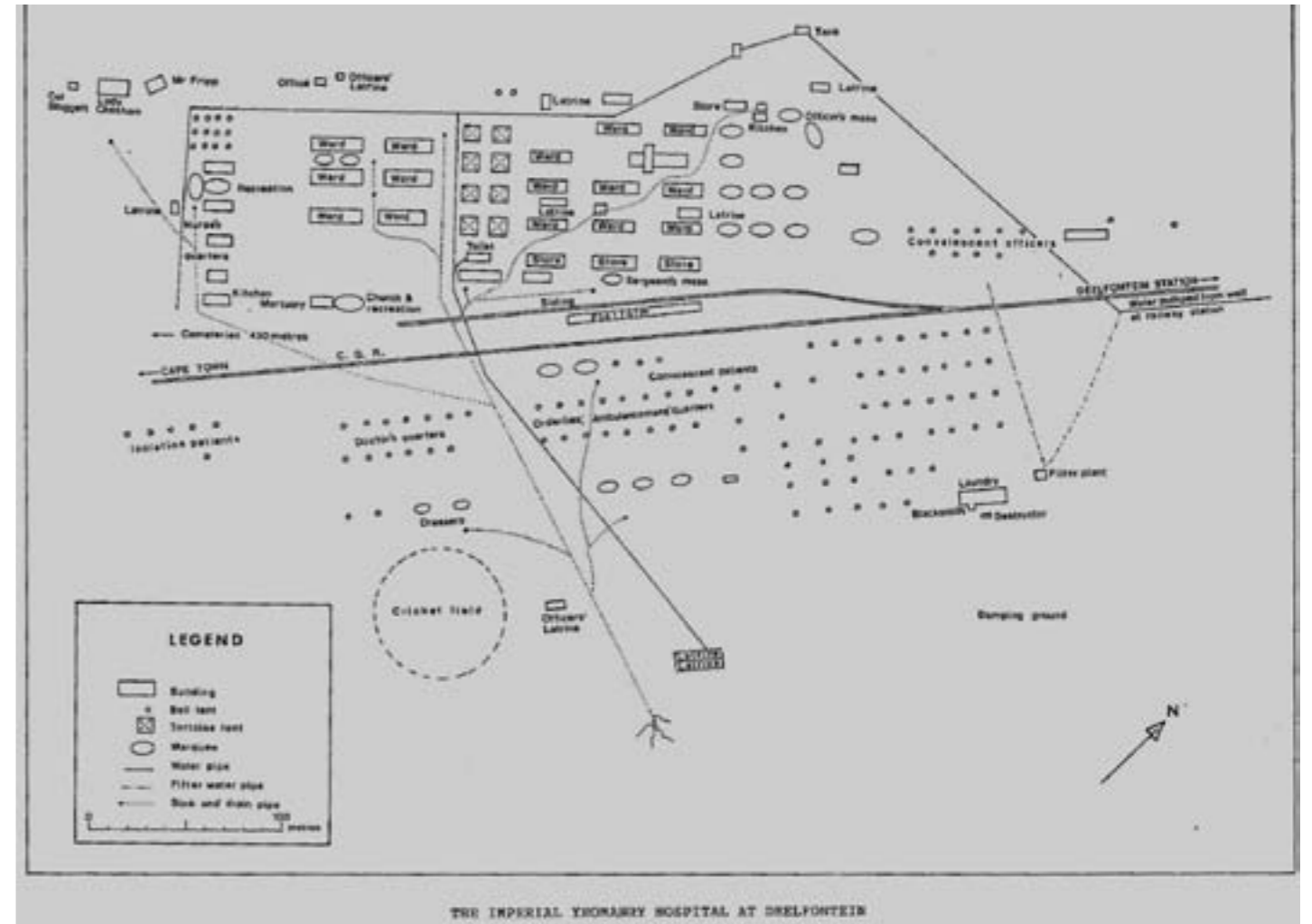




Deelfontein: platform



Deelfontein today



Deelfontein: Hospital complex



Deelfontein today



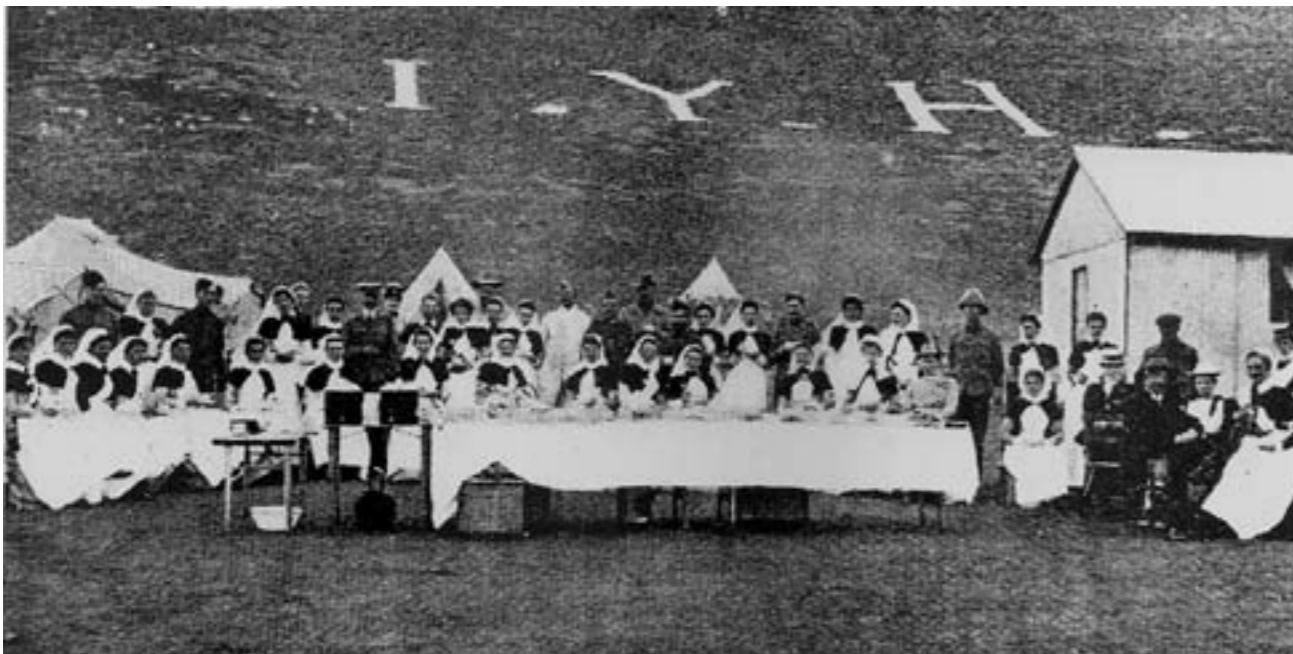
Deelfontein today



Deelfontein: The bathhouse



The carpenter's shop



Deelfontein: Tea party on 25 May 1900 (Queen Victoria's birthday)



I. V. H., DEELFONTEIN: A CONCERT.

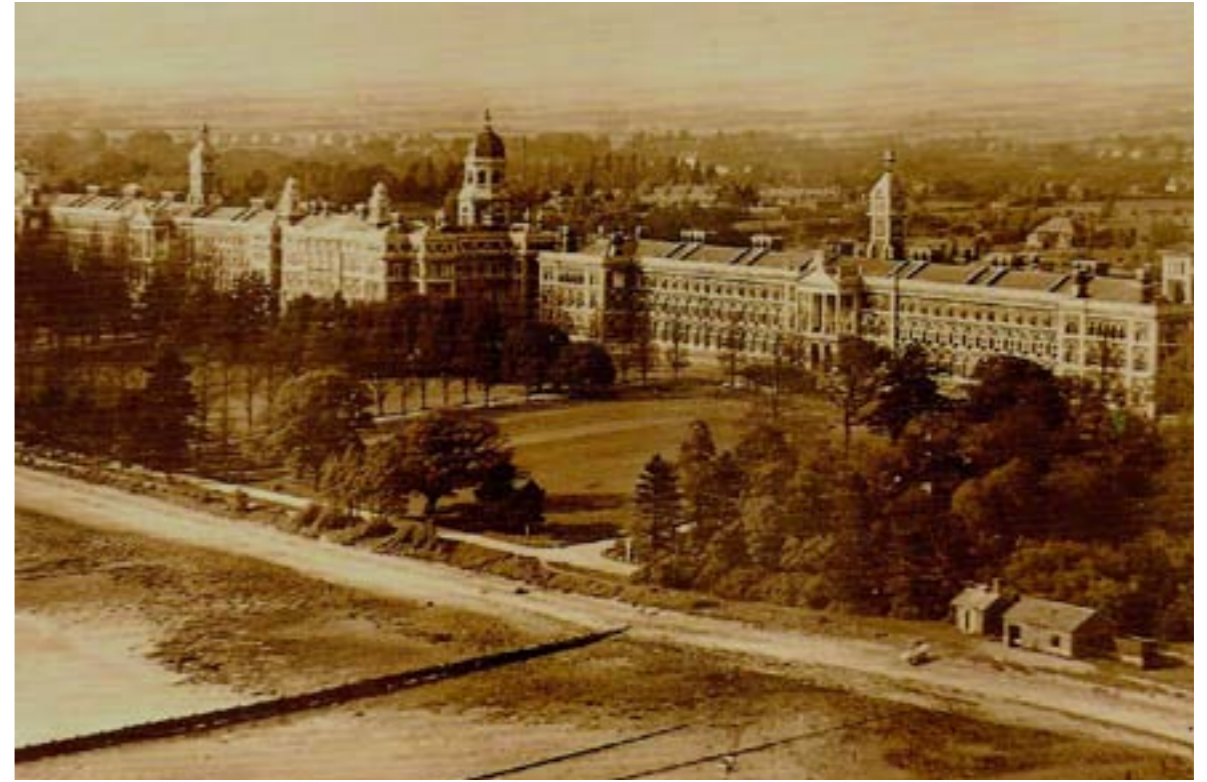
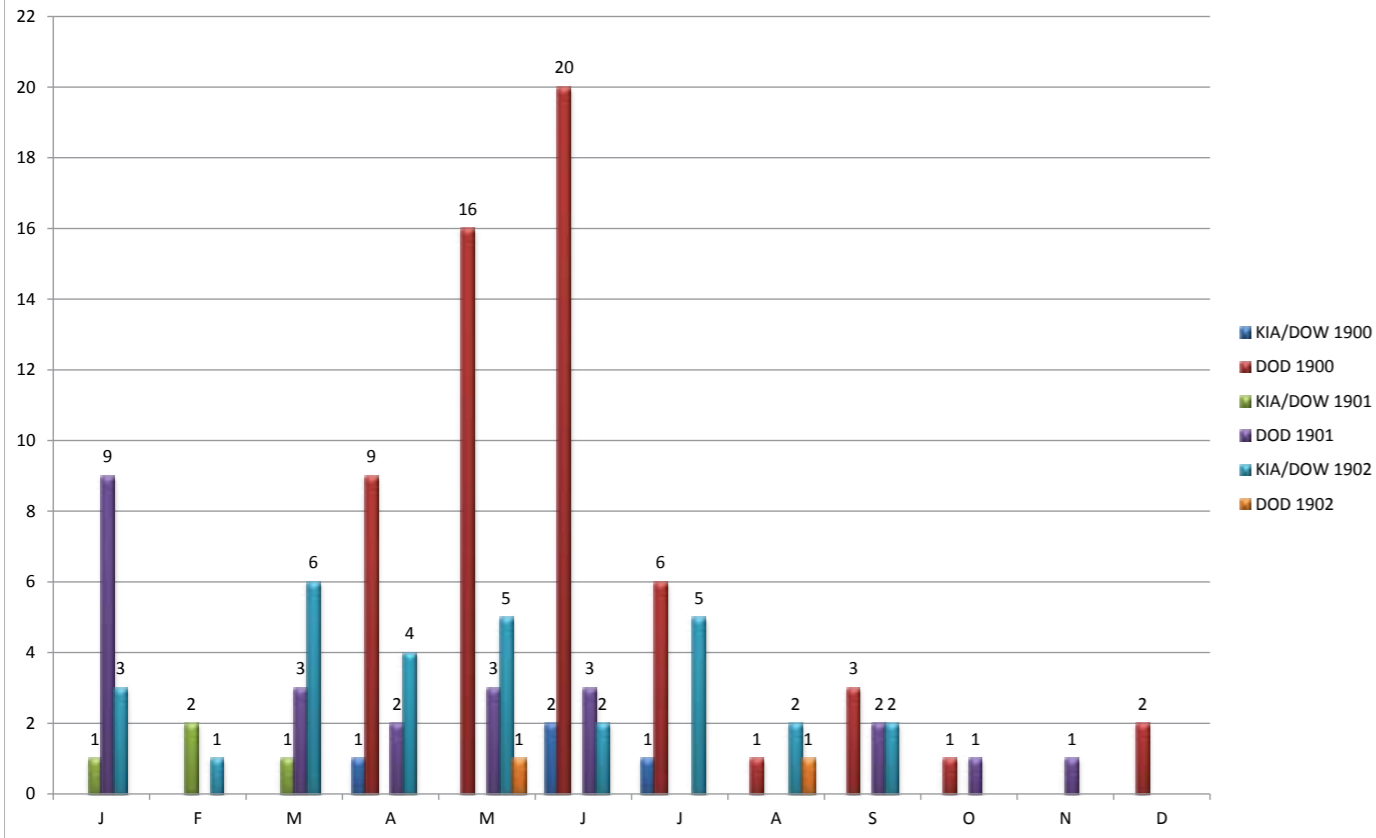
Deelfontein: A concert



Surgeon-Major Perry Marsh, R.A.M.C.
Died of enteric at Deelfontein

Surgeon Major Alfred Perry Marsh, (1856-1900), Royal Army Medical Corps. He was officer in charge of the No 3 Stationary Hospital at De Aar. He contracted enteric fever and was treated at the IYH at Deelfontein where he died on 22 May 1900

Deelfontein Deaths



Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley

With medical facilities lacking after the Crimean war, the Victoria Hospital was built. Two story blocks, each 425 metres long contained 1 000 beds.

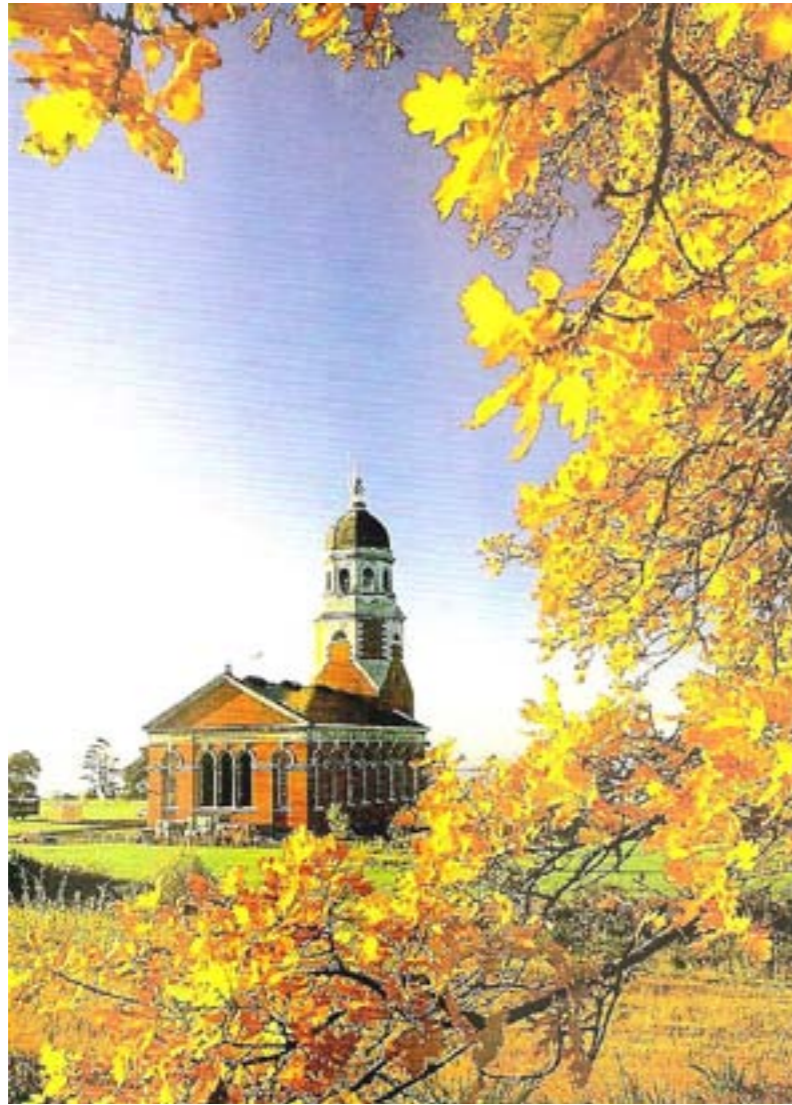
Hospital accommodated the wounded brought in from campaigns overseas. A large number of ABW patients brought here by hospital ships of whom 500 died principally from disease and wounds.

It was here that Dr Almoth Wright had just perfected the anti-typhoid vaccine which was tried on a small number of volunteers in the Anglo-Boer war.

The hospital was demolished in 1966.



Invalids at the Royal Victoria Hospital



Royal Chapel, Netley

With the hospital demolished in 1966 only the Chapel remains.

Cemetery is located nearby containing the graves of servicemen who died from wounds/disease in the Anglo-Boer War.

The cemetery, located near the site of the hospital, contains the graves of 233 burials of servicemen who campaigned in South Africa.

Private W Crooks died on 16 July 1902 of wounds received in action at Uitspanfontein on 5 February 1902.



Deaths: Medical Personnel	
RAMS (incl. Lt. Col 4; Maj. 6; Capt. 8; Lt. 8; Civ. Surg. 13)	386
Imperial Bearer Corps	14
Imperial Hospital Corps	31
Natal Volunteer Ambulance Corps	12
Cape Medical Staff Corps	36
St. Johns Ambulance	66
Army Nursing Service	45
TOTAL	590



Captain Matthew Louis Hughes (1867-1899)

Capt Hughes (1867-1899) came to South Africa as the personal physician to General Buller. During the battle of Colenso

(15 December 1899), whilst standing near Buller Hughes was killed instantly by a projectile the same of which Buller was wounded.

He was a competent bacteriologist and made a major contribution towards relegating Mediterranean fever. He is buried in the Clouston Garden of Remembrance.



Sir William Stokes (1839-1900)

Sir William was appointed consulting surgeon to the forces in South Africa and immediately joined the No 4 General Hospital at Mooi River. Whilst in Natal he visited hospitals in Pietermaritzburg and Ladysmith after the siege was raised. He also called on hospitals at Volkrust, Charlestown and Newcastle. He had been ill from the effects of overwork, and after a brief recovery, took ill again and died of pleurisy in Pietermaritzburg on 15 August 1900.

He was buried with full military honours in the Fort Napier cemetery, Pietermaritzburg



View looking toward grave of Sir William Stokes (Now)



Funeral of Sir William Stokes



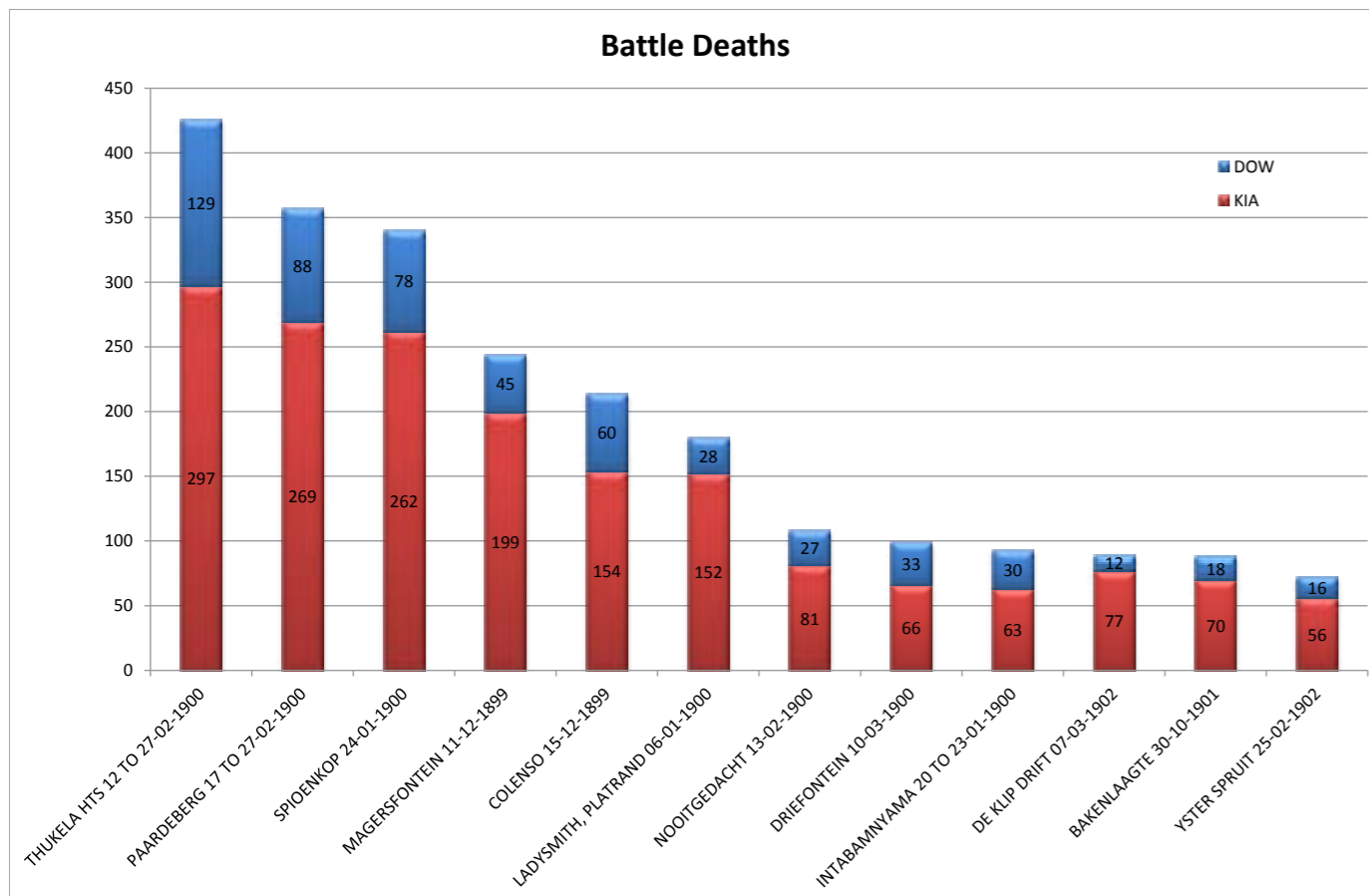
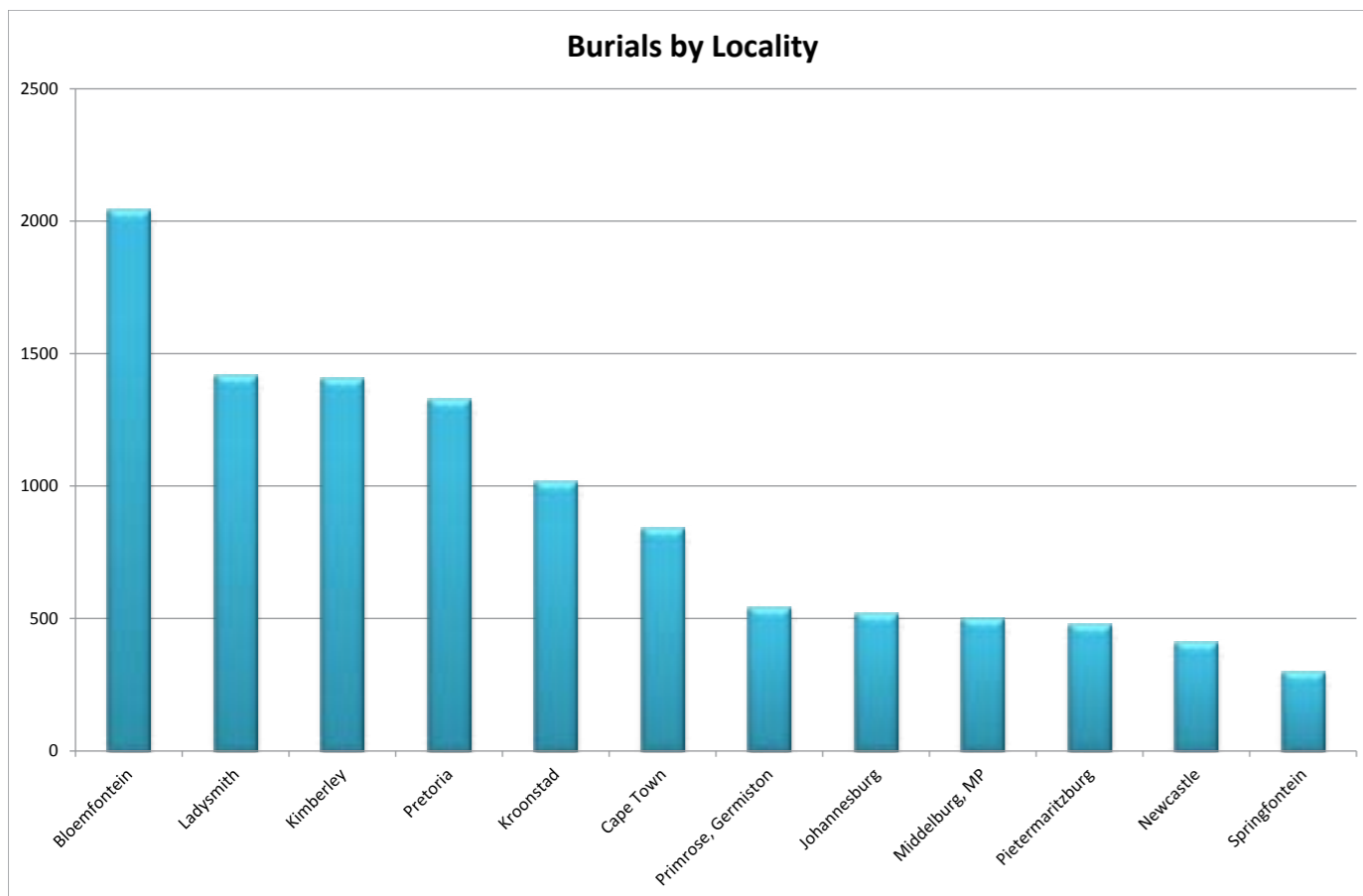
Nurse Francis Emma Hines

Nurse Francis Emma Hines, (1864-1900) of the (Australian) Victoria Nursing Service, was one of a group of ten Victorian nurses accompanying the Third Bushman's Contingent. Several of the sisters were based in Rhodesia. On 7 August 1900, following a severe case of pneumonia, she died at the Memorial Hospital, Bulawayo. Her friend Sister Julia Anderson, wrote..she died of an attack of pneumonia contracted in devotion to duty. She was quite alone with as many as twenty-six patients at one time, no possibility of assistance or relief and without sufficient nourishment.

She was buried with full military honours in Bulawayo cemetery. A marble headstone was erected over the grave by the Victorian nurses and Bushmen.

Killed in Railway Accidents	
Frederickstad 30-07-1900. Potchefstroom	14
Machavie 12-04-1900. Klerksdorp	14
Pretoria, Daspoort 07-06-1901. Pretoria	9
Petronella 31-08-1901. Petronella	7
Barberton 30-03-1902. Barberton	40
Pretoria, Daspoort 05-05-1902. Pretoria	11

Killed by Lightning	
Richmond, Cape 20-04-1901. De Aar	2
Stormberg 19-01-1901. Stormberg	2
Bembas Kop 31-10-1900. Vryheid	2
Kaalfontein 24-11-1901. Johannesburg	2
Harrismith 28-10-1901. Harrismith	2
Groot Olifants Station 10-11-1901. Middelburg	3



Capt Mullins V.C.

CONCLUSION: ROMER COMMISSION

In its findings did draw attention to the problem of poor sanitation and the need to return to strict awareness of basic hygiene of the army. It recommended that a committee be appointed to review the position of the RAMC. "From a medical point of view, the main lesson the British army from the South African war, until then one of the most exacting campaigns in history, was the vital importance of hygiene and sanitation".



Surgeon-General Wilson

Wilson repeatedly displayed an inability to approve of any medical task performed by civilians during his tenure in South Africa

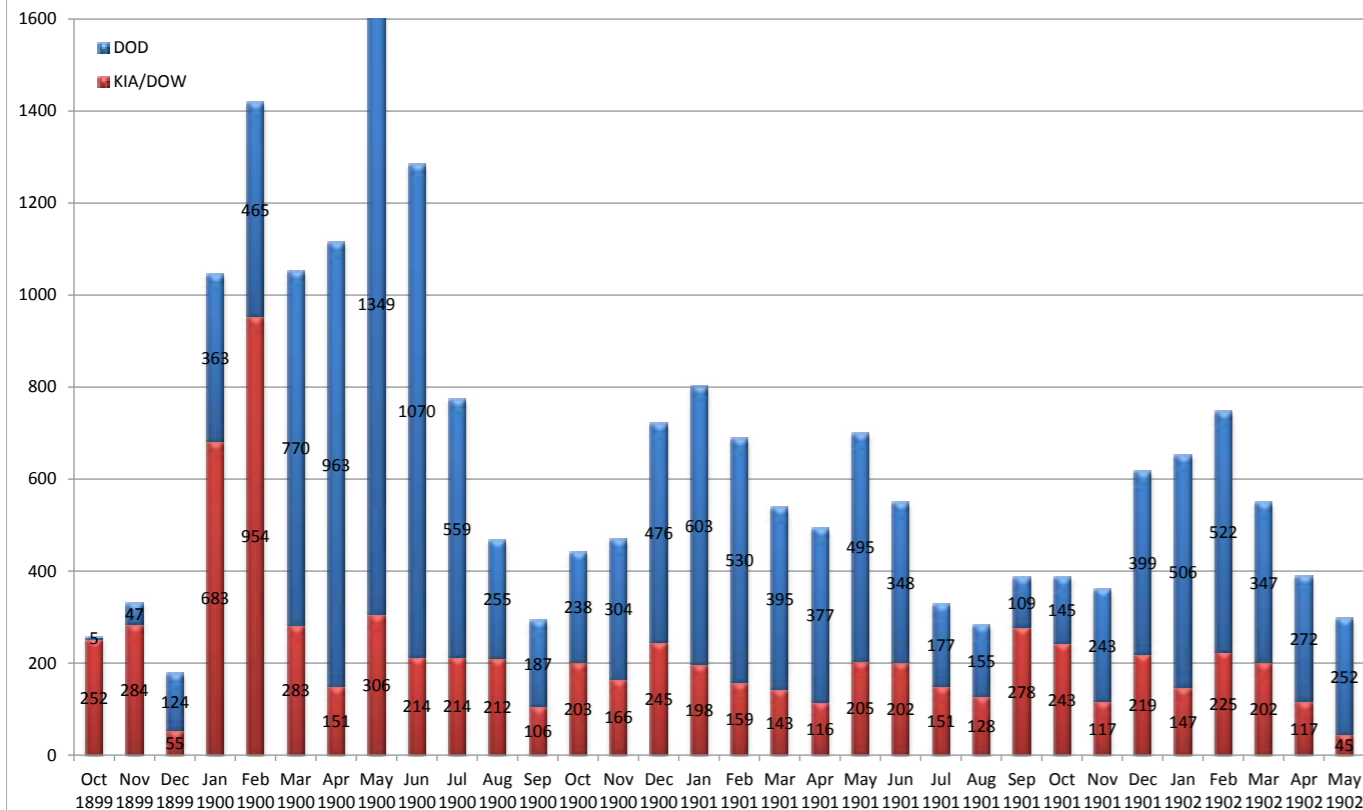
1. Of the Russo-Dutch Hospital, caring of British patients "was pleased to see it go" stating that if it had not been for their presence in Kroonstad with the British take-over, matters could have been much worse". This was despite the fact that the British soldiers preferred to be treated in the Russo-Dutch hospital rather than by their own medical services!
2. He was critical of the Edinburgh Hospital in Bloemfontein which was of "no assistance" and later at Norvals Pont "plagued by shortages of equipment and in construction"
3. Wilson showed no concern for the Red Cross Commission who disregarded the CBRCC who prevented benevolent organisations making disorderly humanitarian contribution or unwillingness to approve any medical task performed by civilians.
4. Wilson suggested that a plague hospital be established in Cape Town after being only to discover that the epidemic had been a reality already and hospital for this purpose was established two months previously not under the control of the RAMC.

There was no source of potable water at the Modder River camp until Wilson suggested that wells be dug to provide safe water. These were only completed two days before the British army left camp for Paardeberg.

In conclusion Wilson pointed out that "the Royal army Medical Corps was wholly insufficient in staff and equipment for such a war..."

He also stated that "no satisfactory system of camp sanitation can be carried out without the company of commanding officers, and consider that in future all should receive periodic instruction in elementary hygiene"

Deaths

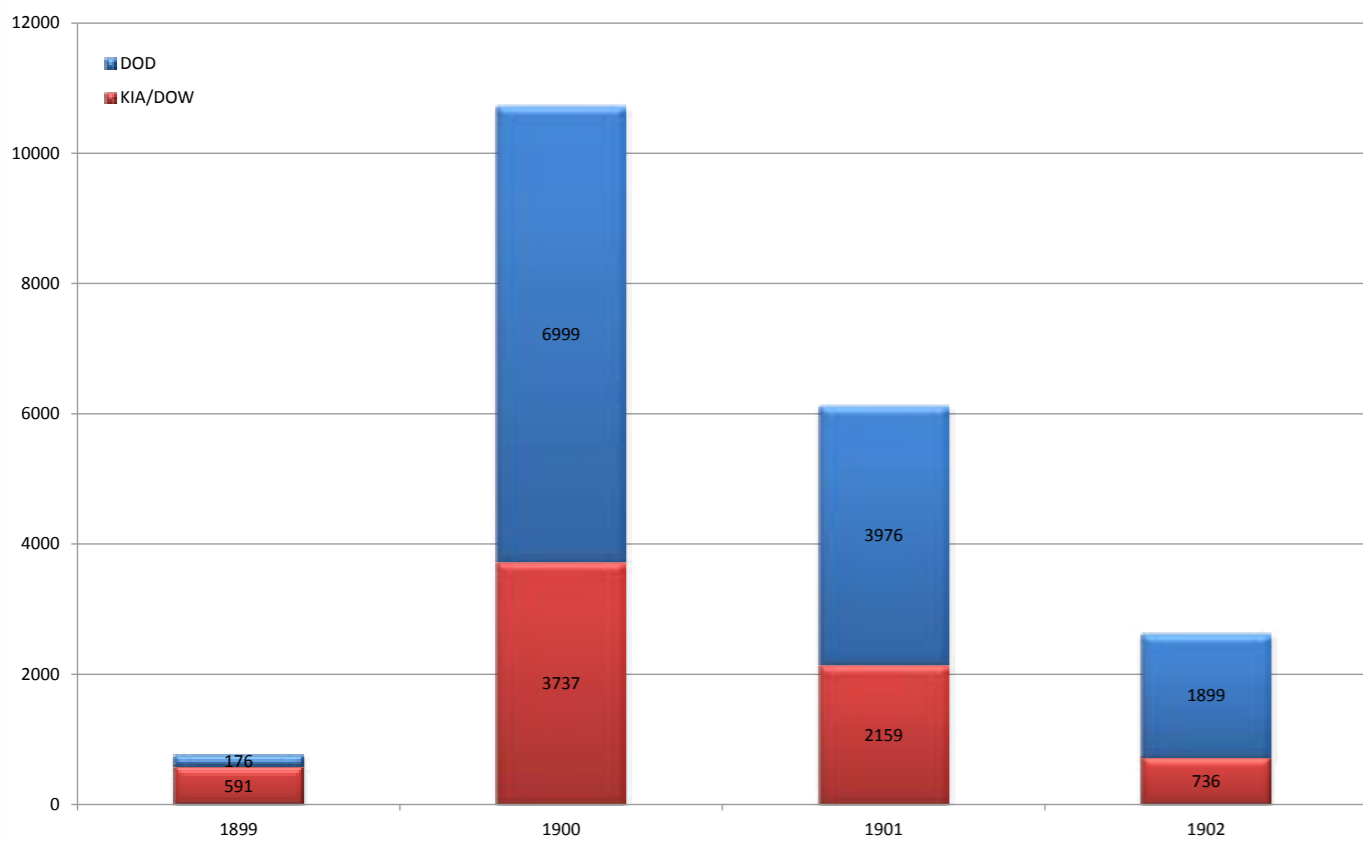


“Why did they die” wrote AG Hales, “these young soldiers of our Queen? Was it because their hearts failed them. No. Was it because of poisoned or polluted water, left in the path by the enemy whom they were fighting? Not so. Was it because the country through which we marched lent itself climatically to the propagation and dissemination of fever germ? No, England no!”

“I tell you why they died. Those men were done to death by wanton carelessness upon the part of men sent out by the War Office. They were done to death through criminal neglect of the most simple laws of sanitation. Men were huddled together in camp after camp; they were allowed to turn the surrounding veldt and adjacent kopjes into cesspools and excreta camps. In some camps no latrines were dug, no supervision exercised. The so-called Medical Staff looked on and puffed their cigarettes and talked under their eye glasses”.



Imperial Deaths





The Cost	
Killed in action	5556
Died of wounds	2291
Died of diseases	13552
“Died” (not specified)	2521
Other causes*	810
TOTAL	24730

**Abscess of liver, drowned, lightning, accidents
incl. on railway, missing in action.*

“...OF A LION AND EAGLE; THE STORY OF CONSTABLE CHARLES WILLIAM EAGLE”

CHARLES LEACH

The generous and unselfish assistance of many people in the Soutpansberg and in Canada spurred author Charles Leach on to complete the publishing of his first book ...of a lion and Eagle.

The book was launched on March 31 at a function hosted in the humorous and relaxed style of the author, with around 140 guests attending. Probably every one of the guests felt as much part of this endeavour, caught up in the enthusiasm of Leach. The author was always telling everyone of the latest clue that someone locally or overseas had provided to aid him in unravelling the story of Constable Charles William Eagle.

During his speech, Charles typically acknowledged everyone's contribution.

“This little book adds a drop in the bucket of tourism,” Leach said. It is contemplated that the publishing of the book on the story of a Canadian Indian who came to South Africa with the fifth Canadian Mounted Rifles and died locally from wounds sustained by an encounter with a lion, would draw tourists nationally as well as from Canada. The same happened when Leach started investigating the story of Breaker Morant and the Bushveldt Carbineers, an Australian regiment in the Anglo Boer War. The very popular Zoutpansberg Skirmishes Route originated and tourists from the country and also from Australia flocked to the region.

Prof Louis Changuion, internationally recognized historian, said at the launch that he personally used to be the local authority on Breaker Morant until he had stirred up Leach.

“After a few years, the pupil surpassed the teacher. He now knows more on that topic than I do. I encouraged him to write it down. He pushed that book aside first to complete the book on William Eagle. This is his first book but for sure not his last,” Prof Changuion said.

...of a lion and Eagle is richly illustrated.

“Many of the illustrations have never been published before and, together with the text, create a wonderful picture of the Limpopo Valley, Musina and the Zoutpansberg as it was in the period when Constable Billy Eagle played out the last days of his life,” writes Laura van Zyl who did the layout and design of the book and the cover. Van Zyl is one of the more than 20 people that Leach gratefully acknowledged at the launch. Others provided valuable information and support. Amazingly, even the rifle that Billy Eagle probably used in his encounter with the lion, was discovered.

Van Zyl captured the essence of how the book developed when she said, “Charles Leach would recount this enthralling story during his Zoutpansberg Skirmishes Tours to captivated audiences. His enthusiasm bubbled over and soon information and photos were rolling in from far and wide. Charles has artfully created a fascinating story with all the elements of intrigue, history and mystery ... a story which will appeal to both historians and those who simply enjoy a good read.”

PLODDING AND PONDEROUS OR PERCEPTIVE AND VISIONARY - THE TACTICS OF LT. GEN. SIR CHARLES WARREN IN NATAL

BY PHIL EVERITT SAMHS



Phil Everitt is a professional civil engineer who has spent two thirds of his career in engineering education, specializing in concrete, geotechnical and road materials. As an infantry officer during his military commitments, he served as both rifle and support weapons platoon and company commanders, and as battalion intelligence officer. His hobbies include the study of military history especially in the field of technology and fortifications and he is an active member of the Durban Branch of SAMHS.

SLIDE 2: INTRODUCTION:

General Sir Charles Warren commanding the newly arrived 5th Division, arrived in Northern Natal January 1900 and reported to the General Sir Redvers Buller VC, previously GOC Commanding, in South Africa (until superseded by Roberts). At the time both men were highly decorated leaders, although their personalities and experience had been vastly different. On the basis of their profile the public in Britain were justified in expecting great things in the war against the Boers. Within a few months, however Warren's reputation had been irreparably destroyed and Buller's was distinctly tarnished despite the fact that he attempted to lay as much as possible of the blame on Warren. The media at the time were highly critical of the actions both men and this has continued through to the present, especially in the case of Warren who has been described in terms such as:

SLIDE 3: PACKENHAM (THE BOER WAR):

- “why give Warren a Gen quite untried in the conditions of the new warfare,
- (after Buller gave Warren secret instructions), “ponderous movement, “indecisive movements on the left, “Warren crawled, “One man had the power to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory, “poor plodding Warren, “Warren was hastening slowly, very slowly, “Warren's ponderous timetable that appalled Buller, cannot seriously be defended, “worst error failure to tell Thornycroft of his plans, “astonishing blunder - had failed to tell Coke of Thornycroft's promotion,” Trew P (The Boer War Generals):
- “like Buller, Warren consistently overestimated the force opposing,’ “more concerned with getting his wagons across than making contact with the enemy, “no hurry as it was one of his theories that soldiers should have a period of getting accustomed to the enemy, “whole of the next day constructing pontoons and the next in crossing the river, “have his personal supervision, “our objective is not Ladysmith but effecting a junction with Buller and await orders, “taking advantage of leisurely preparations “boer digging in “Buller incensed by Warren's dithering.”

SLIDE 4:

Unfortunately Warren was forbidden permission to refute allegations made against him by Buller and although he was a prolific author with a great number of books to his name, without exception these relate to his technical rather than

military achievements. His personal papers were destroyed after his death by his son immediately after his grandson W William had used them to write his biography. (Williams W W, 1941). Packenham's popular account attempted to exonerate Buller at the expense of Warren has unfortunately served as a baseline for many modern authors.

SLIDE 5:

Most contemporary authors would have been aware of his achievements in many diverse spheres and would not have been so outspoken.

It seems likely that many modern authors are influenced by the contemporary accounts of the Anglo-Boer War but do not know anything of his background which was markedly different from any other general. This paper will utilise the actions and behaviour of Sir Charles Warren during the course of his life to see if the apparent reported behaviour in N Natal could be predicted or is even likely unless other factors were influencing his actions. In addition his actions will be evaluated in terms

International Military History Conference – From the Anglo-Boer War to the Great War, Talana October 2014 of his training and experience in an attempt to see the situation through his eyes.

SLIDE 6:

Summary of the life of Sir Charles Warren (discussed)

- 1840 - Born in Bangor, Wales
- Educated at Bridgnorth School and Wem Grammar School, Shropshire
- 1854 - Attended Cheltenham College, and Royal Military College, Sandhurst, due to excellent performance transferred to Royal Military Academy, Woolwich
- 1857 - Commissioned 2nd Lieutenant - Royal Engineers
- 1859-1865 - Worked on surveying and defences of Gibraltar
- 1865-1867 - Assistant Instructor Surveying, School of Military Engineering, Chatham
- 1867-1871 - Surveyed Jerusalem for the Palestine Exploration Fund
- 1872-1876 – Dover defences and School of Gunnery, Shoeburyness
- 1877 – Surveyed and laid out the Griqualand West boundary OFS
- 1878 - Transkei War commanding the Diamond Fields Horse, returned to Kimberley with DFH and crushed the Griqua rebellion
- 1879 - Special Administrator Griqualand West
- 1880-1884 - Chief Instructor of Surveying at the School of Military Engineering
- 1882 - Apprehends EH Palmer's murderers and returns the bodies of Palmer and his colleagues
- 1884-1885 - Warren Expedition Bechuanaland, as OC of 4,000 strong mounted forces crushes Boer freebooters supported by Kruger . Laid out Mafeking including defences.(Medway defences)
- 1886 - Stood unsuccessfully for Parliament
- 1887-1888 - Appointed Commissioner of Metropolitan Police (Victoria Jubilee, Jack the Ripper, Bloody Sunday)
- 1889-1894 - G.O.C. of Garrison in Singapore (commissioned first defences)
- 1895-1897 - Commanded Thames District. Promoted to Lieutenant-General
- 1900 - Commanded 5th Div of the SA Field Force at Spion Kop
- 1904 - Promoted to General
- 1905 - Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Engineers
- 1908 - Assisted Lord Baden-Powell setting up the Boy-Scout movement
- 1927 - Died in Somerset

SLIDE 7:

A well known modern procedure to predict the behaviour of an individual under a projected set of circumstances utilises

the principal that the best way to predict future behaviour of any individual is to ascertain how they behaved under similar conditions in the past.

What did they do in the past in terms of:

STAR

- Situation (similar)
- Time (when did it occur)
- Action (what did he do)
- Result (how successful was the result?)

SLIDE 8:

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Analyzing Warren's career we find the following, successes and failures

Successes:

- Fortress Defences: Gibraltar, Dover, Mafeking, Singapore, and Medway.
- Surveying and tunnelling: Gibraltar, Jerusalem, and Griqualand Border.
- Mounted troops: DFH in Transkei, Griqualand West, and Warren Expedition
- Energetic Independent Command: Jerusalem excavations, N Cape Border, Diamond Fields Horse, Warren Expedition, Palmer expedition, London Metropolitan Police, Singapore

SLIDE 9:

Failures/Mistakes made

- Dog muzzling in London to combat rabies
- Trafalgar square bloody Sunday when he crushed social unrest with a massive force of police and troops with many injuries
- Ripper murders
- Lack of parallel action on Tabanyama during the occupation of Spionkop.
- Underestimation of enemy defences at Wynne Hills (following Buller's orders).
- N Cape 1900-1901

BUT NOTHING IN HIS PAST SHOWS SLOWNESS, INDECISIVENESS OR INDECISION!!

SLIDE 10:

Rather some examples of Warren's 'unique' military thinking are:

- Gibraltar defences and model
- Abandoned twice daily parades in Singapore and concentrated on rapid mobilization
- Produced training manual for jungle warfare in Malaya (Straits Settlements) - thus not worried about fighting through the bush on Hlangwane.
- Marched back from divisional manoeuvres with an infantry soldier's pack to test the conditions
- Believed in a show of force
- Warren expedition
- Trafalgar square action against protestors.

SLIDE 11:

In addition he:

- Conducted map exercises with staff while travelling to battle field
- Discussed of plans with subordinate generals to achieve consensus.

- Insisted troops need time to acclimatize and get to know the enemy (Tabanyama)
- Believed troops must stay in contact with the enemy - sustained battles.
- Implemented sustained artillery bombardment of the trenches to clear the enemy
- Apparently realised that HE and not shrapnel was needed to effectively shell the trenches
- Planned for attack and breakthrough with light pack only and rations for 3 days.
- Was not afraid to attack through heavily forested/bush areas (Hlangwane)

SLIDE 12:

Warren also introduced and implemented a number of technical innovations such as the:

- Artillery barrage at Tabanyama
- Fortress layout (at Mafeking)
- Training (abandoned twice daily parades in Singapore in favour of rapid mobilisation)
- Physical fitness (in his Parliamentary manifesto and in training troops, presented trophies for competitions)
- Musketry skill (introduced musketry competitions and presented trophies)
- Balloons (Warren Expedition, he personally ascended at Mafeking)
- Traction engines (used by 5 Div to haul ox wagons out of mud on road to Springfield)
- Wireless telegraphy (experimented at Singapore)

SLIDE 13:

From the previous and his books the following strengths, and character become obvious. Sir Charles Warren was:

- Highly intelligent and skilled at mathematical and technical problems
- Sometimes abrasive and difficult when people did not agree with him
- Diplomatic and persuasive when in command.
- A careful planner
- An independent thinker
- Innovative and decisive
- A highly respected Freemason
- A very religious man.

In the following two slides we will look at the topography of the Boer defensive line on the Tugela.

SLIDE 14: LEFT FLANK

SLIDE 15: RIGHT FLANK

SLIDE 16:

Warren's actions in Northern Natal were obviously influenced by his experience and unique thinking.

To his engineer's mind with experience of fortifications, the Boer defences on the Tugela were a linear fortification with the following identifiable characteristics

- Positioning of Boer guns in accordance with fortification planning on high commanding points
- Usual consideration of short internal lines of defenders in this case replaced with high mobility of mounted defenders vs infantry attackers

Attack should follow the well known principles:

- Deliberate slow planned offensive taking advantage of superior numbers and reduction of defensive works by gunfire.
- Advanced outwork (Hlangwane) must be taken first as a secure base for further penetration of defences.

SLIDE 17:

Warren's expected tactics could thus be expected:

- An engineer's training would suggest sustained artillery bombardment to reduce the defences of any fortification.
- This would enable the final infantry attack.
- In a slow deliberate manner infantry and artillery would utilise trenches and sapping to close before the assault.
- Warren did have assault trenches and sapping in mind but needed to adapt to local conditions with sangars and dongas.

SLIDE 18:

Warren's realisation of limited speed and mobility of an essentially infantry force including his experience of marching with a private soldier's equipment would lead him to abandon the route via Acton Homes and

Suggest a fighting forced march with 3 days rations in backpacks via the shorter route having first neutralized the enemy commanding the route.

In deciding on the capture of Spionkop to command Boer positions behind and at Vaalkrantz, he was surely influenced by:

- His great success against Griqua rebels who had fortified a valley, by scaling Gobatsi Heights, with the Diamond Fields Horse and a 7 pdr and surprising them from the flank.

SLIDE 19:

Warren had extensive knowledge of technical aspects of artillery from Shoeburyness and his fortification experience and would have realized that:

The 15 pdrs, standard gun of the RFA fired only shrapnel (and for very close range defence case)

The howitzers fired common shell (lyddite)

But he almost certainly also realized that shrapnel is useless against hard targets (the hard residual soil and rock of the Boer Trenches) and is a “man killer” only

SLIDE 20:

Conditions in the Tugela trenches:

- The South African veld, with mostly thin residual soils overlying bedrock is vastly different with respect to trenching from Western Europe.
- The Boers took full advantage of the local conditions to construct strong fortifications impervious to shrapnel.

SLIDE 21:

Description of the Boer Trenches (Norris S L, 1900, p203)

“Their positions from Tabamnyama to Brakfontein were most carefully and laboriously fortified. There are on average only some 24 inches (600 mm) of soil above the rock and this was utilised by means of sandbags. The trenches themselves were cut out of the rock 4 to 5 feet deep (1,2 to 1,5 m) and wider at the base than the top. Sandbagged loopholes formed the parapets. There were two lines of trenches protected by covered ways, one along the crest and the other considerably to the rear of it.”

SLIDE 22:

Warren’s technical difficulties at Spionkop included:

- Poor maps for planning
- Poor visibility over the battlefield
- Given no access to balloon or information gained there from.
- Warren was concerned about the crossing as he had information and intuition that the Boers would have long range guns on Spionkop

SLIDE 23:

Warren’s original annotated map of the Spionkop Area (courtesy of K Shillington)

SLIDE 24:

‘Viewshed’ software illustration of areas visible from Buller’s HQ on Mount Alice.

SLIDE 25:

‘Viewshed’ software illustration of extremely limited areas visible from Warren’s HQ on Three Tree Hill.

SLIDE 26:

Warren’s contributions to the Tugela campaign and the final successful breakthrough at the Battle of Tugela Heights thus included that he:

- Introduced the concept of sustained pressure on the Boers
- Seems to have influenced Buller to discuss plans with his Generals
- Argued and won the debate on a breakthrough centred on the capture of Hlangwane
- Changed thinking on the use of the artillery, contributed to the final innovative barrage at Pieters.

SLIDE 27:

Showed a potential rating scheme for Generals (after John Thompson British Military History Group – Linked In)

- Strategic Sense:
- Operational Skill:
- Tactical Acumen:
- Physical Courage:
- Moral Courage:
- Charisma:
- Logistical Sense:
- Administration:
- Diplomacy:
- Political Instincts

Based on an analysis of Warren’s life he could be shown to score well on all points.

SLIDE 28:

The Anglo Boer War in N Natal may be compared to WWI in a very simplified way as follows:

- Rapid breakthrough by Boers/Germans utilizing railway to assist with rapid advance and attempt to use fortress artillery to destroy the towns besieged.
- Impressive British musketry skills (Warren and AB war)
- Withdrawal to fortified positions (trenches), utilizing artillery according to fortress line defence strategy and major defence along attackers railway lines (compare Belgium).
- Race to the western flank (Drakensberg vs Sea)
- Initial confident attacks on trenches defeated. Shrapnel used almost exclusively by the British. If HE had been used it is possible that the trenches could not have been established and an early breakthrough achieved.
- Trench stalemate – no use for traditional cavalry

SLIDE 29:

- An early breakthrough could possibly have been achieved by artillery barrage, with clever use of HE against the trench defences followed by shrapnel in a ‘creeping barrage’ but there was little HE available.
- Warren’s lessons had been forgotten by British because of the conventional warfare collapse of the heavily outnumbered Boers,

When the Boers then turned to mobile guerilla war:

- They were defeated by unique innovations blockhouses, sweeps and scorched earth burning of farms. Much of this unconventional thinking seems to have influenced later British reflection and planning.
- The fact that the conventional war was concluded relatively swiftly by vastly superior numbers of British troops meant that potential lessons learned regarding entrenched lines and artillery using HE were largely forgotten and the Boer War considered completely different to warfare in continental Europe.

SLIDE 30:

If Warren’s reputation had not been destroyed at Spionkop how much of a difference could he have made to post Anglo Boer war planning and tactics?

THREE BOERS DENIED AMNESTY IN THE TERMS OF THE PEACE OF VEREENIGING, 31ST MAY 1902

ROBIN SMITH

An engineer and businessman by profession, but retired. What was once a hobby, is now become a full-time occupation.

His research is principally into battle sites and incidents that have been in danger of being forgotten. The results of several of these investigations are the subject of a number of published papers in the South African Military History Journal and others.

He has assisted in efforts to put up headstones and markers in a number of places where that place, or the people involved, need to be identified. Participants on both sides of the conflict of 1899-1902 have been recognised in this way.

An inveterate traveller, my travels outside South Africa have taken me to quite a number of battlefields around the world

SALMON VAN AS, BAREND CELLIERS AND JOSEF MULLER

Peace in the Anglo Boer War did not come easily. It was more difficult to stop the war than to start it. Peace had been a long time coming. Early in February 1901, it seemed that an opportunity for negotiation had arisen. General Louis Botha's night attack at Bothwell (or Lake Chrissie) had been beaten off, and General Christiaan de Wet's invasion of the Cape Colony, had become something of a fiasco, the Boer General having to retreat back to the relative safety of the Orange Free State.

Mrs Annie Botha, living in Pretoria, was given a letter to send to her husband. A meeting with the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, was proposed for the purpose of arranging terms of peace. Everything was up for discussion "except that the question of independence for the two republics was not to be discussed in any way."

This of course, was Botha's opening gambit when he and Kitchener met at Middelburg on 28th February, 1901. Kitchener refused to discuss this point but nevertheless, details of a possible settlement were discussed in a friendly and reasonable spirit. After the meeting a draft letter was sent by British High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner to the British Government. Their draft was returned to Kitchener for him to send a final version to Botha on 7th March. The Boer leadership's consideration of the British terms culminated in Botha's letter of 16th March, the Boers declining to negotiate further.

The Boers held a krijgsraad at Branddrift farmhouse, the so-called Waterval krijgsraad, on 20th June 1901. Orange Free State President Marthinus Steyn, furious at not being invited to the Middelburg meeting, had insisted on it. Typically, he would hear nothing of peace negotiations and was adamant that the hostilities should continue.

Ruins of the farmhouse still exist. Situated on a small rise, a sentry on the roof would have had extensive visibility in all directions. Security was absolutely vital with the entire Boer leadership assembled together. It was here that the decision was made to mount strong commandos to make further incursions into the colonies of the Cape and Natal.

It was a year later before there was a further development that was to lead eventually to the Peace of Vereeniging. The Boers had sent a three-man deputation to Europe in March 1900, almost two years previously. They were given full powers to canvass support for the Boer cause but were acknowledged only by the government of the Netherlands. In January 1902 the Dutch Government proposed that they would act as a neutral power to mediate a peace agreement. The Boer peace delegates were to be sent to South Africa to deliberate with their leaders in the field. On their return they would be put "in communication with the British government and given facilities for the conduct of negotiations in Holland."

The intervention of a foreign power was clearly not acceptable to Lord Lansdowne, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, acting on behalf of the British Government. Nevertheless, Kitchener was empowered to send a copy of all the correspondence relating to this matter to the Transvaal Government, which he did on 4th March, 1902, but without explanation or comment of any sort.

Acting President of the South African Republic, Schalk Burger, replied that he was "desirous and prepared to make peace proposals" but needed to meet with President Steyn "to enable us to make a proposal jointly". Burger and his entourage were given a safe conduct and taken by train from Balmoral station to Kroonstad.

Kitchener had been sent a message by Burger to be forwarded to Steyn but Kitchener responded that "it is...not easy

for me to communicate with him, especially as he does not at present make a prolonged stay in any part of the country.” From Kroonstad two dispatch riders, Robberts and Hattingh, were sent out to find President Steyn. He was with General Koos de la Rey at Zendingfontein, west of Klerksdorp, undergoing treatment for his eyes from de la Rey’s Russian doctor, Gustavus von Rennenhampf.

Steyn suggested “Klerksdorp or Potchefstroom or any farm in that neighbourhood which His Excellency Lord Kitchener may consider most suitable” for a meeting with the Transvaal Government. Klerksdorp was confirmed as the venue and the first meeting took place on 9th April. After three days of discussions it was agreed that they should meet with Kitchener in Pretoria so as to put forward their proposals and they arrived there on 12th April. Both sides presented their views, the upshot being that the Boers would elect thirty representatives from each of the two republics to meet in Vereeniging to finally negotiate an agreement leading to a cessation of hostilities.

Proceedings began on 15th May 1902 in a large tent outside the town. The discussions were tortuous with so large a number of representatives with widely divergent views. Many considered that they should (and could) fight on for at least another year but others thought that they had reached the bitter end.

Finally, a draft peace treaty was telegraphed to the British Government which responded on 28th May with their proposal. General Botha asked whether there would be “any objection to the delegates deleting some clause or other from the proposal now submitted by the British Government?” but Lord Milner replied “there can be no alteration, there must simply be a reply of ‘yes’ or ‘no’”.

Very broadly the proposals were much as Kitchener had discussed with Botha the previous year at Middelburg, but codified with clauses for each of the conditions. The surrender of burgher forces, the return of prisoners-of-war and a number of other conditions were laid down in ten clauses with a further statement describing the payment of reparations.

On Thursday 29th May the proposals were put to the Boer delegates for them to decide on one of three actions – continue the struggle, accept the proposals of the British Government or surrender unconditionally. After further deliberation the ‘yes’ reply was, very reluctantly, given and the British deadline of midnight on 31st May was met.

Clause 4 of the proposals read as follows and caused some discussion at Vereeniging as to what was meant or implied:

No Proceedings, CIVIL or CRIMINAL, will be taken against any of the BURGHERS so surrendering or so returning for any Acts in connection with the prosecution of the War. The benefit of this Clause will not extend to certain Acts contrary to the usages of War which have been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by Court Martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

During these final deliberations General S.P. du Toit of Wolmaransstad asked Botha to clarify Clause 4’s wording saying: “May I know what acts are here referred to?” Botha then notified the meeting that Kitchener had communicated informally to him that the three persons concerned were:

Mr van Aswegen for the shooting of Captain Mears; Mr Celliers for the shooting of Capt. Boyle; and a certain Muller for the alleged murder of a certain Rademeyer in the district of Vrede. These three persons will have to stand their trial on the conclusion of peace. (These are the names as given to the Boer delegates by General Louis Botha: “Van Aswegen”, rather than Van As, and Miers misspelled.)

Kitchener told Botha that these three alleged murders “had attracted much attention in England, and that the British Government . . . did not see their way open to leave these three cases untried.” On a later occasion Kitchener repeated in the presence of both Botha and General Smuts that only these three would be excluded from the benefit of Clause 4. General George Brand, son of former President Sir John Brand of the Orange Free State, asked why these names were not inserted in the peace proposal. General Hertzog explained that the British Government had required that there could be no alterations made. General Christiaan de Wet was not satisfied with this, saying that they had only the word of Lord Kitchener and that “it is not down in black and white, that the three persons mentioned will be the only exceptions.”

General de la Rey explained that “only the three persons mentioned are excluded . . . and because we were afraid that there might be more cases General Botha went and satisfied himself.” At the peace conference, Kitchener had told Louis Botha that the British Government required the three alleged murderers to stand trial immediately after the cessation of hostilities. It appears that the Boer leaders had little option but to agree to terms which made provision for the three burghers to stand trial. Conceivably they did this so as to avoid any more burghers being prosecuted for “crimes against the usages of war”.

There are a number of published accounts covering the case of Assistant Field Cornet Salmon van As. On 25th September 1901, Van As shot Captain Ronald Miers of the South African Constabulary near the Wolwepan, a natural pan of water south of the Suikerboschrand River, not far from the town of Heidelberg. The pan is a small crater about 800 metres in diameter and 20 metres deep, always filled with water to a certain level, and fed from the strata beneath. It was an ideal place to keep watch on the police posts along the spruit as the Boers and their horses were hidden from sight. From the Wolwepan to the Suikerbosrand River is four kilometers and it is a like distance to De Kuilen, south of Wolwepan.

The S.A.C. took the field in May 1901 and the area around Johannesburg and Pretoria, supposedly completely cleared

of Boer commandos, was protected by a series of police posts. South of Heidelberg there was a line of small forts along the Suikerbosrand River, which is scarcely more than a spruit in that area. Major James Fair in Heidelberg was in command of ‘C’ Division of the S.A.C. who manned the line. Captain A. Essex Capell was the officer in charge of this line with his command post on the farm De Hoek. Captain Miers was in command of a number of the forts each manned by a Corporal and a few men. It seems to have been his practice to ride out to Boers whom he had seen in the distance, talk with them and persuade them to lay down their arms. He was reputed to have convinced a number of Boers to stop fighting. The Boer commando of General Piet Viljoen, which was still in the area in September 1901, commonly made use of the Wolwepan, where they kept watch on the line of S.A.C. posts along the Suikerboschrand River.

On 25th September 1901, Corporal E.H. Woodward of the S.A.C., who was stationed in one of the forts to the north of the Wolwepan, reported that he saw “7 or 8 mounted Boers appear on the skyline to our front.” Woodward said that they had a white flag and three of the party advanced on foot “slowly, making a great display with the white flag.” He was reluctant to go out towards them but Corporal Tandy, from the adjacent police post, saw what was happening and went to speak with the three men. After spending “quite 10 minutes with them”, according to Woodward, he cantered back and crossed the spruit at the drift. Tandy reported that the Boers had asked to see an officer so as “to assure them that they would not be compelled against their own countrymen.” Shortly thereafter Tandy and Woodward met Captain Miers, who had his dog with him, on his grey mare. Tandy told Miers what the Boers had said. Miers reproved both corporals for having acted wrongly and foolishly, wrote a note for Captain Capell, left his carbine and bandolier in Woodward’s fort, but not his revolver, and crossed the spruit towards the Boers.

The British soldiers watching from their small forts saw one of the Boers with a white flag come forward to meet Captain Miers. After a short conversation with the man, Captain Miers went with him to the other two Boers. Shortly afterwards the soldiers in the forts heard a shot and saw the Captain’s mare galloping away. It later turned out that the three Boers who were involved in the incident were Salmon van As, Louis Slabbert, a young man who spoke no English, and Piet du Toit, “a thirty-year-old man (a whole lot older than I)” according to Slabbert. He had been told by van As to put his rifle down “and stop that fellow so that he does not get into our outpost”. Slabbert was two hundred yards away from the Boer outpost when he shouted at Miers to stop. Miers ignored him and galloped up to van As. Slabbert, on foot, followed and was “ten yards behind the Englishman’s horse” when a shot rang out. All Slabbert could say was “God, Veldcornet, why did you shoot that man?” Slabbert always maintained, nevertheless, that he had not seen what happened. Piet du Toit would have had an even better view of proceedings. The three Boers then made their way back to the farm de Kuilen where van As reported to a senior officer. Van As had taken Miers’s revolver and binoculars and these were seen by a number of their commando colleagues. Van As always maintained that his deed was an act of war and that he had acted in self-defence.

Whether van As had acted in self-defence after Miers had threatened him with his revolver we cannot now know. However, the British corporals were adamant in their sworn statements, which were made within a day of the incident that Corporal Tandy had been lured out by the Boers, who were waving a white flag, which was a recognized signal of truce. Captain Miers had stated in his note to his senior officer that he would go out cautiously in the direction of the Boers and see if the one with the white flag would come to meet him, but he would not use a white flag. In Louis Slabbert’s account to his daughter, which was written more than 50 years after the incident, he stated that Captain Miers had approached them with a white flag. It is also conceivable that van As’s orders were to the effect that Miers was to be dealt with in some way, as Miers was seeking to persuade the Boers to lay down their arms. Corporal E.H. Woodward also wrote a letter to The Times describing the incident in rather lurid detail. Whether a journalist had helped him with the letter is unknown. The letter is very well written, the facts are as stated in his sworn statements, but the language is emotive. Woodward in his letter, as well as his sworn statement, said that Miers’s body was “stripped of everything but his shirt. . .” The Boers denied this, but at that stage of the war it would have been difficult to overlook a good pair of boots. Shortly after the appearance of this letter, an account appeared in H.W. Wilson’s After Pretoria, based very much on Woodward’s letter. These accounts of the incident created a good deal of interest in Britain, the matter being raised by the opposition in Parliament.

The S.A.C. investigated the incident and regarded it as an act of murder. The matter was reported to Kitchener who thereafter addressed a letter to General Louis Botha, the last sentence of which said, “I trust your honour will see that the murderers are brought to justice.” Botha referred the matter to General Piet Viljoen on 28th November 1901 who replied that “he knew nothing at all of the alleged murder and no such incident has been reported by my officers.” Commandant Alberts was also asked to investigate but became convinced that van As was innocent of any charge, furthermore that van As had acted on the orders of his superior officer and in self defence.

Assistant Field Cornet Salmon van As was present with the Heidelberg commando at Kraal station, south of the town, when they laid down their arms on 5th June 1902. General Louis Botha told them about the terms of peace and that they were to surrender their arms while the officers could retain theirs. He told them that Assistant Field Cornet Salmon van As was excluded from the amnesty provided in the peace treaty. Van As asked the general if his life was guaranteed but Botha told him that “nothing will be done to you. There will only be an investigation.” Van As then approached Major General Bruce Hamilton at Kraal station and “surrendered voluntarily” according to Hamilton’s letter to Kitchener of 7th June, 1902. By 8th June both van As and Louis Slabbert

had been arrested and held in the Heidelberg army camp. Piet du Toit's name was called when the other two were arrested but he was not found. Du Toit, who was thought to be a prisoner-of-war in Bermuda or India, was in fact in Merebank camp in Durban. He arrived back in Heidelberg on 5th June 1902, passing the surrendered burghers at Kraal Station. He was not immediately arrested but there is a letter in the Transvaal archive to the effect that his trial was to take place at Pretoria. However there is no further record that any trial ever took place. The court martial of van As and Slabbert took place in Heidelberg's Waverley Hotel on 17th, 18th and 19th June. The record of the proceedings has never been traced. The British produced as evidence sworn statements from three black men and six black women from the farm de Kuilen and, as witnesses, Major Phillips, Corporals Woodward and Tandy, and Trooper Wallis all of the S.A.C. The black witnesses all mentioned seeing a revolver and binoculars in the possession of van As and also boots, gaiters and other items of clothing. Their sworn statements are of very doubtful value however, even though they were used as evidence. It is uncertain whether any of the blacks could speak English. One of them was described as a Bechuana, who quite likely did not even know Afrikaans or Dutch. Van As was fluent in English as he had grown up in Heidelberg, which had a substantial English population at the time. At the court martial van As apparently cross-examined the black witnesses and destroyed their credibility as they could not have seen what actually happened. Slabbert did not understand much of the proceedings because of his lack of English, but he clearly understood van As's cross-examination of the black witnesses, as that was conducted in Afrikaans. Nevertheless van As was convicted of the murder of Captain Miers and sentenced to death. The court martial must have based its findings substantially on the evidence of the two corporals, and in particular on the evidence that the Boers had waved a white flag before Captain Miers rode out towards them. Louis Slabbert was sentenced to penal servitude for life, which was later varied to 5 years. He was released after an amnesty was given to all political prisoners and Cape Colony and Natal rebels. He eventually served twenty-one months of his sentence.

Salmon van As always maintained that he was innocent of murder but did not deny that he shot "one of the enemy's captains who aimed his revolver at me." Generals Piet Viljoen and Hendrik Alberts tried very hard to get in touch with General Botha in connection with the court martial but to no avail. Viljoen visited van As in his cell the day before his execution. What was discussed was not reported by Viljoen beyond that van As reaffirmed his innocence. Van As was executed by firing squad on Monday 23rd June 1902, standing up against the stone wall at the back of the Heidelberg jail. His body was wrapped in a blanket and buried near a thorn bush a short distance away.

In October 1903 van As, together with General Spruyt, Commandant Kriegler and six other war casualties, were reburied in the Old Heidelberg cemetery. General Louis Botha did not attend the ceremony although he was scheduled to be there.

In 1904 van As's father allegedly received a letter from the British Government which acknowledged that the trial had not been a fair one. Perjury had been committed (apparently by the blacks) and van As had not been able to call his own witnesses. A claim for compensation would be entertained but his father declined to make a claim. He blamed Louis Botha for his son's death and did not allow Botha's name to be mentioned in his presence.

Afrikaners have always regarded Salmon van As as a martyr and a symbol of British injustice. In 1916 the well-known Afrikaans poet, C. Louis Leipoldt, composed a poem on van As which has become part of Afrikaner folk-lore.

Captain Ronald Miers is buried in the Old Heidelberg Cemetery, not far from the grave of Salmon van As. His substantive rank was Lieutenant in the Somersetshire Light Infantry, but a Captain in the S.A.C.

The second man for whom amnesty was denied was Barend Celliers, a burgher of the Orange Free State. When General Christiaan de Wet captured the town of Dewetsdorp on 23rd November 1900, a number of British soldiers were taken prisoner. Among these was Lieutenant Cecil Boyle, a member of the newly-formed Orange River Colony Police, who was Assistant District Commissioner in the town. Shortly thereafter Dewetsdorp was evacuated by the Boers when de Wet headed off on what was to become an abortive attempt to invade the Cape Colony. Boyle was accused of ill-treating Boer women by making them walk instead of riding in wagons on their way to a concentration camp, as well as threatening them with a sjambok. Earlier in the year Boyle had been captured by the Boers, taken to Basutoland, warned not to take up arms again, and that if he were again captured he would be shot. The prisoners were required to accompany the Boer expedition, but, hard-pressed by the column of Major General Charles Knox, all of the prisoners, except for Boyle, were released.

General Philip Botha, one of de Wet's officers, an older brother of Louis Botha, was ordered to take custody of Boyle. Field Cornet Celliers was ordered to guard the captive.

On 2nd January 1901 the commando was on the farm Blijdschap on the Liebenbergsvlei River, near the town of Reitz. It was here that General Philip Botha gave Celliers his command that Boyle should be executed. Celliers was ordered to "take Boyle an hour's ride out of the laager and shoot and bury him." Celliers fell in with a burgher by the name of Smalberger, who was out looking for horses. He carried out his order on the farm Hartbeeshoek-West, south west of Reitz. Boyle asked to write a last letter, his request was granted and afterwards was shot in the back as he prayed. Boyle's documents were burned which could lead to the conclusion that this included his last letter. Celliers made no secret of his action on his return to the laager, clearly giving the impression that he had carried out the orders of a superior officer.

Celliers's Commandant, Philip de Vos of the Kroonstad commando reported the matter to de Wet and President Steyn.

General Philip Botha was killed in action in a small skirmish in the Doornberg on 6th March 1901. On 26th July 1901 Celliers was tried by a Boer court martial at the farm Blijdschap. Celliers gave a statement to the court and Smalberger was called as witness. Celliers was acquitted of murder, the court martial finding that Celliers had acted under the orders of General Philip Botha even though none of Botha's staff members were aware that such an order had been given. Celliers was wounded in a later action, landing him in hospital at Hoopstad where he was captured by the British and taken to the British military hospital in Kroonstad. Once he had recovered he indicated under interrogation that he knew the whereabouts of the place where he had shot and buried Boyle. The body was exhumed and reburied in the Kroonstad cemetery after being identified. Celliers was held in custody until he appeared before a jury in the High Court in Bloemfontein on 20th February 1903. The court proceedings were conducted under the Roman-Dutch law of the former Boer Republic even after the British annexation. The Presiding Judge, J. Fawkes, was a Scotsman.

At the trial Celliers pleaded not guilty to the charge of murder. He did not deny having shot and killed Lieutenant Cecil Boyle but his defence was that he was acting on the orders of General Philip Botha. He was defended by J.B.M. Hertzog who at first moved that, as Celliers had already been acquitted by the previous court martial, such acquittal must stand until such time as it was set aside by an appeal to a competent court. The Presiding Judge ruled that the trial must proceed as the Boer court martial had not been a competent court recognized by the Crown.

At the trial Christiaan de Wet gave evidence that the former Orange Free State President, Marthinus Steyn, had suspended General Philip Botha when hearing of his action in issuing the offending order to Celliers. De Wet's testimony was to the effect that Botha had issued an order which Celliers was bound to obey. Smalberger, who presumably was present when Celliers shot Boyle, and would have been a prime witness, had died before the war ended. In the Judge's directions to the jury he stated that "a soldier on active service was justified in obeying the order of his superior officer, provided that order was not manifestly illegal". After deliberation, the jury acquitted Celliers and he was released.

Celliers was in many ways an outstanding burgher and fought throughout the Anglo Boer War with the Kroonstad commando. He was wounded five times – the last time being unfortunate enough to have landed him in hospital at Hoopstad where he was captured by the British. After Celliers' acquittal he lived on his farm Stinkhoutboom near Vredefort. He was a follower of de Wet and was involved in the rebellion of 1914. General C.F. Beyers and a number of men, including Celliers, were trapped by Union forces against the Vaal River where Beyers was drowned attempting to cross. In 1920 Celliers was elected to the Provincial Council of the Orange Free State and in 1935 he became a senator in the Union parliament. He died in 1947 and is buried on his farm.

Josef Muller, a burgher from the Vrede district, was the third Boer who was required to stand trial for murder after the cessation of hostilities. Five Rademan brothers, from the farm Raaikloof in the Harrismith district, were unwilling from the very outset to defend their fatherland and join the war on the Boer side. One of them, Marthinus, crossed the border into Natal. The other brothers hid in the mountains so as to avoid commando service.

John Frederick Rademan was the subject of a story in the Natal Mercury of 18th February 1901, "The Murder of John Rademan". It told how Rademan had refused to join the burghers on commando on the grounds that he was unwilling to break the oath of neutrality that he had signed. President Steyn refused to acknowledge the oath and Rademan's attitude enraged his fellow countrymen.

It appears that John Rademan had in fact been called up on commando but deserted and tried to hide at his mother's farm near Memel. In December 1900 a burgher, Josef Muller, was ordered by Field Cornet Charles Meintjies to bring him back, dead or alive. When the burghers went to get him, Rademan refused to leave with them. Allegedly, Rademan went for his rifle and Muller shot him dead. If this was the case then certainly Muller acted in self-defence.

Josef Muller very likely heard about the arrest and execution of Salmon van As. He was never found and there is no record of him having been detained by the British authorities or tried for the murder of John Rademan.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF WAR GRAVES IN AFRICA

CAPTAIN (NAVY) CHARLES ROSS (RETIRED) FORMER SECRETARY OF THE SA AGENCY COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

Captain Ross grew up in Kimberley and matriculated from the Northern Cape Technical College in 1967. He joined the Kimberley regiment and in 1983 he joined the Navy.

He is internationally recognised as a knowledgeable person on peacekeeping in South Africa, Africa and with the United Nations.

He retired from the SANDF in December 2008 and joined the South African Agency of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in June 2009 and was appointed Secretary of the Agency on 01 August 2009.

During his time he renovated and established horticulture in numerous Commonwealth cemeteries and pursued the renovation of the British graves from the Anglo Boer War.

In 2012 he accompanied Her Royal Highness, Princess Royal, during her visit to the Dido Valley Naval Cemetery. He retired from the Commission in February 2014.

AIM

TO BRIEF THE CONFERENCE COMMEMORATING THE 115TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (ANGLO BOER WAR) THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF WAR GRAVES IN AFRICA

SCOPE

EARLY DAYS

- *IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION*
- *COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION*
- *AFRICAN CONTINENT*
- *NAIROBI OFFICE*
- *SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICE*
 - ◇ *COMMONWEALTH GRAVES*
 - ◇ *SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (ANGLO BOER WAR) GRAVES*
 - ◇ *GERMAN GRAVES*
- *CHALLENGES*

EARLY DAYS

- *ANGLO BOER WAR 1899 – 1902*
- *FLYING UNIT*
 - ◇ *BRITISH RED CROSS*
 - ◇ *CARING FOR CASUALTIES*
- *GRAVES REGISTRATION COMMISSION*
- *DECREE BANNING ALL EXHUMATIONS*
- *CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GARDENING – LESS MISERABLE AND UNSIGHTLY*
- *NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CARE OF SOLDIERS GRAVES*
- *DIRECTORATE OF GRAVES REGISTRATION AND ENQUIRIES*

- *OFFICES MOVED TO LONDON*
- *WORK IN THE EAST SALONIKA, EGYPT*
- *APRIL 1917*
 - ◇ *150 000 GRAVES IN BELGIUM AND FRANCE*
 - ◇ *2 500 IN SALONIKA*
 - ◇ *4 000 IN EGYPT*
 - ◇ *27 CEMETERIES PLANTED*
 - ◇ *12 000 PHOTOGRAPHS OF GRAVES SENT TO RELATIVES*

IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

- *ROYAL CHARTER 21 MAY 1917*
 - ◇ *CARE AND MAINTENANCE OF ALL GRAVES OF IMPERIAL FORCES AND WHERE NO GRAVE THE MEMORIALS ON WHICH THEY WOULD BE COMMEMORATED*
 - ◇ *MAINTAIN ACCURATE RECORDS OF ALL IMPERIAL CASUALTIES*
- *GUIDING PRINCIPLES*
 - ◇ *EACH OF THE DEAD SHOULD BE COMMEMORATED BY NAME ON A HEADSTONE OR WHERE THERE IS NO KNOWN GRAVE BY AN INSCRIPTION ON A MEMORIAL.*
 - ◇ *HEADSTONES AND MEMORIALS SHOULD BE PERMANENT.*
 - ◇ *HEADSTONES SHOULD BE UNIFORM. ALL HEADSTONES ARE 813 MM IN HEIGHT AND ENGRAVED WITH NATIONAL EMBLEM OR REGIMENTAL BADGE, RANK, NAME, UNIT, DATE OF DEATH, AGE AND A RELIGIOUS EMBLEM. RELATIVES MAY ADD AN INSCRIPTION AT THE BOTTOM OF THE HEADSTONE. SOUTH AFRICA OPTED FOR A SINGLE TYPE OF HEADSTONE WITH THE SPRINGBOK AND THE WORDS UNITY IS STRENGTH – EENDRAGT MACKT MAGT. THIS WAS CHANGED AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO EENDRAG MAAK MAG.*
 - ◇ *THERE SHOULD BE NO DISTINCTION MADE ON ACCOUNT OF MILITARY OR CIVILIAN RANK, RACE OR CREED.*
- *1919*
 - ◇ *580 000 IDENTIFIED GRAVES,*
 - ◇ *180 000 UNIDENTIFIED GRAVES AND*
 - ◇ *530 000 WHOSE GRAVES WERE NOT KNOWN. MOST OF THESE WERE ALONG THE OLD WESTERN FRONT*
- *1920*
 - ◇ *ISOLATED GRAVES ON THE BATTLEFIELD 160 000*
 - ◇ *MAY 130 000 GRAVES LOCATED AND REINTERRED*
 - ◇ *SEPTEMBER MORE THAN 200 000 BODIES FOUND*
- *1939*
 - ◇ *EVERYBODY BETTER PREPARED*
 - ◇ *IMPROVED MEDICAL CAPABILITIES AND MEDICINES*
 - ◇ *GREATER MOBILITY*
 - ◇ *LESS TRENCH WARFARE*
 - ◇ *LESS ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT*

COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

- *SUPPLEMENTARY ROYAL CHARTER*
- *1.7 MILLION COMMONWEALTH WAR CASUALTIES*
 - ◇ *935 000 IDENTIFIED GRAVES*

- ◇ 212 000 UNIDENTIFIED GRAVES
- ◇ 760 000 UNKNOWN GRAVES
- ◇ 23 000 LOCATIONS
- ◇ 153 COUNTRIES
- ◇ 1 300 PERSONNEL
- *HEAD OFFICE – MAIDENHEAD*
 - ◇ 5 AREA OFFICES
 - ◇ 5 AGENCIES

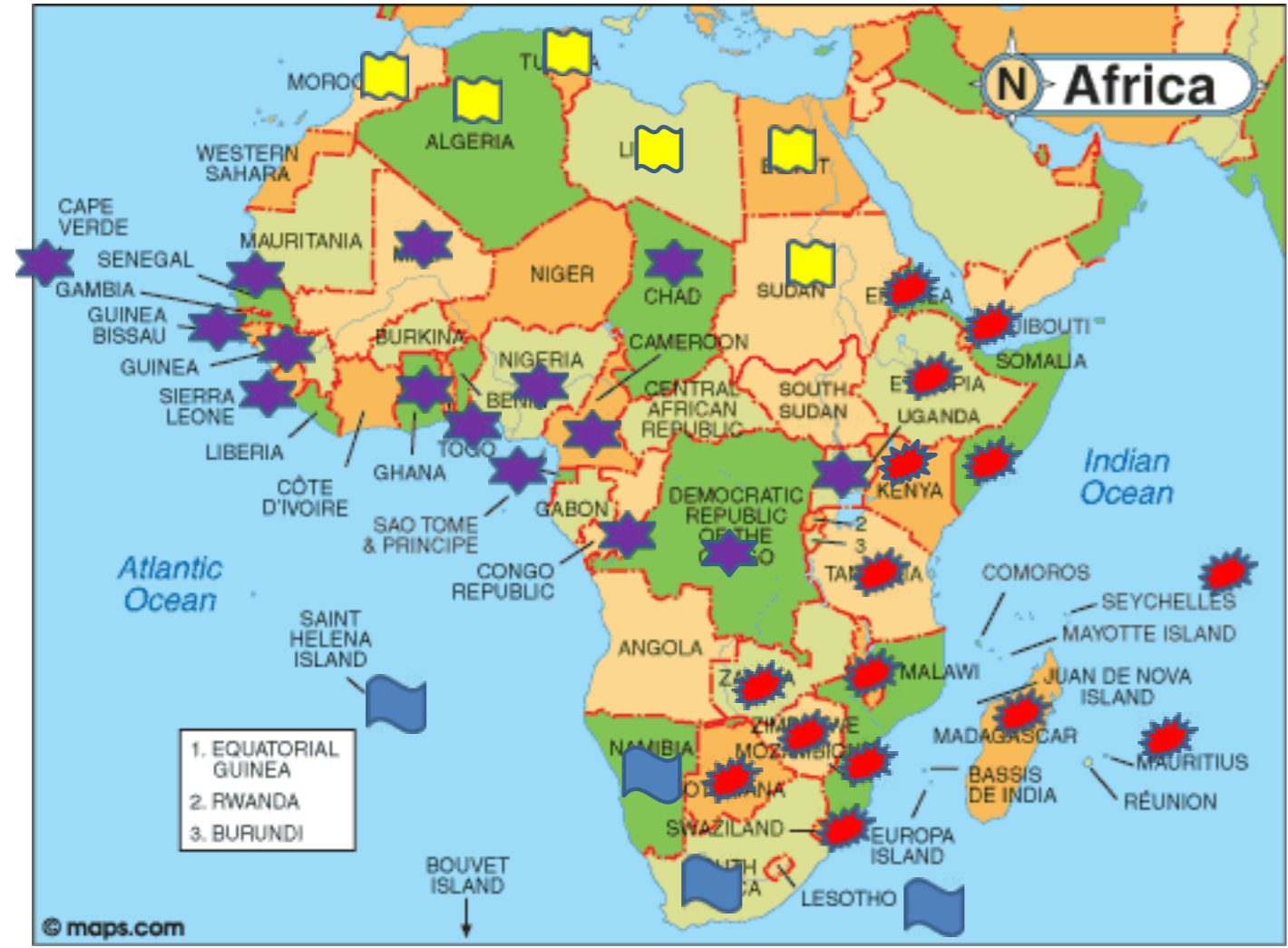
- ◇ 15 COUNTRIES
- ◇ 103 BURIAL SITES
- ◇ 12 372 CASUALTIES
- *WEST AFRICA*
 - ◇ 15 COUNTRIES
 - ◇ 78 BURIAL SITES
 - ◇ 5 075 CASUALTIES

AFRICAN CONTINENT

- *MEDITERRANEAN AREA*
 - ◇ ALL COUNTRIES BORDERING MEDITERRANEAN SEA
 - ◇ SUDAN
- *AFRICA, ASIA AND PACIFIC AREA*
 - ◇ REST OF AFRICA
 - ◇ NAIROBI OFFICE
 - ◇ CENTURION OFFICE

EAST AFRICA

<i>TANZANIA</i>	13	4 802
<i>KENYA</i>	35	4 279
<i>ERITREA</i>	3	665
<i>ZIMBABWE</i>	20	606
<i>ETHIOPIA</i>	4	409
<i>MALAWI</i>	7	334
<i>MADAGASCAR</i>	1	311
<i>ZAMBIA</i>	3	298
<i>SOMALIA</i>	2	280
<i>MOZAMBIQUE</i>	6	185
<i>MAURITIUS</i>	5	94
<i>SEYCHELLES</i>	1	76



Dar Es Salaam War Cemetery with 1 738 (628 South Africans)



66 South Africans are buried in the Moshi Cemetery

NAIROBI OFFICE

- *EAST AND WEST AFRICA*
- *EAST AFRICA*



Nairobi War Cemetery



Keren War Cemetery where 7 South Africans are buried



Pemba War Cemetery where 102 South Africans are buried



123 South Africans are buried in the Taveta Military Cemetery



Asmara War Cemetery where 22 South Africans are buried

WEST AFRICA

NIGERIA	36	2 741
GHANA	6	612
UGANDA	11	500
SIERRA LEONE	4	442
GAMBIA	2	236
CAMEROON	3	47
DRC	7	30
REP OF CONGO	1	29
SENEGAL	2	23
CAPE VERDE	1	9



Lagos Memorial Nigeria



Ibadan Memorial Nigeria



Zaria Memorial Nigeria



Douala Cemetery Cameroon



Jinja War Cemetery Uganda



Christiansborg War Cemetery, Ghana



Freetown (King Tom) Cemetery, Sierra Leone



Yaba Cemetery, Nigeria



Fajara War Cemetery, Gambia

CENTURION OFFICE

- SOUTHERN AFRICA (COMMONWEALTH)
- SOUTH AFRICA
 - ◇ 602 BURIAL SITES - INCREASING
 - ◇ 8 440 CASUALTIES - INCREASING
- NAMIBIA
 - ◇ 31 BURIAL SITES
 - ◇ 427 CASUALTIES
- LESOTHO
 - ◇ 1 MEMORIAL
 - ◇ 996 CASUALTIES
- ASCENSION ISLAND
 - ◇ 1 BURIAL SITE
 - ◇ 9 CASUALTIES
- ST HELENA ISLAND
 - ◇ 1 BURIAL SITE
 - ◇ 14 CASUALTIES

SOUTH AFRICA COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES

- ONGOING INCREASE IN NUMBER – IN FROM THE COLD PROJECT
- 22 SITES HAVE HORTICULTURE
 - ◇ LOCAL CONTRACTORS
 - ◇ MAINTAINED TO THE HIGHEST STANDARDS
 - ◇ VISITED 4 TIMES A YEAR
- 179 ISOLATED SITES
 - ◇ HIGH IN THE MOUNTAINS
 - ◇ NEXT TO A ROAD OR RAILWAY LINE
 - ◇ ON A FARM
 - ◇ PROTECTED BY CONCRETE SLAB AND PALISADE FENCE
 - ◇ VISITED TWICE A YEAR

◇ MOST ONLY FOUND USING GPS COORDINATES

• REST OF GRAVES

◇ MUNICIPAL CEMETERIES – SCATTERED OR SMALL PLOTS

◇ FARM CEMETERIES

◇ VISITED ONCE EVERY FOUR YEARS



Hamilton Military Cemetery, Bloemfontein



Rooidam Military Cemetery, Bloemfontein



Stellawood Cemetery, Durban



Wyatt Road Military Cemetery, Durban



West Park Cemetery



Palmietkuil South War Cemetery, Springs



Cullinan Military Cemetery



Dido Valley Naval Cemetery, Simon's Town





Isolated Graves



Small Plots in Municipal Cemeteries



Seaforth Old Cemetery, Simon's Town

CENTURION OFFICE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (ANGLO BOER WAR)

- AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND UNITED KINGDOM WAS SIGNED ON 23 SEPTEMBER 2005.
 - ◊ 22 800 BRITISH GRAVES IN SOUTH AFRICA
 - ◊ EXCLUDED THE 712 CASUALTIES BURIED OVERSEAS
 - ◊ EXCLUDES 280 BURIED AT SEA
 - ◊ EXCLUDES 1 507 WHO HAVE NO KNOWN GRAVE
- ONLY 10 OR MORE GRAVES – UNLESS SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE
- 220 SITES IDENTIFIED
 - ◊ 10 RECEIVE INTENSE MAINTENANCE
 - ◊ 75 REGULAR MAINTENANCE
 - ◊ 100 IRREGULAR MAINTENANCE
 - ◊ REST RECEIVE NO MAINTENANCE
- PROJECT STARTED IN 2006 – 5 YEAR PROJECT

ANGLO BOER WAR

- 2009 ONLY 87 COMPLETED – 2 YEARS BEHIND SCHEDULE
- 2010 TOTAL ADJUSTED TO 177 OF WHICH 93 DONE

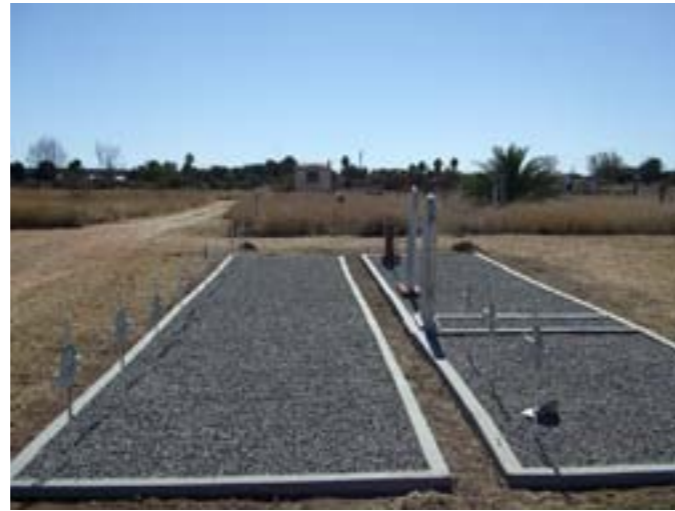
- 2011 BACKLOG LARGELY ELIMINATED
- 2011 CHANGE IN PLAN – ALL GRAVES TO BE DONE
 - ◊ 22 053 OF 22 800 COMPLETED
 - ◊ 7474 OUTSTANDING
- 2012 REVISED PLAN
 - ◊ COMPLETE OUTSTANDING OF INITIAL AGREEMENT
- 2013
 - ◊ 239 GRAVES RENOVATED
 - ◊ 104 LOCATED, STILL TO BE RENOVATED
 - ◊ 3 NEW MEMORIALS ERECTED
 - ◊ 404 OUTSTANDING
 - ◊ 15 SITES HORTICULTURE ESTABLISHED
 - ◊ MORE THAN 60 MAINTAINED BY LOCAL CONTRACTORS



St John's Anglican Church Cemetery, Wynberg, Cape Town



Mafikeng Old Cemetery



St John's Church, Pine Town



Rooidam Military Cemetery, Bloemfontein



De Aar Old Cemetery



CENTURION OFFICE GERMAN GRAVES

- 57 GERMAN GRAVES
 - ◇ REBECCA STREET CEMETERY, PRETORIA
 - ◇ PIETERMARITZBURG COMMERCIAL ROAD
 - ◇ JAN KEMPDORP
 - ◇ KAKAMAS MEMORIAL
 - ◇ MAITLAND CEMETERY
 - ◇ PLUMSTEAD CEMETERY



Waverley Road Memorial, Bloemfontein



Sydenham Cemetery, Bloemfontein



Rebecca Street, Pretoria



Maitland Cemetery Cape Town



Baviaanspoort



Kakamas Memorial



Swakkopmund Cemetery



Windhoek Old Cemetery

NAMIBIA

- COMMONWEALTH
- 31 BURIAL SITES
- 427 CASUALTIES
- MAINLY FIRST WORLD WAR
- LARGELY WINDHOEK AND SOUTH
- KRIEGSRABEFURSORGERS



Trekkopje Cemetery "most isolated Cemetery in the Commission's care"



CENTURION OFFICE

- LESOTHO
- MEMORIAL – 996 CASUALTIES COMMEMORATED
- 40 FIRST WORLD WAR
- SECOND WORLD WAR - SS ERINPURA – 600
- ASCENSION ISLAND
- GEORGETOWN CEMETERY - 6 FIRST WORLD WAR, 1 SECOND WORLD WAR
- ST HELENA ISLAND
- ST. HELENA (ST. PAUL) CATHEDRAL CHURCHYARD CONTAINS FIVE COMMONWEALTH BURIALS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND NINE FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR.



Georgetown Cemetery, Ascension Island



St Paul's Cathedral, St Helena Island

CHALLENGES

- VANDALISM
- LOCAL AUTHORITIES - PERSONNEL SAFETY
- CONFLICT
- EBOLA
- CLIMATE CHANGE
- DRY SITES

- NEW VARIANT OF GRASS
- NO FINAL DECISION ON NO KNOWN ABW GRAVES



Cross of Sacrifice, Ladysmith Cemetery

THE WAR DIARY OF JOHANNA VAN WARMELO BRANDT AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE: AN EVALUATION

DR. JACKIE GROBLER - UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Jackie Grobler is senior lecturer at the University of Pretoria, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies. He holds a Doctor Philosophiae in History and is the author of three books, co-author of a further ten chapters in books; co-editor of one book; author of 31 biographies in biographical dictionaries and author of many academic journal articles.

He lives in Pretoria with his wife Elize.

Johanna Brandt, one of four children, was born in 1876. Her Dutch father and Afrikaner pioneer mother greatly influenced her worldview, which eventually made Johanna Brandt a household name.

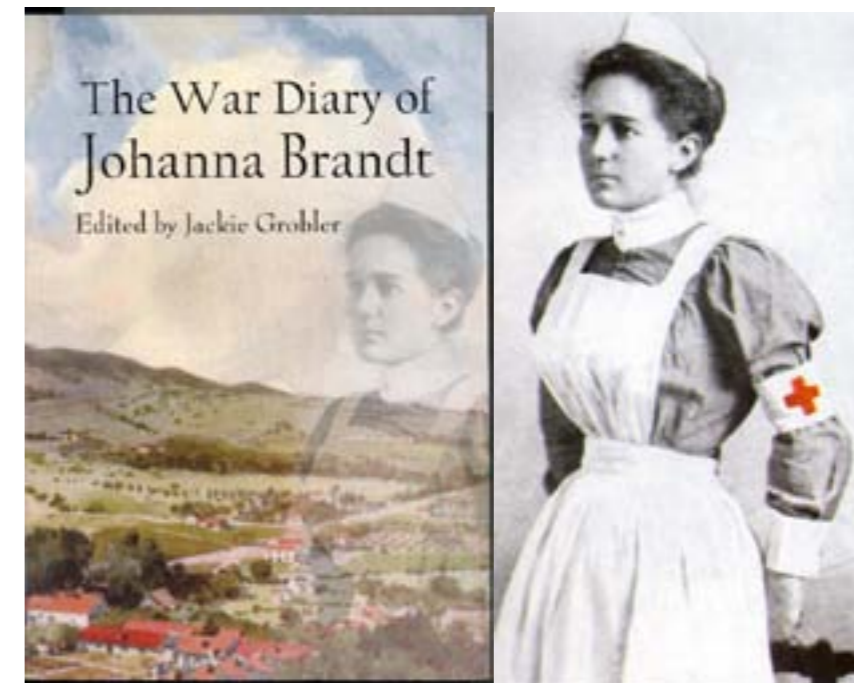
Following the Anglo-Boer War, Johanna emerged as a prolific author, focussing mainly on the Boer War. In later life, however, her eccentric character came to the fore as she explored aspects of natural healing, mysticism and feminism.

Johanna died in 1964.

I am anxious to get this book filled and out of the way ... our friend the enemy will come and search our house for documents and then they will carry away this chronicle of my griefs and woes and - joys, lately. What agonies I would endure if this book were to fall into strange hands! Johanna van Warmelo, 9 February 1902.

When Johanna wrote these words, she was 24 years old and had already experienced helpless anger at the horrors of a concentration camp, the anxiety of working undercover for the Boer Secret Service and the excitement of falling in love. Her diary, secret diary and love diary, combined in this publication, weaves her remarkable experiences during the war together with her everyday life as an ordinary young woman living in an extraordinary time.

The War Diary of Johanna Brandt is an accurate reproduction of Johanna's three diaries, two of which, the secret diary and the love diary, was originally written using lemon juice. Through these diaries, and with extensive research by Jackie Grobler, we are offered a unique insight into the war that did not allow indecision or disloyalty.



QSA'S WITH CLASP TALANA

DAVID BIGGINS



David Biggins has had a long association with the Boer War with his first QSA acquired with his late brother Chris in the 1970s. Specialising in the Boer War and undertaking research and visits to South Africa, David has published three books; on Elandslaagte, the Defence of Kimberley and Talana. He is currently working to publish a new roll on the Wepener clasp and plan further rolls on both Ladysmith and Wepener.

David works as a lecturer in business at Bournemouth University and also runs a consultancy business in project and programme management.

David runs the angloboerwar.com website, a free resource which up is devoted to the Boer War. The site has been in operation for 10 years and have grown to have over 5000 members. In addition to static information, the site has an active forum where research, biographies, medals and memorabilia are discussed and debated.

INTRODUCTION

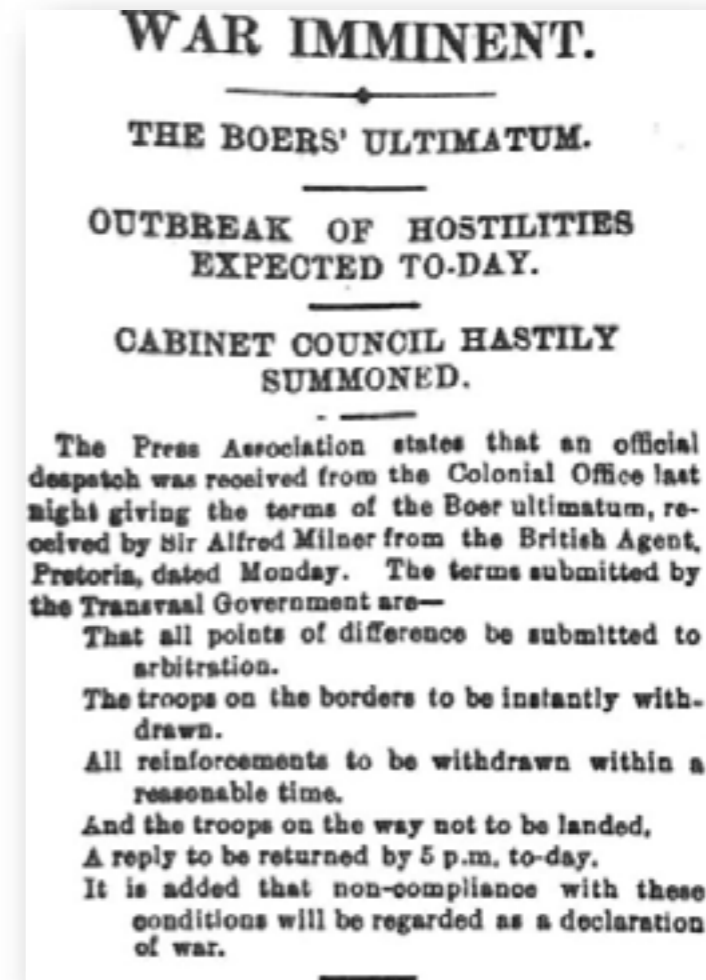
- Oh, to be able to talk about QSAs
- No better place to give this presentation
- Dedicate to Chris Biggins and to Dr Emma Truelove

STRUCTURE OF THIS PRESENTATION

- A brief recap – why a clasp was warranted
- Award criteria
- Clasps awarded
- Example awards
- Further reading
- Close
- Questions

A BRIEF RECAP

- Gold, rights, independence
- Mobilisation 28 Sep 1899
- Uitlander equality, ultimatum
- War declared 11 Oct 1899
- Boer advances
- Natal defences inadequate
- “Whole force of the Empire”
- Glencoe Field Force



- Penn Symons despatched
- Joubert breakfasts at Newcastle
- Council of War of 16 Oct 1899



BOER

- 44 KIA/DoW
- 91 wounded

IMPERIAL

- 68 KIA/DoW
- 168 wounded
- 14 wounded and prisoner
- 217 prisoner

PARTICIPANTS

BOER

12,000 Transvaalers

2 x 8 gun batteries

3 x Long Toms

Generals Erasmus, Meyer and Kock

IMPERIAL

15,000 in Natal

3,000 in Dundee

18th Hussars

Brigade RA

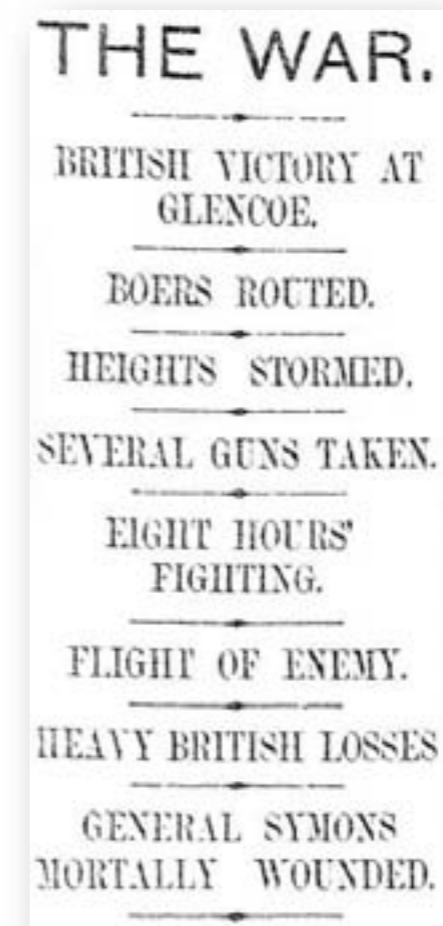
Leicesters

Royal Irish Fusiliers

KRRC

RDF

Dundee RA & TG



THE BATTLE

02:30 Grimshaw's picquet forced back

05:30 Camp shelled

06:00 Infantry advance to Talana Hill

07:20 First period of attack

09:20 Penn Symons mortally wounded

11:00 Second period of attack

13:00 Summit taken

13:30 Meyer's force rode away

18:00 Wounded collected

19:00 (Most) men back in camp

THE RETREAT OF THE BRITISH

21ST

Untenable position

Indumeni foothills bivouac

22ND

Move to attack the Boers from Elandsplaagte

Decision to retreat

23RD

Abandon camp

Van Tonder's Pass

24TH
Waschbank River
Attempt to assist Rietfontein
25TH
Sunday's River
Overnight march in the rain
26TH
Entered Ladysmith
70 miles

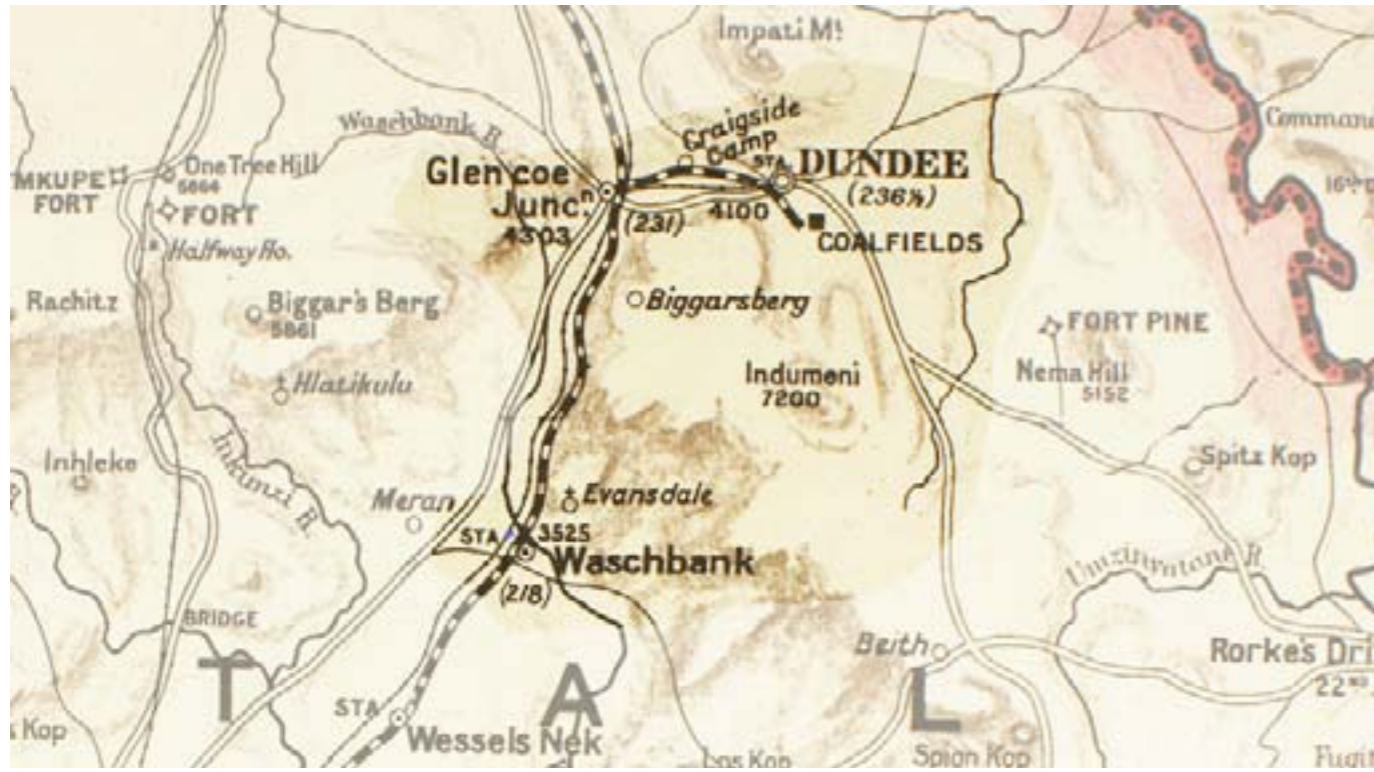
BOER OCCUPATION OF DUNDEE



AWARD CRITERIA

A clasp inscribed 'Talana' will be granted to all troops under Lieutenant-General Sir W. Penn Symon's command on October 20th, 1899, who were north of an east and west line drawn through Waschbank Station





7 MAIN UNITS (93%)

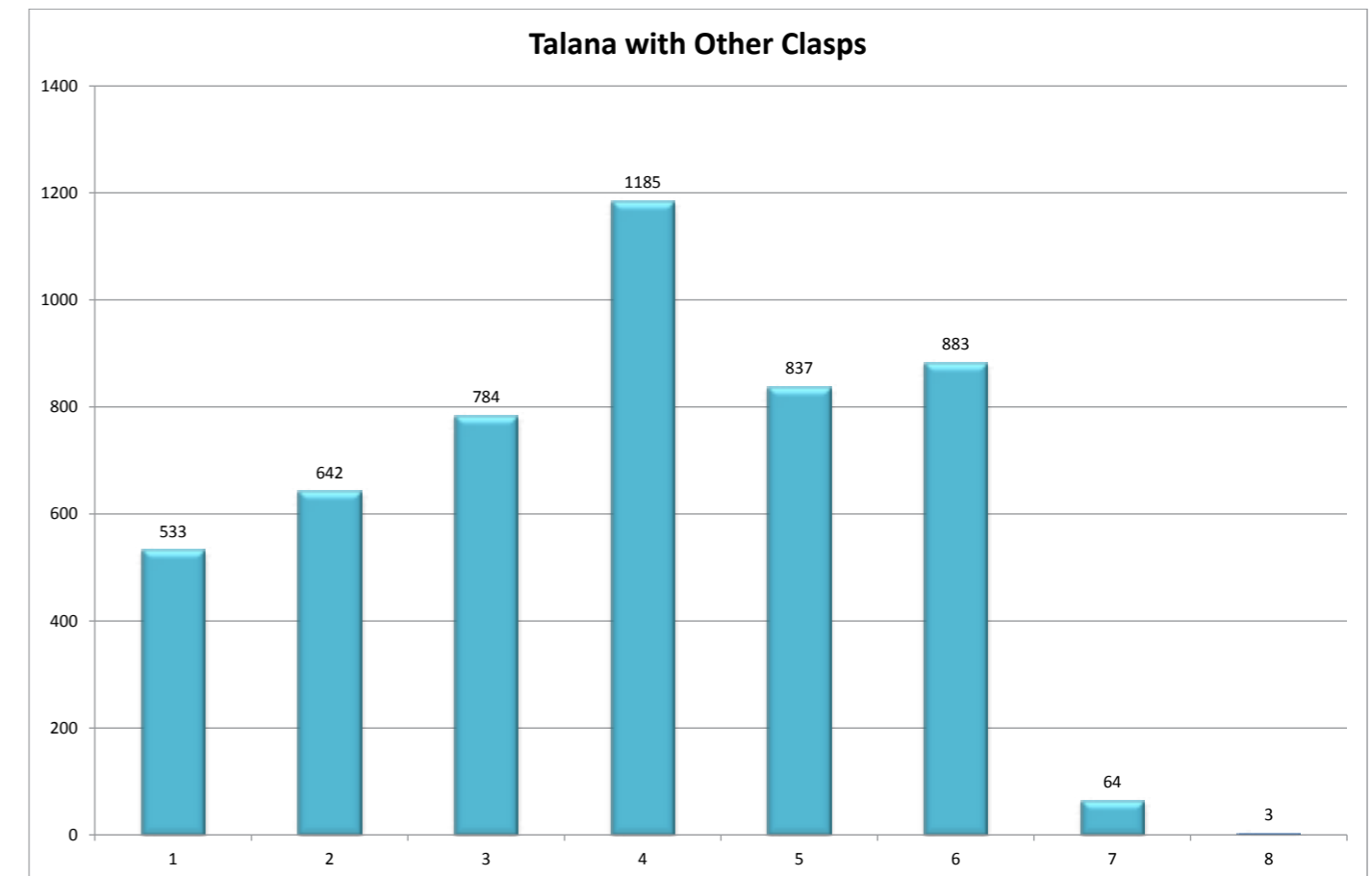
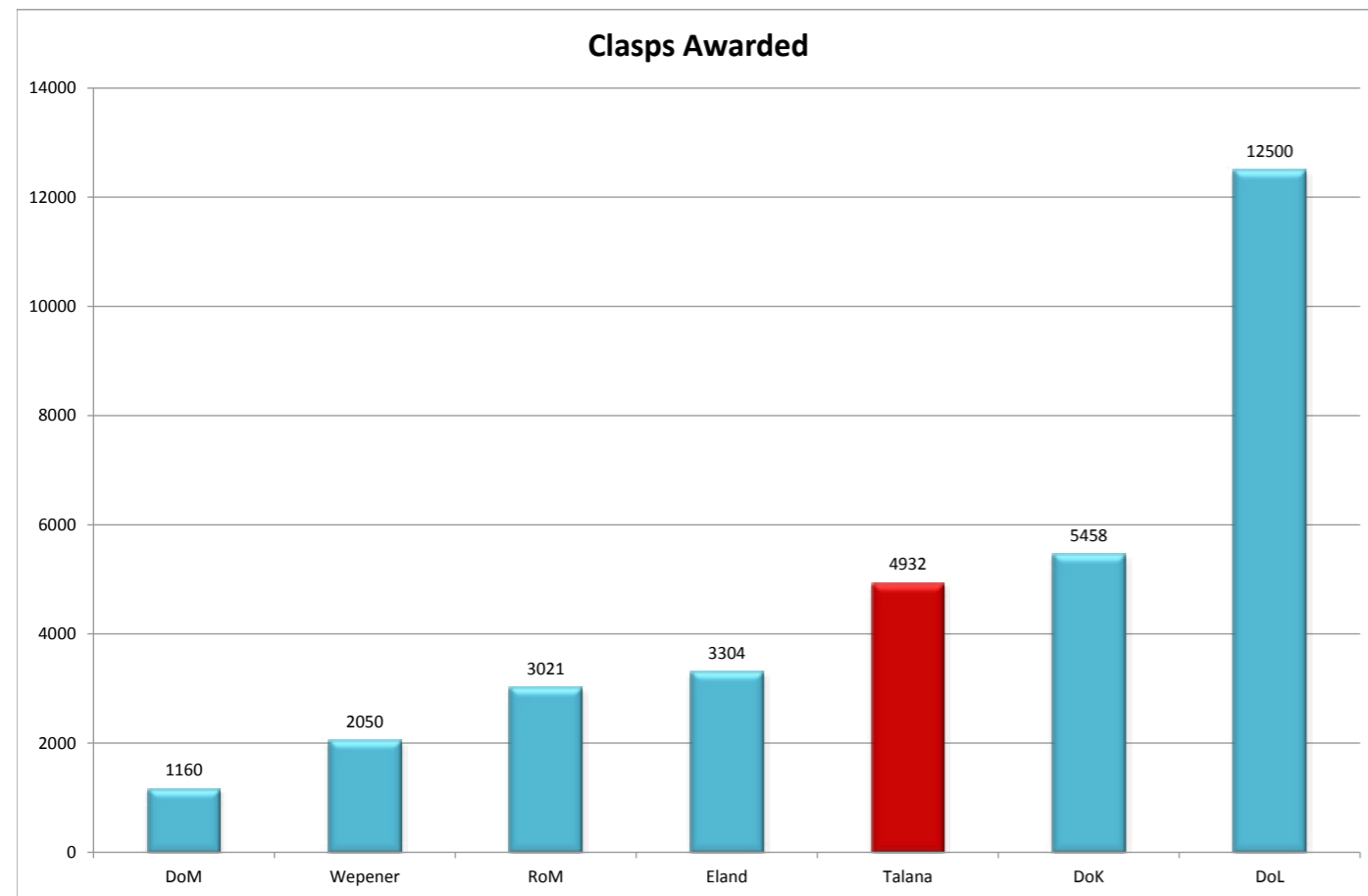
- 1st Leicesters (897)
- 2nd RDF (883)
- 1st RIF (796)
- 1st KRRC (778)
- RFA (13th, 67th, 69th) (493)
- 18th Hussars (492)
- DTG (246)

37 MINOR UNITS (7%)

- Natal Police (48)
- Dundee RA (47)
- AHC (47)
- RE (46)
- Natal Carbineers (37)
- ASC (16)
- RAMC (14)
- ...
- 17 units with a single entitlement

CLASPS AWARDED

Total of 4,932 (approximately)



SINGLE CLASP QSA'S

- DTG (226/246)
- DRA (42/47)
- 1st RIF (77)

- 1st KRRC (75)
- 2nd RDF (62)
- 1st Leic (18)
- 18th Hussars (12)
- RFA (8)
- Staff (3)
- Natal Police (3)
- 5th Lancers (2)
- Scots Guards (1)
- Rifle Brigade (1)
- RE (1)
- ISMD (1)
- Lanc Fus (1)

TALANA CLASPS TO INDIANS

1st Grade Ward Sweeper	1	
2nd Grade Ward Sweeper	5	
3rd Grade Ward Sweeper	9	
Bhisti	2	Water carrier
Bhisti Pakhali	1	Water carrier
Carpenter	1	
Dhobi	6	
Dhooly Bearer	190	
Head Dhobi	1	Washerman
Kneader	2	
Mate	3	
Mehtar	1	Sweeper
Ord Washerman	1	
Sirdar	1	Valet or body servant
Sweeper	1	
Tailor	2	
Tati	1	
Washerman	2	
Weighman	1	
Follower	4	
Total	235	

COMMON COMBINATIONS

- DoL (2,850) 58%
- OFS (2,591)
- Tr (2,332)
- LN (2,026)
- Belf (1,328)
- CC (1,004)
- RoL (668)

UNCOMMON COMBINATIONS

- Elandslaagte (9)
- Wittebergen (5)
- Relief of Mafeking (3)
- Johannesburg (3)
- Rhodesia (1)

CLASP EXAMPLES







FURTHER READING

Pam McFadden's account of Talana

Pat Rundgren's 'The Colonials at Talana'

Talana Account and Medal Roll

Update No 1, 155 pages

Seven months under Boer Rule by Rev G Bailey

Chapters in most histories



COPIES / NOT ENTITLED

- Copy Talana clasps
- Some 40 not entitled
- Self-issue (peer pressure?)
- 18th Hussars, KRRC
- Self-issue
- PAVG, Hampshire Regt, 11th Hussars
- Roll errors eg CGA



CURRENT AND PLANNED RESEARCH CURRENT

Wepener roll
Online ABO roll with user update
Planned
Defence of Ladysmith
Combined Mafeking roll
...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FAMILY OF GENERAL PENN SYMONS

David Grant
Images courtesy of DNW and Spink

NURSE KATE CHAMPION AND INTOMBI CAMP DURING THE SIEGE OF LADYSMITH

DAPHNE OLIVIER

Daphne Olivier has always wanted to write, but nursing, raising a family and farming got in the way, and it was only after retirement that she was able to achieve her ambition.

Since then she has written in a wide variety of genre, including thriller, science fiction and historical novels.

Her latest, Thunder on the Veldt, brings history to life in a meticulously researched novel set in Ladysmith during the Anglo/Boer War. Daphne lives in Howick, KZN.

I was privileged to meet Kate Champion, a survivor of the Ladysmith siege, and hear at first hand her experiences while nursing in Intombi Camp during the siege.

Kate Champion was a very old lady when I met her way back in 1952, but her mind was bright and her memory good as ever. I was working in a small nursing home in Durban at the time. She was a patient. While on night duty, it was my habit to settle the other patients down for the night, then carry a tray of tea to her room and sit enthralled as she told me about her experiences while nursing in Intombi Camp during the siege.

The Boer war was not included in our school curriculum so I knew little about the war apart from the fact that it had taken place sometime in the past. Kate's stories about the hardships, dangers and the courage of those who lived through the siege, brought the horrors of war home to me as no history book ever could.

I lost touch with Miss Champion when I left Alpha House, but I never forgot her or her amazing stories. Years later, when visiting the battlefields of KwaZulu-Natal, I stood for a long time on the site of Intombi Camp and stared out at the white crosses that marked the cemetery. In my mind's eye, I could see the tent town that had housed the field hospital and the staff who'd worked there. I could almost hear the whistle of the supply train and the shriek of shells as they flew overhead. And, for just a moment, I fancied I saw the white-uniformed figure of Nurse Kate Champion making her way towards the big marquee where her patients lay. It was there, on that site, that the idea for my book was born. The story of the of the people who'd lived through those terrible four months needed to be told. I knew that one day I would write it.



1. Photo: Kate Champion as she was when a young woman.

Kate Matilda Champion was a descendant of the Hillary family who came to Natal from Hampshire in the 1850s. She was born in 1870, the 3rd child of Charles and Emma Champion, and grew up in the Orange Free State. She trained as a nurse and worked in various hospitals in the Free State and Natal. Kate Champion was once engaged to a young lawyer but he fell ill with blackwater fever and died before they married. She never got over his death and remained single the rest of her life. She was twenty-nine when the war broke out.

Ladysmith: In the period just prior to the war, Ladysmith was Britain's military depot and the headquarters of Sir George White, the general in command of the army in Natal. At that time, 13,000 troops were stationed there. The civilian population, increased by a flood of refugees from neighbouring farms, totalled 5,400 of which 2,400 were Africans and Indian camp followers so, as you can imagine, the town was bursting at the seams.

In the days leading up to the war, trains steamed into the station every hour carrying supplies from ships offloaded in Durban—crates of ammunitions, boxes of beef, sacks of flour, blankets, tents, medical supplies, forage for the 3000 horses, mealies for African drivers and grooms. Church halls and schools were requisitioned as supply dumps. Here all were unloaded and stored—enough to supply the whole Natal army for three months. All these stores had to be trundled through town on mule carts or ox wagons.

Kate Champion volunteered for the front the day war broke out. She was working in Durban at the time and was told to report to the station where she and other volunteers took the overnight train to Ladysmith. They arrived the next morning to find a town filled with tents—thousands upon thousands, crammed together, pitched on every spare piece of land.



Nurses in uniform. Hard to imagine working in those long, starched uniforms in the heat of a South African summer.

Mournful Monday: On 30th October—ten days after the battle of Talana—White’s forces were defeated in bitter battles on hills surrounding Ladysmith (Pepworth Hill and Nicholson’s Nek). Almost a thousand men were taken prisoner. The casualties were so heavy that the day was named “Mournful Monday” and regarded as the most humiliating day in British military history since Majuba.

The wounded were picked up from the battlefield by Indian stretcher-bearers, and carried in stretchers called “doolies” which could hold four men at a time.

Contrary to popular belief, these stretcher-bearers were not all from India. Most were local volunteers.

The army’s retreat caused great consternation among townfolk of Ladysmith. All day long they watched the ambulance wagons, emblazoned with a Red Cross, make their way to the Town Hall which had been turned into a hospital. Kate told me she was there, helping to unload the casualties. “Number, rank, name and corps” the medical sergeant would call out as the covers were lifted from the wagons. Sometimes, there was no reply as the men had all died of their wounds. The medical staff worked all day and late into the night, amputating limbs, dishing out morphine and dressing the dreadful wounds.



Ambulance wagon - stationary

Imagine the pain the wounded must have suffered while being transported from the battlefield over rough terrain to a hospital many miles away.

Siege: Two days later, on 2nd November, the railway and telegraph lines were cut and Ladysmith was under siege. As the siege got underway, the Boers, who had entrenched themselves on the hills surrounding Ladysmith, began firing shells into the town. Some hit houses, some landed in open fields, one damaged the library, another hit the roof of the Town hall which had been converted into a hospital. It exploded on contact and flung its bullets and segments over the sick and wounded below. One patient was killed, nine others wounded.

The British were convinced that the Boers had deliberately fired at the Red Cross flag flying on top of the town hall tower. Whether this was true or not has never been proved.



Town hall hospital after shelling.

The day after this disaster, General White sent a messenger, carrying a flag of truce, to General Joubert, the Boer general, requesting permission to set up a hospital and a refugee camp for civilians in “No man’s land”. Joubert agreed. A site some four miles from Ladysmith was agreed upon. This became known as Intombi Camp. The area to the east of the railway line was designated for civilians, that on the west for the hospital.

The site was not suitable for a hospital as it was a flat piece of land next to a small stream. A hill called Umbulwaan, rose to one side. A Long Tom was situated on top of this hill. Although the Boers did not fire into the camp, their shells screamed overhead on and off all day.

The British were given 24 hours to set up the camp. A long train set off early the following morning, carrying tents, beds, blankets, provisions, medical equipment and everything needed to run a field hospital. It was dark by the time all was set up and in place. Only then were patients and staff relocated.

After that, a train bearing white flags was allowed to travel from Ladysmith to Intombi once a day to take provisions and offload patients. It returned empty for those inside the camp were not allowed out again. This applied to doctors, nurses, orderlies and patients.



Intombi Camp

The Camp was designed for 300 patients but as more and more wounded were brought in, the nurses were soon caring for 1400, then 2000 patients. When they ran out of beds, the men were placed on mattresses on the ground. When they ran out of mattresses, they lay on blankets or groundsheets.

Kate described the camp as a hellhole—hot as hell when the sun shone, a quagmire when it rained. Nursing in those conditions was extremely difficult. They had no running water and only the most basic

equipment. Latrines were no more than open pits. They were short of linen, blankets, food and medicines.

Each day the train brought more casualties, men with terrible wounds which often turned gangrenous. Then typhoid broke out—a very bad epidemic that killed more men than Boer bullets. Doctors and nurses went down with it too. Many died.

At Intombi, they were terribly short staffed. For weeks on end, no one took time off. Doctors and nurses worked round the clock, snatched what sleep they could then got up and carried on working. When the fever was at its height, a nurse sometimes had as many as sixty patients under her care.

Typhoid (or Enteric Fever): Typhoid was endemic in Ladysmith before the siege. With so many people confined in so small an area, it was inevitable that an epidemic would break out. When it did, the results were terrible. There were three field hospitals in Ladysmith at the time, besides the much larger one in Intombi Camp. Together, these hospitals treated over 10,000 cases during the siege. An incredible number considering that at the beginning of the siege, there were 13,000 troops in the town.

The death rate was high, but higher than it should have been because of the actions of the principal medical officer, a man named Dr Exham. This man gave orders that all typhoid cases be transferred to Intombi Camp, then he cut off the supply of medicines and special foods that the patients needed if they hoped to survive.

Apart from a high fever, typhoid causes inflammation of the bowel. If an intestine should perforate, death follows swiftly. A bland, nourishing diet of food such as sago, corn-flour and arrowroot was of the utmost importance in treating cases of Typhoid. Dr Exham was well aware of this but, instead of distributing the supplies to the patients, he diverted them to his cronies—journalists, civilians and influential officers.

When things got really bad, the deaths totalled as many as fifty a day. The dead were sewn up in blankets and buried in a cemetery on a nearby hill. Forty-four grave diggers had a hard time keeping up with the demand. When they could no longer cope, they gave up digging individual graves and dug a long trench instead. There the dead were placed side by side and covered with earth.

Intombi cemetery.



News came to Intombi Camp once a day via the train. Sometimes the news was good and they had high hopes that relief was on its way. Then bad news came—British troops had suffered heavy losses at Colenso and Spionkop. This meant that relief would be delayed — at least till after Christmas.

Everyone had the same rations dished out each day—a little mieliemeal, two slices of bread, a few tealeaves, a spoonful of sugar and half a pound of meat. The rations were later cut to half and then a quarter. When food began to run out, the cavalry horses were killed and everyone was reduced to eating horsemeat. A soup made

from this meat (called Chevrill) was fed to the patients. Although no one liked the idea of eating horsemeat, they had no option for it was that or starve. And besides, the horses would have died anyway, because there was no fodder left to feed them.

Kate Champion told me that a few days after New Year, she woke to the sound of gunfire. Everyone rushed out of their tents and, to their alarm, saw a battle taking place on Wagon Hill and Caesar’s Camp, about two miles away. This made everyone nervous for it seemed the Boers had attacked and were trying to take the town. The battle raged on for about eight hours, until the Boers retreated. The next day, when the supply train arrived, it was full of men with the most dreadful wounds. The nurses knew that many of them had little chance of surviving.

Now and then, a Boer casualty was picked up by the stretcher bearers and brought in with the British wounded. They were always treated kindly and given the same care as the British patients.

From time to time, the Boers came down from the hills to Intombi Camp, carrying a white flag, to ask for medicines. Out of courtesy, the nurses gave them what they could spare, although this was a hardship as they had so little themselves.

Towards the end of February, Kate heard the sound of heavy battles taking place to the south. Then, one morning, she

woke to an eerie silence. Later that day a group of horsemen came riding into Intombi Camp to tell the inmates that the Boers had fled and that the relief column was on its way. After four long months the siege was over.

That afternoon, the Relief column rode into town. The townsfolk went wild with excitement and celebrations went on till late at night.

No one in Intombi Camp slept much that night- the doctors, patients and nurses stayed up singing till late. The next morning, a party of men climbed up Umbulwaan hill and found that the Boers had left in a hurry. They took their guns but left tents and food behind. The men brought down as much food as they could carry and distributed it among the people in the camp. After near starvation for four months, this was a great treat.

The supply convoy arrived a few days later bringing fresh food, medicines and all kinds of comforts for patients and staff. And little by little, in the days and weeks that followed, the patients were transported from Intombi to other hospitals further south. When the last was gone, Intombi Camp was dismantled. Only the white crosses of the cemetery remained behind.

Kate Champion's vivid account of her experiences while nursing in Intombi Camp inspired me to write *Thunder on the Veldt*. Here is a copy of the cover:



Thunder on the Veldt — cover.

My aim in writing *Thunder on the Veldt* was not only to record the historical events as accurately as possible, but to bring that history to life in a story about ordinary men and women who were swept up into the turmoil of war. I wanted to show their loves, fears, joys and sorrows, the choices they made and how they coped with the dangers they faced. And more than that, I wanted the reader to be able to identify and feel for those on both sides of the conflict — both British and Boer. I hope that those who read the book will not only enjoy the story but learn a little more about our past.

THE MALHERBE CORPORALSHIP OF THE PRETORIA COMMANDO

DR. ARNOLD VAN DYK

After completing his Matric at High School "Die Fakkel" in Johannesburg, he obtained his MBChB from University of Pretoria. And then MMED.RAD from the University of the Free State.

He served for 2 years as a Medical Officer SA Defence Force, worked in hospitals and in private practice. He is currently a radiologist in Private Practice.

In 1988 he was awarded the John van der Riet medal for best international publication awarded by Faculty of Medicine, University of the Orange Free State for: "CT of intracranial tuberculomas", published in Journal for Neuroradiology.

He has always had a keen interest in the Anglo Boer War.

He is

- A collector of Boer War books and memorabilia for over 40 years.*
- Life time member of the Friends of the War Museum*
- He acted as Chairman for the Friends of the War Museum during the centenary 1998 - 2003.*
- He organises and acts as guide on annual tours for the Friends of the War Museum*
- Life time member of the South African Military History Society.*
- the Ladysmith Historical Society*
- Speaker on numerous subjects concerning the Anglo-Boer War at conferences*
- Honorary Curator: Education at the War Museum since 2010.*
- Member of Council: War Museum of the Boer Republics since 2011.*
- He has published numerous articles in the Anglo-Boer War Journal*

A CASE OF LODGEMENT: LOOTJIE DE JAGER AND HIS TRIAL

SARIE MEHL

Sarie Mehl neé Senekal was born and bred on a maize farm in the Viljoenskroon district, Free State. She matriculated at the Oranje Girls High School in Bloemfontein with History as a subject and obtained a double B.A Hons degree from the University of Pretoria majoring in Political Science and International Politics in the early seventies. She taught English in Iran, worked for the Urban Foundation, Department of Information and in the Advertising industry with Adverto/ D'Arcy Macmanus & Masius and McCann Ericsson. She pioneered Agri and Eco Tourism in 1990 by the founding of Jacana Country Homes and Trails Marketing and Reservations. In Pretoria her other companies, Contacts was one of the major role players in the World Summit of 2004 as accommodation providers and of the training of prospective B&B Township owners, while the other company Tshwane Visitors published the official visitors guide for Tshwane. In 1980 she took over the family farms Wasbank and Izemfene and is a full time Beef farmer and fifth generation keeper of these historical farms.



BACKGROUND:

Lodewyk or Loodjie De Jager was born on 7 Nov 1846 in Middelburg Transvaal. He came from a rich Voortrekker bloodline. His father J. W. (Jan) De Jager as an 18 year old, fought alongside his future father in law, Karel Landman who was second in charge at the Battle of Bloodriver on 16th Dec 1838. Karel annexed Port Natal on 16 May 1838 on behalf of the Afrikaners.

In 1840, Karel Landman claimed the Biggarsberg valley¹ and settled there after the Battle of Blood River on the farm Uithoek prior to the annexation of Natal by the British in 1843.

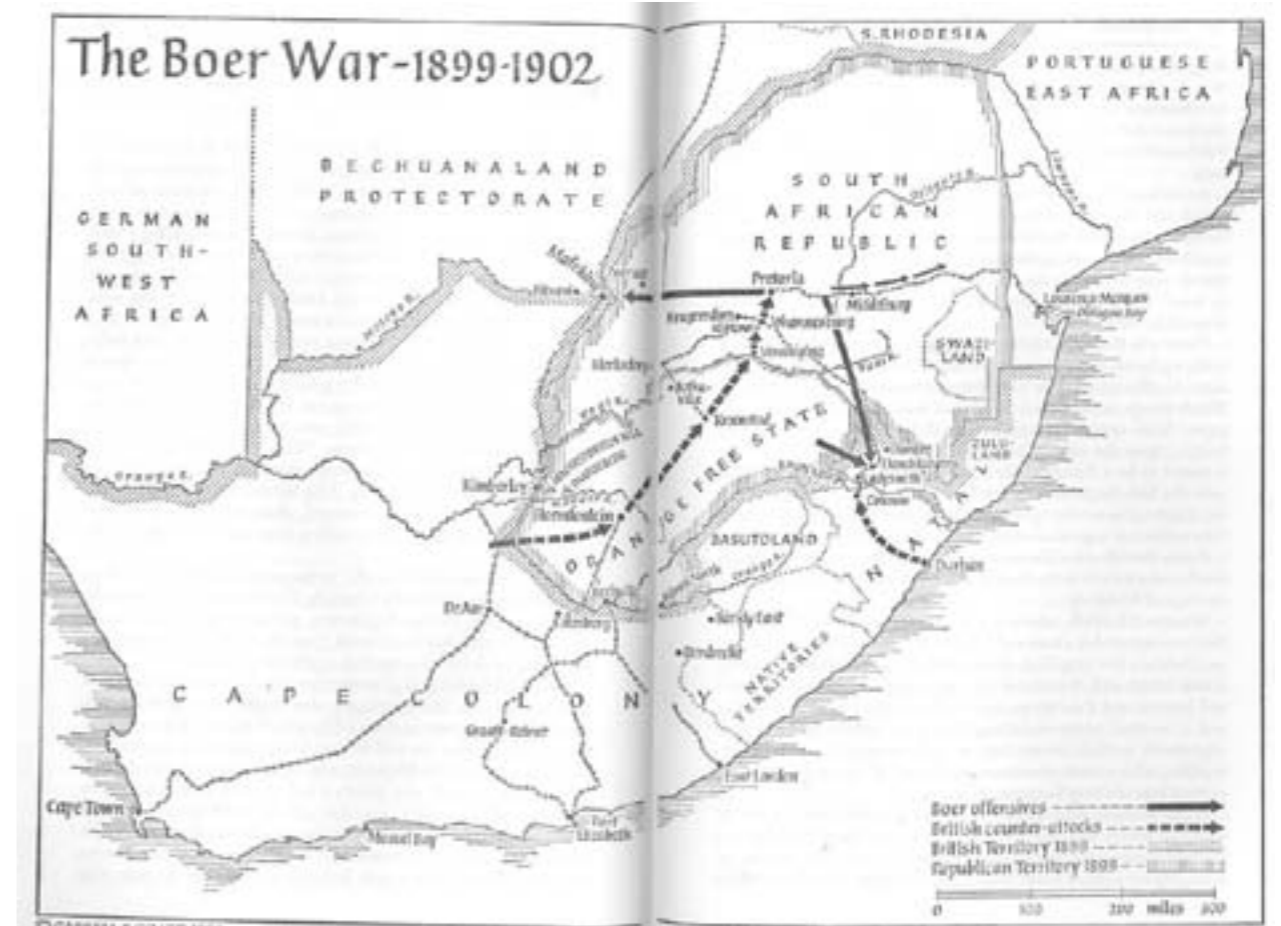
Loodjie courted and married Anna Helena (Annie) Steenkamp who came from the Middelburg/Ohrigstad area and they had nine children, six sons and three daughters.

He was the owner of 17 farms, - 11 in the Transvaal (total acres 29,000) and 7 in Natal (11,700 acres). He trekked with his stock between his farms, spending the winter on the Natal farms.² He was wealthy and affluent in the eyes of the community. But above all he was a principled man who did not agree with the British annexation of Natal because his family fought and conquered the Zulus for their land in Natal.

Lodewyk or Loodjie was a simple cattle and sheep farmer in the backwaters of Africa. His sentence during his Trial of Treason created a new departure in the law of treason of the British law. At the end of the Anglo Boer War, he appealed his sentence of Treason to the highest court, the Privy Council of the mightiest superpower at the time, the British Empire. Despite his sentence, he had sat in prison from Feb 1901 until March 1903 and paid the fine of £5,000. However but he was prepared to spend more money almost another £500 to get the shortcoming in the British law of his sentence changed.

¹ The house of Karel Landman is the only Voortrekker house that still stands today and is recognized as a national historical monument. His daughter and son-in-law Jan, built their home on the adjoining farm, downstream along the river, Waschbank (named so where the Voortrekkers washed their clothes on the banks of this river and took the Vow or Covenant should they win the battle against the Zulus at the Battle of Bloodriver on 16 Dec 1838.

² My grandmother was born in 1887 in the back of a wagon on the way from Waschbank to DeJagersdrift, at Gregory's Nek, en route to the summer farms in the Vryheid district and Transvaal.



THE AFRIKANERS – JOHN FISHER, PAGE 158-9

Lodewyk was friends with both General Louis Botha and Jannie Smuts and his brother in law, President Lucas Meyer, President of the Nieuwe Republiek³.

Between the 15th and 23rd of November 1899 Lodewyk received correspondence from the supreme officer of the Boer Forces in Natal, Piet Joubert. This proves to be a profound influence of his life and he enters the Anglo Boer War officially being offered the post of Commandant of the Natal Burghers for Dundee and Newcastle on the 15th Nov 1899.

Annie, his wife, also participated in the war efforts and was neither scared nor shy to frequent the battlefields of Talana and Elandslaagte when hostilities abated⁴.



Left: Willem, Right: Karel

³ On the night of the Battle of Talana on the 20th October 1899, the inaugural battle of the war, an evening of heavy rainfall the farmhouse was host to General Louis Botha (who was a very good friend of Lodewyk and was named " Lewies" by him), General Jannie Smuts, President Lucas Meyer of the Nieuwe Republiek of Vryheid and Dominee (Pastor) Stoffberg. Several of the men who fought at the battle slept in the waenhuis or shed.

⁴ She visited Dundee soon after the battle of Talana and made it known to many of the men who were pillaging the town that they were shaming the "volk". The day after the Battle of Elandslaagte she went to help after the big slaughter of the Boers. During the battle of Spionkop she took rusks to the Boer forces until she was advised by the Boer General that her white pinafore made her an excellent target. She helped many Boer soldiers by hiding them in the Barn of waenhuis even when the British were camped near the house.

Lodewyk and Annie's five sons joined the Burghers. The eldest son, Jan (J.W). was married to a "Natal English girl", Annie Gregory, and did not take up arms.

Two sons, the second and fourth eldest sons, Willem and Karel both farmers⁵ from the farm Uitkomst near Ermelo were captured near their farms and sent to the Darrels Island Bermuda.

With the retreat of all the Boer forces, Lodewyk took Annie De Jager (52) and their two daughters Sannie (14) and Anna Helena (Annie) (12) in March 1900 to his farms in the Vryheid area but they were finally sent to stay with Louis Botha's English wife at their home near Vryheid. They found out about Lodewyk's arrest through reading the newspapers. Annie and the daughters were sent to the DeJagers Drift concentration camp on the 10th April 1901 having been rounded up in Vryheid. Annie sent a letter dated 7 May 1901 to Lodewyk to inform him that they were to leave for Volksrust Concentration camp the next day. They were transported on the 8th May 1901 in cattle trucks in an arduous journey to Volksrust⁶.

The farmhouse of Wasbank farm was commissioned by the British Forces⁷ and dubbed. "The Manor House", a name that remains to this day. It is reputed to be the only Boer homestead in Northern Natal not burned down by the British in the war. Manor House was situated at the entrance of the Biggarsberg Valley offering the ideal comfortable house for the British forces to stay in while guarding the valley⁸. The main road from Dundee to Ladysmith and the railway line from Ladysmith to Glencoe were both exceptional strategic positions to be guarded. The surrounding mountains also offered excellent communication sites. It has still not been established which British Garrison made use of the house, but a badge and buttons from the Dublin Fusiliers were picked up in the garden by Annie, my Grandmother.

At the end of the war, Annie and daughters travelled by train from Volksrust on the 25th July 1901 to Washbank station, returning to Manor House. They found it empty of furniture except for a porcelain tea set that was buried at the river. All cattle were removed except for a solitary cow that hid herself and her calf when the other cattle were loaded at Uithoek station destined for the Natal English farmers at Mooiriver and Nottingham Road. Because Lodewyk's accounts were frozen, Annie borrowed £100 from Mr. Mall, one of the Indian storekeepers at Wasbank Station to start up again. During this research, I found the diaries of Annie de Jager, with entries from the 1st May 1900 until Lodewyk arrived from the Eshowe prison on the 14th March.

The final sentence in her diary, Annie writes "hy en de tronk was omdat hy aan de kand van myn nasie stand" (He was in prison because he stood on the side of my nation)

LET US RETURN TO THE APPOINTMENT OF LODEWYK DE JAGER AS COMMANDANT FOR WHICH ACTIONS HE WAS ACCUSED OF TREASON

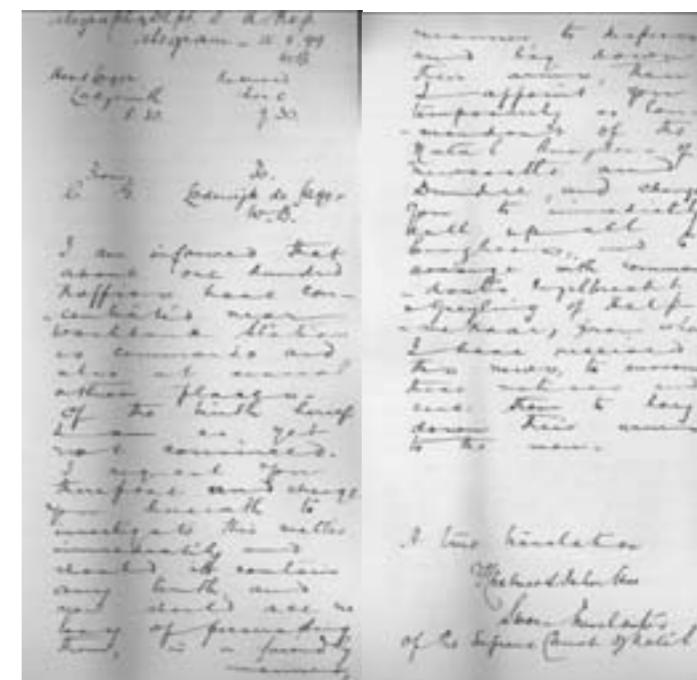
On the 15 November 1899 at 9.30 Lodewijk de Jager, received a telegram from Commandant General Piet Joubert wherein he is charged and temporarily appointed as Commandant of the Natal Burghers of Newcastle and Dundee to investigate the matter of that "about one hundred Kaffirs have concentrated near Washbank station" and to persuade them, in a friendly manner to disperse". He was also charged "to immediately call up all burghers and to arrange with Commandant Engelbrecht and Greyling of Helpmekaar" from whom this news was received, "to surround these natives and cause them to lay down their arms to the men".

5 They were captured trying to ambush a British cavalry under Captain Beamish near their farm. Willem was on the point of shooting Beamish but Karel stopped him. As fate wished it Willem bought the farm "Liberton" from his capturer years later in the Badplaas district – he recognized the Captain and told him that he had almost killed him. Willem renamed the farm Beamish.

6 Annie and her two daughters each had £200 in gold coins stitched into their waistbands and skirts, which they spent very thriftily throughout the rest of the war. Conditions in the camp were severe and very unsanitary. Annie sought the permission of the Camp Commandant to move to the house of a relative, Gert De Jager who became a "Joiner". One night, having heard a knock on the door Annie went to open it and consequently a bullet was fired and sailed over her head, she was lucky to be only 5'3". When the assailants heard who exactly she was, they apologized, saying that the bullet was intended for Gert who never slept in the house.

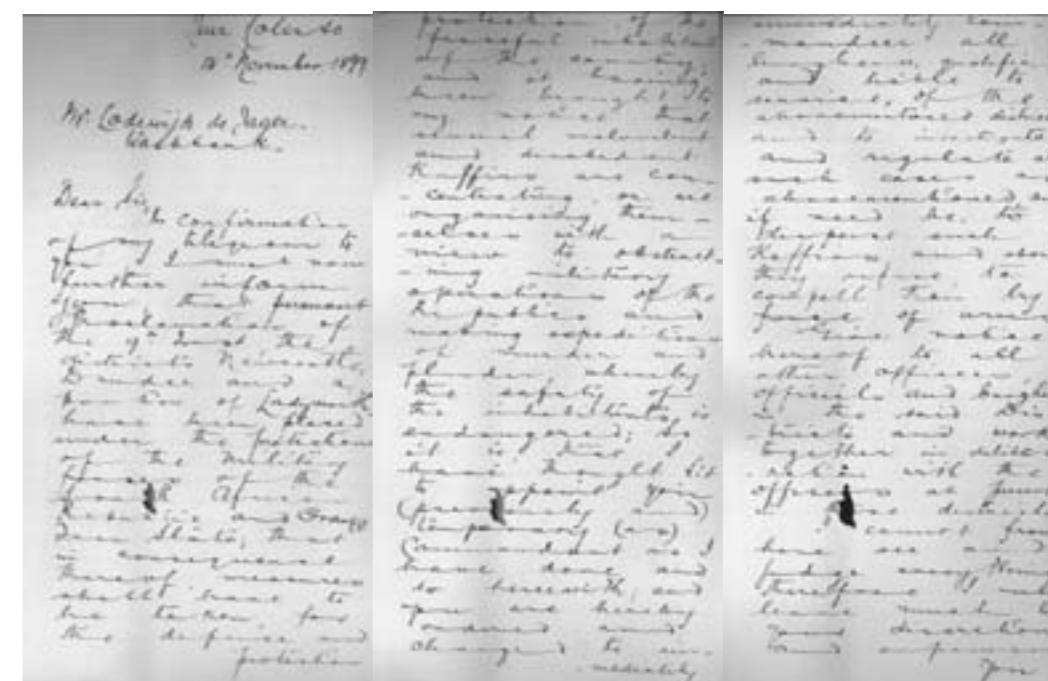
7 In one room of the house, there is a bloodstain on the floorboards where one of the officers where shot and killed. Apparently during a game of cards, an officer accused another of cheating and shot him dead, however, its was later rumoured, the root of the affair involved a young lady.

8 Lodewyks' initials and surname and the date of the construction of the sandstone Barn or "Waenhuis" were shot at by British soldiers who either tried to obliterate the script or as target shooting - the bullet marks still today very obvious.



On the same day, confirming his telegram, a letter dispatched near Colenso from Commander General Piet Joubert, confirms Loodjies appointment under the Proclamation of 9 November 1899. In the telegram he is appointed as a Commandant and charged to act under section 4: He is authorized to commandeer property and supplies and to issue official receipts for these. According to the telegram, life and the property of persons who put themselves under the protection of the Government of the S.A Republic are guaranteed.

Loodjie had to ultimately make the choice. If he did not accept the Command, he could have been seen as a traitor to his family and the South African Republic. By accepting and proceeding to heed to the instructions from the Head Laager of C G Piet Joubert he would be taking actions and orders which turned out as damning evidence against him during his trial and was the basis for his charge of treason against the British.



more severe than the one passed upon him”.

Lodewyk was sentenced on March 14th, 1901 to 5 Years imprisonment, and fine £5,000, or further 3 years in prison.

Lodewyk was the one of highest fined Natal Afrikaner and Transvaal Burgher convicted and sentenced.

On the 14th March 1900, his legal team of Mr. Carter along with Mr. Anderson appealed for an order of appeal in respect of his fine.

Lodewyk confirmed his property status of 11,700 acres of freehold ground in Natal in Natal, of which Uithoek farm was his only farm mortgaged for One Thousand Pounds. He had 29,000 acres in the Transvaal unencumbered.

Lodewyk stated that he had enough money to pay his fine but due to the restrictions imposed by the Military authorities he could not withdraw more than Twenty pounds per month.

He appealed to the court not to mortgage his land in Natal nor to sell it under execution in order to pay the fine imposed. He was also willing to have an interdict placed upon the selling of mortgaging of his Natal properties for one year or less until he was able to obtain an order from the “Imperial authorities in the Transvaal to transfer the sum of £5,000 to the Sheriff of this Honourable Court” The court subsequently granted a stay of execution for two months

The account of Carter and Robinson for legal opinion from Feb to 19th April 1901 came to £2 436

Loodjie went to jail taking his own bed and chamber pot and ordered his meals from the town’s Royal Hotel. He was tried in the Klipriver Court Ladysmith, and was transferred to the Central Gaol in Pietermaritzburg somewhere between his trial and the first letter that he received from his wife Annie was on the 7th May 1900.

A letter, from the DeJagerdrift Concentration camp that was sent to the Central Gaol of Pietermaritzburg was the first evidence amongst the documents that the entire family was back in Natal - all of them courtesy of the Crown’s hospitality.

On the 18th March 1902 he writes to Annie that he had to be in court on the 24th March in Dundee to appear in the Treason trial of T.L. (Doors) Kriel and asked her to bring a box of quinces and pomegranates and some tobacco to him.

We know that Loodjie was transferred to the Eshowe jail between 23 April 1902 and 4 May 1902 as he received a letter from his daughter in law, Lettie, addressed to him at the Governor Gaol, Eshowe.



Here is a copy of an original photograph taken on the 6th Jan 1902 of the 66 Political Prisoners with J. Thompson as Governor and all the names recorded by Loodjie. Most of these prisoners must have been citizens and landowners of Natal, convicted as rebels.

Annie appealed in a Letter dated 9 Sept 1902 to His Excellence The Governor of the Colony of Natalia, Sir Henry McCallum K.C.U.G etc. To grant permission for Lodewyk to be transferred to the Dundee prison based upon his advanced years and state of health. A reply dated 12 Sept 1902 No 271 from Arthur Hedgeland, Private Secretary Government House Natal, replies “no European prisoners are to be quartered in Dundee gaol as long as there is

accommodation for them elsewhere”



On February 11, 1903 Lodewyk Petitioned his case to His Excellency, Colonel Sir Henry Edward McCullum Royal Engineers, Knight commander of the most distinguished order of St Michael and St George, Aide de Camp to His Majesty, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Colony of Natal Vice Admiral of the same and Supreme chief over the Native population.

Lodewyk stated that at the time of his trial his wife was in the Transvaal, and that she had key documents which he was unable to table at this court case. He requested a remission of the remaining term of his imprisonment with this evidence (referring to the telegrams and letter send from Commander General Joubert and Assistant Burgher)

Lodewyk de Jager was released from prison on 13 March 1903 probably during the general amnesty, but according to family history he did not sign allegiance to King Edward VII and was kept in prison for another 3 months.

On the 14th March 1903 Loodjie arrived back at Waschbank farm.

But this was not the end of his mission to get the stigma of his conviction removed:

Loodjie contacted Louis Botha to assist him and to appeal to the Natal Parliament to reconsider his case. Botha was requested to validate all documents relating to his Transvaal Burgher identity as well as the letter dated 15 Nov 1899 sent to him and Botha was asked to confirm the signature of Com Gen Piet Cronje and other correspondence that he, Lodewyk, had acted upon to commandeer and execute his duties. Louis Botha in a letter dated 1 June 1904 invited him to meet him the following week to discuss his strategy.

He proceeded to get Legal opinions;

1. On the 6th September 1906 Lodewyk was advised by the Pietermaritzburg legal firm, Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw that he should he wish to go ahead with his appeal to the Privy Council (even though it had been a few years), he had a good chance due him already having been punished by imprisonment. However they advised that he would need to appoint a Barrister in England to fight his case. The cost was quoted as £70. “well worth going to this expenses having regard to the large amount of fine... and to the fact that you remain under the stigma of conviction”.

An opinion from Frederic Tatham K.C. advised “That the subject of a foreign state at war with England cannot be convicted of high treason for having taken up arms on behalf of the nations of which he is a subject, and the Mr. De Jager’s conviction and sentence were accordingly bad, and would be quashed on appeal to the Privy Council. Mr. de Jager is entitled to present an appeal to the Privy Council notwithstanding the period which as elapsed since his conviction”. He paid £10 10 shillings for this opinion.

2. In January 1907 he received separate opinion from two London legal experts that were forwarded by the Pietermaritzburg legal firm, Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw.

1. Sir Robert Finlay wrote on the 23rd Nov 1906 and disagreed with Frederic Tatham's opinion:
 - Mr. De Jager was residing in British territory when he took service with the invading forces.
 - The fact that the district had for a time passed into the hands of the invaders was immaterial.
 - The law of Natal as regards local allegiance was the same as that of England.
 - A foreigner or person residing under the protection of the English law owed allegiance to the King of England.
 - He may have been liable for punishment had he not joined the invading forces but that could not have affected his liability to the laws of Natal.
 - Finlay was unable to find ground for questioning the conviction or sentence but he concedes that the case was not very clear.
2. Mr. A R Kennedy wrote on the 18th Dec 1906 and agreed with Frederic Tatham's opinion:
 - Mr. De Jager had acquired domicile in Natal by residence for a long period of time but he remained notwithstanding that domicile, bound by allegiance to the South African Republic.
 - Mere domicile unaccompanied by naturalization in Natal did not make him a subject in "its widest sense" of the British Crown.
 - He was entitled to assist the Boers without being liable for prosecution. As long as he was under Boer authority, he was entitled to the rights of a belligerent.
 - The cost of appeal would be £400 – 500 and in their opinion he had a fair chance of success. Special leave to appeal to the Privy Council had to be obtained before an appeal could be prosecuted.
 - Kennedy was of the opinion that it being so long after the time, appeal would not be readily granted
 - He conceded that this issue involved a matter of public importance and judgment to be appealed from
 - The fact that Loodjie had undergone the punishment allotted to him may have increased his chances of procuring leave to appeal.
 - Kennedy was of the opinion that the Privy Council could grant leave to Appeal as an Act of Grace.

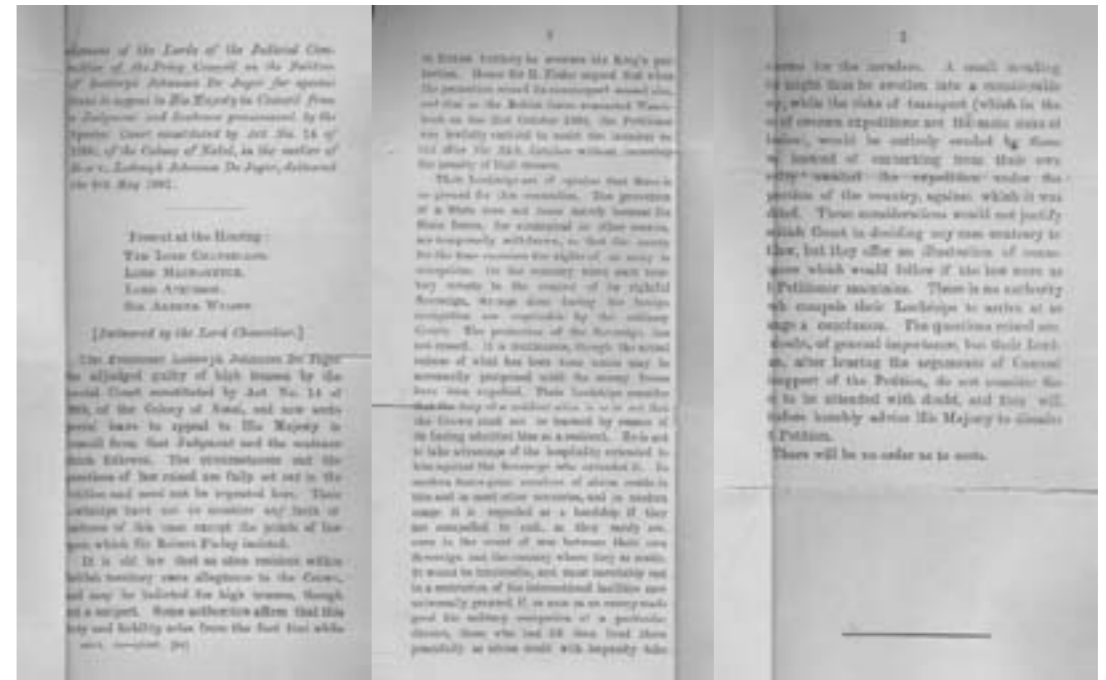
2. In a letter from Pietermaritzburg lawyer, Tatham & Co, dated 15th March 1907 it was noted that ; Although Kennedy advised the judgement of the Special Court create a new departure in the law of treason, it was foreseen that the should the Privy Council uphold such new departures, it may be the means of raising many awkward questions for the Government, and the Council may be "loth to start this and may shelter themselves behind the excuse that the great delay that has occurred precludes Mr. De Jager from now succeeding in his appeal."

A condition of leave to appeal required a sum of £300 to be paid to the Registrar of the Council. Lodewyk had instructed that the legal costs be contained to £500.

Frederic Tatham advised Loodjie in a letter dated 18 March 1907 to request his friend, General Louis Botha to meet with his legal counsel in London while he was visiting England on official business.

Louis Botha wrote to Loodjie on the 8th May 1907 stating that he had a meeting with Sir Robert Finlay who appeared for him at the Privy Council, and gave him "alle nodige informatie" (all necessary information)..

The Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was read on May 9th, 1907 by the Lord Chancellor. Present at the Hearing was: The Lord Chancellor, Lord Macnaghten, Lord Atkinson and Sir Arthur Wilson. The Judgement as reported in the "Times" was put ...that in law Mr. de Jager was still under the protection of the British Crown at the time he took up arms with the invading army even though the executive of the British Crown was temporarily withdrawn." Lodewyk de Jagers' Petition to the Privy Council was dismissed without costs.



Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw replied on the 13th May 1907 to a letter from Loodjie on the 12th May, that "he was mistaken that his appeal was not allowed a hearing" and promised to send him a copy of what was said by the Privy Council in delivering judgment.

Loodjie's London legal team, Tatham & Proctor in a letter from their offices at 36 Lincoln's Inn Fields, dated 10th May 1907, confirmed that a meeting was arranged between Louis Botha and Counsel (Finlay) on the 7th May 1907. Finlay was of the opinion that the judicial Committee of the Privy Council would be unfavourable, and advised Gen Botha that an appeal should be made to the Natal Government to the Prerogative of Mercy.

In a letter dated 3rd June from Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw, Pietermaritzburg enclosed the letter dated the 10th May from Tatham & Proctor, London Solicitors as well as the copy of the Privy Council judgement.

In a letter dated 14th June Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw, the Pietermaritzburg legal firm stated that Louis Botha had said that he had already discussed the case with the Prime Minister of Natal, Mr. Moor and would see him again. He gave reasons why he considered Lodewyk had been harshly treated and therefore merited consideration.

In the same letter, the legal costs of Tatham and Proctor, the London legal firm's cost was £212.5.9. and Statham, Wilkes and Shaw, the Pietermaritzburg legal firm's cost was £52-10-0

The final letter found amongst the documents was dated the 3rd December 1907 from Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw, Pietermaritzburg & Co and stated;

"You will probably be wondering why we have not yet sent in a formal petition on the question of the remission of your fine. We are advised that it will be quite useless doing so at the present time in consequence of the low state of the Government funds, and we are, therefore, holding it over until things are a little better, The calling out of the troops makes it more hopeless than ever at the present time"

Loodjie spent the rest of his life on Wasbank farm as a farmer and business man and died on the 27th September 1929 and is buried in the Family graveyard on the farm Wasbank, near Glencoe, South Africa.

Almost all of this research paper is based on documents left by Loodjie and Annie to my Grandmother, Anna Helena, their youngest daughter who kept it in an old "trommeltjie" or trunk.

It has been a privilege to share with you his pursuit to fairness.

Sarie Mehl née Senekal– Great Granddaughter. 21 October 2014

Presented at the

International Military History Conference "From the Anglo- Boer to the Great War"

115th Anniversary Anglo Boer War 1899 – 1902

Centenary The Great War 1914 - 1918

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Talana Museum – Dundee- South Africa.

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My Grandmother, Anna Helena (Annie) Goosen née De Jager and my mother, Lettie Senekal née Goosen for honouring the family history by telling the stories and preserving the documents.

My Sons, James and Alastair for their assistance in compiling this presentation.

My friend, Pam McFadden for encouragement.



Photograph taken in Feb 1911 signed by Lodewyk de Jager:

Back seated: Theunis de Jager (5th Child and son), Anna- Helena (Annie) De Jager;(9th Child and youngest) Annie De Jager (mother and wife) Sannie de Jager; (8th Child) Lodewyk de Jager, unknown lady possibly Annie (née Gregory) de Jager wife of/and Jan de Jager (Eldest child and son)on the extreme right.

Seated in front - left is Mara, the Indian girl who was adopted as a baby. See story hereunder and seated on the right an unknown young man, possibly Isak de Jager (6th Child and son) or Gregory De Jager, son of Jan and Annie (née Gregory) De Jager.

THE STORY OF MARA, THE INDIAN GIRL

Shortly after returning to Wasbank from the Concentration Camp at Volksrust, my Grandmother (Anna Helena De Jager (nee Steenkamp) wife of Lodewyk de Jager, was approached by an Indian family with many children, including a four month old baby girl at Manor House. They were on their way to Durban from Johannesburg and asked my Grandmother to take the little girl; otherwise they would drown it in the river. They were footsore, weary and incapable of taking another step, carrying the baby also.

My Grandmother at first refused, saying “what will I do with a little Coolie baby?” But her two young daughters, Annie, aged 13 and Sannie aged 15 years, begged and implored her to take the baby. They would look after it, care for it and even bathe it. My Grandmother agreed to take the baby and named it Mara.

My Aunt (Sannie) and Mother (Annie) kept their promise but overdid the bathing! Aunt Lettie de Jager, Grandmother’s daughter – in-law, and daughter of President Lucas Meyer of the new Republic of Vryheid, told my Grandmother that the two girls were bathing Mara seven times a day, in the hopes of her skin turning fairer! A quick stop was put to that!

Mara grew up in the Household learning the many tasks including cooking and sewing, laundering and ironing exactly like my Aunt and Mother. When my Mother married in 1914, my Father came from Cedarville in the then East Griqualand, bought with him few of this Xhosa men, and settled at Wasbank.

My Mother, being the youngest of nine children was compelled by the Victorian/ Afrikaner structures of these times to stay and look after her parents till their death in the main Homestead.

Mara, as a teenager learned to smoke cigarettes, and during one of her clandestine smoking sessions in the loft, accidentally burnt my Grandmother’s precious patchwork quilts and other clothes, stored there. She got a good hiding!

Mara eventually married on of the Xhosa men, Frank, and had five children, three boys and two girls. The youngest

boy was a deaf-mute called Ibi and a constant play-mate of mine when I was a little girl. We were about the same age. We communicated by signs. The two girls, Rachel and Eva were also taught household tasks and the two elder brothers helped on the farm. They lived with Mara in a big rondawel in the backyard. The two elder boys and Ragel eventually were lured to make their fortunes in “Egoli” and left the farm. Mara’s husband had died by this time and she and Eva stayed on.

Mara was the housekeeper of Manor House and ruled the Zulu maids with a rod of iron. She was my Mother’s eyes and ears, even with us children, and every “secret” (as we hoped) misdemeanour was reported, and we were duly chastised.

Whenever my parents were away from the farm, Mara was there to welcome any visitors, set the maids to prepare the bedrooms and provide the guests with beautifully cooked meals.

Mara spoke Zulu, Afrikaans and English and could read and write. She developed chronic oedema, and despite medical treatment, died in the Dundee Hospital in 1940. She was buried in a corner of the family graveyard at Wasbank (unmarked grave)

Recorded by Lettie Senekal owner of Wasbank in 1996 aged 72.

[This symposium paper is not to be quoted, cited, or otherwise used without the expressed and written permission of the author.]

‘JUST TWELVE YEARS LATER: BRITISH GENERALS IN 1914 AND THEIR ANGLO-BOER WAR EXPERIENCE

STEPHEN BADSEY PHD MA (CANTAB.) FRHISTS - PROFESSOR OF CONFLICT STUDIES - UNIVERSITY OF WOLVERHAMPTON UK

Just twelve years, and a few months, separated the end of the Anglo-Boer War in May 1902 from the outbreak of the Great War in July-August 1914. But even with the long-service soldiers of the British Army, this twelve year gap meant that there was no-one serving in the British ranks in 1914 who had also served in the Anglo-Boer War. But a number of senior warrant officers and non-commissioned officers were still serving, including those who in September 1914 were allowed to re-enlist up to the age of 50. Just as importantly, many who had been junior officers in 1899 were infantry battalion commanders or the equivalent in 1914: of these, almost all had previous experience of at least one war, and just under half (46.5 per cent) had served in the Anglo-Boer War. But most important of all was the small group who had served in the Anglo-Boer War mostly as majors and colonels, who went on to hold much higher and influential positions in the Great War.

At the risk of some distortion, this analysis must start at the top with two exceptional people. In August 1914, the professional political heads of the British Army and the Royal Navy respectively were Field Marshal Lord Kitchener as Secretary of State for War, who had just been appointed to the post aged 64, and the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, who was aged just 39. Curiously, in 1914 neither of them much wanted the job; both would rather have been commanding armies.

Kitchener, after succeeding Roberts as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and bringing the Anglo-Boer War to a victorious conclusion, had already achieved his lifelong ambition in becoming Commander-in-Chief in India 1902-9. In 1914, he was ending his career as Consul General in Egypt, and already had his home in Kent picked out for retirement; he was in Britain only to collect his title of Earl Kitchener from King George V when the war broke out. Kitchener was appointed as political head of the Army to fill the vacancy left since April 1914, when the existing secretary of state for war, Colonel J.E.B. (or ‘Gallop Jack’) Seely, had resigned over the Curragh Mutiny. By the conventions of the time, if appointed to the cabinet a British minister was required to resign his parliamentary seat and stand for re-election, but this did not apply to Kitchener as a member of the House of Lords.

On 7 August, the day following his appointment, Kitchener called for a mass volunteer British Army, at first of 100,000 men. The response, including the British Empire, was a million men by the end of 1914, and two and a half million men before the introduction of conscription in Britain in January 1916. Historians have surprisingly largely failed to draw the parallel between this familiar story and Kitchener’s experience in the Anglo-Boer War, of the Empire-wide volunteer movement on a smaller scale, including the Imperial Yeomanry, in the aftermath of Black Week. It is now known that the big surge in volunteerism in Britain did not come at the start of the Great War in a mood of holiday enthusiasm and an expectation that the war would be over by Christmas. It came after a month, at the start of September 1914, with the news of the British defeats in Belgium at the battles of Mons and Le Cateau, and an expectation of a total German victory: the larger-scale parallel with the response to Black Week is a compelling one. Colonel Seely, by the way, held his commission in the Hampshire Yeomanry and had served in the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa. For most of the Great War he commanded the Canadian Cavalry Brigade on the Western Front, a unique military distinction for a former British Cabinet member. He was also a lifelong close friend of Churchill, whom he had met when they were boys at Harrow School.

Churchill’s previous wartime experience was also as a soldier, and to the end of his life his one great regret was that he had never commanded an army in battle. As a war correspondent in South Africa he wore his old lieutenant’s uniform without its rank badges, and after shamelessly lobbying for the Victoria Cross after his escape from Pretoria, he was also given a rather dubious temporary commission in the South African Light Horse by the Honourable Julian Byng, with whom had hunted when Churchill was at Sandhurst and Byng was at the adjacent Army Staff College Camberley. The youngest of thirteen children of the Earl of Strafford, Byng had grown up almost half-wild on the family estate before being packed off to Eton School and eventually the exclusive 10th Hussars; throughout his life he does not seem to have cared what anyone else thought of his actions. By August 1914 any animosity left between Kitchener and Churchill from his war correspondent days in South Africa seems to have been put aside, and they co-operated well together. But just as he did his best to take command as a junior officer at Spion Kop, so in October 1914 Churchill accompanied a scratch

force of sailors and marines to Antwerp to defend it against the Germans, and cabled Prime Minister Asquith that he wanted to resign from the Admiralty if only a reinforced Antwerp contingent could be turned into a field command for him; a plea that was ignored.

Churchill’s story, like Kitchener’s and Seely’s, emphasises that there was no straight and inevitable line between the experiences of the Anglo-Boer War and those of the Great War. Nevertheless, for a particular age-group of officers the two wars formed a strong and important connection. By 1914, the upper age limit in the British Army for active command or staff duties at divisional level was in practice mid-50s. The commander in chief of the BEF, Field Marshal Sir John French, was 61 years old, a similar age to senior French commanders such as Joffre and Foch, and markedly younger than German Army commanders like Moltke, Kluck, and Bulow who were all in their late 60s. The other main contrast between the British and other nations’ generals in 1914 was in combat experience: most of the British were already the veterans of more than one war, almost always including the Anglo-Boer War. What they learned most from these wars was each other’s strengths and weaknesses; among themselves their courage and commitment in battle were not in doubt. They had also learned in South Africa the importance of staffwork, supply and logistics, the importance of information and intelligence, that pre-war training was very often inadequate, and that in a real battle any plan will go wrong. Like all their contemporaries, they were unprepared for war on the scale of 1914. Sir John French took command of a BEF of about 120,000 soldiers, when his largest previous wartime command had been the 9,000 or so of the Cavalry Division in 1900 as an acting major general. But this still compared favourably with his German, Austrian or French equivalents, whose last combat experiences had been as very junior officers in the 1860s and 1870s, although a few French officers including Joffre had some experience of imperial policing. Part of French’s reaction to his Anglo-Boer War experience was to insist that when he took over Aldershot District in 1902, the premiere command in the British Army, that ‘the staff that I work with in peace shall be the staff that I take to war’. This practice continued to 1914, meaning that when Aldershot Command mobilised to become I Corps under Sir Douglas Haig it had the only properly trained and experienced staff in the BEF, something which was not even true of French’s BEF General Headquarters. Another important lesson French took from South Africa was not to interfere with his transport arrangements in the middle of a battle.

To illustrate the importance of the Anglo-Boer War in the careers of senior British generals of the Great War, this photograph, taken on 11 November 1918, shows Sir Douglas Haig, who had been a 41 year old lieutenant-colonel when the Anglo-Boer War ended and was in 1918 Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief of the BEF aged 57, with his five Army commanders and their respective chiefs of staff (and also Lieutenant General Sir Charles Kavanagh commanding the Cavalry Corps, which came directly under Haig’s General Headquarters). The close association and friendship between French and Haig went back to the late 1880s, and only ended in December 1915 when Haig succeeded French in command of the BEF. But their partnership reached its pinnacle in February 1900 when Haig was French’s chief of staff with the Cavalry Division, including the miniature masterpiece of the relief of Kimberley and Battle of Paardeberg. Haig’s subsequent career in the guerrilla phase of the Anglo-Boer War remains unaccountably neglected by his biographers, although his independent command in Cape Colony from May 1901 onwards was a considerable one, at one point involving almost 20,000 troops.

Taking now Haig’s Army commanders on 11 November 1918 in order: First Army had been commanded since 1916 by General Sir Henry Horne, who was the same age of Haig. Like French, Haig, and several other senior British commanders, Horne traced his experience back to the Cavalry Division of 1900, in which he served with the Royal Horse Artillery; he owed much of his rise to French, and in 1914 he commanded the artillery for Haig’s I Corps.

Second Army had been commanded since 1915 by General Sir Herbert Plumer, a somewhat controversial figure who in the Anglo-Boer War had commanded the Rhodesia Regiment, and played an important part in the relief of Mafeking. In 1918 Plumer was the oldest of Haig’s Army commanders at 62, being habitually called ‘the old man’ or ‘Daddy Plumer’. Despite his previous service in southern Africa, Plumer had been an unknown figure before Mafeking briefly made him a temporary brigadier-general and a public celebrity in Britain. Rather than flourishing, his career had been an uneven one, including two spells on half-pay in 1905-6 and 1909-11. Plumer was not a member of the original BEF, but had been appointed to command the new V Corps in January 1915, and Second Army in May 1915 in succession to Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien. The saga of Smith-Dorrien’s period in command of II Corps of the BEF and Second Army is one of the most controversial British episodes of the Great War, and we will return to him later. At this point it is enough to note his wide previous military experience, including surviving Isandlwana in 1879 as a junior officer, his association with Kitchener going back to the 1880s, his respectable but unspectacular record as a brigade and divisional column commander in the Anglo-Boer War, and his reputation in 1914 for having the worst temper in the entire British Army.

Third Army had since May 1917 been commanded by Churchill’s friend, General the Honourable Julian Byng, the former commander of the South African Light Horse and later in the Anglo-Boer War of a group of mounted columns. Third Army had previously been commanded by another veteran of the Cavalry Division of 1900, General Sir Edmund Allenby. Byng also did not serve in the original BEF, he had also suffered a spell on half-pay 1909-10, and on the outbreak of the Great War he was in Cairo as commander of the Egyptian Army, sharing his residence with Kitchener. Recalled home, Byng took command of 3rd Cavalry Division on the Western Front on its formation in September 1914. After service at Gallipoli and in Egypt he returned to the Western Front in early 1916, taking command of the Canadian

Corps before being promoted to command Third Army in succession to Allenby.

Fourth Army was under the command, for the second time, of General Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had previously commanded it in 1916. The holder of a hereditary baronetcy, Rawlinson was 54 years old in 1918. Like Plumer and Byng, Rawlinson was also not part of the original BEF, but took command of IV Corps on the Western Front on its formation in October 1914. Rawlinson owed his early advancement to his family connections, particularly an association with Lord Roberts and the Indian Army. In the Anglo-Boer War, after serving on Roberts's staff, he commanded a brigade-sized mounted infantry column in the guerrilla phase. It may have been this experience that led Siegfried Sassoon in his wartime memoirs mistakenly describing Rawlinson as an 'old cavalryman'. Rawlinson's career as a column commander, which was as controversial as his later Great War career, also deserves deeper investigation.

Given the later prominence of Haig as commander of I Corps of the BEF, Smith-Dorrien as commander of II Corps, and Rawlinson as commander of IV Corps, it is important here to insert a caveat. The commander in August 1914 of III Corps of the BEF was Sir William Pulteney, a 53 year old Scots Guards officer of great personal charm but limited military ability, who served in command of his battalion in the Anglo-Boer War, had an otherwise unexceptional career, and remained in command of III Corps until February 1918 when he was finally sent home. Below the level of Corps commander, and excluding Allenby as commander of the Cavalry Division, only three of the BEF's six original infantry divisional commanders of August 1914 had previously served in the Anglo-Boer War.

Finally, Fifth Army was in 1918 commanded by General Sir William Birdwood, who was a year younger than Rawlinson. In the Anglo-Boer War, Birdwood first made his reputation as a staff officer, including on Kitchener's staff for the later part of the war, and afterwards he accompanied Kitchener to India, eventually becoming his military secretary. Having spent much of his career in India, Birdwood also did not serve in the original BEF, but in December 1914 he was given command of the Australian and New Zealand – or ANZAC – forces assembling in Egypt. This led Birdwood to command the Australians and New Zealanders at Gallipoli and on the Western Front 1915-17, taking command of Fifth Army in May 1918. Both Byng and Birdwood owed their appointments at Army level to having done well in command of Dominion troops, although part of this was some pressure from below in a desire to appoint Canadian and Australian officers as Corps commanders: Sir Arthur Currie and Sir John Monash respectively.

From early 1916, until replaced by Birdwood in May 1918, the commander of Fifth Army had been another more controversial figure, Lieutenant General Sir Hubert Gough. Like Birdwood a cavalryman, Gough had also served first in the relief of Ladysmith, and later in the Anglo-Boer War as a column commander. The Gough family were prominent members of what was then known as the Irish Protestant Ascendancy, and had a strong military tradition coupled with reputations for outspokenness and controversy, including Hubert Gough's prominent role in the Curragh Mutiny. Although he was not quite 30 in 1899, the Anglo-Boer War was Gough's second campaign, and he had lobbied hard to be sent out to South Africa. It is impossible to disentangle the importance of the Anglo-Boer War in Gough's relationships with other senior British officers. But important episodes certainly include Gough's defeat and capture at Blood River Poort in September 1901, including his later rescue by the column led by Edmond Allenby, which produced in Gough the opposite of gratitude. In August 1914 Gough commanded 3rd Cavalry Brigade as part of Allenby's Cavalry Division, while his brother John Gough (who had been at Ladysmith) was chief of staff to Haig commanding I Corps. Although the retreat from Mons was a substantial success for the British, the poor relationship between Hubert Gough and Allenby, and the support that Hubert enjoyed from Haig through his brother, contributed to some of the BEF's major command problems.

The importance of the Anglo-Boer War to the careers of the senior British Army commanders of the Great War is also apparent among local Commanders-in-Chief, or what would later be called theatre-level commanders. Of these, other than French and Haig in command on the BEF, the most famous were Allenby in command of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force or EEF in 1917-18, and Sir Ian Hamilton in command of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force or MEF at Gallipoli in 1915. Hamilton was one of the most prominent British Army figures of the Anglo-Boer War, both for his role in the advance to Pretoria, much publicised by Churchill, and his later position as Kitchener's chief of staff. Sir Charles Monro, who saw his first action at Paardeberg, and had commanded 2nd Division in the BEF of 1914, had the unusual triple distinction of briefly commanding the British forces at Salonika in 1915 before commanding the MEF in succession to Hamilton (with Birdwood as commander later on), and then the EEF, before becoming Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. The other commanders of the EEF at various dates earlier in the war included Sir John Maxwell, who through a long association with Kitchener had been military governor of Pretoria in 1900, and Sir Archibald Murray. In Murray's case the Anglo-Boer War impacted on him rather than the other way around: arriving with his battalion in February 1902 almost at the end of hostilities, he suffered a severe bullet wound in the abdomen from which he never really recovered. This certainly contributed to Murray's collapse while serving as chief of staff of the BEF during the retreat from Mons in August 1914. There is some speculation as to what was used to revive him, probably an injection of cocaine. The British commander at Salonika for most of the war, Sir George Milne, had also served under Kitchener, both at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898 and in the intelligence branch at Kitchener's headquarters in the Anglo-Boer War.

Again, although a majority of senior British theatre commanders of the Great War had previously distinguished

themselves in the Anglo-Boer War, the connection was not an automatic one. British Empire forces in Mesopotamia were commanded for most of the Great War by Sir Stanley Maude, who had served with his battalion from Paardeberg to Pretoria without particular distinction. Similarly, British forces in Italy 1917-18 were commanded by the Earl of Cavan, who later commented on his battalion service in the Anglo-Boer War that 'I suppose we heard as many bullets in the whole war as we heard in one day of the 1915-16 battles' but that he had worn out five pairs of boots. But Maude and Cavan were from a slightly younger contingent of officers who were too junior to have made great reputations in the Anglo-Boer War, both being only in their late 30s when it ended.

By definition, we can never know the name of the hypothetical British military genius and potential Western Front commander who was killed as a major at Modder River; but we do know the names of some very impressive officers whose careers failed or simply petered out between 1902 and 1914. One was Ivor Maxse, who in 1899 was a 37 year old brevet lieutenant-colonel in the Guards, sent out to South Africa by Kitchener as a staff officer to help reorganise the Army's transport system, but who was invalided home with ill health in November 1900. Maxse commanded 1st (Guards) Brigade of the BEF in August 1914, and rose in the course of the war to become Inspector General of Training for the BEF by 1918. Another was Lieutenant Colonel Michael Rimington, commander of his own irregular regiment of Rimington's Guides or Rimington's Tigers, and regarded as the best horsemaster of the Anglo-Boer War on the British side. Beset by the financial difficulties of the peacetime cavalry lifestyle, Rimington found it cheaper to live in India. On the Western Front he commanded originally 1st Indian Cavalry Division and then the Indian Cavalry Corps, before it was disbanded in 1916, so ending his active career. Aged 56 on the war's outbreak, Rimington was one of those who may have just missed a much higher position through age and circumstances.

Yet another case, at least in his own estimation, was Lieutenant Colonel (later brigadier general) Sir James Edmonds, a Royal Engineer officer and exact contemporary of Haig and Allenby at the Army Staff College Camberley in 1896-7, who served in intelligence on Kitchener's staff in the Anglo-Boer War. For various reasons, including occasional ill-health, Edmonds's career never prospered as he felt it should. In the BEF of August 1914 he served as chief of staff of 4th Division, but his health collapsed from the strain of the retreat from Mons and he was invalided home after threatening to shoot anyone who disobeyed his orders. Returning to BEF General Headquarters, he became one of a batch of gossipy and rather bitter staff colonels; although Edmonds had his ultimate revenge by becoming the Army's official historian of the war, a post which he held until 1949.

Edmonds claimed in his memoirs that he had traced the careers of all 32 Staff College students of his own intake, mostly majors at the time. Four were either killed in action or died of wounds, one died in the siege of Ladysmith of a combination of wounding and cholera, and one died of exposure on the Western Front. Of the remaining 26, two – Haig and Allenby – became field marshals and members of the House of Lords, 15 became generals of which 8 were knighted, one only reached the rank of full colonel, three retired before 1914 for health reasons, one resigned on inheriting a fortune, and one shot himself, his mother in law and her lawyer in a crime of passion!

While noting this diversity of career paths, it is still possible to point to three main groupings of British Army officers who made successes of their careers in the Anglo-Boer war and went on to senior positions in the Great War. The most prominent group, although not the largest, was the cavalrymen, especially those who had served under French in the Cavalry Division up to the capture of Pretoria. This is not in itself very surprising, given the importance of mounted operations in the war. Then there was the group of officers like Rawlinson who owed their rise to the patronage of Lord Roberts and sometimes of Lord Kitchener, or both. But the most important group for the future was made up of officers working on the staff of both Roberts and Kitchener, who made their reputations principally as professional staff officers. As James Edmonds also pointed out, it was the General Staff that grew in importance after the Anglo-Boer War, and whose officers became amongst the most influential in the Army.

The most prominent of these officers in the Anglo-Boer War was Colonel G F R Henderson, who headed Roberts's intelligence branch. The British Army lost a most valuable officer in 1903 with Henderson's premature death at age 49, while writing the Army's official history of the war; although had he survived Henderson would have been probably too old for active service in the Great War. His successor as official historian was Frederick Maurice, who had served with his battalion in the war. Henderson brought out with him to South Africa a remarkable officer who he had spotted while an instructor at the Army Staff College, and who had begun his career, most unusually for the time, as a private soldier. William Robertson went on to be commandant of the Staff College 1910-12; in August 1914 aged 54 he was quartermaster general of the BEF, and from December 1915 until February 1918 he was Chief of the Imperial General Staff and professional head of the British Army. His autobiography was titled *From Private to Field Marshal*, the only British Army officer to genuinely have that distinction. Robertson was to be succeeded in February 1918 as Chief of the Imperial General Staff by Sir Henry Wilson, who as a junior officer had been a close personal friend of Henry Rawlinson. In the Anglo-Boer War he was taken up by Lord Roberts and finished the war as his military secretary. Roberts's staff also included one of the most neglected figures of both wars, James Grierson. In early 1900 Grierson was the British military attaché to Berlin, and he had made a special study of German staff methods. He was sent out to South Africa to join Lord Roberts's staff, where his chief function was to suggest and introduce some much-needed reforms that impressed both Wilson and Rawlinson, before being sent off to China in August 1900 for the Boxer Rebellion.

DELVILLE WOOD

IAN UYS

Educated in Uitenhage, Ian obtained a B.Comm from University of Cape Town and then registered as a chartered accountant. He served as a platoon commander in the SA Defence Force in the operational area in 1977. He was awarded the De Wet decoration for commando activities 1974-1979. He operates his own business, but has a keen and long interest in military history.

He is

- *the author of 24 books.*
- *Co-founder of Military Medal Society of SA.*
- *Past President of SA Military History Society.*
- *Was awarded the Germiston Mayoral Civic Award for Culture in 1993.*
- *Member of Rotary Club for 39 years.*
- *'Old Bill' of Moth) Albatross Shellhole, Knysna. District 'Paybill' of Moths in Southern Cape.*
- *.Obtained Comrades marathon 'Green Number' for completing 10 races in under 11 hours.*

He also holds a private pilots licence.

In 1983 I published a book on the Battle of Delville Wood after having interviewed many of its survivors. Three books were to follow, one from the German point of view called Longueval, Rollcall which lists names of participants and Devil's Wood, more personal accounts.

Brigadier Henry Timson Lukin CMG DSO was to command the 1st South African Infantry Brigade. He had been wounded at Ulundi during the Anglo/Zulu War of 1879, then served in the South African War, the Rebellion and South West Africa.

Lukin selected young men rather than veterans as he knew that trench warfare would be extremely demanding. They were initially trained at Potchefstroom before leaving for England. Their biggest fear was that they would miss the war and its glory. Little did they know what horrors lay ahead.

On a lighter vein Pte Albert Marr brought his pet baboon, Jackie, as a mascot. Jackie learnt to salute officers, warn of German attacks and won a wound stripe after losing a leg during a bombardment.

The brigade consisted of 5,000 men in four battalions: The 1st from the Cape, 2nd from Natal, the Freestate and the Border, 3rd from the Transvaal and Rhodesia and the 4th from the Transvaal Scottish, Cape Town Highlanders and various Caledonian Societies. Together with the South African Medical Corps and Trench Mortar Battery they formed the 1st SA Infantry Brigade – which later was attached to the 9th Scottish Division.

I should like to introduce some of the officers. The 1st Battalion's CO was Lt-Col Fred Dawson. Lieutenant Sidney Style from King William's Town epitomised their feelings. During the battle he was shot through the throat and wrote a bloodstained note to Dawson, "I'm sorry, sir. It wasn't my fault. I'll get back as soon as I can." Lieut Aubrey Liefeldt served in the Cape Town company and was to write our foreword.

The 2nd Battalion's OC was Lieut-Col William Tanner, formerly of Hilton College and the Natal Carbineers. Its casualties were 100% - every officer was either killed, wounded or taken prisoner. Notable men were Captain Billy Barlow, founder of the Barlows dynasty, and Lieuts Errol Tatham and Walter Hill of Pietermaritzburg.

The 3rd Battalion was commanded by a former cowboy, Frank Thackeray, whose father had won the Victoria Cross in India. Lieut Edward Phillips was to be one of the two officers who were with him to the end in the wood. The medical officer was the Jewish Capt Steven Liebson, brother of Sarah Gertrude Millin.

The 4th Battalion's OC was Frank Jones, who had won the DSO during the South African War. His 2IC was Major McLeod who had earned the DCM at Omdurman. The statue to the South African Jocks in Joubert Park, Johannesburg, was modelled on Captain Thomas Ross. Lieut Sandy Young was a madcap Irishman who won a Boer War VC in the

To give some indication of the importance and complexity of these relationships: in August 1914 Grierson, now aged 55, was expecting to be chief of staff to Sir John French at BEF General Headquarters, but was appointed at the last moment to command its II Corps instead. French then wanted Henry Wilson as his chief of staff but was told that Wilson was too senior, and instead he had Archibald Murray impose upon him by Kitchener. French's response to this was to appoint Wilson as his deputy chief of staff instead. Then, in the course of the BEF's deployment to France, on 17 August Grierson died unexpectedly of a heart attack. Ian Hamilton, who at that time was without a command, put his own name forward, but French protested to Kitchener that Hamilton was too senior, and requested Herbert Plumer. Kitchener's notorious response to this was to ignore French's request, and to appoint Horace Smith-Dorrien to command II Corps.

Now to finish off, we should look from the perspective of the Anglo-Boer War towards the Great War, rather than the other way. This is a well-known 'Spy' cartoon that appeared in the London magazine Vanity Fair in 1900, showing 12 famous British officers in South Africa including its rising stars. Seven of the men depicted here played no major part in the Great War, either through age or career circumstances. Sir Frederick Carrington, who initially commanded the Rhodesia Field Force and so matches neatly with Plumer peaking in from the other side, died in 1913. An odd exception is the oldest, Field Marshal Lord Roberts, who after being the last man to hold the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army in 1904 spent the rest of his life as a figurehead and spokesman for militarisation and the introduction of conscription in Britain. He died a soldier's death in France on 14 November 1914, of pneumonia when aged 82, caught while visiting troops of the Indian Army on the Western Front. The inset recruiting poster appeared shortly after his death. Reginald Pole-Carew was best known at the time of this painting as a rather slippery staff officer confidant of Roberts's, and had left the Army before the Great War. Of the three generals whose reputations perhaps suffered most in the Anglo-Boer War, two still became field marshals: Sir George White, who died in 1912, and Lord Methuen, who spent 1915-1919 as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta. Famously, Sir Redvers Buller was removed from his command at Aldershot in 1901 to make way for Sir John French, and died in 1908.

Kitchener, French and Plumer have already been mentioned. That leaves four – or five – remaining officers. Colonel Robert (or 'Stephe') Baden-Powell was plucked by Roberts in 1903 from his command of the South Africa Constabulary to become Inspector General of Cavalry, he retired in 1910 to promote his Boy Scout movement. Although only 57 in 1914, he was denied any active Army post. His wide-ranging war-work included designing recruiting posters, of which this inset is one. Lord Dundonald made his reputation, with help from Churchill's vivid and inaccurate reporting, when his mounted brigade led the relief of Ladysmith; Dundonald's small brigade staff included Birdwood and Hubert Gough. In 1902, as part of a wider plan to encourage military uniformity throughout the British Empire, Dundonald was appointed to command the Canadian militia, in the same year that Edward 'Curly' Hutton was appointed to command the forces of the new commonwealth of Australia. Both men had become protégés of Lord Roberts in the Anglo-Boer War, and their careers became closely entwined with Roberts's own institutional struggles. Unfortunately, the highly opinionated Dundonald and Hutton each fell foul of the politics of Canada and Australia respectively. In what became known as 'The Dundonald Incident', in a speech in 1904 Dundonald publicly named the Canadian minister for militia, Sydney Fisher, as an obstacle to reform. In consequence Dundonald was recalled, and a new act stipulated that in future the militia would be commanded by Canadian officers only. Dundonald retired from the Army in 1907; in 1915 aged 63, he petitioned unsuccessfully Kitchener for a command. Hutton, after a time in Australia that was almost as controversial, returned to Britain in 1904, seeing himself as a successor to Sir John French in command at Aldershot, but quarrelled with French and also left the Army in 1907; on the outbreak of the Great War French gave Hutton a divisional command at home, but ill-health forced him to retire in 1915, aged 67.

Both these careers contrast with Sir Archibald Hunter, who was a few months older than Baden-Powell, and who in 1896 had been the youngest major-general in the Army at age 40, and a full general aged 50. Hunter distinguished himself in the Anglo-Boer War. He arrived in South Africa a few days before the war's start as Sir Redvers Buller's chief of staff, only to be trapped in the siege of Ladysmith. Following the relief he commanded a division under Roberts, paying a role in the relief of Mafeking, before being invalided home with malaria in January 1901. Having retired in 1913, Hunter was also judged too old for a field command in the Great War, but instead served until September 1917 as GOC Aldershot Command. Sir Leslie Rundle, famous in the Anglo-Boer War as 'sir leisurely trundle' for his slow-moving column, held the post of GOC Home Forces from March to December 1915, then aged 58. For good or ill, not just the active commands but also the training of the volunteer armies that Kitchener recruited in 1914-15 was overseen by Anglo-Boer War veterans.

Finally, and in an echo of James Edmonds's record of his Staff College graduating class, Hector McDonald, 'Fighting Mac', who had risen from the ranks to major general, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon in 1902, was accused there of a combination of homosexuality and paedophilia, and consequently shot himself in a Paris hotel.

Northern Cape.

They embarked for England but at Borden, Hampshire, many caught colds so they were transferred to Egypt. In the warmer climate they fought and won two battles against the Senussi tribesmen, at Halazin and Agagia. One battle they never won was against lice, which plagued them from then onwards.

They were then sent to France, where the Jocks were much admired by the Marseilles inhabitants. The Germans called them “Ladies from Hell”. The brigade then entrained for Northern France. Chauncey Reid was responsible for embarkations and once missed the train and had to ride on the outside. He said it was OK except for the tunnels and when other trains passed. At a station Lieut Nimmo Brown spoke French and promised a young lady a badge for a kiss. He took one from a private, so she promptly kissed the private.

They disembarked in the Armentiers/La Basse area. Trenches ran from the Channel to Switzerland. Delville Wood lies approximately half way between Paris and the Channel ports. The 9th Scottish Division had lost a brigade at Loos, so the South Africans were attached to them. The dour Scots were initially resentful at training these young colonials, but when they found that some Afrikaners couldn’t speak English and could out-shoot them all they adopted them as ‘Ware Skotsmen’. At the time Lt-Colonel Winston Churchill commanded a nearby regiment.

Toward the end of June 1916 the division marched down to the Somme for the ‘Big Push’. The Germans were well entrenched with some dugouts going down 60 foot. The topography was such that the Germans dominated the Somme area from high ground. After a week’s bombardment, on 1 July the British attacked on a wide front and incurred 60,000 casualties, of whom a third were killed. Montauban village was taken. Nimmo Brown was killed by a shell in the Briqueterie area.

The German forces on the eastern side of Delville Wood, the Saxons were commanded by Baron Oberst (Colonel) Von Wuthenau, while the Bavarians under Von Grautoff held the fortified village of Longueval. It was a centre of communications and the adjacent wood was called the Bois de la Ville (The wood of the village).

German artillery would be responsible for most casualties. One of its officers was Lieut Anno Noak, who would so respect the South Africans that he later immigrated to South Africa. The ball on his pickelhaube denoted that he was in the artillery.

Lieut-Col Jones and his SA Scottish occupied Trones Wood, where on 10 July he was killed by a shell. This shocked everyone and many of the youngsters then felt vulnerable. Major McLeod then took command. The 2nd Natal Battalion occupied Bernafay Wood where more than 500 incurred head injuries from shells bursting in the trees.

Delville Wood was divided into rides, or roads for bringing out wood. London and Edinburgh road names were given to them to ease map reading. On Friday 14 July the two Scottish brigades attacked Longueval and incurred heavy casualties. After lunch the 1st Cape Battalion was sent to assist them in the street fighting.

Private Nash from Steytlerville charged into the enemy positions and perished. Lieutenant Chauncey Reid of Knysna threw a grenade into an enemy bunker. It turned out to be an ammunition store and he was blown up – recovering in hospital days later. He joined the RAF and was shot down and imprisoned in 1918. He named one of his sons Nimmo.

Early on Saturday 15th Col Tanner led the rest of the brigade into the wood. The bush was mostly dense and it was difficult to locate enemy strong points. The Vickers water-cooled machine-guns were set up in fixed positions while the Lewis Gun was carried like a Bren gun.

The South Africans took the wood and dug in on the perimeters. The masses of roots made it difficult to dig in. Private Eddie Fitz, who had just earned the Military Medal at Bernafay Wood, thought that he’d struck water, only to find that he was digging in his own blood.

The Natal men fought their way up Strand Street, where Lieut Walter Hill and his party ran out of ammunition and were taken prisoner. While being escorted he knocked out their guard and escaped back to fight in the wood. Hill was killed two days later. Though recommended for a posthumous VC it was declined.

On the eastern flank the Transvalers thought it was the French ahead of them, then recognised the coal scuttle helmets and attacked. They took an officer and 100 men prisoner before being forced to retire.

All the perimeters were manned and the Germans attacked from all sides. The headquarters trench was in Buchanan Street, near Longueval. The Cape Town company and two companies of the Scottish Battalion were in support.

During the morning of Sunday 16th the Cape men attacked the north-west corner, but were beaten back. Some of the German snipers had positions up in the trees, while their machine-guns swept the ground below.

Lieutenant Arthur Craig from East London fell wounded in the open and Pte Mannie Faulds from Cradock and Privates Baker and Estment went to his rescue. He was later awarded the VC for that and other acts of bravery.

Garnet Tanner, 22, from East London was a signaller who was used as a runner. While taking a message a shell landed in the soft earth below him and blew him in a somersault. He came down head first in the hole and the ground collapsed

on him. Tanner waved his legs until he was dragged out, then completed his mission.

For his bravery he was awarded a DCM. The young men soon became veterans. His brother Douglas was to earn a Military Medal at Ypres later in the war.

On Monday morning the 17th General Lukin left Montauban to visit his officers in the wood. Private Victor Casson, 17, rushed up to him and said, “General, Sir. I’m the only survivor of Kimberley Company.” Lukin nodded and replied, “Well done. Now go back to your position until relieved.” Casson threw grenades until he later became a prisoner.

The Germans attacked Longueval and were beaten back. At 7.00pm Col Tanner was wounded in the thigh. He was carried from the wood shouting that he wished to remain with his men. Col Thackeray then took command. Meanwhile the Germans consolidated.

At 8.00am on Tuesday 18th the German artillery opened up and blasted the wood for 7.5 hours. At times 400 shells a minute (Seven per second) were fired. Aerial photographs show the devastation.

In the north Major Burges sent Lt Errol Tatham for reinforcements, then he was killed. Tatham came across Pte Nicholas Vlok, a former Boer officer, who was wounded. He had him attended to then was hit himself and mortally wounded. He lost a cousin in the wood and his brother, William, in a submarine in the Adriatic. Three weeks later his father searched for his body. He never found it but said that the dead lay three deep in the trenches.

Lieutenant Edward Phillips led his Trench Mortar Battery into the wood to fight as infantry. Pte Gordon Forbes, the later tennis player’s uncle, thought it was a cheek! A biplane flown by Major Allister Miller from Cape Town spotted enemy positions for artillery.

About ten battalions (10,000 men) of fresh German troops broke through in the north, swept through the wood and took the South Africans on the southern perimeter in the rear, thereby cutting off the Transvalers from Col Thackeray’s headquarters. They ran out of ammunition on the morning of Wednesday 19th and were taken prisoner. Thackeray fought on, though some of his men fell asleep during the fighting. Had they given way the Germans would have been able to enfilade both the British and French lines.

Thackeray’s survivors were finally relieved during the evening of the 20th. Three wounded officers (Thackeray and Lieuts Phillips and Garnet Green) and 140 men were all that remained.

Normally when 30% casualties are incurred troops are withdrawn. The South Africans had 95% casualties. The brigade regrouped at Happy Valley. Eventually about 750 men of the original 3,000 assembled, five officers out of 121.

On 21 July the brigade paraded before General Lukin. He took the salute with tears running down his face. He had not only known the boys but their parents as well. A shock ran through the country when the casualty lists appeared. Lieutenants Phillips and Green were each awarded the Military Cross. Both were later killed.

Thereafter the wood was referred to as Devil’s Wood by survivors. An eminent British historian, Sir Basil Liddel Hart, said that it was the bloodiest battle hell of 1916 – and this in a campaign when a million men of both sides were to fall. Fighting continued there until 15 September when tanks were used for the first time.

The village of Longueval was flattened. There were no houses left and only one tree, a hornbeam, in the wood.

Two years later, in February 1918, General Lukin held a remembrance parade at Delville Wood. The following month the Germans launched a massive offensive. The brigade retreated then was forced to surrender at Marrieres Wood, about 10 km south of Delville Wood.

Padre Eustace Hill had survived Delville Wood. During the battle he had made tea for the soldiers and attended to the wounded. He also buried many of the fallen. He lost an arm at the Butte de Warlencourt battle in October 1916 and eventually became headmaster of St John’s College, Johannesburg.

The Delville Wood Cemetery has 5,000 graves, of which only 151 are for South Africans. The rest of the 766 killed are still in their trenches and foxholes. In 1926 a Memorial was opened by Gen Hertzog, the South African prime minister.

I interviewed the last survivor, Joe Samuels, 99, who lived in Florida. He had been one of the Transvalers in the south-east of the wood, was wounded and evacuated.

Since then many groups have visited the wood. In 1984 a party which included four generals visited to consider plans for a museum, which was then built in the wood otherside the memorial. It is based on the castle, Cape Town and is a popular tourist stopover nowadays.

Delville Wood became a national holiday and was commemorated annually until 1994. The MOTHS still have services to remember the bravery of the men who held the wood ‘at all costs’.

They were characters. For example, Carol Charlewood’s father, Wilfred Brink, at age 81 went on an expedition to the Antarctic. Maurice Cristel died aged 92 while playing squash. Eddie Fitz said that effectively Maurice had committed suicide! For such reasons we will never forget them.

LESS THAN POETIC SOLDIERING - DAVID LENS' EXPERIENCES OF THE GREAT WAR

MR LOUIS EKSTEEN & DR GERHARD GENIS (CURATOR FORT AMIEL MUSEUM - NEWCASTLE)



WWI 1914 - 2014 Centenary Pin Badge

Louis Jacobus Eksteen obtained his BA honours at the University of Pretoria with a mini-thesis under the supervision of Prof Fransjohan Pretorius on the experiences of his great-grandfather J. F. van Eeden during the Anglo-Boer War in Natal.

He then also obtained a Post Graduate Diploma in Museum and Heritage Studies from UP.

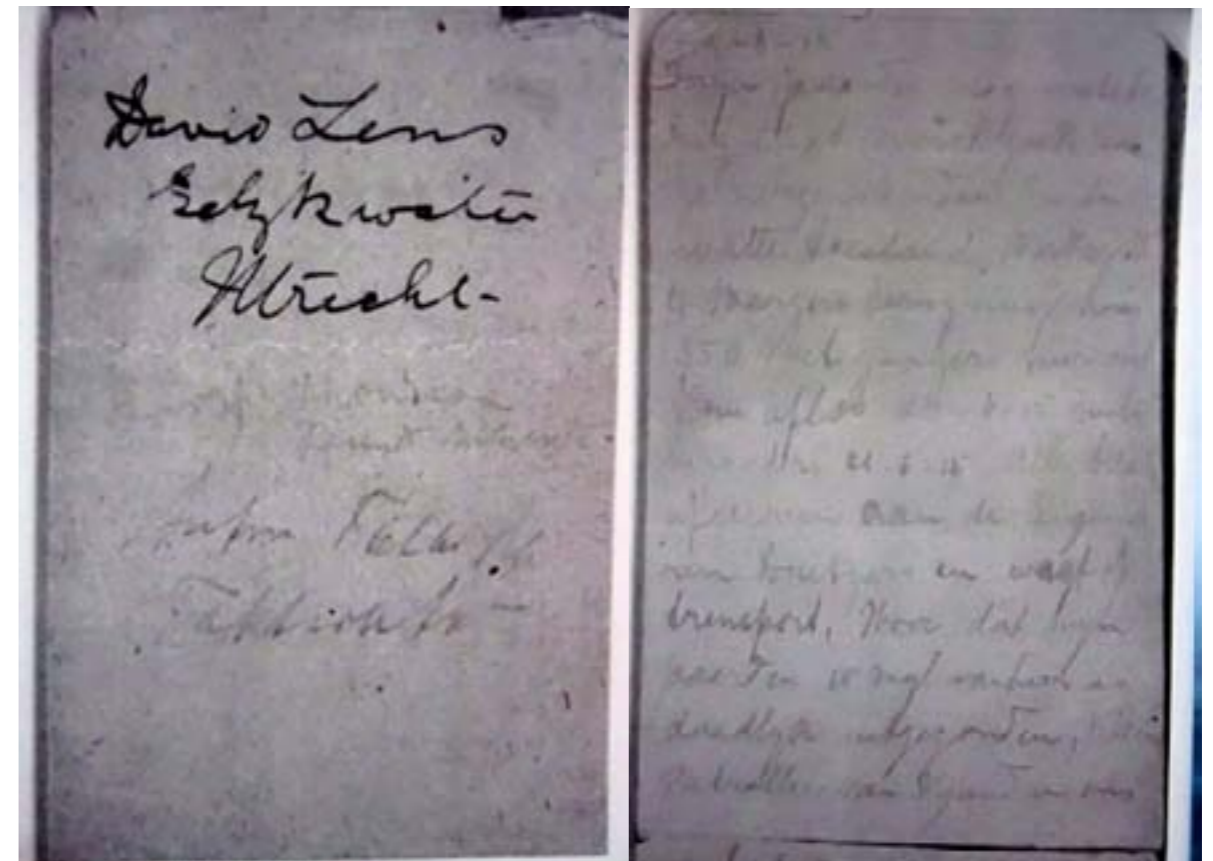
He started his career in the SA Defence force's Archives after which he was Chief Researcher at the Voortrekker-Msunduzi Museum in Pietermaritburg for seven years and since 2003 the Curator of the Fort Amiel Museum in Newcastle.

He has published booklets on the Voortrekker history and Anglo-Boer War in Newcastle.

He recently transcribed David Lens's First World War diary and will jointly annotate it with Dr Gerhard Genis also adding a biographical introduction on Lens's life.



David Lens and his wife Johanna Rothman





The Lens Family



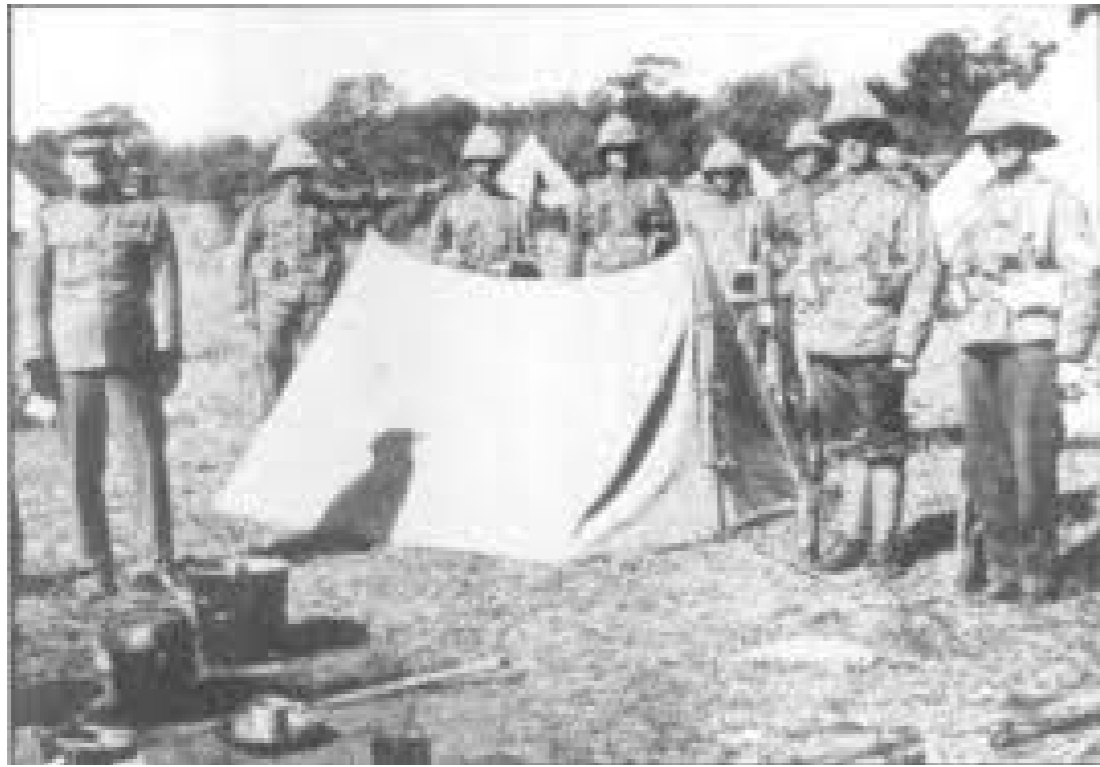
LENS PARTICIPATED IN THE BOER WAR



UTRECHT



NATAL MILITIA



REBELLION 1914



LENS'S MEDALS : DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER – DSO 1918



1914-1915 Star and British war and victory medals



Dekoratie voor trouwe diens (DTD)

LENS PASSES AWAY



HOSPITAL AND DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

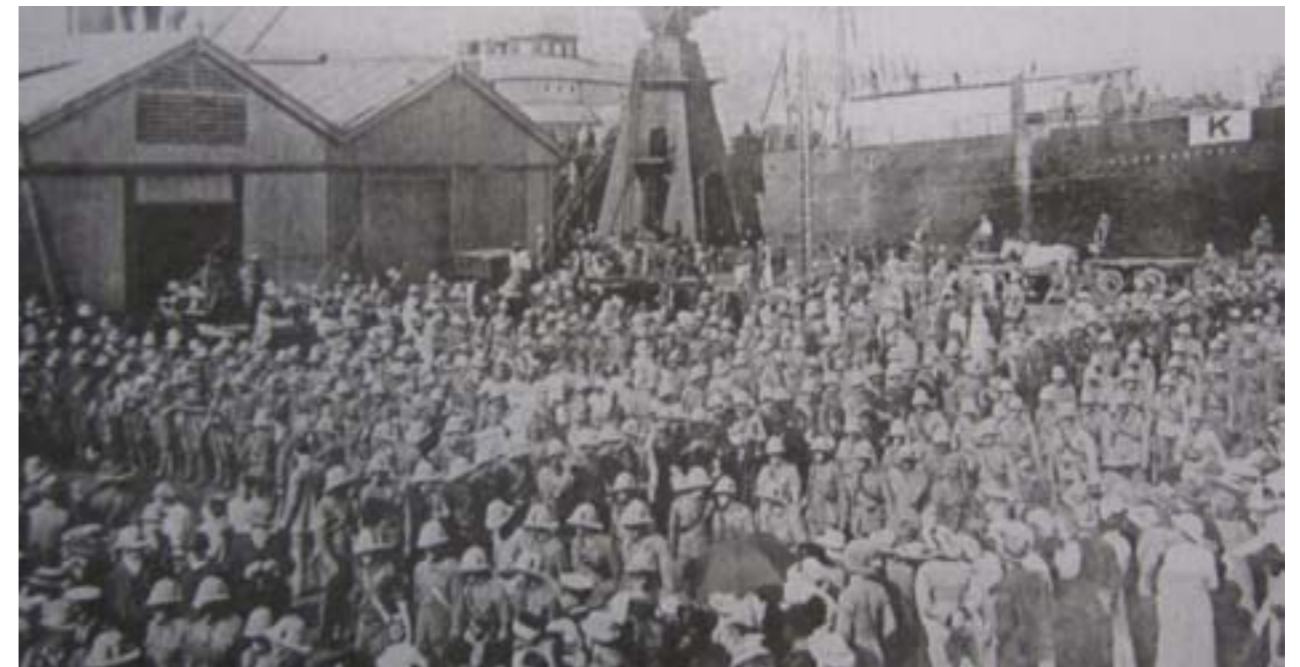




LOYAL SOUTH AFRICA

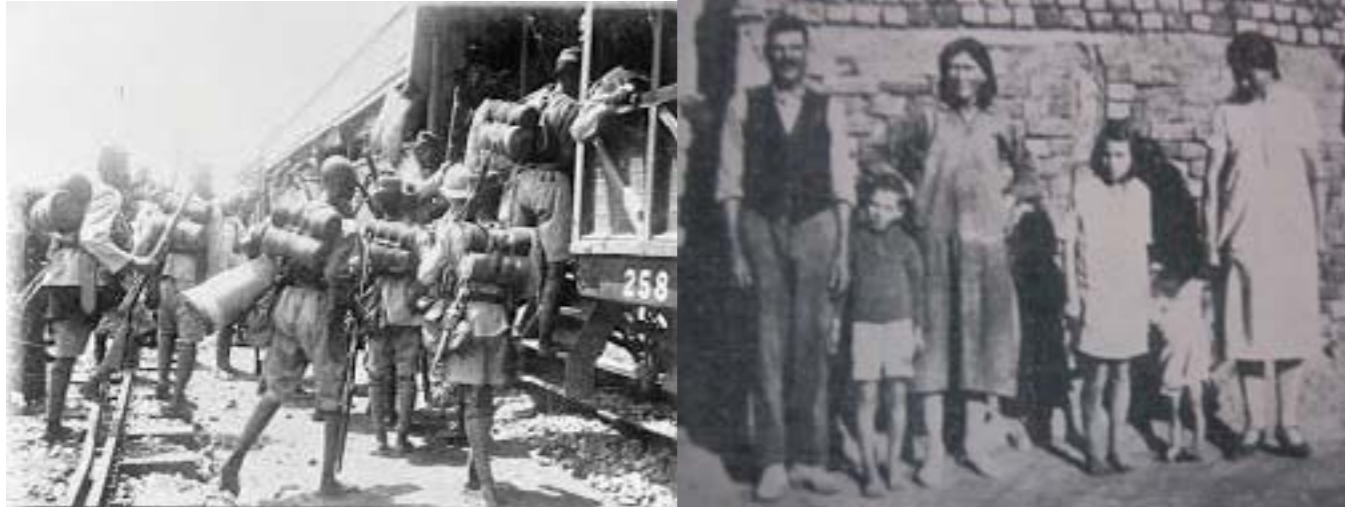


PART 2: RECRUITMENT

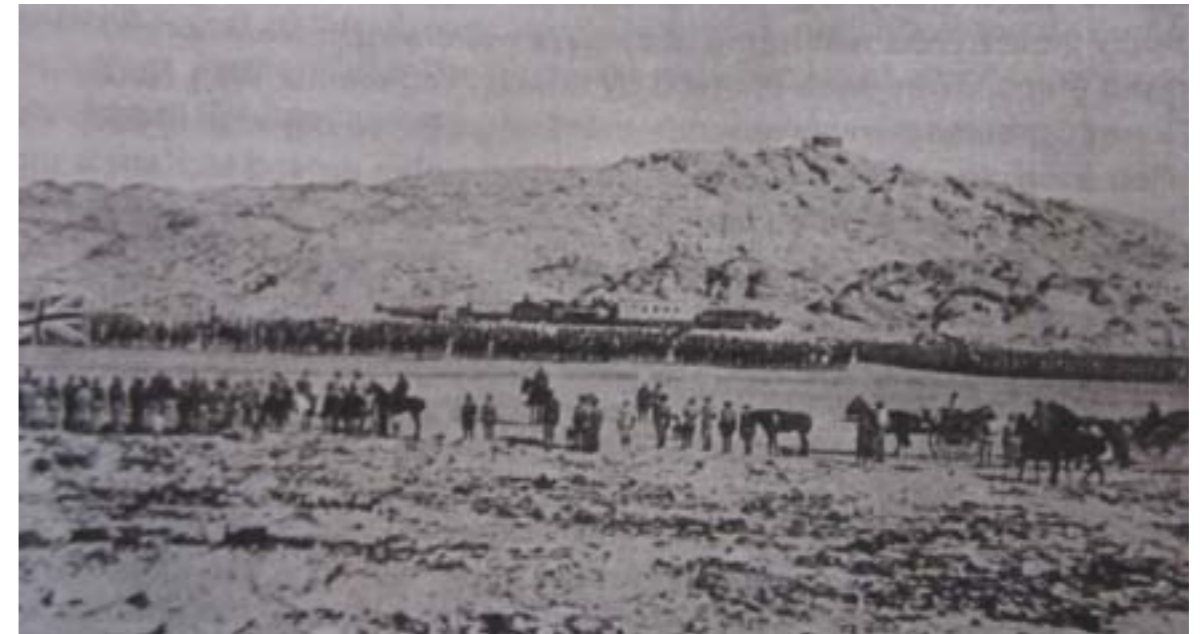




REASONS FOR JOINING

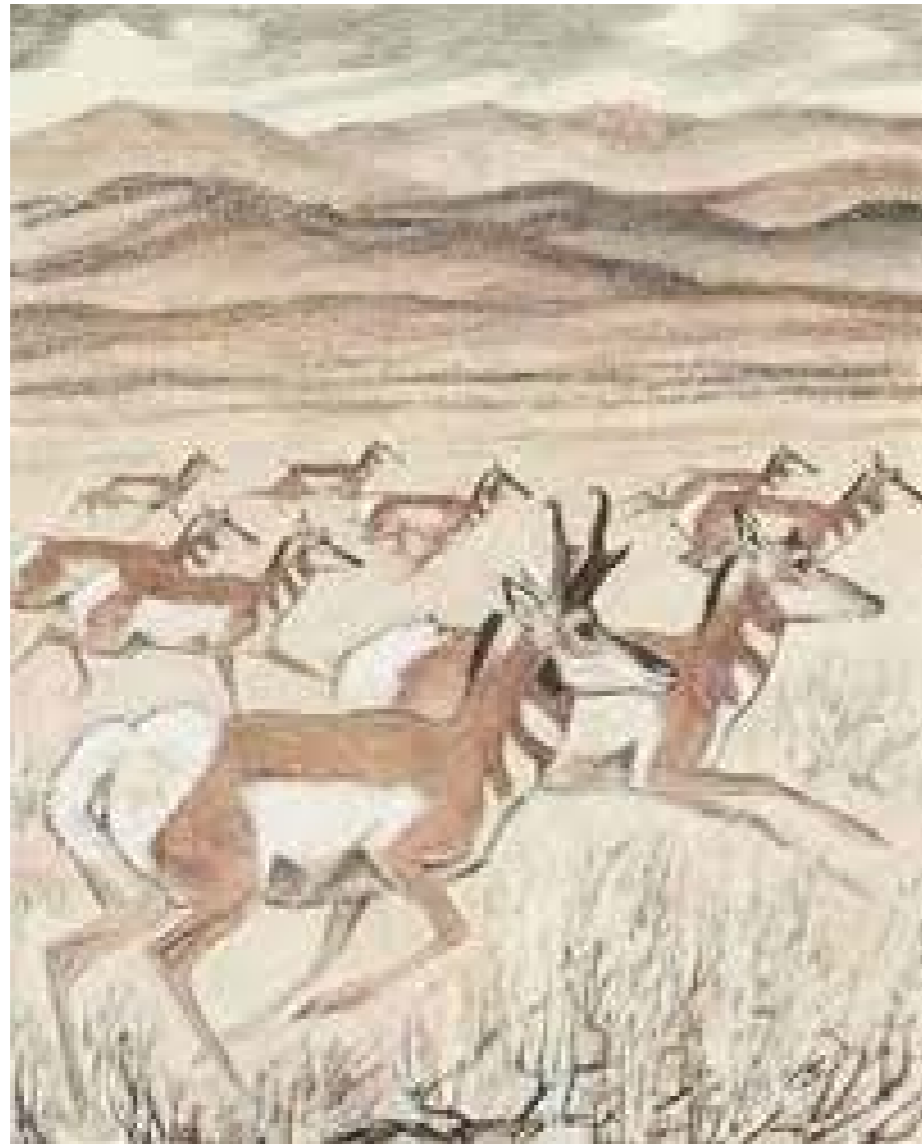


LIKE ANTELOPE....



COMMANDO LIFE

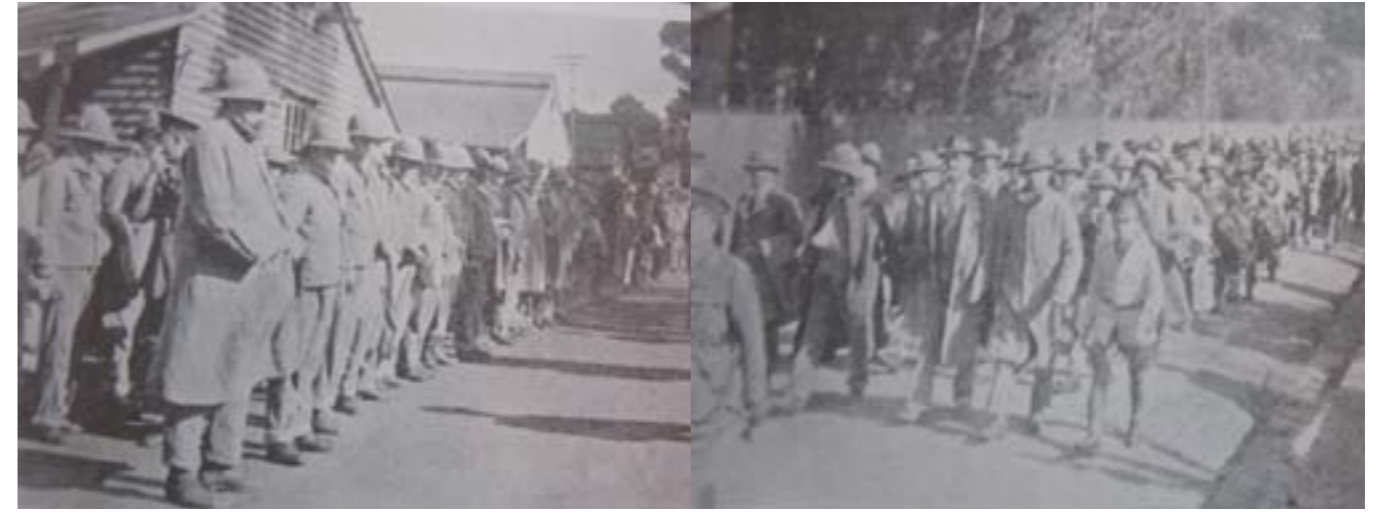




DISSATISFACTION



WYNBERG CAMP



HMS GAIKA



ON BOARD ! GOING TO GSWA – DEB SICKNESS





HARD TIME LIES AHEAD.



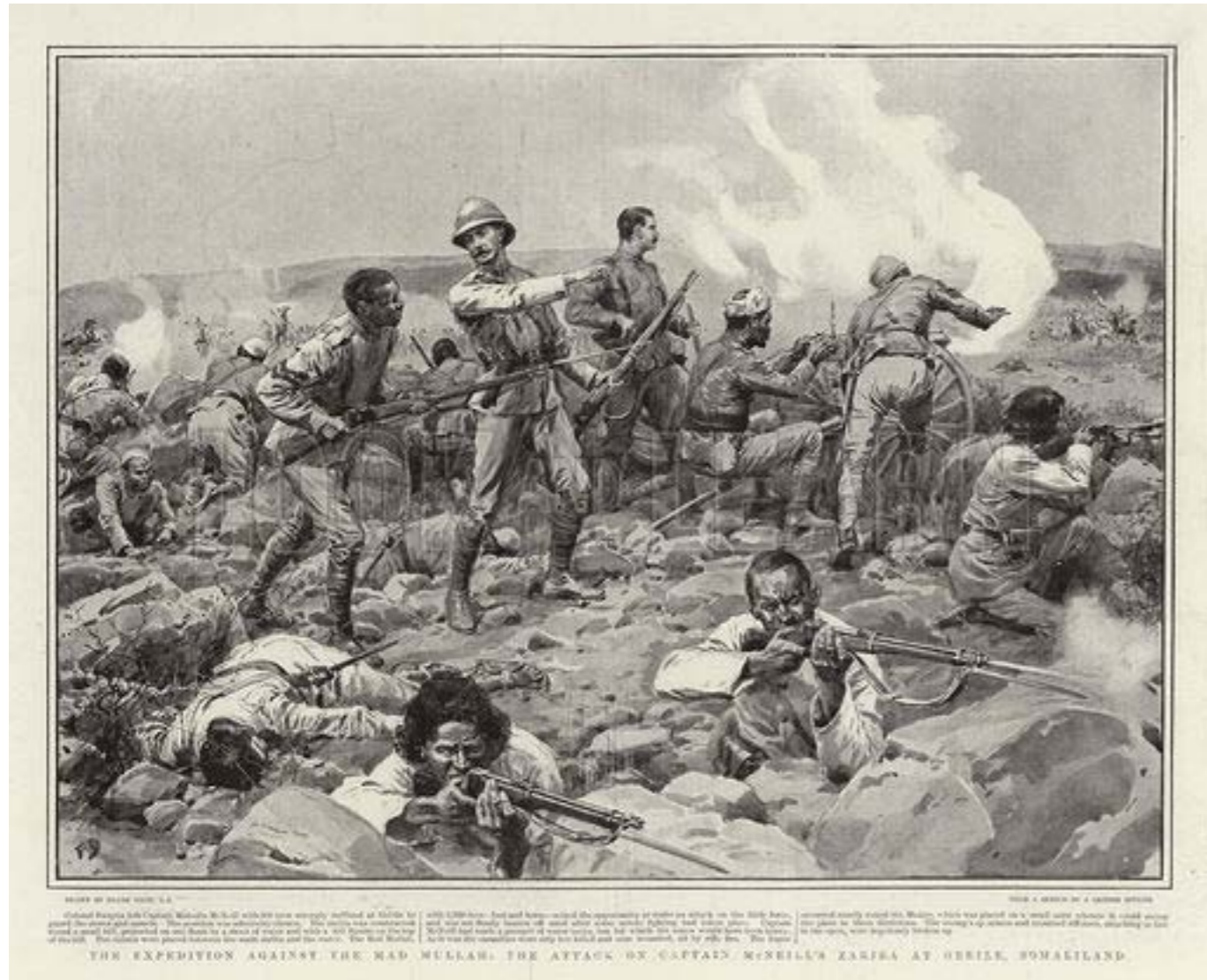
DISCIPLINE



AFRIKANER MASCULINITY



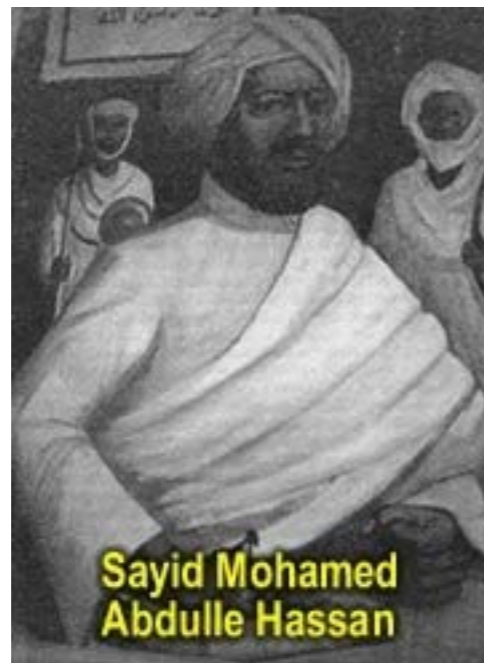
MAD MULLAH IN SOMALILAND



WATER... WATER....



WASTED BODIES...



SICKNESS AND EXHAUSTION



SUFFERING



RECEIVING GIFTS FROM HOME



KNITTING CAMPAIGN



DESERT CAMPAIGN



RELIGION



FINAL



RORY FYFE KING - MAYOR OF DUNDEE AND HIS LINKS WITH THE BOER AND GREAT WAR (COLLECTING AND RESEARCHING HIS MEDAL)

RORY REYNOLDS

Rory Reynolds was raised from an early age in the knowledge that both his grandparents played a role in WWI it was no wonder that Rory developed a passion for all things Military. His paternal grandfather saw service with the 2nd SAI in France was wounded and was taken POW at Marrieres Wood whilst his maternal grandfather was first with the Mounted Brigade in German East Africa and then a pilot on the Western Front flying Sopwith Camels with the RFC/RAF. He still has the original Red Cross cards for parcels issued to his grandfather as a POW in Germany.

Called up to the Infantry after a spell at University, Rory transferred to the Personnel Service Corps and was the Prosecutor in the Military Law Office in Ladysmith during his National Service charged with Boards of Enquiry, Summary Investigations and prosecuting mainly AWOL cases.

It took a trip round Natal with work colleague William De Villiers to catch the medal bug. This was eight years and many medals ago and he has developed a passion for research with the single minded focus of bringing the man behind the medal back to life, albeit for a short while. He specialises in Boer War and WWI period history. He lives and works in Pietermaritzburg.

DISTRICT ENGINEER, PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, NATAL CIVIL SERVICE - QUEENS SOUTH AFRICA MEDAL TO R. KING, DISTRICT ENGINEER



Robert King was born at Hamilton, near Glasgow on 5 November 1854 the son of William King, a gun maker by trade and his wife Elizabeth Forrest King, born Fyfe. King was educated at Hamilton and Edinburgh before taking for his wife Agnes Allan of Ardrrie, on 3 December 1875 when a very youthful 21 years of age.

Prior to his arrival in South Africa he was the Manager-in-Chief for 15 years to Robert McAlpine & Sons of Glasgow, a Railway Contracting firm employing 7,000 men.

According to that wonderful tome Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal, published in 1906, King was a brother of the late Mr. J. F. King, M.I.A. and came out to South Africa from the "Old Country" in 1890. Naturally there was a lot more to Robert King than this innocuous comment would suggest and the task I gave myself was to find out more about the man.

Robert Fyfe King, to give him his correct name, was engaged on the Durban Harbour Works for two years subsequent to his arrival in Natal as Assistant to the great Cathcart Methven, Engineer-in-Chief. Prior to this and, indeed, for a number

of years thereafter, the authorities in Durban had been battling to find a way to dredge the harbour, extend its mouth and make it in every way safe for ships to navigate into its bowels. Various schemes had been tried at great expense and a number of reputations had been “shipwrecked” in the process. King would have been employed by this department at the time when things were not quite settled and a workable solution, of grave concern to residents and the Colonial Government alike, not yet happened upon. For this information we have the Natal Who’s Who of 1906 to thank – they provided a brief biographical vignette on King at the time.

On 19 July 1893 King began the first of many correspondences concerning his career by penning a letter on Natal Harbour Board stationery to Lieut. Colonel A.H. Hime, R.E., a later Prime Minister of Natal, as follows,

“Sir, I beg respectfully to offer you my services for work under (Railway) Construction department, should you have an opening for me.

I have had very large experience in Bridge and Viaduct buildings, both for Arch and Girder, and also Cofferdams for Foundations, Railways, Road-making, and buildings of almost every kind.

For the past two years I have been General Foreman of Natal Harbour, and also for six months in charge of the Back Beach Battery work, but owing to Mr Methven having to reduce expenditure he dispensed with the office of General Foreman.

It occurred to me that you might require someone to commence the Bridge over the Umkomaas (River) if so, and you think me suitable, I would like to do my level best to carry out the work to your approval and satisfaction.

Trusting you will bear me in mind should you have a vacancy of any kind and I take the liberty of enclosing a letter from Mr Methven, as also copies of my testimonials.

I have the honour to be Sir, your obedient servant etc. Robert King, Pietermaritzburg.”

The testimonials referred to provide us with wonderful insight into what King had been up to in the years prior to coming to South Africa. The first was from J.L. Booker & Co., Vulcan Engine, Boiler and Machine Works of Liverpool and was dated 23 January 1889. It read as follows:

“I have pleasure in bearing testimony to the ability and zeal of Robert King, and also to the industrious manner in which he devotes his energy and experience for the interests of his employers.

He is a man of practical building experience, and in the large additions he has carried out, viz.: Boiler Shops, New Saw Mills, Building in Boilers and tall Chimney Stacks, besides Earthworks and Railway lines, all for the Naval Construction and Armaments Co. at Barrow-in-Furness, he has completed the whole of the contract in accordance with Plans personally, in a thoroughly experienced manner, such as only a skilled and reliable man could do.

I have no hesitation in recommending him to anyone who requires his services, whether it be for the Railway undertakings, Large Buildings, or any leading place of trust which requires management, care and skill. (Signed) John L. Booker, Consulting Engineer.”

The next testimonial came from Grangemouth Saw Mills and was dated 6 June 1890. It read as follows:

“This is to certify that Mr Robt. King has been with us for one year, as Manager of our Timber Yard and Saw Mills, and during that period he has proved himself trustworthy, steady, and very obliging in every respect. He leaves us for South Africa, and we wish him every success, and consider him a very superior and intelligent Gentleman, and one who is bound to succeed in life. (Signed) Muirhead & Sons.

Glowing tributes indeed from his previous employers! The last testimonial was that of Cathcart Methven:

“I have much pleasure in certifying that Mr Robert King, General Foreman of these works, has been engaged by me in that capacity for the last two years. During the whole time he has given me complete satisfaction, and is thoroughly honest, steady and reliable, while his practical knowledge extends over an unusually large field. As his testimonials, previous to his arrival in this Colony, will show, some of the works of which he had charge at Home were of an important character, and were personally known to me, as were also some of his employers, and I have therefore the greater confidence in recommending Mr King to anyone requiring the services of a skilled inspector of public works. Mr King is especially well acquainted with all the forms of masonry brickwork and drainage, and is possessed of considerable ingenuity in overcoming difficulties.

I understand he is applying for the post of Sanitary Inspector at Johannesburg, and I feel sure that the position is one that he would fill with thorough efficiency.” (Signed) Cathcart W. Methven, Engineer-in Chief, and dated at the Point, Durban, on 23 November 1892.

Quite where the idea of relocating to Johannesburg came from is unknown but it was never King’s intention to leave Natal.

King’s application for employment with attached testimonials did the normal bureaucratic round with the Colonial Secretary asking the Colonial Engineer if he had “any employment which you can offer this man?”

To this came the reply “I regret I have no employment to Mr King. I have, however, noted his name.” In modern day parlance this would be termed the “kiss of death” but our forefather’s possessed greater integrity and the application was in fact passed on to the Engineer in Chief with a request for a “note” to be made of it.

On 4 August a reply was sent to King as follows, “Sir, With reference to your letter of the 19th ultimo applying for employment in the construction Dept. of the Railways I have the honour to inform you that your application has been duly noted by the Engineer-in-Chief. I return herewith, the testimonials forwarded with your application.”

Thwarted, King next applied himself to the European Land and Immigration Board writing to those worthies from his home “Glenlee”, Durban on 28 August 1893:

“Gentlemen, I have the honour to submit for your approval, my application for the vacancy of Manager and Secretary to your Board, and do so with confidence, having had a good business as well as practical training which would be of value in fulfilling the duties of the office with credit and satisfaction.

I was brought up in a large Agricultural district, and was employed on the Duke of Hamilton’s model Home farm for two years, where I gained a good general knowledge of farming. Afterwards I was apprenticed to the building trade, and in course of time was made Manager of a very large business, and in that capacity had to attend to all correspondence, and making estimates, and reports etc.

I have a thorough knowledge of Book Keeping. Both Single and Double entry, as well as business routine and feel sure my practical experience would be found valuable to Artisans and others in advising as to their general requirements on arrival in the Colony.

For the past two years I have been employed as Foreman of Works under Mr Methven and only on account of economy, he told me he was obliged to give me notice. I am married, active, and of temperate habits, and should your Board consider me eligible for the Appointment I shall at all times devote my earnest and best attention to your commands. Enclosed please find my testimonial which I trust you will find satisfactory.” A copy of this was sent by King to Lt. Col. Hime.

Despite his eloquence and his very obvious abilities it seemed that King was still “in the market” for a job. His entreaties must have, at last, fallen onto sympathetic ears as we next encounter him in the Zululand region of Natal in 1895 and the subject of a letter from W. Bosman, Director of Public Works, to the P.W.D. in Eshowe on 15 July 1896. It read as follows:

“These are to certify that Mr Robert King was selected for the post of Clerk of Works, amongst 42 applicants, on the 6th November 1895.

There were extensive works in hand notably the construction of the Eshowe Gaol, with which Mr King was intimately connected. I have always found in Mr King an excellent worker, a most zealous Officer, and his sound knowledge and long experience on Building Construction invaluable.

The position of trust Mr King so ably filled has to be abolished on account of the discontinuance of all Public Works in Zululand, and it is greatly regretted that his valued services cannot be retained”

Sadly, life had dealt him yet another cruel blow and he had lost another post to circumstances beyond his control. On 7 September 1896 he wrote to the Public Works Department from Eshowe in Zululand:

“Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that as the Zululand Government have entirely suspended all Public Works, and Buildings this year, it has thrown me out of employment and I have pleasure in offering you my services in any capacity you may think proper to place me.

I regretted much to hear of the decease of Mr Timewell at Durban and it has occurred to me that you might require someone to fill the vacancy caused thereby. Should you be able to favour me with the appointment it will be my earnest endeavour to discharge all the duties entrusted to me, in an efficient and economical manner, to your entire satisfaction. Awaiting your esteemed commands.”

How does the old saying go? – When opportunity knocks....

On 7 October, in reply to his letter, King was asked to call on the Engineer in Pietermaritzburg “as there is every probability of my being able to offer you an appointment which under ordinary circumstances might, I think, be regarded as a permanency.”

King’s luck was about to change - on 19 October 1896 a “Minute Paper relative to the appointment of King as District Superintendent of Works” was submitted to the Minister, Lands & Works by the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department (P.W.D.) – it read as follows:

“Herewith for your approval letter of appointment to Mr King. In Mr King’s case, I have altered the title “District Engineer” to “District Superintendent of Works”. This is necessary because Mr King, though very suitable and having large experience, is not a qualified Engineer. Besides, as the Headquarters for this district will be in Maritzburg and the

Officer in touch with the Head Office, the appointment is not so important as either the Coast or Up-Country Districts. For the same reason, the salary is fixed at a lower rate, viz: £300 to £350.”

King’s letter of appointment was handed to him on 22 October 1896:

“Sir, I have the honour to inform you that the Minister of Lands & Works in the Public Works Department of this Colony for the Midlands District, viz:- the Counties of Umvoti & Pietermaritzburg, as also the Main Road from Hancock’s Drift to Harding through the Cape Colony, and the Village of Harding, but not the County of Alfred.

This appointment will take effect as from the 19th instant, and will be subject to six months notice on either side. Under it, your salary will commence at the rate of £300, per annum, rising by annual increments of £12 subject to the approval of the Engineer, P.W.D. You will be allowed travelling expenses at the rate of 15/- per diem, and actual out of pocket expenses for horse or trap hire.

You will clearly understand that this appointment does not entitle you to any of the benefits enjoyed by members of the permanent Civil Service of the Colony.

I have the honour etc.”

With this post now his own King was “back in business” - part of his duties included the supervision of several men to wit Bazley, Rawlinson, Antel, Fitzgerald and Logan, almost all of them from old Colonial families. It also meant that he was in charge of the Pietermaritzburg (Northern District) as well as the New Territory, an area of 10,000 square miles, where he was responsible for the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges and all public buildings.

For the purposes of executing his new role King was now supplied with a Railway Pass for travelling between Botha’s Hill outside Durban and Nottingham Station in the Natal Midlands.

In 1899, on the eve of the Anglo Boer War, it was reported that King had passed the Civil Service Examination and, in consequence thereof he was recommended for the permanent establishment of the post of Second Clerk. This met with resistance as there was no money for the post in the budget and King’s tenure looked as if it was again in danger with his superior writing that “he is satisfactory as a clerk and I should be sorry to lose him.”

After much to-ing and fro-ing it was agreed that King be given a probationary post for six months working out of the District Engineer’s office in Eshowe – this was to commence on 15 February 1900.

All of this was taking place as a backdrop to the Siege of Ladysmith several months earlier. We turn again to the 20th Century Impressions of Natal for a better idea of where King was and what he was up to:

“In October 1899, when the war broke out, he left in the last train despatched from Newcastle to Ladysmith, where he remained throughout the siege, and was present at the first Council of War presided over at Ladysmith by Sir George White. He was asked for, and gave, his advice on several occasions in connection with the defence of the town, and was mentioned in dispatches. At the conclusion of the war he received a medal and clasp.” (The medal part we know to be true but there is no evidence to suggest that he was awarded the Defence of Ladysmith clasp.)

As a welcome distraction to the siege, King was a witness to the marriage of his son William Allan King, a Lieutenant in the Scottish Horse, to Alice Sarah Plunkett on 15 January 1901 at the All Saints Church in Ladysmith. The wedding reception must have been a dour affair with rations scarce to come by.

With the war a thing of the past King returned to his normal employment and, on 24 November 1902 found himself as the District Engineer for Newcastle. The date was an auspicious one for him as it was the day that he was voted a fully fledged Member of The Institution of Civil Engineers. Despite having practised in that capacity for many a year he was now fully qualified and the member of a Professional Body for the first time.

The Election Form, shown hereunder, is instructive as it provides a detailed breakdown of the candidate’s education. In King’s case he received his education at the Public School, Hamilton Academy, for 12 years from 1860 until 1872. His scientific training was in the form of private tuition under Whitworth during 1883. He worked his Pupilage under James Henderson Esq., Engineer and Architect from 1873 until 1876 and he was an Assistant to His Grace, the Duke of Hamilton. The Council, having considered the recommendation of Five Corporate Members, balloted King as an Associate Member on 12 April 1904.

The 1909 Civil List (Natal) shows that R. King, District Engineer, P.W.D., retired on 1 November 1905 and received an annual pension of £198.8.11. Was this the last we were to hear of him? Not at all – King, now freed from the shackles of having to earn a living, devoted himself to local politics and, having moved to the tranquil surroundings of Dundee in Northern Natal, sought public office. He was successful in this regard and was voted as the Councillor for Ward 2; he was also on the board of the Dundee (Permanent) Building Society and, almost as a final accolade, the Mayor of Dundee in 1912. The Natal Who’s Who of 1906 recorded that he was a Member of the Association for the Advancement of Science and that his hobbies were “Dogs and Horses.” His address was “The Bungalow,” Dundee.

Robert King passed away at the age of 69 years 8 months on 17 July 1921 at 76 Douglas Street, Dundee. He was survived by daughters Jean Botha, Leila Elizabeth Fyfe French and Anne Lindsay Anderton as well as sons Robert Fyfe

King and Gordon Alexander King.

Many years later, Mrs Sheila Henderson, Chairman of the Dundee Museum Committee, wrote to a relative of King’s asking for material on Robert King for the Dundee Centenary 1982 publication. The reply she received was as follows:

“In reply to your request for material on my grandfather who was twice Mayor of your town, I have to forward herewith an extract from “Who’s Who” and a photograph of him in his mayoral robes and trust that these will be of use for your collection. I am afraid that these are all I have, as I was brought up with my maternal grandparents in the Transvaal and do not remember seeing Grandfather Robert King.

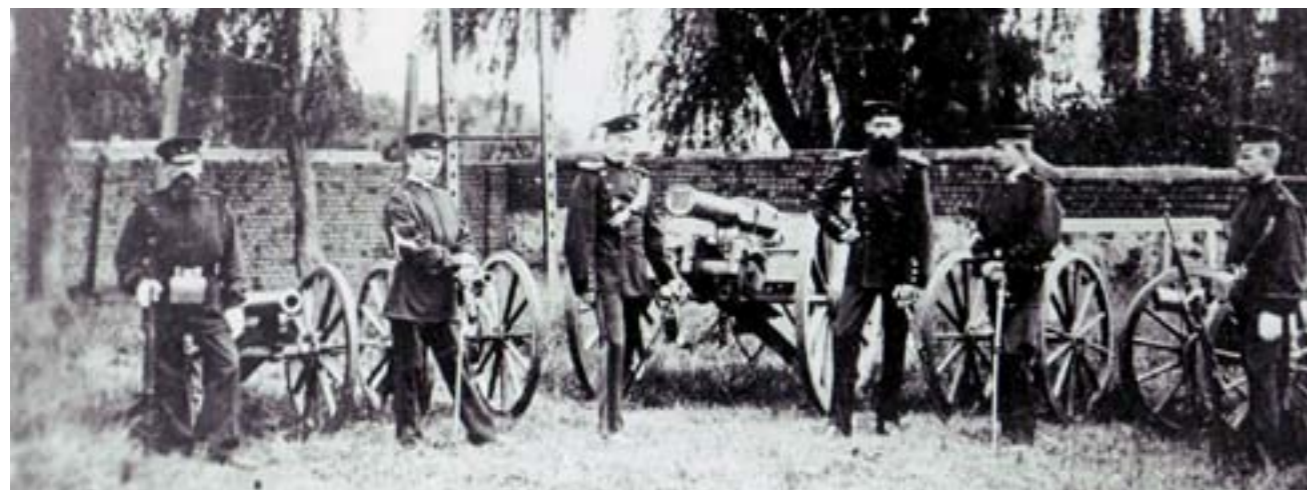
His eldest son was my father, William Allan King who was shot dead whilst serving with the Government Forces against the rebels at Hammanskraal in September 1914. His second son, Robert Fyfe died recently in Umtata where he retired as Chief Native Commissioner before the last war, in which he served as a Colonel. His youngest son Gordon was a Barrister in London and he has a son in the USA somewhere.

He had three daughters: Jean who was the social editor of the Pretoria News for years; Anne who married an Anderton, who was the manager of the Standard Bank in Dundee and Leila who married the son of Lord French and moved with her husband, after the Boer War, to England. Yours faithfully, W. Allan King, Edgehill, Muizenberg, Cape Town.

EDGED WEAPONS OF THE TRANSVAAL FROM CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHS (1874-1899)

JOHAN WOLFAARDT - POTCHEFSTROOM MUSEUM

Batterij Dingaen (1874-1877)

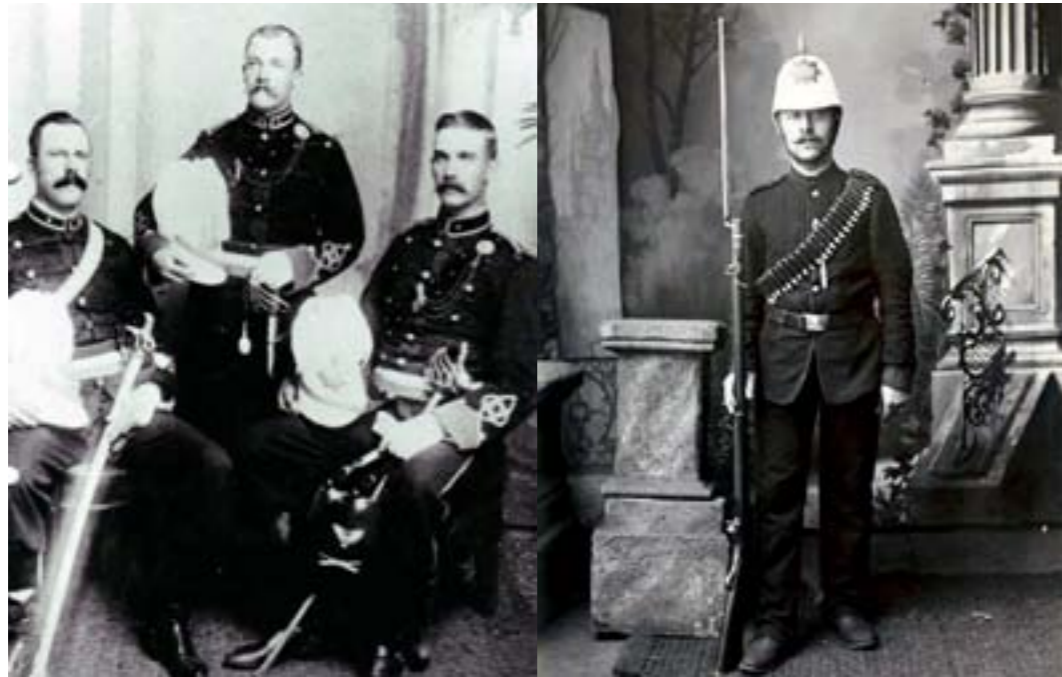
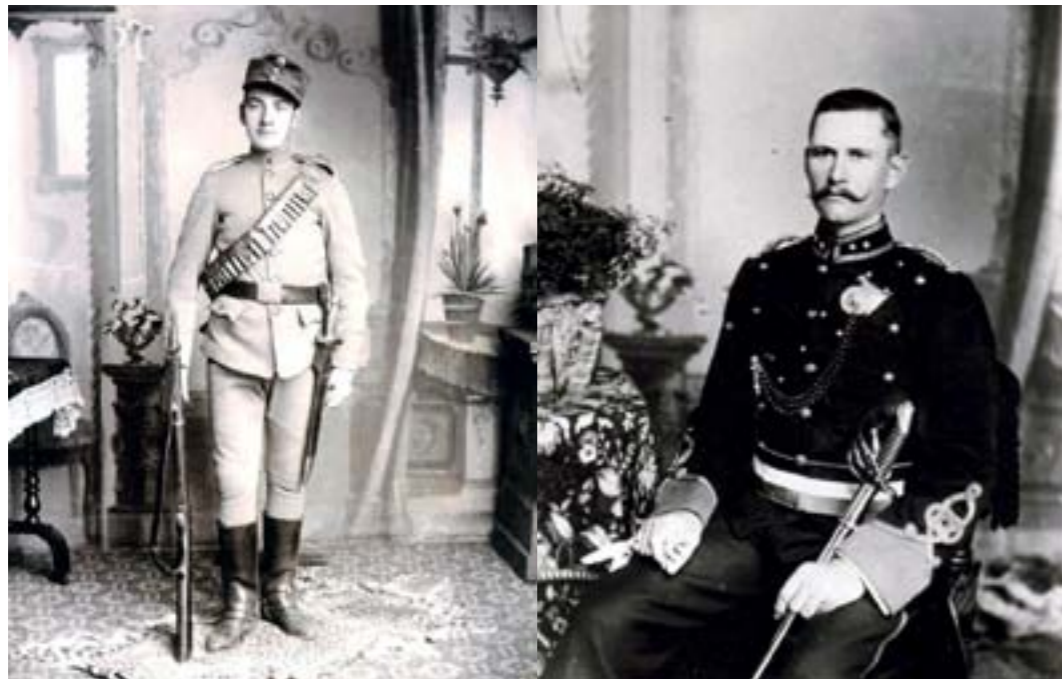


Transvaalsche Artillerie Corps (1882-1883)



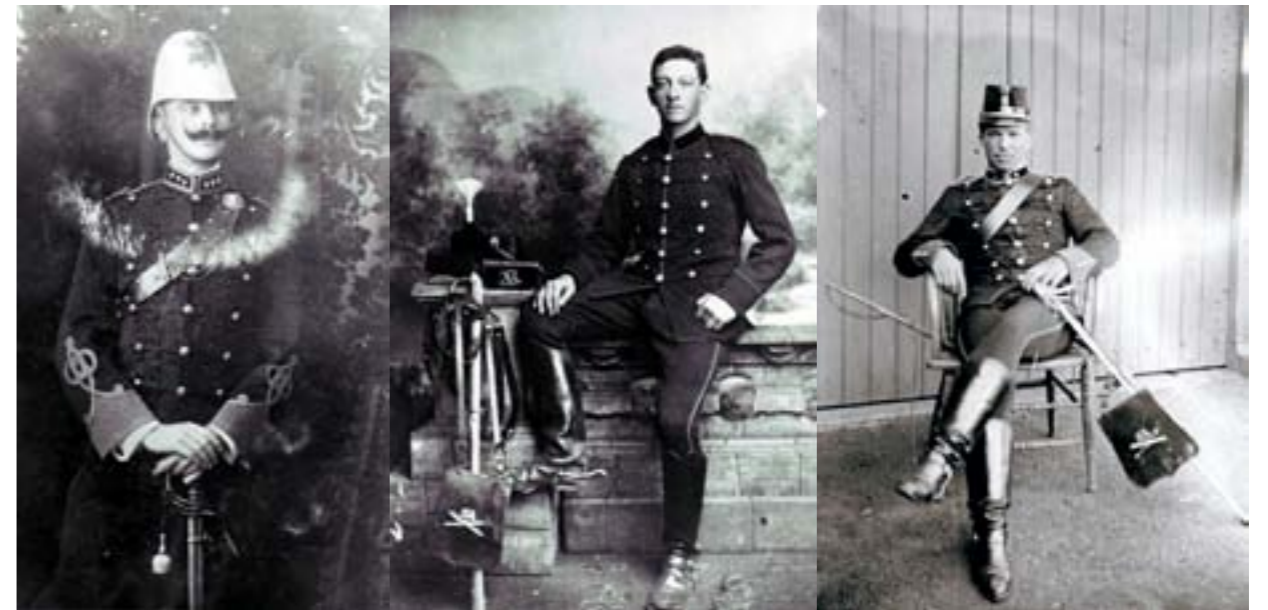
Rijdende Artillerie en Politie Corps (1883-1894)



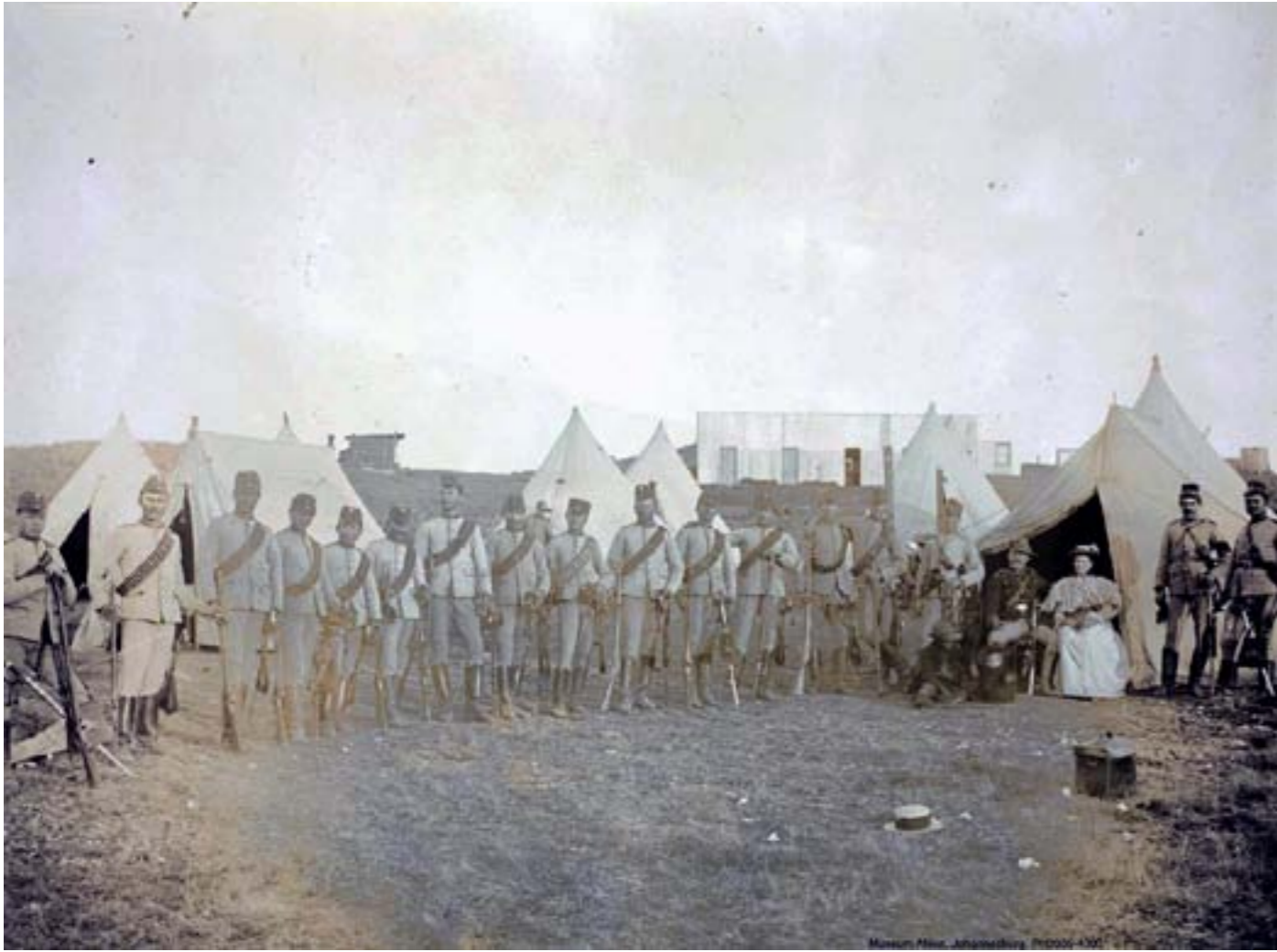




Staatsartillerie van de Z.A.R (1894-1902)



Z.A.R Police



THE DEATH OF LORD KITCHENER

PROF. LOUIS CHANGUION - RETIRED HISTORY PROFESSOR - AUTHORITY ON LONG TOM ARTILLERY GUNS

FROM BOER WAR TO WORLD WAR - THE MAKING OF THE 'OLD CONTEMPTIBLES'

DR. SPENCER JONES

VIDEO PRESENTATION



THE ANGLO-BOER WAR: CURTAIN-RAISER TO INDIRECT FIRE BY FIELD ARTILLERY

KEN GILLINGS

Ken Gillings began taking an interest in South African military history as a schoolboy and since then has undertaken extensive research into South African Battlefields, especially those in KwaZulu-Natal. He has written numerous articles on this subject, many of which have appeared in the South African Military History Journal.

He chaired the KwaZulu-Natal Regional Committee for the Commemoration of the Centenary of the Anglo-Boer War.

His interests include camping, bird-watching and wild-life and he is a member of the Rotary Club of Westville.

During the Anglo-Boer War, observation of fire by field ordnance was from the gun position, unlike nowadays where the observers are usually some distance away from the guns and they transmit corrections from the Observation Post to the Gun Position.

As is generally known, the standard gun used by the Royal Field Artillery during the Anglo-Boer War was the 15-pdr 7 cwt Mark 1 gun on a Mark 111 carriage. By the time the War began in 1899, the 15-pdr had become somewhat obsolete when compared with the Boers' 75 mm Krupp and Creusot guns, which outranged them. Nonetheless, because the Boers possessed far fewer guns, they were forced to use them individually or in twos and threes instead of in battery structures as was the case of the RFA and the RHA.

At the outset of the War, the maximum range of the 15 pr was 5600 yards (5120 metres) on percussion and 4100 yards (3750 metres) on time fuze. Case shot was also available with an effective range of 330 yards (300 metres). It had a basic recoil system in the form of an axletree spade connected to a spring in the trail. On firing, the spade dug into the ground, thus controlling rearward movement by the gun.

While the Handbook for the 15-pr BL gun may well have laid down the drill for Indirect Fire, the Manual of Field Artillery Drill (1896) (page 103) states as follows: '(v) *Observation of Fire. Battery commanders should, when possible, observe for themselves, but may be assisted by a trained observer; this observer must not, however, be a man who has other special duties to perform, such as a battery staff officer or range taker. An observer must be properly equipped either with telescope or field glasses; observation with the naked eye is, generally speaking inaccurate. Although the correct observation of individual rounds is no longer of such great importance when ranging has been completed, the battery commander should continue to watch the general effect of his fire. This will not preclude him from occasionally going through his battery, and encouraging his men by his presence.*' Section 2, paragraph 7 of the Manual ('General Principles') states: '*The position of guns should, if possible, not be indicated to the enemy until the first gun fires; and, as batteries opening fire in succession are liable to be overwhelmed in succession, a simultaneous advance, and, as a rule, a simultaneous opening of fire are essential. The advance should be so timed that the batteries come simultaneously into view of the enemy.*' I have been unable to find any reference to indirect fire and this is supported by Section 3 ('Fire Tactics'), page 9, headed "Observation of Fire": '*In order to allow of the battery commanders carrying out their duties efficiently the brigade division commanders must, as far as possible, arrange that their observation is not interfered with. If many shells are falling about the same place at the same time, battery commanders will be puzzled to distinguish their own shell from those of other batteries.*'

In effect, therefore, the Manual required the following:

1. A clear view of the target, and if possible targets;
2. A good platform for the guns, perpendicular to the line of fire;
3. No ground in front which was likely to afford cover to the enemy, or allow him to approach to short range unseen;
4. A difficult position for the enemy to range on
5. Cover.

Note that in 1899, cover was the last consideration.

The standard gun used by the Royal Horse Artillery in the War was the 12-pdr 6 cwt, which had replaced the 12-pdr 7 cwt introduced originally in 1883. The latter proved to be too heavy for the RHA and the former replaced it in 1894.

The reason for the greater utilisation of the 15-pdr during the Anglo-Boer War was that the 12-pdr had little effect on

earthworks.

As stated earlier, the maximum range of the 15 pr was 5600 yards (5120 metres) on percussion and 4100 yards (3750 metres) on time fuze. Case shot 's effective range of 330 yards (300 metres).

The maximum range of the 12-pdr 6 cwt was 5400 yards (4940 metres) on percussion and 3700 yards (3380 metres) on time fuze.

The Manual of Field Drill applied to the RHA as well, but there was an interesting deviation from the book during the Battle of Magersfontein on the 11th December 1899, when the Battery Commander of G Battery RHA (Major R Bannatine-Allason) deployed his guns on the reverse slope of Horse Artillery Hill, more specifically to counter the Boers' rifle fire than from their artillery. He was criticised by some for this action, but complimented in the Official History on the War but with a somewhat qualified: "*It would be a misfortune if this example were taken as one of general application under conditions different from those of that particular day*". Mind you, as can be seen from the accompanying slide, Horse Artillery Hill is not much more than a slight rise from the surrounding veld. There was also an example of fire being directed from an observation balloon to the field batteries at Magersfontein, but I doubt that it could be classified as indirect fire – rather directed fire.

There were two howitzer batteries in the South African campaign; 61st and 65th Howitzer Battery. The former was initially in the Eastern Cape but later sent to Natal, while the latter was used in the Western front. Both had observation teams but their utilisation was not from a concealed position. A howitzer fired a heavier projectile a shorter distance at a lower muzzle velocity with a higher trajectory. There were two more obsolete howitzers in Ladysmith – Castor and Pollux – but once again the detachments would have been within sight of their targets.

This presentation would be incomplete without any reference to the role played by the Royal Navy during the war. The Royal Navy's role in South Africa, however, may be credited to the efforts of Captain Percy Scott RN, whose foresight and intuition resulted in the big guns being removed from the ships and transported to the front on carriages designed in the railway workshops in Durban.

This meant that the British were able to match and even exceed the ranges of some of the Boer guns, notably the 155mm Creusot "Long Tom".

During the Natal campaign, the Naval Brigade comprised two 4.7in and two batteries each of eight and four 12pr 12cwt guns. The Naval Brigade was commanded by Captain E P Jones RN, of HMS Forte and Commander Limpus. Let's have a look at these guns.

Shortly before the War commenced, Scott designed a wooden trail and carriage for the Royal Navy's guns. A spade held the gun in position on firing and recoil was absorbed by an oil and spring buffer.

In total, thirty 12 pr 12 cwt QF guns (nicknamed "long 12s") and twenty one 4.7 in QF guns were converted and went into the veld.

According to Lt C R N Burne RN, the wheels and axles were too high and narrow and the guns frequently overturned.

The "Long 12s" had a 3 inch calibre and weighed 12 cwt (609.6 kg). They fired both common (12lb 8 oz / 5.7 kg) and shrapnel (14 lb 1 oz / 6.4 kg) shells (the latter containing 200 steel balls). Their range was 4500 yards (4110 metres) on time fuze and 9000 yards (8230 metres) on percussion. Their muzzle velocity was 2200 feet per second and their projectiles were filled with Lyddite (Picric acid). Their main drawback was that the pole type wooden trail restricted elevation to 7000 yards (6400 metres) range so occasionally the trail was dug into the ground to provide greater range. Three such depressions may still be seen on Gun Hill between Chieveley and Colenso.

The 4.7 inch QF gun (its calibre was 4.7 inches (120 mm) had its trials conducted on Durban beach. Scott had received a request from Gen Sir Redvers Buller for a gun that would outrange the Boers' 155 mm Creusot "Long Tom" gun. The request arrived on a Monday and the first of the guns was ready on the following Monday.

This gun was invaluable to the British army; it fired a 45 lb (20.4 kg) shell 6500 yards (5944 metres) on time fuze and 9800 yards (8960 metres) on percussion. Its shells were initially packed with Lyddite but later with shrapnel.

As far as the Boer artillery was concerned, it was commanded by Major Jan Francois Wolmarans of the Staatsartillerie, which, besides the ZARP, was the only statutory unit in the South African Republic. During the Battle of Spioenkop on the 24th January 1900, Wolmarans positioned himself with one of the 75mm Krupp guns, alongside General Louis Botha's headquarters on the rear slope of Mount Royal. Let's discuss the guns of the Staatsartillerie.

The Boers used three types of gun during the Battle of Spioenkop – which is of particular relevance to this talk. These were the 37 mm Maxim Nordenfolt Automatic Machine Gun (Pom-Pom), the 75 mm Krupp QF gun and the 75 mm Creusot QF gun.

The 'Pom-Pom' was a quick-firing belt-fed gun. It was invented by an American named Hiram S Maxim. It had been offered to Britain but incredibly, she had rejected it. The ZAR purchased several (possibly in the region of 25). It fired a 1 lb (0.45 kg) explosive round at a range of approximately 2740 metres. Although its percussion effect was limited, it

was a terribly demoralising weapon, nicknamed a Pom-Pom because of its distinctive bark when it was fired, coupled to the irregular landing of its shells.

The 75 mm Krupp QF gun fired both common (6.1 kg) and shrapnel (5 kg) shell. It did not have any recoil system but was very reliable. The shrapnel shells contained 103 steel balls – 97 fewer than the British 15 pr. Its range was 3520 metres on time fuze and 6035 metres on percussion. According to the late Maj Darrell Hall, the ZAR and OFS may have possessed two different models.

The 75 mm Creusot QF gun was the possibly the first gun to have a modern recoil system. It was designed to give a far-reaching zone of shrapnel effect and therefore had a flat trajectory and high muzzle velocity.

Its range was 6200 metres on both time fuze and percussion and it fired common, shrapnel and case shell. Another innovation was that its rear tangent sight had a movable cross-head, which allowed for wind deflection. The gun was not terribly reliable, however, and as the war progressed, the buffers in its recoil system gave problems and often needed to be repaired. Another complaint was that the common shell was somewhat light for the calibre of the gun.

It is now necessary to deal with the matter of indirect fire, and its utilisation for what I believe is the first time in modern warfare – in this case during the Battle of Spioenkop on the 24th January 1900. General Louis Botha ordered Wolmarans to position the Boer guns as follows:

1. From General Schalk Burger, a 75mm Krupp of the Artillerie-corps van den Oranjevrijstaat was deployed on the north-western slopes of the Twin Peaks, and a Pom-pom on the ridge west of it. From those positions, however, the ranges are 2 800 metres and 1 500 metres respectively, and they were completely hidden from view from the British guns. During the course of the battle, both were moved; the Krupp to within 1 700 metres of the Kop, and therefore within devastatingly close range of the target.
2. Lieutenant Heinrich Grothaus, whose gun fired smokeless powder, swung the trails of his 75mm Krupp and Pom-pom guns and faced in the direction of Spioenkop. Their range was 2 900 metres from the summit of Spioenkop. Botha then ordered Lieutenant Friedrich von Wichmann to move his two 75mm Creusot field guns from Acton Homes to an area north of Grothaus, at a range of 4 200 metres from the summit. The ZAR Krupp, which had been taken to the foot of Spioenkop the previous evening, was deployed on the slope behind Botha's HQ on Mount Royal, and personally commanded by Wolmarans, at a range of 2 100 metres.

By brilliant utilisation of these guns, Wolmarans created havoc for the British on the summit, with shells raining down on them with staggering accuracy but a great deal of credit for this accuracy must go to the heliographer, Louis Bothma. Bothma had positioned himself on level ground just below the crest of Aloe Knoll. He kept in heliographic contact with Botha for Prinsloo, and directed fire onto the British position. This is an interesting aspect, because as I mentioned previously, in those days observation of fire came from the gun position itself. Bothma signalled corrections to Wolmarans, who in turn relayed them to the guns on iNthabamnyama and the Twin Peaks – quite likely, the first example of effective indirect artillery fire.

During the course of the battle, a shell landed close to Bothma, flinging him to the ground and damaging his heliograph's tripod. The mirrors were undamaged, however, and Bothma continued to signal from a flat stone!

General Sir Charles Warren was able to observe the devastation of the crossfire.

At about 10h30, when Maj Gen Neville Lyttelton had directed fire from his sector onto the Boer position in preparation for the assault on the Twin Peaks by Lt Col Buchanan-Riddell and the Kings Royal Rifles Corps, after 30 minutes of bombardment, Warren sent an indignant message via heliograph to both Lyttelton and Buller stating: *“We occupy the whole summit, and I fear you are shelling us severely; cannot you turn your guns on the enemy's guns?”*

There was, in essence, no systematic attempt made to support the British infantry on Spioenkop with artillery fire. In any case, the Boer guns couldn't be located. In fact, it is not generally acknowledged that Major A H Gordon, Battery Commander 61st Howitzer Battery – the only battery with an observation team - actually sent them to the summit, but the signallers were commandeered by the Staff, and he therefore received no information from them. He subsequently maintained that had he been informed of the locality of the Boer guns, or indeed where the Boer marksmen were positioned, he could have dropped his shells upon them.

Instead, a desultory fire continued throughout the day, mainly from the naval guns, which dropped their shells with remarkable regularity amongst their own troops.

The saga does not end with the Battle of Spioenkop, however. In his book, *“With Both Armies in South Africa”*, author and war correspondent Richard Harding Davis writes: *“Stuck on the crest, twenty feet from where General Buller is seated, are two iron rods, like those in the putting green of a golf course. They mark the line of direction which a shell must take, in order to seek out the enemy. Back of the kopje, where they cannot see the enemy, where they cannot even see the hill upon which he is entrenched, are the howitzers. Their duty is to aim at the rods, and vary their aim to either side of them as they are directed to do so by an officer on the crest. Their shells pass a few yards over the heads of the staff, but the staff has confidence. Those three yards are as safe a margin as a hundred. Their confidence is that of the*

lady in spangles at a music-hall, who permits her husband in buckskin to shoot apples from the top of her head. From the other direction come the shells of the Boers, seeking out the hidden howitzers. They pass somewhat higher, crashing into the base of the kopje, sometimes killing, sometimes digging their own ignominious graves. The staff regard them with the same indifference. One of them tears the overcoat upon which Colonel Stuart-Wortley is seated, another destroys his diary. His men, lying at his feet among the red rocks, observe this with wide eyes. But he does not shift his position. His answer is, that the men cannot shift theirs.”

Davis's account was written towards the end of February 1900, during the Battle of the Thukela Heights. It would appear that the British were experimenting with indirect fire – something that they had learnt from the burgher artillerymen deployed along the iNtabamnyama and Twin Peaks several weeks earlier!

Of course, with the advent of WW1, enormous strides were made with regard to the development of artillery and its utilisation. Furthermore, Lyddite was replaced by TNT in 1907. As a result of lessons learnt in South Africa, the British Army bought a number of modern 15-pdr guns from a German manufacturer, Ehrhardt, as an interim measure, pending the introduction of the highly effective 13-pdr and 18-pdr QF guns which were used so extensively in WW1 – and especially in the GSWA Campaign. Shields were introduced and the later utilisation during the Anglo-Boer War of the 5-in Breech Loading guns on 40 –pdr RML carriages (such as those outside the Union Buildings) together with the massive 9,2-in BL that only reached Belfast but was too late for deployment in the Battle of Bergendal, paved the way for significant changes in artillery during WW1. This, of course, included the use of indirect fire.

These new guns had a longer range and could be concealed from the Germans' guns. Observation was by a Forward Observation Officer (FOO) using angle of sight and he transmitted corrections to the Gun Position Officer (GPO). German guns were often hidden behind a hill or ridge, and out of sight of the British guns. Then observation of fire came from aircraft and balloons and corrections were transmitted by Tannoy or radio. Incidentally, the British experimented with short wave radio at the Battle of Graspan / Enslin on the 25th November 1899, but it was not a success due to the high degree of static in the atmosphere. Had it been successful, imagine how this would have impacted on the utilisation of artillery during the rest of the War. As it was, in its analysis of the Battle of Spioenkop the Times speculates: *“Before long, science may provide us with a really portable form of wireless telephony”*.

Bearing this in mind, I believe that the Anglo-Boer War laid the foundation for these advances in the deployment and employment of ordnance during the Great War.

THE BOER GUERRILLA, AN UNTOLD STORY (WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE EASTERN FREE STATE)

BY LEON STRACHAN

Farmer from Harrismith with an interest in writing. He has published three books on the characters and legends of Harrismith (regional stories).

He has also published a book on the history of the Sons of England in 2009 called: Son of England, Man of Africa.

He has a lifelong interest in the ABW and enjoys research into the activities of the Boer guerrillas.

He published Krygers en Skietpiete in 2011; The 150 year history of Harrismith Commando

The word commando, (taken from the Afrikaans word 'kommando' referring to Boer regiments), only became part of recognized English war jargon during and after the Anglo Boer War. The word originated from either Portuguese or German early in the eighteenth century when used for militia units in the Cape.

Almost half a century later a Lt. Col. Clarke chose to call his specialist attack- and reconnaissance teams in WWII commandos out of respect for the achievements of the Boers during said war. Today the name is widely used in US Special Forces too, even for single operators. And Hollywood has cottoned onto it.

The question is whether Clarke actually had traditional Boer regiments in mind when he adopted the term for his teams? But we will come back to this later.

While working on a book on the 150-year history of Harrismith Commando I was frustrated by the lack of readily available information of Boer activities during the last 20 months of the war. The highly respected historian F. A. Steytler wrote that nothing much happened in Harrismith except for one or two well recorded incidents. At the time of writing his book in 1930/31 he must have known at least two thirds of the Boers (men 40 years and younger during the war).

It is inconceivable that the very few recorded incidents in the Free State invited the expensive Kitchener strategies that were implemented in the autumn of 1901, but rather the effectiveness of the Boer-guerrilla's. But seemingly unanswerable questions loomed:

1. Why didn't Steytler glean information from the veterans?
2. Why hasn't any of the Boer authors supplied details about the activities of the guerrillas?
3. Why hasn't anybody else written about the guerrillas since?

It was Steve Watt who, unknowingly, helped to find a solution. Looking at his database of soldiers buried in Harrismith, there was enough info to plot where and when the soldiers who were KIA and DOW fell in the district. Aided by Messrs Moffett, Wetton and Corner who wrote books with outstanding detail on their exploits on the Eastern Free State the picture became clearer. Captain Ross of the CWGC then supplied more valuable info on the other districts.

Patterns emerged and things got extremely interesting.

The fact that De Wet and Steyn operated mainly in this area during that period, most of the major De Wet drives played out here; and best of all the 8th Division of Lt. Gen. Leslie Rundle was deployed here for just about the entire period, made for very interesting research.

Through British records the guerrilla activities of Boers became discernible and eventually clearer, despite using the indirect path to solve the problem.

Working on Boer battlefield deaths to get an even better picture proved to be rather frustrating as the available databases were rather unreliable. After hounding out the obvious mistakes at last some headway is being made. Each district will have to be worked over again to make sure data is at least relatively accurate.

Eventually though, the picture became clearer, the soft focus sharpened.

It all started with the reorganization of De Wet's forces:

- 1 Boer forces were reorganised in smaller units (a corporalship of 15 to 25 burghers was introduced)
- 2 Stricter disciplinary measures were adopted, including court-marshals.⁹

⁹ McLeod AJ; The psychological effect of the guerrilla war on the Boer forces; 2004; p73

³ Officers were appointed, no place any more for popular but incompetent officers.¹⁰

The result was that small, well organised and disciplined units were worth much more than large numbers of undisciplined soldiers.

4. Each of the small commando's were dispatched to its own region, which it obviously knew inside out.

Boer guerrillas were tasked to concentrate on harassing the enemy, by destroying British supply and communication lines, and attacking British formations whenever possible. Relied on mobility and surprise, good reconnaissance and intelligence, and withdrawing from action to minimise suffering casualties to fight another day. *'Te vechten waar het mogelijk is, en te vluchten waar wij het niet konden houden.'*¹¹ Hit and run, classical guerrilla stuff.

It took time some for the Boers to get accustomed to their new tactics. First guerrilla operations were executed with large groups, i.e. at Sannaspos, Rooiwal, Brandwaterbasin etc., despite De Wet subdividing his commando's in seven regions.

BRITISH STRATEGY

Gen. Leslie Rundle was tasked to take charge of the Eastern Free State with his 8th Division. He thought it best to garrison Ficksburg early on but none of the other towns, deploying his two infantry brigades in never ending trek through the Eastern Free State in an attempt to dominate the region.

These slow, cumbersome columns moving at 3 kilometres per hour (app 22 km per day) they were easy targets for the mobile Boer guerrilla's who were able to do up to 50 km per day. The Boer-guerrilla, on the other hand, could only strike if a target was presented itself i.e. a column or convoy passed in the vicinity of a corporalship — as burgher HJ Heijneke put it: 'Zoo als de vyhand stil lê, dan lê ons ook stil. Wanneer hy roer, dan roer ons ook.'¹² If the enemy didn't move, we were quiet; but if he moved so did we.

Rundle's brigades would occupy a town in the region for a few days at a time, and then move on again. As soon as they left, Boers would reclaim it. Because of British strategy, there was a distinct pattern of casualties — all along well established routes through the district, and it therefore became obvious how Boer-guerrillas operated: a corporalship operated from a chosen base in near vicinity of their farms. Probably tended their farms when nothing came their way, but operated at full tilt whenever the enemy was passing through. Neighbouring corporalships cooperated effecting a never-ending threat to columns. It emerged that they rarely slept in a farmhouse when the enemy operated in their direction as Boers were trapped more easily in home comfort when the Brits acted on info received. They hid in caves, kloofs and dongas when columns came by, returning to their farms after the danger had subsided.¹³

1. Column flanks were continuously sniped and harassed, Boer parties showing little inclination for battle if odds were not favourable.¹⁴
2. Boers sniped unceasing at the flanks of these oversized columns if terrain was suitable, causing frequent casualties before they disappeared again. Steve Watt mentions one occasion in which it took a supply column from Harrismith four days of incessant skirmishing at the cost of 18 casualties to reach Bethlehem.¹⁵
3. The column's mounted reconnaissance patrols made easy targets, suffering regular casualties from small parties of Boers.¹⁶ Its advance guard, was ambushed from time to time, always in danger to be cut off from the main body.
4. The rear guard, was always in trouble as the main body was slow to react and occupying a position until they were in danger of being cut off before advancing to a next position nearer to the column,¹⁷ was attacked while vulnerable before proper cover was found.
5. Boer marksmen really frustrated columns by continuous sniping. Targeting officers and drivers of wagon- or gun teams; these¹⁸ casualties caused huge disruption, spread fear and panic amongst labourers, stopping the column effectively.

The Manchester Mounted Infantry captured a sniper red handed on occasion near Harrismith. Surprised to find it was an old Boer who was sniping at their convoy. He carried British passes to be able to get around, and a bandolier full of soft-nosed Mauser cartridges.

On another occasion a Yeomanry patrol was attacked on both right and left flanks, and rather heavily from the left rear. It took the 34th Middlesex, part of right flank guard, half an hour to dislodge the Boers who held a strong position at a Nek. The Boers just moved on taking up new sniping positions to the right and left. So successful and persistent were

¹⁰ Pretorius Fransjohan; p227

¹¹ Pretorius Fransjohan; p228

¹² Pretorius Fransjohan; p228

¹³ Wetton T; With the Eighth Division; 1903; p398

¹⁴ Wetton T; With the Eighth Division; 1903; p 351

¹⁵ Watt Steve; <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol081sw.html>

¹⁶ Wetton TC; With the Eighth Division; 1903; p233

¹⁷ Wetton TC; With the Eighth Division; p434

¹⁸ Nasson Bill; the War for South Africa; p 396

the Boer guerrilla's, according to Steve Watt, that no British convoy's safe arrival could be counted on; no column could march against the enemy without being strictly on the defensive; and garrisons stood continually to arms.¹⁹

6. Attacks on bivouacked columns and garrisons varied from the orthodox to ingenious. Night attacks and first light attacks; fast and furious mobile attacks shooting from the saddle, disappeared as suddenly as they appeared. Outposts, early warning posts; heliograph posts; telegraph lines; all were vulnerable and attacked regularly. In winter fire was used to harass the British; forcing their stock guards further and further away from the garrison, making them ever more vulnerable. Telegraph lines were continually sabotaged, and heliograph posts attacked regularly, which forced a link all the way to Basutoland and from there to Harrismith.

The Boer leader who masterminded the guerrilla campaign had kept a very low profile for 10 months, successfully pressured British lines. He managed his commando's. Visited them regularly, even those in the furthest corners, state affairs in Transvaal, with the President, held krijgsraad, court marshalls, etc.

He failed to mention much of these day-to-day activities of his guerrillas, referring to them only once in his memoirs:

'Attacks by these 'small commando units' occurred all over the country. I am convinced that the world will be astounded if they knew what was accomplished. I hope to collect a record of these activities for posterity.'²⁰

Unfortunately he never did. As nobody else seemed to have done.

THE COUNTER GUERRILLA EFFORT

The experienced Sir Leslie Rundle, Kitchener's Chief of Staff in India, knew South Africa well — he served in the first Boer War and on several other colonial errands in Natal and the Cape.

- a. His efforts to dominate the region by sending brigade strength columns crisscrossing it did not succeed in dominating the territory. Corner's IY mounted infantrymen covered 6,000 km during their tour of duty (one year). Moffett's regular 2nd Scotts Guards marched all of 4,000 kilometres.
- b. Gun fire was Rundle's primary answer to guerrilla attacks. It was not effective.²¹ Yes, they drove Boers off in most cases, but they simply withdrew if the guns found the range, regrouping openly out of range to attack at another point. The guns had to be positioned, unhooked from their mule/ox teams, loaded and fired whilst finding the range against a small dispersed target. The accompanying wagonloads of heavy ammunition was a logistical nightmare on non-existent roads.
- c. He never utilised the mobility his MI offered. He actually capped their roaming to a max of 5km from his columns.
- d. No efforts were made to avoid hotspots, bottlenecks, or obstacles. He did not improve infrastructure or changed routes, or tactics. At every opportunity his forces were attacked every single time when Tygerkloof was crossed, right until the end of the war. Casualties from these skirmishes amounted to about 80.

FACTORS INFLUENCING GUERRILLA WARFARE:

How could the Boer guerrillas be successful in the bleak Free State highveldt which couldn't have lent itself to guerrilla war? It didn't. But a few factors played in the Boer guerrilla's favour:

- a. The huge differential in mobility gave the Boer guerrillas the edge. Boer horses had a much lighter work rate, the Boers guerrillas were infinitely better horsemen, not burdened by a train of heavy wagons and guns.²²
- b. Long range sniping made possible by much improved rifling and accuracy, smokeless gunpowder, meant that snipers were much more effective and difficult to trace.
- c. Infrastructure, or the lack thereof, curtailed British mobility dramatically. The railway links available to Rundle were all on the extreme edges of his area of responsibility: Winburg, Kroonstad, Standerton and Harrismith. Proper roads were nonexistent — just tracks cut into the veldt. Telegraph lines cut at will, forcing the use of heliographs.
- d. Boers had an intimate knowledge of the countryside and knew how to use that to their advantage.
- e. Generally speaking the typical Bittereinder Boer was resourceful, motivated and used initiative. The same could not be said of Tommy Atkins who seemed to have been indifferently managed and not trained to use initiative. Wetton complained that 90% of junior officers weren't much interested in the war at all, just going through the motions.
- f. The Boer-guerrilla gauged distance uncannily good, and understood the other factors influencing accurate shooting.

19 Watt Steve; <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol081sw.html>

20 De Wet CR; De Stryd tussen Boer en Brit; 1902; p 333

21 Wetton TC; p434

22 Nasson p221

Brits didn't really have a clue.

MANAGEMENT OF THE GUERRILLAS:

- i. De Wet never seemed to lose control, or contact with his corporalships. He visited each commando about every second month, and operated an efficient heliograph network until at least Feb 1902. A printing press was kept operational in the Eastern Free State until the very end, despite efforts from British Intelligence to find and destroy it.²³
- ii. Pres Steyn and the Free State government operated right through the war despite severe setbacks. The president, general De Wet and Rev Kestell were inspirational in motivation of burghers in the veldt.
- iii. Leadership of Wessels and Prinsloo, as well as the crop of commandants appointed by De Wet, was efficient.
- iv. All these factors transpired/cooperated to keep the corporalships and guerrillas motivated, manifesting in an excellent strikerate and continuous attacks on the columns wherever they were.
- v. Experience brought tactical inventiveness, and execution. One of the acquired skills were shooting / attacking from horseback.
- vi. Some corporalships were designated scout units, which kept other corporalships informed regarding movements and developments of British columns. These were probably the beginning of special forces.

The opposite was true for British forces: William Corner: 'We just trudged along, not knowing where we were going (the Boers generally knew) as great secrecy was maintained as to our future movements.'²⁴ Which probably did nothing to lift the troops spirits.

Prof. Bill Nasson: 'few of these incidents were worthy of individual record,'²⁵ He is probably correct, but it was the cumulative effect of these attacks and setbacks that prevented Kitchener from concentrating his forces and thus forced him to use huge numbers of troops, and to go to rather expensive and destructive lengths to stem the tide.

'Across the whole of this area (Eastern Free State) there was not a British convoy whose safe arrival could be counted on; not a garrison that did not stand continually to arms; not a column which, even whilst it marched against the enemy, had not to move without being strictly on the defensive.'²⁶

The Boer-guerrilla had succeeded in making it very difficult for the British. Were there strategic advances beyond tiring and demoralising the enemy? Probably not.

BRITISH COUNTERMEASURES

The frequency of sabotage on railway lines dropped significantly after Kitchener put the blockhouse and barbed wire defences in place. This inspired him to expand this system to block the guerrilla's greatest strength — their superior mobility and freedom of movement.

This decision was made in the autumn of 1901 after unsuccessful peace negotiations with Botha. He also imported huge numbers of horses to increase his own soldier's mobility, implemented a scorched earth strategy which progressed from only house burning to destroying sheep, young horses, flourmills, ovens and crops, confiscating cattle, horses and rolling stock, and forcible removing white and black occupants from farms into concentration camps to deny Boers physical and moral support.

As the blockhouse system neared completion coordinated drives were implemented to herd Boers into traps, more and more blacks were used in armed combat, and Joiners were employed in rather huge numbers as guides, informants and soldiers.

If Total War is defined by the maximum use of resources, in a South African sense this must have been a total war.

REACTION TO KITCHENER'S STRATEGY

Despite pressures mounting, Boers in the Eastern Free State found ways and means to overcome the problems they were increasingly facing. Some elderly and incapacitated Boers were used to tan leather, make shoes and clothing. Black loyalists were sent to Basotholand to buy clothes and scarce commodities like coffee and sugar, and then smuggled in.²⁷

23 Pretorius Fransjohan,

24 Corner William; The story of the 34th company (Middlesex) Imperial Yeomanry; archive.org/stream

25 Nasson Bill; the War for South Africa; p216

26 Watt Steve; <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol081sw.html>

27 Wetton p407

THE ANGLO-BOER WAR - THE TRAINING GROUND FOR NURSES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

DR. PHYLOMENA BADSEY - UNIVERSITY OF WOLVERHAMPTON

Flour mills were fixed on oxwagons to keep them in production and out of British hands, salt harvested, gunsmiths kept going, reloading of ammunition organized, etc. Fields were cultivated despite the burning of crops, and planted in spring 1901. Boers disappearing when columns approached only to return when it had passed.²⁸ If a commandant spotted an opportunity he called up his scattered corporalships for the action, and dispersed them again afterwards.²⁹

Age of conscription was also lowered by decree to replace casualties. There was still support for the guerrillas from women and non-fighting Boers:

Adj. Jannie Jacobsz, Harrismith-kommando: ‘Afrikaner vroue het wonderbaarlik daarin geslaag om altyd te kan kos voorsit as jy op hul plase aanry. Hoe hulle dit reggekry het sal ons nooit weet nie.’³⁰

A party of Worcestershires was ambushed, losing 6 troops wounded, and another 6 taken prisoner, and nearly lost their gun. The prisoners were surprised to find that some of their attackers were between 12 and 16 years old.³¹

Wetton: We were chasing the shadow and losing the substance;³² tired of erratic victories besprinkled with reverses; combined operations failing in their main objectives; the non-to-bright outlook added to general despondency.³³

There was an important change in attitude amongst the guerrillas: self-centred own interest or personal interest had³⁴ gradually been replaced by a feeling of national or common interest, which led to a drastic increase in discipline. That is why few Bittereinders gave up, or heeded Kitcheners proclamations.

Adj. Jannie Jacobsz: Die soet en die suur wat ons moes deurmaak: saans om ’n droë pappot gesit, opgeruimd en vrolik; maar ook gereed om die volgende dag maats te begrawe.

INTENSITY OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES:

As late as December 1901 Despite Boer-guerrilla operations was still remarkably high, despite Kitcheners exhaustive efforts. To such an extent that some officers believed that the war could last another 5 years. The tide only turned from February 1902 onwards and petered out in the last 3 months before actual peace talks began in Vereeniging.

Guerrilla efforts are mirrored in 8th Division casualties. An astounding 64% (1,397) of its casualties were enemy inflicted, and only 36% (799) other causes, but mainly enteric — adding up to a casualty figure of 25% of 8,000 men. Another 25% of the division were invalided home for various other reasons.

On a national basis 54% of eventual battlefield deaths were inflicted in the first year of the conflict, up to the end of October 1900. In this time frame all the set piece battles took place up to Berg-en-dal, as well as all the bigger guerrilla attacks including Sannaspos, Rooiwal, Lindley, the Brandwater skirmishes that led to Prinsloo’s surrender, etc.

The balance (46%) of battlefield deaths were recorded in the 19 months of Boer-guerrilla activity, from November 1900 to the end of the war in Mei 1902. The unrelenting accumulation of casualties put pressure on Kitchener which led to the implementation of destructive counter guerrilla strategies.

WHY WEREN’T THESE ACTIVITIES EVER RECORDED BY BOERS?

The strongest clue lies in General Christiaan de Wet’s comments, the very man who insisted on adopting guerrilla warfare at the war-changing Kroonstad krygsraad. The man did not like the guerrilla-term at all. He was under the impression that it was associated with banditry. Never ever referred to the term, he referred consistently to ‘small commando’s’.

It seems that Boers weren’t particularly proud of the way guerilla war is fought. The Brits, and Joiners, took advantage of this by rubbing it in at every opportunity. That is probably the reason why anecdotal and diarised evidence does not exist, with the exception of a few works, but even here only the more imaginative exploits are described.

Clark and Churchill most probably had these Boer-guerrilla corporalships, and especially the designated scout-units, in mind when their special forces teams were named commando’s.

28 Wetton p400
29 Pretorius Fransjohan; p228
30 Strachan L; Krygers en Skietpiede; Die storie van Harrismith Kommando; Tartan Uitgewers; 2010
31 Wetton TC; With the Eighth Division; 1903; p 286
32 Wetton p232
33 Wetton p350
34 Pretorius Fransjohan; p229

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- *Women and warfare, including nursing.*
- *Children and the Second World War.*
- *Strategic bombing and its critics.*
- *France and the Channel Islands under German occupation 1940-1945.*
- *Women and the British Home Guard 1940-1944*
- *The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons*

She is a frequent speaker for the Western Front Association, the Women’s Institute and St. John’s Ambulance Brigade and the Rotary and Inner wheel.

She is a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Wolverhampton on the BA (Hons) War Studies and MA Conflict Studies courses and is the Project Manager for the First World War, Research Group, Faculty of Social Sciences.

Her most recent publication is a Chapter “Vera Brittain: War Reporter 1939-1945” in War, Journalism and History (Peter Lang 2012) and a contributor to Professor Gary Sheffield’s book “The First World War in 100 Objects” (Andre Deutsch 2013).

She gave a paper in September 2013 in Tokyo at the National Institute for Defence Studies – part of the Japanese Ministry of Defence on the German the occupation of the Channel Islands in the Second World War, which will be published in both English and Japanese.

On 3rd August 2014 she gave a conference paper on ‘The British Red Cross at the start of the First World War’ at Birmingham Art Gallery and on the 8th November will running a Study Day at the University of Wolverhampton on; ‘Soldiers and Sisters: British Medicine on the Western Front’



South Africa 1899 - 1902



Dame Ethel Hope Becher (1867 – 1948) GBE, RRC & Bar



Dame Maud McCarthy GBE, RRC, 1859 -1949



Dame Maud McCarthy departing 15th August 1914



Dame Maud McCarthy returning 5th August 1919 being met by Field Marshal Douglas Haig



The FAU Ambulance Train worked under the Red Cross



No. 14516

This paper is to be considered by each V.A.D. member as confidential and to be kept in her Pocket Book.

You are being sent to work for the Red Cross. You have to perform a task which will need your courage, your energy, your patience, your humility, your determination to overcome all difficulties.

Remember that the honour of the V.A.D. organisation depends on your individual conduct.

It will be your duty not only to set an example of discipline and perfect steadiness of character, but also to maintain the most courteous relations with those whom you are helping in this great struggle.

Be invariably courteous, considerate, unselfish and kind.

Remember that whatever duty you undertake, you must carry it out faithfully, loyally, and to the best of your ability.

Rules and regulations are necessary in whatever formation you join. Comply with them without grumble or criticism and try to believe that there is reason at the back of them though at the time you may not understand the necessity.

Sacrifices may be asked of you.

Give generously and whole-heartedly, grudging nothing, but remembering that you are giving because your Country needs your help.

If you see others in better circumstances than yourself, be patient and think of the men who are fighting amid discomfort and who are often in great pain.

Those of you who are paid can give to the Red Cross Society which is your Mother and which needs more and more money to carry on its great work.

Those of you who are not paid are giving their best to their Mother Society and thus to the Sick and Wounded.

Let our mottoes be—"Willing to do anything" and "The People gave gladly."

If we live up to these, the V.A.D. members will come out of this world-war triumphant.

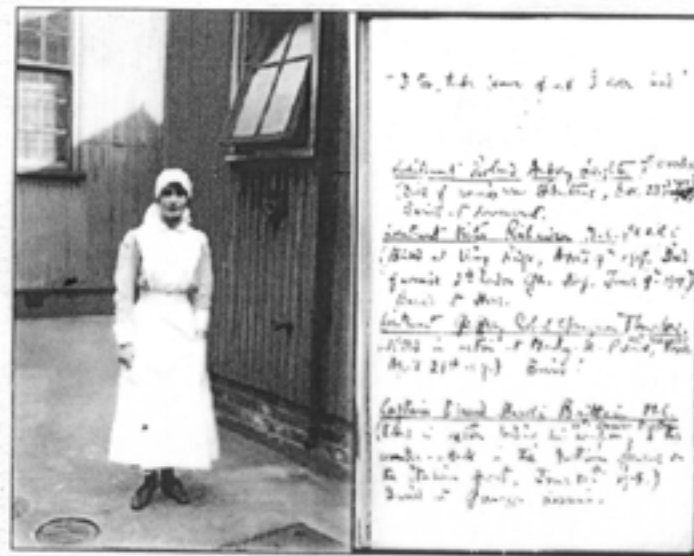
*Do your duty loyally.
Fear God.
Honour the King.*

KATHARINE FURSE,
Commandant-in-Chief, B.R.C.S. Women's V.A.D.'s

VERA BRITAIN: A WOMAN'S VOICE IN WORLD WAR ONE

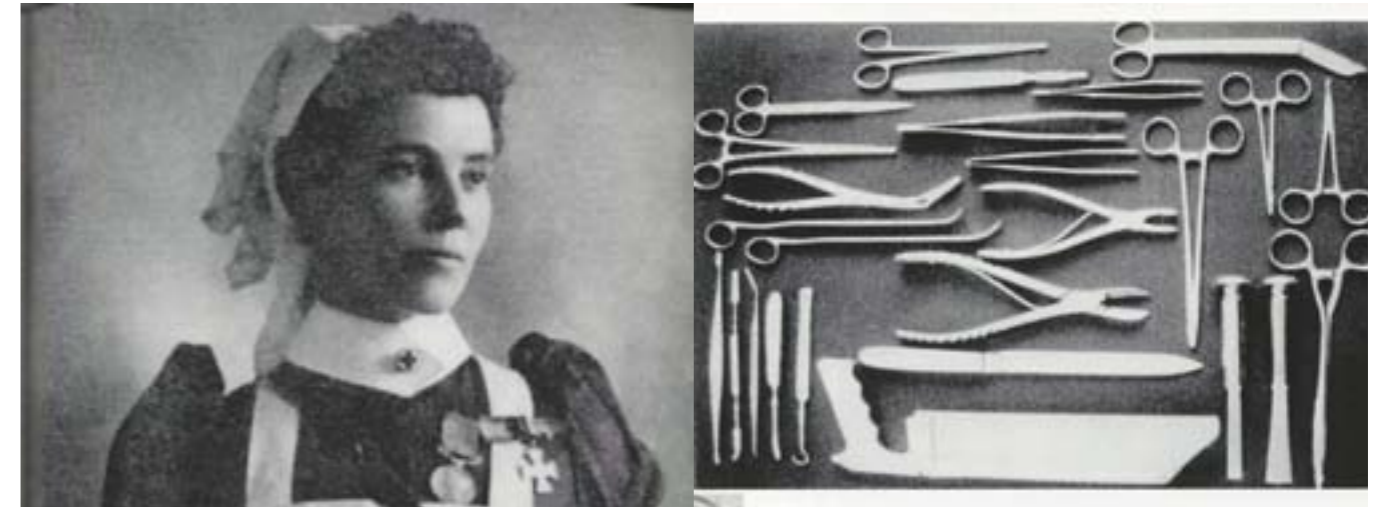
"The V.A.D. members were not...trained nurses; nor were they entrusted with trained nurses' work except on occasions when the emergency was so great that no one other course was open." And there, in that secure, well-equipped room, the incongruous picture came back to me of myself standing alone in a newly created circle of hell during the "emergency" of March 22nd, 1918, and gazing, half hypnotised, at the dishevelled beds, the stretchers on the floor, the scattered boots, and piles of muddy khaki, the brown blankets turned back from smashed limbs bound to splints by filthy blood-stained bandages. Beneath each stinking wad of sodden wool and gauze an obscene horror waited for me - and all the equipment that I had for attacking it in this ex-medical ward was a pair of forceps standing in a potted-meat glass half full of methylated spirit. For a moment the sword of Damocles, the ever-brooding panic, came perilously near to descending on my head. And then, unexpectedly, I laughed, and the danger disappeared. Triumphantly elated by the realisation that I had once again done it in, I began to indent quite gaily for surgical instruments, tourniquets, bandages, splints, wool, gauze, peroxide, eusol and saline. But I had to bombard the half-frantic dispensary for nearly an hour before I could get my stores, and without them it was impossible even to begin on the dressings. When I returned I found to my relief that a Sister had been sent to help me. Though only recently out from England she was level-headed and competent, and together we started on the daily battle against time and death which was to continue, uninterrupted, for what seemed an eternity."

Testament of Youth (New York, Macmillan, 1933) page 410 & 411.



Bomb damage 2nd June 1918 at Étaples

Surname BRITTAİN Born 19 MAY 1919 V.A.D. L 266
 Christian Names Vera Mary (Mrs, Mrs or Miss)
 Permanent Address: 50 Oakwood Court,
Kennington N 11
 Date of Engagement 20. 11. 18 Rank member Pay yes
 Date of Termination Still working Rank .. Pay ..
 Particulars of Duties Postal by Devonshire House, Sept. 1915 to London Genl
 Whether whole or part time, and if latter No. of hours served Whole time -
 Previous engagements under Joint War Committee, if any, and where began work in
1915 incl 1/28 - Malta Sept. 1916 - May 1917 - Westbourne Hosp
for 2 months. Posted to France 10.8.17 - Sept. 1918 - P.T.O.
 Honours awarded None



Sister Janet Wells RRR

PERIOD OF SERVICE in his Detachment
 From Aug: 19th 1915 To Discharge Time Commissioned in
in London/128 Aug. 1915 - May 1916. Department of
County London Paddington Dist
Sept. 1918 5th London Genl. Hospital -
Nov. 1918 to Millbank -
Nursing.
 20 MAR 1919



King Cetshwayo and the gifts he gave Sister Janet Wells RRR



GENERAL VALERIANO WEYLER 1838 -1930 “THE BUTCHER” SPANISH–CUBAN INSURGENCY OR WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1895-1998



SOL T PLAATJE FROM THE ANGLO-BOER WAR TO WORLD WAR I - TAKING IN THE NATIVE LAND ACT OF 1913

DR, MARK COGLAN - KZN PROVINCIAL MUSEUM SERVICE

‘The white man was hungry and greedy for land, and the black man shared the land with him as they shared the air and water; land was not for man to possess. But the white man took the land as you might seize another man’s horse.’

(Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom, p27)

INTRODUCTION

Segregation in South Africa was a fact of life from the very beginning of White settlement in the 17th Century. The 1913 Natives Land Act (Act Number 27 of 1913) has been handed down to history as the quintessential event in this difficult saga.

The legacy of Apartheid remains with South Africans today and the land issue is one such manifestation. From the 1700s onwards there emerged contestation between White and Black over resources: agricultural, mineral and economic, despite a growing interdependence. Racial fault-lines emerged. Total segregation was often perceived as unrealistic, and it was more a case of the degree of segregation than the principle or policy itself. Even among Black intellectuals and leaders, Plaatje included, there were those who tolerated, if not actually accepted, the principle of segregation, provided that there was a *fair* allocation of land. That, however, was not what happened.

Between 1910 and 1948 Black rights were steadily eroded and a policy of segregation was applied. It is notable that Plaatje had opposed the formation of the Union in 1910 and predicted at the time the legislation depriving the Black population of their basic human rights. The South African Native National Congress (SANNC), later the ANC, was established in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912, with John Langalibalele Dube as its first President and Sol Plaatje as General Secretary. In 1917 Plaatje was offered the presidency of the Congress, but declined.

In the context of World War I it became apparent to Plaatje and others that most White South Africans were reluctant to emulate at home their contribution to the crusade against oppression in Europe.

‘Of all the processes which have brought about the inequitable distribution of wealth and power that characterizes present-day South Africa, none has been more decisive and more immediately important to Black South Africans than the dispossession of land.’

(President F. W. de Klerk, 1991)

During the 17th Century White settlers at the Cape moved eastwards in search of land. In the process they encountered the Black chiefdoms of the interior. The contest for land began. Where barter transactions and treaties failed war settled the issues in favour of the better armed Whites.

When in 1910 the four South African colonies (including the former Boer Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State) amalgamated to form the Union of South Africa, the Cape Province was the only one that retained the non-racial franchise put in place in the colonial era. Plaatje, a Cape citizen, was hopeful for Black prospects and that the so-called Cape liberal tradition would permeate into the other territories of the Union. However, that was not to be.

‘Of all the anti-Native laws conceived by white men in the history of European colonization in South Africa, no single measure has ever created so much misery and distress among the Natives as did the Natives’ Land Act of 1913. It has cut off the very roots of Native life by depriving us of nature’s richest gift – our ancient occupation of breeding cattle and cultivating the soil.’

(Sol Plaatje, as cited in Willan, Sol Plaatje: Selected Writings, p254)

After Union it became apparent to the Free State-born Plaatje that ‘the “Free” State was to be allowed to run amok with

Native legislation'. The cynic in Plaatje compelled him to write the *Free* in Free State with inverted commas.

1913 AND THE (NATIVES) LAND ACT

'The Natives Land Act of the Union Parliament has created consternation among the Natives. Indeed, every other question, not excluding the Indian question, pales into insignificance before the great Native question. This land is theirs by birth and this Act of confiscation – for such it is – is likely to give rise to serious consequences unless the government takes care.'

(Indian Opinion, 30 August 1913, quoted in Anil Nauriya, 'Gandhi and some contemporary African leaders from KwaZulu-Natal' Natalia 42/December 2012, p56)

One of the first actions of the Union of South Africa was to establish a Department of Native Affairs. On 25 April 1913 the Minister of Native Affairs, JW Sauer, introduced the Natives Land Bill into Parliament. The 1913 Land Act (Act No.27 of 1913), outlined in the *Extraordinary Government Gazette of the Union of South Africa*, No. 380 of 19 June 1913, was bulldozed with haste through Parliament with scant regard for Black opinion and interests. *The full title of the legislative measure was 'Act to make further provision as to the purchase and leasing of Land by Natives and other Persons in the several parts of the Union and for other purposes in connection with the ownership and occupation of Land by Natives and other Persons.'*

An important component of the Land Act was the Schedule of Native Areas, comprising reserves established in the former colonies and republics. This land constituted the bulk of land set aside for Blacks in terms of the Act.

The British had been keen on reconciliation and nation-building between English settlers and Dutch/Afrikaners (the Boers), and the Anglo-Boer War and 'Rebellion' of the Afrikaners in 1914 was soon forgotten. The Blacks, who had remained loyal to the British, in the Anglo-Boer War especially, were cast aside and expected to return to wage labour on White farms and in the mines. The Land Act was the first systematic challenge faced by Black peoples in the 'new' Union of South Africa, whether it was eliminate so-called squatting, encourage agricultural and mining labour, halt land purchases by Blacks, and generally promote segregation. Furious and indignant protest from the SANNC and others was to no avail.

The 1913 Land Act reserved the bulk of the land in South Africa to the White group, especially the most productive agricultural land, with Blacks, by far the majority in terms of population at 67%, being restricted to 7.13% of the country, mostly in the form of reserves.

There existed various exemptions for some of the Cape Province (the former Cape Colony) where land ownership was essential to Black voters aspiring to meet the economic requirement for the ballot.

The Native Land Act has been described as the single most devastating piece of legislation in South African history. The struggle generation of the Oliver Tambo era, born after the 1913 Act, were to know nothing else but the theft of land, disenfranchisement and ever stricter segregation.

As far as a concerted Black response was concerned the first major event was the SANNC Congress that was hosted in Kimberley, in St John's Hall, in late February and early March 1914. The Land Act was closely followed by a commission of inquiry, intended to ascertain how best the objects of the Act could be prosecuted. This was the Beaumont Commission of 1916, whose principal brief was to investigate the delimitation of land for White and 'Native' occupation.

In the context of World War I Plaatje also drew the attention of the British public 'to the fact that the most painful part of the present ordeal to the loyal black millions [is that they are] doing all they can, or are allowed to do, to help the Empire to win the war...'

'In 1917 the Prime Minister, General Jan Smuts, delivered a prophetic speech that augured ill for Blacks in years to come. He stated: 'In South Africa you will have, in the long run, large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have white communities which will govern themselves separately according to accepted European principles.'

(Smuts, cited in Changuion & Steenkamp, Disputed Land, p150)

The Natives' Land Act was not repealed until 1992.

Personally we must say that if anyone had told us at the beginning of 1913 that a majority of members of the Union parliament were capable of passing a law like the Natives' Land Act, whose object is to prevent the natives from

ever rising above the position of servants to the whites, we would have regarded that person as a fit subject for the lunatic asylum.'

(Sol Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa, p57)

An immediate impact of the 1913 Land Act, the legalization of Imperial and colonial conquest, was the suppression of Black commercial agriculture. This factor is important because at times during the South African colonial past Black farmers had dominated in terms of the supply of produce to urban markets. Now, in the wake of the Act, it was a matter of forcing Black autonomous and tenant farmers into wage labour.

Plaatje was also indignant over the exclusion, in terms of the Defence Act of 1912, of Blacks from the ranks of the Citizen Volunteer Force. His reaction was no doubt driven by his experiences in the Siege of Mafeking during the Anglo-Boer War, where the Baralong joined their White counterparts in taking the war to the Boer besiegers with noted enterprise and success. It is not surprising that during World War I Plaatje took a keen and active interest in the service of South African Black volunteers as well as the assistance tendered by Black communities as a whole.

Plaatje, along with many Black intellectuals, was also hoping that this further demonstration of loyalty by Black South Africans to Britain and the Empire would bear dividends in terms of political rights and socio-economic advancement, and perhaps assist with grievances such as that surrounding the 1913 Land Act. As was the case with the Anglo-Boer War he was mistaken.

THE PLAATJE RESPONSE TO THE 1913 LAND ACT

'What Plaatje saw in the wake of the passage of the Natives' Land Act remained in his mind for the rest of his life; it generated in him a sense of anger and betrayal far deeper than hitherto, a feeling of disbelief, too, that fellow human beings could be so callous about the consequences of their actions.'

(Brian Willan, Sol Plaatje: A Biography, p165)

Plaatje, despite a limited formal education, became an author, journalist, translator, linguist, newspaper editor and a human rights activist. He applied himself to the upliftment of Black people and to the struggle for political, social and economic rights. Black people looked to educated men to provide them with a voice. Not surprisingly, Plaatje was drawn to journalism. He edited several newspapers, including *Koranta ea Becoana (The Bechuana Gazette)*, one of the first independent, Black-owned newspapers in South Africa. It emerged in August 1902 while he resided in Mafeking.

An indication of Plaatje's resolve on issues of race is evident in this comment: 'Nature and nature's God has painted this country black, and any mortal could easier cause the sun to rise in the west and set in the east than make the Transvaal a white man's country.'

Plaatje was resident in Mafeking during that famous siege of the Anglo-Boer War (11 October 1899 to 17 May 1900), where he served as a court interpreter, and left an erudite diary record of his experience and observations, a unique document that also charts his early intellectual development. Its rich detail on the unique Black perspective, as well as the comprehensive account of the considerable Black contribution to the defence of the town, made it clear that this wasn't an exclusively 'White man's War'.

On the issue of race it's necessary to mention that Plaatje himself wasn't keen on integration *per se* to accompany equal rights for all races. On 13 September 1902 he wrote: 'We do not hanker after social equality with the white man... We do not care for your parlour, nor is it our wish to lounge on the couches in your drawing-rooms.'

Sol Plaatje is probably best remembered for his energetic opposition to the 1913 Land Act, inspired directly by his travels witnessing the poverty, landlessness, overcrowding and despair among the people impacted by the legislation. For many years the issue of race segregation and dispossession was to dominate his life. His best-known book, *Native Life in South Africa: Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion*, published in May 1916, with its special emphasis on this legislation, is regarded as one of the most powerful polemics in South African literature.

Kader Asmal wrote in the foreword to the 2007 Picador Africa edition of *Native Life* that the book's opening paragraph was 'one of the most powerful and memorable first paragraphs in literature.' The paragraph in question reads like this: 'Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth.' *Mhudi* (Lovedale Press, 1930) was to be the first written in English by a Black South African writer.

His novel, *Mhudi*, (Lovedale Press, 1930) was the first written in English by a Black South Africa writer. Plaatje places *Mhudi*, subtitled *An Epic of Native Life in South Africa a Hundred Years Ago*, as a sequel of sorts to texts such as *The Mote and the Beam: An Epic on Sex Relationships 'Twixt White and Black in British South Africa*, a polemic composed

many years earlier, during the 1920s on the issue of race relations in South Africa. Significantly, the fictional trauma that emerges from *Mhudi* strikes a chord with the very real trauma facing Black South Africans in the wake of the 1913 Land Act.

The efforts of Plaatje and his colleagues were initially directed at lobbying relevant individuals from Government officials in South Africa, such as JW Sauer, to the British High Commissioner, Lord Gladstone. The result each time was disappointment. Gladstone was requested to withhold his assent to the Bill until he had considered the ‘Native view’. However, Gladstone was a supporter of General Louis Botha’s Union Government and that position easily trumped the ‘Native view’.

Then, in 1914, came the Black African delegation to Great Britain. Plaatje was joined by John L Dube, Dr WB Rubusana, Saul Msane and TM Mapikela. The Government sought in vain to dissuade the proposed delegation. They were determined to petition the King, George V, as well as Parliament at Westminster and politicians, as well as concerned citizens, about an oppressive law passed by a South African Parliament in which they were not represented.

Once in England Plaatje and company found no shortage of support. He stated that the British public ‘are amazed at the tyrannical provisions of the Natives’ Land Act’.

However, in the political and diplomatic context Plaatje’s delegation were told that the British Government couldn’t interfere in the internal affairs of what was by then a self-governing dominion.

It is noteworthy that Plaatje recognized an important socio-political link between the South African veld and the fields of England, along with their often disadvantaged occupants. The English link was epitomized by the travels of a radical commentator, William Cobbett, through Britain from approximately 1821 to 1832, and his writing on his observations on the emasculation of the autonomous English peasantry courtesy of the enclosure system and the advance of growing cities. The laboring classes had, in his view, been ‘beggared and pauperized’.

Politics aside, Plaatje’s mission to Britain was also effectively sabotaged by the cataclysmic event that was World War I, a war on a level of death and destruction hitherto undreamt of. Needless to say, the British Government and citizenry, and those from the dominions and colonies of the Empire, were a lot more concerned with this momentous event than with the misfortunes of the South African Black community. With the attention of Britons and the Empire diverted towards the massive war effort there were, in fact, calls to abandon the ‘Native’ mission entirely. Plaatje, nevertheless, persisted, although it was to prove difficult under the circumstances to keep the mission’s momentum going. All the delegates, bar Plaatje himself, returned home to South Africa soon after war was declared.

It was in this context that in mid-1916 a South African Native Labour Contingent set off to join the Allied armies on the Western Front in France. White South Africa couldn’t countenance a Black man killing a White man even if that White man was a German enemy! *A further reminder of the ever-present racism in play in the South African context can be gauged a few years later, on 29 September 1919 when four Black South Africans, including two SANNC delegates, Levi Mvabaza and Richard Selope Thema, were ejected from the Union Castle liner, Edinburgh Castle, on the insistence of demobilized South African troops sailing to Cape Town on the same vessel.*

Plaatje had not been home for long when World War I finally came to an end on 11 November 1918, and there was soon talk, notably in South African Native National Congress (SANNC), later the ANC, circles, of a second deputation to England to hopefully take advantage of peace deliberations. Plaatje and Black South Africans in general believed that this was the time to call for the political rights that their wartime loyalty and service had surely entitled them to. They were mistaken. This second delegation departed Cape Town on 11 June 1919.

Once again there was considerable sympathy in Britain, including from the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, whom Plaatje’s delegation met on 21 November, and in the House of Commons. Top of the agenda, predictably, was the land issue. However, there was never going to be the concrete action sought by Plaatje and others.

Plaatje travelled widely, lecturing as he went. On 22 October 1920 he departed England for Canada where he spent two intensely busy months. Here in Canada he uncovered a rich seam of interest and support for the ‘South African Negroes’. He found himself welcomed by White and Black alike, and his lectures were invariably packed. Plaatje also spent some time in the United States.

The problem for Plaatje and his Black South African constituency was that when it came to the crunch there emerged minimal political pressure and limited financial support. There was little he could do in practical terms about discrimination and the iniquities of the Land Act.

‘From then on [ie: after Union in 1910] the new parliament became notorious for the most barbarous legislation that ever characterized white man’s rule in South Africa; the effect of it being that the South African Native today finds himself an exile and a helot in the land of his ancestors.’

(Sol Plaatje, address to Pan-African Congress, Paris, 1921)

A particularly telling condemnation of the position of Black South Africans was the following:

‘Our tormenters also attest that the Natives, when decently treated, are intensely loyal to all lawfully constituted authorities. But when we see how men of another race and colour [the Dutch/Afrikaner], who hate the British flag, are accorded British protection and allowed to revel in plenty at the expense of the loyal black millions, we sometimes wonder whether our loyalty has not been the means of our undoing.’

(Sol Plaatje, address to Pan-African Congress, Paris, 1921)

Plaatje returned to England on 21 September 1922 and spent a frustrating year there before he could set foot back on South African soil. The date was 12 November 1923. In January 1924 a demoralized Plaatje wrote in the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* that ‘I find that no legislative measure conceived by the mind of man has ever impoverished a people to the extent the South African Natives have been pauperized during the past ten years by Act 27 of 1913.’

The Mines and Works Amendment Act (the so-called Colour Bar) that became law in 1926, was next in his sights and on 10 March 1925 he wrote to the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* on this new contentious legislation. The Native Administration Act of 1927 was another in the litany of oppressive and segregationist legislature that was to assail Plaatje. He commented:

‘There are now before Parliament bills to destroy the soul of the Native people by means of drastic laws, most barbarous in character. Some of them being more rigorous than the regulations that obtained in the southern states of America for the control of slaves before the emancipation proclamation of 1863.’

(Sol Plaatje, letter to R. R. Moton, Tuskegee Institute, 29 June 1927)

The SANNC was moribund and Plaatje was bitter at the limited support he had received overseas. Back in South Africa he resumed his journalistic operations. However, as he aged and saw no return on his efforts Plaatje became increasingly disillusioned. In his later years he became increasingly engrossed in the preservation and promotion of his native tongue, Setswana (or Sechuana). He was regarded as the leading Setswana scholar of his time, with *Mhudi* his best-known contribution to literary scholarship.

During his final years Plaatje continued to campaign against the Government’s treatment of its Black inhabitants. In June 1932 (he passed away on the 19th) he wrote that racial laws of segregation had ‘ruthlessly trampled underfoot, ancient rights and privileges long enjoyed by other sections of the population’. Another pillar in Plaatje’s political and socio-economic journey was his belief in ‘the efficacy of individual upliftment in the difficult circumstances faced by most black South Africans.’ In a significant episode of prediction he continued to say: ‘Our Coloured and Native people – their children that is – cannot be forever denied their right to live as full citizens of a civilized country.’

