

**A South African Diary:
Contested Identity, My Family - Our Story**

Part D:

1886 - 1909

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Caution in the use and interpretation of these data

This document consists of events data presented in chronological order. It is designed to give the reader an insight into the complex drivers at work over time, by showing how many events were occurring simultaneously. It is also designed to guide future research by serious scholars, who would verify all data independently as a matter of sound scholarship and never accept this as being valid in its own right. Read together, they indicate a trend, whereas read in isolation, they become sterile facts devoid of much meaning. Given that they are “facts”, their origin is generally not cited, as a fact belongs to nobody. On occasion where an interpretation is made, then the commentator’s name is cited as appropriate. Where similar information is shown for different dates, it is because some confusion exists on the exact detail of that event, so the reader must use caution when interpreting it, because a “fact” is something over which no alternate interpretation can be given. These events data are considered by the author to be relevant, based on his professional experience as a trained researcher. **Own judgement must be used at all times. All users are urged to verify these data independently.** The individual selection of data also represents the author’s bias, so **the dataset must not be regarded as being complete.** The reader is strongly urged to do additional research before drawing conclusions, using this dataset merely as a guide of some known events. Images used in this document are from the public domain, unless otherwise noted, so copyright is not being claimed by the author. Andrew Charles Turton, my younger brother, is thanked for his work in sourcing the Turton genealogical data used in this text.

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1886

- 1886 Gold is discovered in the **Transvaal Republic**. Britain covets this resource and plots the overthrow of the ZAR Government to gain access to it. Paul Kruger tries to monopolize the gold industry, reserving posts for Boers and excluding **Uitlander's**. Mills & Williams (2006:83) note that the discovery of gold is a key trigger for the subsequent **Second Anglo-Boer War**. (See also Turton *et al.*, 2006).
- 1886 The British are apprehensive about possible German intervention in Pondoland, so they force the sale of Port St John's.
- 1886 The coldest winter in living memory devastates the ranchers of the American West. Deep snow drifts kill hundreds of thousands of cattle, causing farmers to leave the land and seek their fortunes elsewhere. It was in this social climate that gold fever found its frenzied roots.
- 20/7/86 **Turton Genealogy:** Aletta Johanna Louisa Sophia De Bruyn, wife of Louis Hosea Jordaan (Maternal 3rd Great-Grandparent), dies aged 81. While the exact location of her death is unknown, her husband Louis Hosea Jordaan, died at Kroonstad, **Orange Free State** on 24/8/1874, suggesting that they participated in the **Great Trek**.
- 11/12/86 **Turton Genealogy:** Gysbert Van Rooyen (Maternal 3rd Great-Grandparent), dies at Roodekrans, in the Waterberg District of Rustenburg, **Transvaal Republic**. Given that he was born in Grahamstown in 1828, and that he married Barbara Christina Jacoba Meintjies on 6/6/1847 in Craddock, who dies on 11/4/1909 in the Boschfontein District of Rustenburg, **Transvaal Republic** provides strong evidence that both he and his wife participated in the first movement of settlers during or after the **Great Trek** from the Cape to the **Transvaal Republic**. This evidence is supported even further when noting that their child, Susara Aletta Van Rooyen, was born on 15/8/1853 at Zuurplaat and died on 12/4/1892 in Dwarsvlei, District Pretoria. Additional evidence comes from his father, Gysbertus Van Rooyen, who was baptized in Grahamstown on 9/11/1798, was married on 3/4/1820 in Craddock and who died on 15/2/1884 in Bosfontein, District Rustenburg. It is also evident that Barbara Christina Jacoba Meintjies lived through the **Second Anglo-Boer War** and the **British Scorched Earth Policy**.

1887

- 1887 The **Transvaal Republic** negotiates a concession with **Lobengula**. This is immediately countered by Sir Hercules Robinson of Britain, who uses the access provided by Robert Moffat's son John, to convince **Lobengula** not to give any of the Matabele-Ndebele land away to the Boers, without prior sanction by the British. At the time Ndebele land stretches from the Bechuanaland Protectorate border (the contemporary Botswana-Zimbabwe border) towards the Zambezi River in the north and Portuguese territory to the east. The Ndebele capital is **Lobengula's** royal kraal Bulawayo, meaning "the place of slaughter". The British call this **Matabeleland**, with the area to the north-east occupied by the Shona people known as **Mashonaland**.
- 1887 The **Transvaal** government grants a concession to Edouard Lippert, a German national with a long history in Kimberley, for the exclusive right to manufacture dynamite, gunpowder, explosives and ammunition for a period of sixteen years. In terms of this concession a local factory is to be erected within five years, and the importation of machinery and raw materials by Lippert is to be duty free. The importation of actual dynamite is not duty exempt however (Meredith, 2007:298). Lippert sells this concession to a French consortium with a Dutch national as the managing director of the **Transvaal** subsidiary called the *Zuid Afrikaansche Maatschappij voor Ontploffbare Stoffen Beperkt* (Meredith, 2007:298).
- 1887 **Cecil John Rhodes** forms the **Consolidated Goldfields Company**.
- 1887 Ralph Williams arrives in Pretoria as the British consul, describing the village as "homely to a degree". He describes what he finds: "The Old Colonial Executive Office, the workroom of a

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government strong enough to defy the power of England, was a dirty, tumble-down place, containing a rough deal table and eight or ten common chairs. ... Whenever I had need to put any matters officially forward I was asked to attend the council [Raad]. At the head of the table sat the State Secretary [Dr Willem Leyds], with on one side of him the famous **General Piet Joubert**, the Commandant General, and on the other as the Vice-President, **General Smit**, our conqueror at Majuba Hill. The other members sat around the table. The President sat in an easy chair away from the table, smoking continually an old Dutch pipe, and opposite him was another easy chair in which I sat. There was no spittoon in the room, though there was sad necessity for it, and it was the invariable habit of Mr Kruger to put his leg under the table near the State Secretary's chair and drag out the waste-paper basket to serve as a spittoon for himself (and for me had I needed it) during the interview. He used it copiously, and I was constrained to draw in my legs lest he should exceed its limits and trench within my domain" (Meredith, 2007:291-2).

- 16/5/87 **Turton Genealogy:** Josiah Turton (Paternal Great-Great Grandfather), dies in Dundee, Natal, having lived through the period of the **Anglo-Zulu War**. Josiah's wife, Jane Elizabeth Raistrick, was born on 29 November 1814 and records show that she died on an unknown date and was buried in Vryheid, "near the coalfield and base of the Mountain Talana". No further details are known. (See details of the **Battle of Talana** on 20/10/1899).

1888

- 1888 Cecil Rhodes writes his third will (see 1877 & 1882), with much the same theme as before. This version carries a covering letter to Lord Rothschild suggesting that the Jesuit order be used as a template for the secret society, but that the words "British Empire" should replace "Roman Catholic Religion" (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1888 There are 44 separate gold mining companies now operating in the **Transvaal** gold fields (Meredith, 2007:392).
- 1888 A boom starts in Johannesburg, lasting until 1889. This attracts scores of prostitutes who arrive by train from the Cape Colony and Natal (Meredith, 2007:293).
- 1888 Joseph Chamberlain gives an insight into his mindset when he asks of the London Chamber of Commerce, if there, "is a man in his senses, who believes that the crowded population of these islands [Britain] could exist for a single day if it were cut adrift from the great dependencies which now look to us for protection and which are the natural market for our trade?" Chamberlain, later to join the cabinet of the Gladstone government, becomes possessed with the notion of developing imperial trade, to the point where he later regards the **Transvaal**, both as an anomaly and as a threat to British supremacy (see 1/8/1895) (Meredith, 2007:315).
- 7/88 Cecil Rhodes tells the Cape parliament: "I regard him [Paul Kruger] as one of the most remarkable men in South Africa, who has been singularly unfortunate. When I remember that Paul Kruger had not a sixpence in his Treasury when his object was to extend his country over the whole of the northern interior, when I see him sitting in Pretoria with Bechuanaland gone, and other lands around him gone from his grasp, and last of all, when he, with his whole idea of a pastoral Republic, finds that idea vanishing, and that he is likely to have to deal with a hundred thousand diggers, who must be entirely out of sympathy and touch with him, I pity the man" (Meredith, 2007:294).
- 8/88 The **Imperial East Africa Company (IEAC)** is chartered by Sir William Mac Kinnon.

1889

- 1889 The gold boom in the **Transvaal** starts to wind down (Meredith, 2007:293).
- 1889 The concession policy of Paul Kruger comes under the spotlight after a corruption scandal emerges. This is centred on a concession to supply water to Johannesburg, which has been granted to Frikkie Eloff, private secretary to the President and also his son-in-law, without consulting the Volksraad. Eloff makes 20,000 Pounds out of the deal "without so much as digging a spadeful [sic] of earth"

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(Meredith, 2007:297). (See Tempelhoff 2003 for additional details of corruption in the water sector during the early days of gold-driven economic growth).

- 1889 The first job reservation takes place as regulations are written that prohibit an unsupervised black worker being employed on the diamond mines. Supervision is designated as being for people of European descent only.
- 1889 A defence treaty is agreed between the **Orange Free State** and the **Transvaal** (Meredith, 2007:370).
- 1/89 The local subsidiary of the French dynamite consortium known as the *Zuid Afrikaansche Maatschappij voor Ontploffbare Stoffen Beperkt* begins production of dynamite. The **Transvaal** government cancels all other permits for the importation of dynamite as a result. It becomes evident in 1892, that this is fraudulent, because the French company is not actually producing dynamite. They are importing it and pretending it is locally made, thus evading the import duty. This results in a vigorous debate in the Volksraad, with many calling for the concession to be cancelled (Meredith, 2007:298-9).
- 5/89 Flush with revenues from gold mining, Paul Kruger lays the corner stone for the new Raadzaal on the west side of Church Square in Pretoria. This is completed in 1891 at a cost of 155,000 Pounds (Meredith, 2007:292).
- 10/89 The **British South Africa Company (BSAC)** is chartered giving rise to a quasi-sovereign state in Southern Africa centred on what is to become Rhodesia and Bechuanaland.
- 12/89 British High Commissioner Sir Henry Loch succeeds Hercules Robinson.

1890

- 1890 Paul Kruger agrees with British requests to end **Transvaal** territorial expansion and places pressure on the leaders of the **Banjailand Trek**, which never takes off as a result.
- 1890 The first railway line between Cape Town and the **Orange Free State** is officially opened. This triggers investment in Bloemfontein, which starts to become a modern town as new buildings are erected (Meredith, 2007:370).
- 1890 Lord Salisbury negotiates with the Germans and Belgians to secure a route from Cape Town to the headwaters of the Nile and the Mediterranean.
- 1890 The **Baring Crisis** occurs confronting the British government with considerable problems in the financial field. This triggers a split in the Liberal Party (with Liberal Unionists voting together with Conservatives), which goes on to impact British government decision-making for the next twenty years (Welsh, 2000:308). This forces Joseph Chamberlain, a key player on the South Africa side of the British domestic political equation, to shift from being a Radical Liberal to become a staunch and enthusiastic Imperialist instead. This in turn triggers a period of great instability in the Colonial Office, which goes on to have no less than five heads in 18 months between June 1885 and 1892.
- 1890 **Cecil John Rhodes** becomes Prime Minister of the Cape. Welsh (2000:308) notes that this, and subsequent events arising from this, must be interpreted against the instability in the Colonial Office from June 1885 to 1892.
- 1890 A new regulation is issued in the **Transvaal** to prevent the **Uitlander's** from becoming an electoral majority. This regulation stipulates that **Uitlander's** are only eligible for the franchise after a residence period of fourteen years in the **Transvaal**. This triggers a crisis when applicants, who are required to relinquish existing national allegiances as part of the process, are left virtually stateless.
- 1/9/90 **Turton Genealogy:** Wilhelm Pieter Pistorius (Paternal Great-Grandfather) marries Anna Sophia Mynhardt Weeber.

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3/90 There is a slump in the **Transvaal**, with many **Uitlander's** losing their jobs and money as a result of speculation on shares in newly floated companies. Paul Kruger, *en route* to a meeting with Sir Henry Loch scheduled for Blignaut's Pont, addresses a crowd at the Wanderers Club. The crowd is hostile, shouting "Rule Britannia". The **Transvaal** Vierkleur flag is trampled underfoot. When Loch later asks him about the event, Kruger replies: "Sir Henry, those people remind me of a baboon I once had, which was so fond of me that he would not let anyone touch me. But one day we were sitting round the fire, and unfortunately the beast's tail got caught in the flames. He now flew at me furiously, thinking that I was the cause of the accident. The Johannesburgers are just like that. They have burned their fingers in speculations and now they want to revenge themselves on Paul Kruger" (Meredith, 2007:295).

21/9/90 **Turton Genealogy:** Ethel Irene Pistorius is born to Wilhelm Pieter Pistorius (Paternal Great-Grandfather) and his wife Anna Sophia Mynhardt. Ethel dies aged 73 on 4/9/1964.

1891

1891 At the height of the **Barings Banking Crisis**, Chancellor of the Exchequer Goschen is concerned about future supplies of gold.

1891 The Natal railway reaches the **Transvaal** border.

1891 Cecil Rhodes drafts his fourth will (see 1877, 1882 & 1888) with similar instructions as before (Meredith, 2007:382).

1891 Cecil Rhodes has a riding accident that leaves him unconscious for a day, breaking his collar bone. This starts his long decline into ill-health (Meredith, 2007:382).

1891 An Ndebele commander tells **Lobengula** that he should think well about the Whites intentions. He asks for permission to exterminate these Whites. Moffatt later reports an encounter with an impi who had "behaved with the greatest insolence to me personally, shaking their clubs and cursing me" (Meredith, 2007:280).

1891 The Raadzaal, commenced in May 1889, is completed in Pretoria. It is later described as "one of the handsomest and probably the costliest pile in South Africa" (Meredith, 2007:292).

1891 Paul Kruger attempts to appease **Uitlander** demands by creating a Second Volksraad, made up of non-burghers who qualified for the franchise. The Second Volksraad is limited in function, and is also subject to veto by the First Volksraad (Meredith, 2007:295).

1891 Paul Kruger is mired in a corruption scandal in which he accused of diverting the railway line from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria over the land belonging to Eloff and Nellmapius, both relatives and friends of his, enabling them to be awarded compensation (Meredith, 2007:300).

11/91 **Lobengula** tries to appease his warriors in their thirst for blood by sending them on a raid into Mashonaland to chastise **Chief Lomagunda** for failing to pay tribute. The chief and three of his Induna's are killed in this action. **Jameson** tells **Lobengula** that the correct course of action would have been to ask the Company to intervene. **Lobengula's** response reflects the sentiments of the Ndebele people at the time: "I sent a lot of my men to go and tell **Lomagunda** to ask you and the white people why you were there and what you were doing. He sent back word to me that he refused to deliver my message and that he was not my dog or slave. That is why I sent some men to go and kill him. **Lomagunda** belongs to me. Does the country belong to **Lomagunda**?" **Lobengula** is careful to instruct his warriors to avoid contact with white people however (Meredith, 2007:280).

1892

1892 The railway link between the **Transvaal** and the Cape Colony is completed (Meredith, 2007:293). This brings in more people than ever before as communications improve.

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- 1892 A railway concession is granted to a French speculator, Baron Eugène Oppenheim, for a railway link to the Selati goldfields. Oppenheim creates a stir when he reveals that he has paid 30,000 Pounds on “travelling expenses ... to different members of the Executive Council and Volksraad and their relatives and friends as the price for granting the concession”. Kruger responds saying that he sees no harm in everyone receiving some payment as long as it does not amount to bribery (Meredith, 2007:297).
- 1892 Flora Shaw, a correspondent with the London *Times*, visits Johannesburg describing it as, “hideous and detestable, luxury without order, sensual enjoyment without art, riches without refinement, display without dignity. Everything in fact which is most foreign to the principles alike of morality and taste by which decent life has been guided in every state of civilization” (Meredith, 2007:293).
- 1892 The **Franchise Bill** is passed by the Cape Parliament restricting the Black franchise in an attempt to force the Xhosa people into the moneyed economy.
- 1892 Cecil Rhodes has an accident when his cart overturns on a mountainous road. This hastens his health decline (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1892 Cecil Rhodes drafts his fifth will (see 1877, 1882, 1888 & 1891) with similar instructions as before (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1892 Paul Kruger explains his two-tier system of “old burghers” and “new burghers” to an audience of **Uitlander**’s in Johannesburg. They remain unimpressed and hostile (Meredith, 2007:296).
- 7/92 Alfred Beit writes a note in response to the dawning reality that **Zambesia** is not the Eldorado it was originally expected to be. In this note he says, “I shall make some arrangements with Rhodes and Rudd so as to make their interests fall in line with ours. I think it would be wise to do so. Rhodes’s brains are not to be despised and if he had interests apart from theirs there would always be friction”. As a result of this, Beit offers Rhodes’s company Gold Fields an allocation of 30,000 shares in Rand Mines at par. This act saves Gold Fields from oblivion (Meredith, 2007:303).
- 12/4/92 **Turton Genealogy:** Susara Aletta Van Rooyen, wife of Johannes Petrus Botha (Maternal Great-Great Grandfather) dies in Dwarsvlei District Pretoria aged 38. Both she and her husband had moved around a lot during their short lives, indicating strong driving forces at work that prevented a permanent settlement at any given place for too long. It is known that her parents (Gysbert Van Rooyen and Barbara Christina Jacoba Meintjies) moved to the **Transvaal** in the first batch of settlers after the **Great Trek** (see 1828, 12/12/1828, 6/6/1847, 11/12/1886, and 11/4/1909). It is also evident that Barbara Christina Jacoba Meintjies lives through the **Second Anglo-Boer War** and the **British Scorched Earth Policy**.
- 16/4/92 **Turton Genealogy:** Jabez Turton, a chemist, son of Josiah Turton and Jane Elizabeth Raistrick, born on 10 December 1835, files a patent on 16 April 1892 for the chemical extraction of gold from ore. The mines offer him 100,000 Pounds for the rights to use the process, which is shown to work flawlessly. Jabez holds out for more money, but the process proves to be costly even if it works faultlessly. He dies penniless in 1911 in Durban.
- 5/92 **Turton Genealogy:** Clarence Stanley Turton (I) (Paternal Grandfather) is born in Kimberley to Jabez Turton and Susanne Letitia Turton (nee Clarence).
- 8/92 The first organized **Uitlander** opposition to the policies of the Kruger government takes place when the **Transvaal National Union** is launched. The objective is, “to obtain by all constitutional means equal rights for all citizens of this republic, and ... the redress of all grievances”. The leader is Charles Leonard, a prominent solicitor (Meredith, 2007:306-7).
- 8/92 The dynamite concession scandal reaches a peak (see 1/1889) when the **Transvaal** government decides to cancel the French concession in favour of the importation of product from England, France and Germany instead. This is unsatisfactory however (see 1893) (Meredith, 2007:299).

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11/92 Cecil Rhodes tells shareholders present at the second annual meeting of the **British South Africa Company** that, “We are on the most friendly terms with **Lobengula**. ... I have not the least fear of any trouble with **Lobengula**” (Meredith, 1007:279). Rhodes also regarded war with him as being inevitable. The only issue is thus the timing and reason for this war.

1893

1893 A man by the name of Mohandras Karamchand Ghandi, a lawyer from India, arrives in Durban. He is aged 24.

1893 The dynamite concession fiasco (see 8/1892) is finally settled when the **Transvaal** government takes over the monopoly and then signs a contract with the original *Zuid Afrikaansche Maatschappij voor Ontploffbare Stoffen Beperkt* (see 1/1889) to act as agents for the manufacture and sale of explosives for a period of fifteen years. Shares are awarded to the Nobel consortium and to Lippert, the original concession holder (Meredith, 2007:299). This corruption scandal causes members of the public to refer to the existence of a Third Volksraad as well.

1893 As a result of the growing concern for corruption and the mismanagement of public finances, **General Piet Joubert** forms an opposition group known as the Progressives and stands against Paul Kruger in the presidential election. The Progressives are pro-reform for **Uitlander**'s. Kruger wins the election by the narrowest of margins, gaining 7,854 votes against **Joubert**'s 7,009 (Meredith, 2007:301).

1893 During a meeting in London, Cecil John Rhodes presents his case for interceding militarily in the **Transvaal Republic** in support of the **Uitlander**'s.

1893 Cecil Rhodes, now a part of the Witwatersrand deep mining family of magnates, starts to consolidate his position in the gold sector. He forms Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa by merging smaller interests. This new company makes a profit of 207,000 Pounds in 1893, declaring a dividend of 10% (Meredith, 2007:303).

2/93 Responding to the need to sink deeper shafts to chase the gold reef underground, a new company is formed. This is called Rand Mines with a nominal capital of 400,000 Pounds in shares of 1 Pound each. One of the chief beneficiaries is Cecil Rhodes, who has until now regarded the Witwatersrand as a sideshow to his adventure in **Zambesia** (Meredith, 2007:302-3).

5/93 **Cecil John Rhodes** wins an election victory in the Cape, freeing him of the limiting factor of the Liberal's such as Merriman, James Rose Innes, J.W. Sauer and James Sievwright, whose combined efforts had inhibited his ambitions until now. This allows Rhodes to unleash his full greed and considerable talent to enrich himself under the mantle of British imperialism.

5/93 After winning the presidential election by the narrowest of margins against **General Piet Joubert**, Paul Kruger makes a speech at the inauguration of his third term in office. In this speech he promises that newly naturalized citizens will be given all the privileges granted by the law, but he also warns them that with this privilege comes patriotic duty, because “nobody can serve two masters” (Meredith, 2007:301).

6/93 **Lobengula** sends an impi to Fort Victoria to punish the Shona **Chief Bere** for allowing people to steal his cattle. **Lobengula** sends advance warning to the BSAP Commander at Fort Victoria, **Captain Charles Lendy**; to **Jameson** at Fort Salisbury and to Moffatt in Bechuanaland of his intentions. The message to **Lendy** reads as follows: “Sir, an impi is at present leaving this neighbourhood for the purpose of punishing some of Lo Bengula's [sic] people who have lately raided some of his own cattle. The impi in its progress probably will come across some white men, who are asked to understand that it has nothing whatsoever to do with them. They are likewise asked not to oppose the impi in its progress. Also, if the people who have committed the offence have taken refuge among the white men they are asked to give them up for punishment” (Meredith, 2007:280-1). None of these letters arrive before the impi attacks. No whites are attacked but hundreds of Mashona are killed and cattle are taken. **Lendy** refuses to hand over Shona men, women and children seeking

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refuge in Fort Victoria. This attack causes Rhodes to realize that the authority of the **British South Africa Company** is being questioned, which would not bode well for the future of business. **Jameson**, initially inclined to ignore the incident because no whites had been killed, changes his tune when confronted by an angry mob of settlers in Fort Salisbury demanding Company action. **Jameson** travels to Fort Victoria to assess the situation before making a final decision (see 17/7/1893).

- 17/7/93 **Jameson** reports to Rhodes on his fact-finding mission to Fort Victoria. “The labour question is a serious one. There is no danger to the whites but unless some shooting is done I think it will be difficult to get labour even after they [Matabele] have all gone. There have been so many cases of Mashona labourers killed in the presence of white masters that the natives will not have confidence in the protection of the whites, unless we actually drive the Matabele out” (Meredith, 2007:281-2). The response by Rhodes makes it clear that he defers the decision to **Jameson**, saying only, “If you do strike, strike hard”.
- 18/7/93 **Jameson** summonses **Lobengula’s** representative to a meeting at Fort Victoria, where he issues an ultimatum. The meeting is witnessed by Hans Sauer, present in the area on a prospecting mission. Sauer later writes of this meeting saying in paraphrase: “The commanders listened intently to what **Jameson** had to say; then the senior Induna among them rose to reply. They were acting on the orders of the king, he said. Mashonaland was still a province of the Ndebele kingdom. **Lobengula** had never ceded any governing rights to the Company, only the right to dig for gold and other minerals. He was entitled to assert his overlordship of the Ndebele nation, as he had done in the past”. Sauer concludes verbatim as follows: “To those of us who were acquainted with the conditions under which the Chartered Company had been permitted to enter Mashonaland, the reply of the old Matabele Induna was conclusive. The old man had correctly stated the facts, and from the legal point of view there was no answer to him” (Meredith, 2007:282). **Jameson** rejects this legality in an act that becomes a pivotal one in the history of the region. **Jameson** says that the Ndebele impi’s must depart at once for “the border” within an hour or they would be driven out by force. **Jameson** now orders **Captain Lendy** to take an armed force of 40 men, and to locate the Ndebele impi. **Jameson’s** orders to **Lendy** are, “if they resist, shoot them”. **Lendy’s** force encounters an Ndebele impi a few miles outside Fort Victoria. This impi is busy obeying **Lobengula’s** order to avoid contact with the whites so they offer no resistance. **Lendy** orders his men to fire, thus starting the **First Matabele War**. **Jameson**, now enthused by how easy this “victory” was (it was described as a “partridge shoot” by one of **Lendy’s** men), now decides that a war of conquest of Matabeleland might be feasible. He drafts a plan involving a force of 800 men and telegraphs it to Rhodes saying, “We have the excuse for a row over murdered women and children and now the getting of Matabeleland open would be a tremendous lift in shares and everything else. The cost of the campaign could be kept to a minimum by paying volunteers in land, gold and loot” (Meredith, 2007:283). Rhodes sends a short reply, “Read Luke xiv 31”. **Jameson** later recalls his response to this: “I asked for a Bible and looked up the passage and read: ‘Or what king going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him with twenty thousand?’ Of course, I understood at once what the message meant. The Matabele had an army of many thousands. I had nine hundred settlers available for action. Could I, after careful consideration, venture to face such unequal odds? ... I decided at once in the affirmative, and immediately telegraphed back to Mr Rhodes at Cape Town. “All right. Have read Luke fourteen thirty-one” (Meredith, 2007:283).
- 27/7/93 **Lobengula** reacts angrily when he hears that **Lendy’s** force had gunned down his Impi outside Fort Victoria. **Lobengula** tells a **British South Africa Company** official, “I thought you had come to dig gold, but it seemed to me that you have come not only to dig the gold but to rob me of my people and my country as well” (Meredith, 2007:284). **Lobengula** sends official protests to Queen Victoria, Loch and Moffatt, but still makes it clear that he wants to avoid conflict. **Note:** It is clear from historic evidence that **Lobengula** is not the belligerent in this case, but that **Jameson** is looking for a reason to fight (which is consistent with the **Jameson/Rhodes** plan later for the **Transvaal** – see **Jameson Raid**).
- 10/93 **Jameson** assembles a force of 650 volunteers and 900 Shona auxiliaries. The volunteers are given a contract promising them 3,000 morgen (6,300 acres) of land “in any part of Matabeleland”, twenty gold claims and “loot” (Meredith, 2007:284). **Note:** This sets up the wholesale theft of land that ensues, and sets in motion the tragic set of events that culminates in the 21st Century as the Zimbabwe

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crisis in which land restitution is a central issue. It also drives racial polarization with all whites being tainted by the actions of one man – **Jameson** (and his master Cecil John Rhodes). This is part of the tragedy of both present-day South Africa and Zimbabwe.

- 9/10/93 Charles Helm, a missionary in Matabeleland, writes a letter to a friend in which he captures the prevailing sentiment. “As you know it is my opinion that we shall never do much good in Matabeleland until the Matabeles [sic] have had a lesson. And their treatment of the Mashona and other tribes deserves punishment. But I wish we entered on a war with clean hands” (Meredith, 2007:284).
- 12/10/93 On hearing of **Jameson’s** endeavours, **Lobengula** sends a cable to Loch, denouncing the claims of a Matabele impi of 7,000 men that had passed north-east of Fort Victoria. “Every day I hear from you reports which are nothing but lies. I am tired of hearing nothing but lies. What Impi of mine have your people seen and where do they come from? I know nothing of them” (Meredith, 2007:284).
- 1/11/93 The **First Matabele War** starts in what is present day Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), when an Ndebele (Matabele) force consisting of the Imbezu and Ingubu Regiments attacks a laager consisting of 670 British soldiers on the banks of the Impembisi River. The laager has an artillery component of 5 Maxim guns, 2 seven-pounder’s and a Hodgkiss gun. This heavy weaponry creates havoc among the attacking Ndebele’s. **Leander Starr Jameson** (see **Jameson Raid** on 30/12/1895) of the **British South Africa Company** belonging to Cecil John Rhodes, determines that the quickest way to end the war is to march on the royal kraal at Bulawayo and capture **King Lobengula**. The British force is divided into two columns for this purpose. The **Victoria Column** under the command of **Major Allan Wilson** consists of 400 men, and the **United Salisbury Column** under the command of **Major Patrick Forbes** consists of 300 men. In addition to this a force of 700 men under **Khama**, Chief of the Bamangwato and loyal to the British, is hastily raised from Bechuanaland to the south.
- 2/11/93 The Bamangwato force under **Khama** engages an Ndebele force on the banks of the Singuesi River close to Tati.
- 2/11/93 Advancing reconnaissance forces including **Selous** (refer to **Selous Scouts** and their role in the **Rhodesian Bush War** - see 1962) and **Burnham**, reach Bulawayo. They report that **Lobengula** is burning his royal kraal at Bulawayo rather than surrendering it to the British.
- 3/11/93 **Leander Starr Jameson**, part of the **Victoria Column**, arrives at Bulawayo, only to find **Lobengula** in full flight across the Zambezi River. They are later joined by the **United Salisbury Column**.
- 4/11/93 An advance party reaches Bulawayo, only to find it smouldering and empty, with two white traders left unmolested on **Lobengula’s** orders, playing poker on the roof of a store (Meredith, 2007:284).
- 13/11/93 **Major Forbes** launches his **United Salisbury Column** on a mission to capture **Lobengula** and destroy the Ndebele forces.
- 24/11/93 **Turton Genealogy**: Jacoba Maria Margaretha Van Der Merwe, wife of Gerrit (Gert) Schalk Van Der Merwe (Maternal 3rd Great-Grandparent), dies at an unknown place. Given the closeness of the family names, it is possible that Jacoba Maria Margaretha Van Der Merwe and her husband Gerrit (Gert) Schalk Van Der Merwe were related (maybe cousins?). Indications are that they were **Trekboers**.
- 12/93 **Lobengula**, now in retreat across the Shangani River, has council with his Induna’s, saying, “The white men will never cease following us while we have gold in our possession, for gold is what the white men prize above all things. Collect now all my gold ... and carry it to the white men. Tell them they have beaten my regiments, killed my people, burnt my kraals, captured my cattle, and that I want peace”. **Lobengula’s** gold is duly assembled and it amounts to some 1,000 sovereigns. This is sent with two messengers entrusted to deliver the gold, accompanied by a message conceding defeat. These messengers approach the main body of the advancing troops, and finding two men, hand them the gold and the message leaving with the assurances that they will be handed over to the appropriate people. The Matabele messengers, believing they had executed their responsibility according to the instructions of their king, withdraw. The gold and message is not delivered (Meredith, 2007:285).

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Note: This is further evidence of the greed and moral fibre of those who stole Matabeleland and the country that is later to be known as Zimbabwe. It also speaks of war crimes, because a commander, once defeat has been conceded, is entitled to basic rights. (See 1/1894).

- 12/93 Rhodes arrives in Fort Salisbury where he authorizes **Jameson** to hand out cattle, land and mining concessions to the volunteers who had massacred the Matabele. This leads to the establishment of a "Loot Committee" tasked with the responsibility of dividing the spoils of war. Key Rhodes officials are given massive tracts of land around Bulawayo. **Major Sir John Willoughby**, the chief staff officer of the Pioneer Column on secondment from the Royal Horse Guards, is allocated 600,000 acres of land, and Rhodes' surveyor-general is allocated 640,000 acres (Meredith, 2007:285). **Willoughby** later plays a significant role in the **Jameson Raid** (see 1/1/1896) with a street in Krugersdorp named after him.
- 3/12/93 The **Shangani Patrol**, under the command of **Major Allan Wilson** and a component of the **Victoria Column**, engages the Ndebele when they cross the Shangani River. Rising in flood, the swollen river prevents reinforcements from arriving, so the **Shangani Patrol** is wiped out in what some commentators call the British equivalent of **Custer's Last Stand** (see Wikipedia at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Matabele_War).

1894

- 1894 The British government officially recognizes the **British South Africa Company's** jurisdiction over Matabeleland, leaving Rhodes to rule as he sees fit (Meredith, 2007:285-6). **Note:** By so doing, the British government endorses the murder and theft that led to the plundering and final conquest of what is later to become Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, sowing the seeds of racial mistrust and hatred for decades (if not centuries).
- 1894 **Cecil John Rhodes**, head of the **British South Africa Chartered Company**, makes a move to have the **Bechuanaland Protectorate** ceded to his company to be amalgamated with his newly established personal country called Rhodesia.
- 1894 Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa makes an annual profit of 309,000 Pounds. They declare a dividend of 15% (Meredith, 2007:303).
- 1894 Cecil Rhodes appoints the professional engineering services of John Hays Hammond after a meeting in Groote Schuur. Hammond is mandated to improve Rhodes' gold holdings by purchasing new land suitable for deep mining operations. Hammond becomes the first chief consulting engineer to Gold Fields of South Africa and the **British South Africa Company** (Meredith, 2007:304). Hammond earns a salary of 12,000 Pounds per annum, making him the highest paid individual in South Africa at the time. He starts to establish Rhodes as a major player in the gold sector.
- 1894 Cecil Rhodes has an accident when riding near Kokstad. This causes a further decline in his health (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1894 The railway line between the **Transvaal** and Delagoa Bay (Lourenço Marques) is completed, bringing in an influx of prostitutes from Europe and New York City (Meredith, 2007:293). This railway link makes the **Transvaal** less dependent on the Cape for trade.
- 1894 The **Transvaal National Union** sends a petition signed by 13,000 people to the **Transvaal** government. This petition is ignored (Meredith, 2007:307).
- 1894 A conflict emerges on the Witwatersrand as a result of the underground rights to the *bewaarplaatsen*. These are lots of land on which the tailings and mine waste are deposited. The mines have surface rights only, with Kruger's government retaining the underground rights. Now that deep mining is becoming the main engine of wealth generation, these sub-surface rights become a crucial issue, driving a new dispute between the Randlords and Kruger. The mining industry seeks the support of the Second Volksraad, which they get because it is made up of people sympathetic to **Uitlander** interests. Kruger gets the First Volksraad, made up exclusively of **Transvaal** burghers, to overthrow

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this decision (Meredith, 2007:305). A similar issue becomes relevant at the same time. The **Transvaal** government does its business by offering monopolies, which they claim is a necessary evil because the economy is not diversified and is thus unable to survive without protection. One critical monopoly is the cyanide one (another being dynamite), because cyanide is crucial to the extraction of gold. It is in this process that issue-linkage occurs between the **Uitlander** question and the gold industry.

- 1894 Swaziland is unilaterally proclaimed a protected dependency of the **Transvaal** in a bid to gain access to a sea port. The Swazi King Bhunu is forced to flee to Natal where he takes refuge.
- 1894 Lord Kimberley secures Kosi Bay by sending a gunboat named **HMS Thrush** in an attempt to thwart **Transvaal** aspirations of gaining a harbour.
- 1894 The **Glen Grey Act** is passed in an attempt to pressure the **Thembu** people to start working in the moneyed economy. This Act makes the maximum land allocated to each Xhosa family (four acres) too small to support that family, thus forcing them to seek employment elsewhere. This gives rise to the **Transkei General Council**, also known as the **Bunga**, by which the Xhosa people are to be ruled by the British in future (Welsh, 2000:309).
- 1894 The **Transvaal** railway company reaches the coast. This triggers a rate war as the **Transvaal** and Cape railway companies compete for freight.
- 1894 A settlement is reached with the British government giving the **Transvaal** a protectorate in a portion of Swaziland.
- 1894 In order to find a counter-balance to the growing British presence in the **Transvaal**, Paul Kruger seeks closer ties with Germany (Meredith, 2007:309).
- 1894 The Natal Indian Congress is launched with the help of **Mahatma Gandhi**. At this stage the Asian population in South Africa numbered 76,000, mostly of a humble Hindu origin, but with a small set of wealthy Gujarati merchants, commonly Muslims (Meredith, 2007:505).
- 1/94 **Lobengula** of the Matabele (Ndebele) dies of mysterious causes, ending the **First Matabele War** when the various Induna's (Chiefs) surrender to the British. The integrity of the **British South Africa Company** is called into question when it becomes known that **Lobengula** sent 1,000 Pounds worth of gold to **Leander Starr Jameson** along with a message of surrender, but this is stolen and the message is never delivered, leading to the unnecessary massacre of the Ndebele people in Matabeleland (see 12/1893). The outcome of the **First Matabele War** is the destruction of the Ndebele nation, with more than 10,000 dead, compared with the loss of only 100 British. **Note:** This gives an insight into the integrity and moral fibre of **Jameson** (and by implication his master Cecil Rhodes), with both of these people set to play such a pivotal role in the future of Southern Africa for decades to come.
- 3/94 Sir Henry Gladstone suggests that a rebellion in the **Transvaal** might be justified on the grounds that the British government is merely protecting the rights of its citizens, the **Uitlander's** (Welsh, 2000:313).
- 9/94 Cecil Rhodes is busy with a routine tour of inspection in Matabeleland and Mashonaland with John Hays Hammond, a consulting engineer and **Dr Starr Jameson**. During this visit the notion of staging a *coup d'état* against the **Transvaal** government is mooted for the first time. Rhodes, **Jameson** and Hammond thus become co-conspirators in what eventually becomes the **Jameson Raid** (Meredith, 2007:312).
- 10/94 **Jameson** visits the Witwatersrand gold fields, coming to the conclusion that a rising of **Uitlander's** in Johannesburg is more or less inevitable (Meredith, 2007:312).
- 12/94 Rhodes meets with Queen Victoria at a banquet. When she asks what he is presently engaged in, he replies, "I am doing my best to enlarge Your Majesty's dominions". He goes on to say that he is

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convinced that the **Transvaal** – “which we ought never to have given up” – will soon be returned to the Empire (Meredith, 2007:286). While in London, Rhodes also urges British officials to hand over the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the Cape within a year. Objections are raised by the Rolong Chief Montshiwa and the Tlhaping Chief Mankurwane (Meredith, 2007:286).

1895

- 1895 Rhodes decides to change the name of the place called **Zambesia** (Matabeleland and Mashonaland) to Rhodesia (Meredith, 2007:286).
- 1895 Rhodes pushes through legislation in the Cape parliament that incorporates part of Bechuanaland into the Colony (Meredith, 2007:286).
- 1895 Three **Batswana Dikgosi** (traditional leaders) **Khama**, **Sechele** and **Bathoen**, travel to London to protest the transfer of their land to Cecil John Rhodes.
- 1895 Severe drought breaks out. This lasts until 1896.
- 1895 Cecil Rhodes has a severe bout of influenza, occurring simultaneously with a bout of malaria, leaving his health in a deteriorated condition, starting to manifest at this time as cardio-vascular disease (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1895 Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa makes an annual profit of 2.1 Million Pounds, becoming the largest return ever recorded by a limited company listed in London. This yields a 125% dividend (Meredith, 2007:303).
- 1895 The white population of Johannesburg is 50,000. Most come from the Cape or Britain, with only 6,000 being **Transvaal** burghers, mostly impoverished Boers. This feeds into the **Uitlander** question (Meredith, 2007:306).
- 1895 The **Transvaal** government has a revenue stream of 4.2 Million Pounds (see 1883) (Meredith, 2007:300). This rapid growth in revenue has not been accompanied by an improvement in audit and financial management systems, so corruption is rife (see 1896).
- 1895 A survey is conducted among the prostitutes in Johannesburg, revealing the existence of 97 brothels of various nationalities, with 36 being French, 20 being German and 5 being Russian. The brothel area of Johannesburg gets the name of Frenchfontein (Meredith, 2007:293).
- 1895 A tariff war erupts between the **Transvaal** and the Cape. Central to this is the right to move goods by rail. The **Transvaal**, in order to protect the viability of the new line to Delagoa Bay, tries to exclude the Natal and Cape connection by means of tariff barriers. However, the Cape line has monopoly of the traffic to Johannesburg, with around 85% of all freight being handled this way, so they have a high vested interest. The **Transvaal** government trebles the tariff on all freight moving along the 51 mile section of line from the Vaal River to Johannesburg, sparking retaliatory action. The Cape Government contracts transport riders to offload the freight before it crosses the Vaal River border, to be taken by ox wagon the remaining 51 miles. Kruger counters this initiative by closing all the drifts across the river so that ox wagons are unable to ford. The Cape Government appeals to Chamberlain in London, who issues an ultimatum to Kruger, instructing him to lift the drifts blockade. In support of this, Chamberlain also orders a military unit, *en route* to India, to divert to the Cape. This becomes known as the **Drifts Crisis** (Meredith, 2007:318).
- 1895 During the **Drifts Crisis**, Paul Kruger is seen by **Milner** to back down when the use of force is perceived as being real and imminent. This informs **Milner**'s policy choice in the wake of Kruger's re-election (see 2/1898) (Meredith, 2007:373).
- 1895 A constitutional expert named James Bryce, visits the **Orange Free State**, later describing it as an “ideal commonwealth ... the kind of commonwealth which the fond fancy of the philosophers of the last century painted” (Meredith, 2007:370).

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- 1895 Elections in the **Orange Free State** bring Marthinus Steyn, a 38 year old English-trained lawyer to the Presidency. This means that for the first time in history a Free Stater is President in the **Orange Free State** (Meredith, 2007:370).
- 5/95 **Jameson** visits Johannesburg and again comes to the conclusion that an **Uitlander** uprising is likely (see 10/1894). This feeds into the plan being hatched by Rhodes, Hammond and **Jameson**, now also being supported by Lionel Philips, the chairman of Rand Mines and president of the Chamber of Mines, and Colonel Frank Rhodes, a brother of Cecil Rhodes and former cavalry officer, who is appointed as military advisor to the growing conspiracy, who collectively believe that a *coup d'état* will succeed (Meredith, 2007:312). Rhodes also arranges for Sir Hercules Robinson to be reappointed as British High Commissioner in Cape Town, knowing that his help would be vital.
- 3/5/95 After the defeat of **Lobengula** in the **First Matabele War**, the British South Africa Company under Cecil John Rhodes is given legal mandate over a place called Rhodesia in his "honour". This lays the foundation for the festering discontent that eventually gives rise to the **Rhodesian Bush War** (see 1962), also known as the **War of Chimurenga**.
- 4/95 Lord Grey predicts what he calls "rough times" ahead (Welsh, 2000:315).
- 6/95 Cecil Rhodes sends a letter to the new Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, in which he states that, "I am anxious to take over the Bechuanaland Protectorate at once. It will save you 80,000 Pounds a year and if you give it to me I promise to build the railway from Mafikeng to Bulawayo in four years and to begin the railway a month after the transfer" (Meredith, 2007:287).
- 6/95 Cecil Rhodes has a meeting at Groote Schuur with Beit where they discuss the possibility of staging a *coup d'état* against the **Transvaal** government. Beit expresses some misgivings but he agrees to continue helping Rhodes with the purchase of equipment and weapons (Meredith, 2007:311).
- 7/95 Rhodes sends Dr Rutherford Harris to London to pursue the matter of his requested transfer of Bechuanaland (see 6/1895). While engaged in these negotiations over the next few weeks, three Tswana chiefs arrive – **Khama**, **Sechele** and **Bathoen** – all opposing the transfer of land to the **British South Africa Company**. Citing the Ndebele experiences, this party notes that, "You can see now that what they really want is not to govern us nicely but to take our land to sell it that they may see gain. And we ask you to protect us ... The Company have conquered the Matabele, and taken the land of the people they conquered. We know that custom: but we have not yet heard that it is the custom of any people to take the best lands of their friends. In **Bathoen's** country [around Gaborone - sic] they seek a large piece of land, and in that land **Bathoen's** people have gardens and cattle posts. In Kgama's country they seek nearly all the best parts ... Where will our cattle stay if the waters are thus taken from us? They will die. The Company wants to impoverish us so that hunger may drive us to become the white man's servants who dig in his mines and gather his wealth" (Meredith, 2007:287).
- 7/95 Cecil Rhodes has a meeting with a journalist named Francis Dormer, who urges Rhodes to become more conciliatory towards Paul Kruger. Dormer says, "I am all for tackling Mr Kruger, but I am not for tackling the **Transvaal**". Rhodes succeeds in convincing Dormer to meet with **Jameson**, which he does at a later date, at the **Rand Club**. The emerging plan is, according to Meredith (2007:313), now based on a number of "monumental miscalculations". The first being that having captured Matabeleland by force, the assumption is that the toppling of Kruger would be just as easy. The second is that the resident **Uitlander** population would be ready and willing to play an active role in an uprising. The third is that white settlers left in Rhodesia would be unharmed while the **British South African Police** are away from their stations providing the military muscle needed to unseat Kruger by force. These three fundamental assumptions thus underpin the planning for the **Jameson Raid**. With this planning now in place, Rhodes urges Joseph Chamberlain to transfer the Bechuanaland Protectorate into the hands of the **British South Africa Company**, because it needs a military base close to the **Transvaal**.

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- 7/95 Sir Henry Loch, the British high commissioner, intervenes in a dispute over citizenship after Kruger orders a militia to be mobilized to sort out a minor dispute with **Chief Lebogo** in the Zoutpansberg area. Included in this militia is a contingent of 23 British citizens. Five refuse to obey orders and they are arrested. Loch, a fervent imperialist, believes that **Uitlander** discontent can be used by Britain as an excuse to re-occupy the **Transvaal**. When in Pretoria, Loch receives a deputation of Johannesburg **Uitlander's**, who assure him that 10,000 able bodied men would give Britain their support. This leads Loch to conclude that an **Uitlander** uprising is inevitable at some stage, so he sends a secret despatch to the Colonial Office in which he speaks of the need, "to force matters with a high hand on the ground". He predicts that "the **Uitlander's** were bound to win in the struggle against the Boers, and if they won without British help, they would probably maintain the independence of the Republic and pursue a policy hostile to federation". Loch proposes that the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police should be deployed to support the **Uitlander** uprising, prior to the intervention of the British forces stationed in the Cape and Natal. He suggests the railhead at Mafeking on the **Transvaal** border to be the most ideal point from which to launch an invasion (Meredith, 2007:308-9). This proposal is received by the Colonial Office in a cool manner, with Sir Robert Meade describing it as extremely dangerous. Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary concurs with Meade's appraisal. As a result of this, Loch is reprimanded for "coquetting with the would-be Rebels" and is recalled from his posting. Cecil Rhodes takes note and from this moment onwards starts to develop Loch's plan further into what is later to become the **Jameson Raid**.
- 8/95 Lord Grey has a meeting with the Colonial Secretary in London in which he notes the importance of establishing a base in Bechuanaland from which a **British South Africa Chartered Company** raid can be launched into the **Transvaal Republic**. The route to the **Transvaal** from Bechuanaland is deemed to be faster and less easy to defend by the intended victims than a force coming in from Natal.
- 8/95 The **Transvaal National Union** sends a petition signed by 35,000 people to the **Transvaal** government. This petition is ignored (Meredith, 2007:307). At this stage Rhodes throws his support behind the **Uitlander** issue.
- 1/8/95 Chamberlain starts to engage with Cecil Rhodes, Harris and Earl Grey over the issue of Rhodes' request to transfer the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the **British South Africa Company** (see 1888 & 7/1895) (Meredith, 2007:315-6). (See also 10/12/1896).
- 2/8/95 After the meeting in London with Chamberlain, Harris and Grey send a cable to Cecil Rhodes giving feedback of the event. This is relevant in the fallout after the **Jameson Raid** takes place. This cable reads: "We decided therefore to inform the Secretary of State for Colonies guardedly reason why we wish to have base at Gaberones [sic] and advisable our presence in Protectorate. Secretary of State for Colonies heartily in sympathy with C.J. Rhodes's policy but he would not on this ground alter decision with regard to Protectorate, but offered an alternate to justify residence B.S.A. Co., in Protectorate to consider favourable at once application for large land grant [in] Protectorate in exchange for Railway extension north" Meredith, 2007:316). Taken on face value, this means that Chamberlain, and thus the British government, is fully aware of the planned **Jameson Raid**, even if they later deny it.
- 13/8/95 James Maguire, a director of the **British South Africa Company**, provides an insight into the mindset of Chamberlain, after a meeting with him in London today. Reporting on this meeting, Harris sends a cable to Rhodes saying: "Chamberlain will do anything to assist except hand over the administration Protectorate provided he officially does not know anything of your plan. He does consider Rhodes's ingenuity resource can overcome any difficulty caused by refusal Protectorate now" (Meredith, 2007:317).
- 20/8/95 Harris and Grey meet again with Chamberlain in London. After this meeting Chamberlain sends a cable to Robinson in Cape Town instructing him to obtain a grant of land around Gaberones [sic] from the Tswana chief **Bathoen** for the use of the **British South Africa Company**. **Bathoen** refuses however, infuriating Rhodes as a result, forcing him to look for land around the Pitsani Potlugo north of Mafikeng, to be brought under the jurisdiction of the **British South Africa Company** (see 18/10/1895) (Meredith, 2007:317).

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- 10/95 **Jameson** has a discussion with Hans Sauer in Bulawayo, in which he expresses contempt for the Boer people, saying they lack a fighting spirit. “I could drive them out of the **Transvaal** with five hundred men armed with sjamboks” (Meredith, 2007:323). The planning for the **Jameson Raid** is simple. A force of 1,500 men equipped with Maxim guns, field artillery and rifles would be placed in Bechuanaland in readiness to invade the **Transvaal**. The Johannesburg conspirators known as the **Reform Committee** would recruit 7,500 volunteers and prepare the **Transvaal** for insurrection. The volunteers would be armed with rifles and Maxim guns purchased in Britain by Harris “for Rhodesia”. These would be shipped to the Cape and transported to De Beers premises in Kimberley from where they would be smuggled into Johannesburg in oil drums and stored on mining premises in readiness. The conspirators would then overwhelm the Boer force and they would declare a provisional government (Meredith, 2007:323-4).
- 10/95 In a secret meeting between Rhodes, Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Graham Bower, the imperial secretary, details of the planned *coup d'état* in the **Transvaal** are discussed. Rhodes informs these people that a group of Johannesburg capitalists had decided to support an **Uitlander** uprising and that Chamberlain knew of the plan and supported it (Meredith, 2007:320).
- 10/95 The white residents in Bulawayo draw up a letter of protest on hearing that the BSAP are being redeployed to Bechuanaland. This is delivered to **Jameson** in his capacity as the administrator of Matabeleland (Meredith, 2007:354).
- 12/10/95 Flora Shaw, a colonial correspondent with the London *Times*, sends a telegraph to Cecil Rhodes in which she reports on a meeting with Chamberlain. The telegraph reads, “Joe sound ... but have special reason to believe wishes you do it imm[ediately]” (Welsh, 2000:316-317). This is referring to an **Uitlander** uprising in the **Transvaal** with instructions that it should be launched.
- 18/10/95 Chamberlain instructs Robinson to issue a proclamation that grants the **British South Africa Company** the right to a strip of land north of Mafikeng (see 20/8/1895). Chamberlain also appoints **Jameson** as the resident commissioner on this land. This immediately triggers a wave of military movements as members of the BSAP are mobilized with orders to move south from Bulawayo to Pitsani on the pretext that they are to provide protection to the construction of a new railway line (Meredith, 2007:317).
- 11/95 In order to avoid paying tariffs, the Cape Railway Company starts to offload its goods and move them across the border into the **Transvaal** on ox-wagons. Paul Kruger orders the Vaal River drifts (fording points for ox wagon trains bringing in goods to the **Transvaal** from the Cape) closed in order to protect the **Transvaal** Railway Company. This is deemed by the British to be a violation of the London Convention and sets up justification for the subsequent **Anglo-Boer War**.
- 11/95 The Colonial Office, conscious of the concerns of the Tswana chiefs (see 6/1895), decide that the Chief's lands will be protected, but a strip of land 100,000 square miles in extent, will be conceded to the **British South Africa Company**. This land is a strip adjacent the **Transvaal** and is needed for the construction of the railway link between Mafeking and Bulawayo (Meredith, 2007: 288).
- 1/11/95 **Jameson** inspects the camp facilities at Pitsani. BSAP members start to arrive from Matabeleland and Mashonaland. To boost the numbers, Chamberlain gives permission for members of the Bechuanaland Border Police to transfer to the BSAP. **Jameson** also recruits 100 men from the Duke of Edinburgh's Own Volunteer Rifles based in Cape Town (Meredith, 2007:324).
- 7/11/95 Paul Kruger backs down in the face of Chamberlain's ultimatum and diversion of troops to the Cape, and the drifts across the Vaal River are again available for use by transport wagons to avoid paying the high tariff on the Cape – Johannesburg railway line. This ends the **Drifts Crisis** but many lessons have been learned (Meredith, 2007:318).
- 19/11/95 **Jameson** arrives in Johannesburg where he has a meeting with the principal conspirators – Charles Leonard, Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond and Frank Rhodes. They set a provisional date for the insurrection as 28 December 1895, agreeing that **Jameson** and his raiding party should cross into the

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Transvaal two days earlier to meet up with the Johannesburg conspirators in time. To act as a safe guard, **Jameson** also gets a letter from Charles Leonard. This letter calls on support because, “thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in great peril” (Meredith, 2007:324). **Note:** This becomes known as the “women and children” letter, which is in fact a fraud.

- 20/11/95 Charles Leonard tries to get the “women and children” letter back from **Jameson**, sensing a possible disaster. **Jameson** refuses, stating that he has already sent it to Cape Town (Meredith, 2007:325). (See 30/12/1895). **Note:** This speaks to the integrity of **Jameson** who seems intent to use fraud and the manipulation of others to bolster his position if need be.
- 25/11/95 A meeting is held at Groote Schuur with all of the principal conspirators in the **Jameson Raid** – Leonard, Phillips, Hammond and Frank Rhodes (Robinson is absent but is to be kept informed of events by **Jameson**). This is the final planning session (Meredith, 2007:326).
- 12/95 With the BSAP now converging on Pitsani in Bechuanaland, Matabeleland is left with 48 policemen. In the whole of Rhodesia there are only 63 policemen (Meredith, 2007:354).
- 7/12/95 Colonel Frank Rhodes sends a cable to **Jameson**, using pre-arranged code words, informing him that, “The polo tournament here is postponed for one week, as it would clash with race week” (Meredith, 2007:326-7).
- 10/12/95 Flora Shaw sends a cable to Rhodes saying: “Can you advise when you will commence the plans, we wish to send at earliest opportunity sealed instructions representative London *Times* European capitals. It is most important using their influence in your favour” (Meredith, 2007:321).
- 12/12/95 Moberley Bell, a manager at the London *Times*, urges Rhodes to adopt swift action because Leyds had been travelling in Europe trying to put a stop to the planned **Jameson Raid**. In a cable it is stated, “Delay dangerous sympathy now complete but will depend very much upon which of the European powers given time to enter protest which as European situation considered serious could paralyse Government” (Meredith, 2007:327).
- 17/12/95 Moberley Bell, a manager at the London *Times* sends a warning to Rhodes stating that Chamberlain would be prepared to shrug off European protests (refer to 12/12/1895) provided swift action was taken. The cable reads, “Chamberlain sound in case of interference European powers but have special reason to believe wishes you must do it immediately” (Meredith, 2007:327). **Note:** This cable also indicates that Chamberlain, and thus the British government, is fully in the know, despite what he later claims.
- 17/12/95 President Cleveland of the USA threatens Britain with war over a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guyana. “Chamberlain” notes Meredith (2007:327), takes the view “that if there was to be an uprising in Johannesburg, it needed to occur as soon as possible, before European opposition became too strong and before Britain was more deeply involved in an American imbroglio over Venezuela”. **Note:** This provides additional evidence that the British government is party to the forthcoming **Jameson Raid**, despite their subsequent vehement denials when it later fails.
- 20/12/95 Maguire and Lord Grey send a cable to Rhodes urging him to, “hurry up” on account of the approaching problem between Britain and Venezuela. On the strength of this message, Beit cables Phillips in Johannesburg, using the pre-arranged code words saying, “Our foreign supporters urge immediate floatation” (Meredith, 2007:328). **Note:** This provides additional evidence that the British government is party to the forthcoming **Jameson Raid**, despite their subsequent vehement denials when it later fails.
- 22/12/95 In a meeting between Rhodes and the *Times* reporter Francis Younghusband, at Groote Schuur, the latter informs Rhodes on instruction of the Reformers in Johannesburg, that there is no enthusiasm for an uprising anymore and in fact, there is very strong opposition to it taking place under the Union Jack. Younghusband advises Rhodes to delay, which infuriates him (Meredith, 2007:328). Similar advice is given later the same day by Sir Graham Bower, the imperial secretary. Bower had by now

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- become convinced that the revolution was losing momentum and would in fact fail (Meredith, 2007:329).
- 23/12/95 Rhodes ignores the advice given the previous day by Younghusband and Bower, sending a cable to **Jameson** stating that the uprising would take place on the date originally fixed – 28 December 1895. “Company will be floated next Saturday”, reads the cable using pre-arranged code words (Meredith, 2007:330).
- 24/12/95 The German Consul in Johannesburg reports to the German government that the “British party” in Johannesburg is thought to be “preparing trouble in the next few days” (Meredith, 2007:344).
- 25/12/95 George Farrar of the **Reform Committee** meets with Leonard at the home of the latter, saying, “I hear if **Jameson** comes around he is going to hoist the Union Jack. I have induced every man who has joined me and who is helping me in this business to go in on the basis that we want a reformed republic. ... This is Boer country; it would be absolutely morally wrong to do anything else and I will not go a yard further in this business unless that basis is maintained” (Meredith, 2007:330). Later the same day in a meeting at the **Rand Club**, an American, Captain Thomas Mein says, “If this is the case of England gobbling this country up, I am not in it”. The **Reform Committee** makes a decision to postpone the **Jameson Raid** saying they need confirmation first from Rhodes as to whether the Union Jack will be hoisted, or whether this is merely a case of a reformed **Transvaal** as they had originally agreed to (Meredith, 2007:330).
- 27/12/95 The vacillation of the **Reform Committee** enrages **Jameson**. He has already sent out wire cutting parties to break telegraph connections in preparation of the mobilization of his force. **Jameson** ends a cable to Harris in Cape Town saying, “expect to receive a telegram from you nine tomorrow morning Saturday 28th authorizing movement ... we must carry into effect original plans” (Meredith, 2007:331). **Note:** The wire cutting party gets drunk and is unable to climb the telegraph poles they are ordered to sabotage. They cut fence wires instead. This leaves the telegraph line intact, so it carries information about the raiding party immediately it is detected crossing the border, allowing some time for intervention planning by the **Transvaal** government (see 30/12/1895). This speaks to the quality of men under the command of **Jameson** and gives an additional insight into the fantasy world in which he seemed to live. (See Longford, 1982; and Seymour Fort, 1908).
- 28/12/95 The British ambassador in Berlin is summonsed by the German government and informed that they would not accept, “any change in the *status quo* [in the **Transvaal**] in the direction sought by Cecil Rhodes”. The ambassador denies British involvement, but the build up of troops in Bechuanaland is noted by the German’s as being evidence that something is amiss (Meredith, 2007:345).
- 28/12/95 Charles Leonard arrives in Cape Town accompanied by Fred Hamilton, editor of the *Johannesburg Star*. They make their way to Groote Schuur to explain to Rhodes that the **Reform Committee** is not ready. There are too few supporters and not enough weapons to make the venture succeed. They urge for six more months of time. Rhodes tells them, “I will keep **Jameson** six months or nine months or longer on the border as a moral support to you” (Meredith, 2007:331). Harris sends **Jameson** various cables, “It is all right if you will only wait. ... We cannot have a fiasco. ... Public will not subscribe one penny towards it even with you as director” (Meredith, 2007:332).
- 29/12/95 **Jameson** sends a telegram to Cape Town, “Shall leave tonight for the **Transvaal**”. Rhodes’ personal secretary collects this cable at 11 a.m. (Meredith, 2007:332). Rhodes fails to send a personal instruction to **Jameson** however, either deliberately or because he was happy that his messages were going through *via* intermediaries.
- 29/12/95 Sensing that things are going awry, Chamberlain decides to cover himself by sending a letter to Lord Salisbury, “I have received private information that a rising in Johannesburg is imminent and will probably take place in the course of the next few days. ... If the rising is successful it ought to turn to our advantage” (Meredith, 2007:332). Chamberlain covers himself further by sending a cable to Robinson: “There seems to be a fiasco at Johannesburg owing probably to Rhodes having misjudged the balance of opinion there. It has been suggested, although I do not think it probable, that he and **Jameson** might endeavour to force matters at Johannesburg to a head by **Jameson** or someone else in

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the service of the Company advancing from the Bechuanaland Protectorate with police. In view of Articles Nos. 22 and 8 of the Charter I could not remain passive were this to be done. Therefore, if necessary, but not otherwise, remind Rhodes of these Articles, and intimate to him that, in your opinion, he would not have my support, and point out the consequences which would follow to his schemes were I to repudiate the action” (Meredith, 2007:333).

- 30/12/95 A mercenary militia of around 400 horsemen, with the support of Maxim guns, under the command of **Dr. Leander Starr Jameson**, paid for by Cecil John Rhodes, attacks the **Transvaal** from Pitsani, Bechuanaland. This is known as the **Jameson Raid** and is neutralized during a series of skirmishes at Krugersdorp and Doornkop, so it fails to reach Johannesburg, its ultimate destination. (See 2/1904).
- 30/12/95 Paul Kruger enters a meeting of the Executive Council in Pretoria, with a telegram in his hand. This telegram has been sent from Zeerust, reporting a large amount of troop movements into the **Transvaal** at a settlement known as Malmani. It seems that **Jameson’s** party has failed to cut the telegraph line as originally planned. In response to this telegram, which cites 800 troops from the **British South Africa Company** supported by maxim guns moving in the direction of Johannesburg, **Piet Joubert** orders an immediate mobilization of burghers (Meredith, 2007:340).
- 30/12/95 Sir Graham Bower has a meeting with Cecil Rhodes at Groote Schuur at the request of the latter. Bower is greeted by a sight that he later describes. Rhodes, ashen faced, holds a telegram sent by **Jameson**, telling Bower that **Jameson** “had invaded the **Transvaal**”. Rhodes is in a panic, telling Bower, “I will resign tomorrow”. Armed with this news, Bower sends a note to Sir Hercules Robinson saying, “There is, I fear, bad news from **Jameson**. He seems to have disobeyed Rhodes, and to have taken the bit between his teeth”. Later that same day, Bower suggests sending a telegram to Frank Newton, the resident commissioner of Bechuanaland, instructing him to order **Jameson** to return. Robinson writes a formal letter to Rhodes repudiating **Jameson’s** action, warning that this act might well result in the revocation of the **British South Africa Company** charter. Rhodes decides not to repudiate **Jameson** or recall him *via* Newton, sending a note instead to his agents in London portraying **Jameson** as a hero. This note is based on the bogus “women and children” letter (see 19/11/1895 & 20/11/1895) and reads, “**Dr Jameson** moved to assist English in Johannesburg because he received strong letter begging **Dr Jameson** to come signed by leading inhabitants. This letter will be telegraphed to you verbatim tomorrow. Meanwhile do not refer press. We are confident of success. Johannesburg united and strong on our side” (Meredith, 2007:336).
- 30/12/95 Chamberlain sends a telegram to Robinson instructing him to leave no stone unturned to prevent mischief (Meredith, 2007:339).
- 30/12/95 The **Reform Committee** meets in Johannesburg, shocked at news of the **Jameson Raid**. They use as their HQ, the Goldfields building and they effectively take over management of Johannesburg, declaring their aim is to preserve law and order. They make a decision to send a delegation to Kruger to explain the situation (Meredith, 2007:340).
- 30/12/95 In the late afternoon as the **Jameson Raid** approaches Krugersdorp, they decide to rest. They have been shadowed by a Boer commando since their first detection in Malmani. While resting **Jameson** receives a message from the Boer Commandant instructing him to turn back. **Jameson** refuses, citing the “women and children” letter as his justification, but he explains that his force has no hostile intentions with any **Transvaal** burgher (Meredith, 2007:342).
- 31/12/95 In the early morning as **Jameson** is saddling his force in preparation for the day’s ride, a message arrives from Newton, the resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland, instructing him to return. **Jameson** does not send a reply and decides to advance instead (Meredith, 2007:342).
- 31/12/95 The **Reform Committee** meets with officials from the Kruger government. A bizarre set of events unfolds when this official asks of them whether they represent the people of Johannesburg. Eager to prove that they do, they send a telegraph accompanied by a full list of their membership. This list is later used to arrest every person on it as mopping up operations take place (see 9/1/1896) (Meredith, 2007:342). **Note:** This again speaks to the amateurish approach to the planned *coup d’état* and tells us something of the fantasy world in which **Jameson** seemed to live.

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- 31/12/95 Jan Hofmeyer meets with Robinson insisting that the British government must issue a public statement about the **Jameson Raid**, making it clear that, “the criminal law ... will be enforced to the utmost against him” (Meredith, 2007:338).
- 31/12/95 Rhodes makes a last ditch attempt to save the situation arising from the **Jameson Raid** by sending a telegram to Flora Shaw. “Unless you can make Chamberlain instruct the High Commissioner to proceed at once to Johannesburg the whole position is lost. High Commissioner would receive splendid reception and still turn position to England’s advantage” (Meredith, 2007:338).
- 31/12/95 Chamberlain writes to Lord Salisbury about the **Jameson Raid**. “I am sorry to say the **Transvaal** business has entered a more acute stage. Having failed to get up a revolution in Johannesburg Rhodes ... has apparently sent in **Dr Jameson** who has crossed the border of the **Transvaal** with 800 armed police. This is a flagrant piece of filibustering for which there is no justification that I can see in the present state of things in the **Transvaal**. If it were supported by us it would justify the accusation of Germany and other powers that having first attempted to get up a revolution in a friendly State and having failed, we had then assented to an act of aggression and without any grievance of our own, had poured in British troops. It is worth noting that I have no confidence that the force now sent, with its allies in Johannesburg, is strong enough to beat the Boers – and if not we should expect that conflict would be the beginning of a race war in South Africa” (Meredith, 2007:339).
- 31/12/95 Chamberlain sends a personal cable to Paul Kruger seeking to avert a crisis. “Regret to hear of **Jameson’s** action. Sir Hercules Robinson has sent messengers to call him back. Can I cooperate with you further in this emergency in endeavouring to bring about a peaceful arrangement which is essential to all interests in South Africa, and which would be promoted by the concessions that I am assured you are ready to make?” (Meredith, 2007:340).
- 31/12/95 The London *Times* carries a story saying, “The news of the advance of an armed party from Bechuanaland is not very favourably received. There is no general wish in the community to resort to arms except in defence, and equally little wish to destroy the independence of the Republic (Meredith, 2007:341).
- 31/12/95 Cecil John Rhodes resigns as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony after the **Jameson Raid** fails to meet its tactical objective – the overthrow of the **Transvaal** Government by force. This raises many moral questions about British interests in the goldfields of the **Transvaal** and **Orange Free State** so it sets the scene for the subsequent **Anglo-Boer War**. The **Transvaal** government arms itself after the **Jameson Raid**.

1896

- 1896 Famine is reported in Namaqualand and the **Great Fish River** stops flowing. This becomes known as the **Year of Troubles** because of the drought, locust plague and other misfortunes.
- 1896 As a result of corruption scandals (see 1895), an inspectorate is established to improve the management of public finances (see 1898) (Meredith, 2007:300).
- 1896 The White population of Johannesburg is 50,907, of which 6,205 are Transvaaler’s, 16,265 are **Uitlander’s** from England and 15,162 from the Cape Colony (Welsh, 2000:302).
- 1896 There are more non-Dutch-speaking voters than Dutch-speaking voters in the **Transvaal** (Welsh, 2000:307). This gives renewed energy to the **Uitlander** issue.
- 1896 In the wake of the **Jameson Raid**, a report is written by Lord Selborne in his capacity as Chamberlain’s Under-Secretary. This report notes that the key to the future of British interests in the southern African region is the **Transvaal**, saying “it is the richest spot on earth” that is “going to be the natural capital state and centre of South African commercial, social and political life”. This report envisages two possible future scenarios: (1) Britain can succeed in uniting all South Africa into a Confederate state modelled on the Dominion of Canada, which means there will not be a future

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United States of South Africa; or (2) There will eventually be a United States of South Africa as the various British Colonies and partial Republics amalgamate over time (Meredith, 2007:366-7).

- 1896 In the wake of the **Jameson Raid**, Paul Kruger becomes deeply suspicious of the British, assuming they will try to unseat him again. This triggers the purchase of weapons from Germany and France. Between 1896 and 1899 one third of the **Transvaal** annual revenue is spent on military purchases. These include substantial stocks of weapons such as field guns, siege guns, howitzers, Maxim guns and modern assault rifles. Rifles and ammunition are standardized to Mauser and Martini-Henry so that the Burghers can be re-supplied easily if need be in future. Fortresses are also constructed in Pretoria and Johannesburg (Meredith, 2007:369-70). **Note:** The Johannesburg Fort is now home to the Constitutional Court.
- 1896 An Ndebele impi attacks land belonging to the **British South Africa Chartered Company**, killing around 200 men, women and children occupying that land.
- 1896 Cecil Rhodes is riding in the Matopo Hills with his friend Hans Sauer. He comes across a granite dome called Malindidzuma – “the dwelling place of the spirits” – when he decides that this is where he wishes to be buried when he dies (Meredith, 2007:475).
- 1896 Cecil Rhodes is photographed with a severely blotchy skin, suggesting that his health is not good at this time (Meredith, 2007:382).
- 1/96 While **Jameson** is preparing for his trial in London, Alfred Austin, the official Poet Laureate, publishes a piece in the London *Times*, portraying him as a hero, but basing his work on the fraudulent “women and children” letter to justify his actions and divert public opinion away from the planned *coup d'état* to one of gallant rescue instead (Meredith, 2007:349):

When men of our own blood pray us
To ride to their kinsfolk's aid,
Not Heaven itself shall stay us
From the rescue they call a raid ...

There are girls in the gold-reef city,
There are mothers and children too,
And they cry: 'Hurry up! For Pity!'
So what can a brave man do.

At the same time, **Rudyard Kipling** writes a poem called “If”, based on his absolute admiration for **Jameson**. This poem, now famous, reads as follows:

If you can keep your head when all about you,
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;

If you can wait and not be tired of waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look for good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream – and not make dreams your master;
If you can think – and not make thoughts your aim;
If you meet with triumph and disaster,
And treat those two imposters just the same;

If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken,
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,

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And stood and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings,
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings,
And never breathe a word about your loss;

If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew,
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you,
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings – nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;

If you can fill the unforgiving minute,
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And – which is more – You'll be a Man, my son!

- 1/1/96 The "women and children letter (see 30/12/95) is published in the London *Times*. Rhodes also sends a strong message to Flora Shaw instructing her to give Chamberlain his response. The message reads: "Inform Chamberlain that I shall get through all right if he supports me, but he must not send cable like he sent the High Commissioner [threatening to revoke the Charter] in South Africa. Today the crux is, I will win and South Africa will belong to England" (Meredith, 2007:337).
- 1/1/96 A second messenger arrives at the camp of the **Jameson Raid** force, this time sent by Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British agent in the **Transvaal**. This message reads: "Her Majesty's Government entirely disapprove your conduct in invading **Transvaal** with armed force; your action has been repudiated. You are ordered to retire at once from the country and will be held personally responsible for the consequences of your unauthorized and most improper proceeding". **Jameson** again ignores this instruction, and advances to within a few miles of Krugersdorp. The force is tired having ridden long and hard. While they had been shadowed by a Boer commando, there had been no significant engagement thus far – a fact that might have entered **Jameson's** tactical decision-making that now becomes critical. It is at Krugersdorp that the Boer forces have decided to make a stand and they had assembled a force of 500 men to defend the town. The Boer forces occupy the high ground along a ridge three miles outside Krugersdorp. **Sir John Willoughby** (see 12/1893), **Jameson's** military commander, warns him to avoid Krugersdorp. **Jameson** overrules him however, expecting to find supplies and reinforcements from Johannesburg waiting at Krugersdorp. The engagement starts when **Jameson's** force shells Boer positions. **Willoughby** orders a frontal attack when the shelling is lifted. An advance party makes their way up the ridge, to be cut down in a hail of withering fire from the Boer forces. Thirty men fall dead in an instant, with another 30 seeking cover only to be captured. The rest of the advancing force retreats. Running skirmishes now ensue as the **Jameson Raid** skirts Krugersdorp, being harassed by Boer Commandos (Meredith, 2007:343). **Note:** A street in Krugersdorp is named after Willoughby, located close to the place where the skirmish occurred.
- 2/1/96 Having been deflected from their intended march into Krugersdorp, the **Jameson Raid** is now advancing towards Johannesburg in a wide arc swinging to the south, being engaged continuously in running skirmishes with the Boer forces. The last engagement takes place on a hill known as Doornkop. Surrounded, tired and with mounting casualties, **Jameson** capitulates by hoisting a white apron belonging to a domestic worker. **Piet Cronjé** (see 1881) is the Boer Commandant that receives their surrender, later describing **Jameson** as trembling "like a reed". The wounded are taken to hospital in Krugersdorp, while **Jameson** and around 400 of his raiders are carted off to prison in Pretoria (Meredith, 2007:343). **Note:** So much for **Jameson** and his claim that he would drive the Boers out armed only with sjamboks (see 10/1895).

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- 2/1/96 The last of the **Jameson Raid** rebels are captured and Cecil John Rhodes is forced to resign as Prime Minister of the Cape. Mills & Williams (2006:83) note that the **Jameson Raid** is a direct violation of the **London Convention** (see 1884) in which Britain agrees not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the **Transvaal**. This event serves to bolster the flagging support for Kruger however, and triggers new enthusiasm for Boer independence.
- 2/1/96 Sir Hercules Robinson is despatched by train from Cape Town to Pretoria to deal with the fallout of the **Jameson Raid**. He later writes that, "During the month of January 1896, the issues of peace and war were trembling in the balance. I could not say from day to day, or from hour to hour, which way the balance would turn" (Meredith, 2007:344).
- 2/1/96 Chamberlain's rapid repudiation of the **Jameson Raid** now backfires on him. In an article published in the London *Times*, the journalist says that by repudiating **Jameson**, Chamberlain had in effect 'saved' the Boer government, and is thus now morally responsible for reforming it (Meredith, 2007:344).
- 3/1/96 Percy Fitzpatrick of the **Reform Committee** writes a letter to his wife describing scenes in Johannesburg after the capture of the **Jameson** force: "Tonight we are all hooted and howled at by the crowd because they say we have deserted **Jameson**. We have done nothing of the sort but he has failed to reach [us] and, as far as we can learn he has had to surrender to the Boers. It is the blackest and most cruel game of treachery ever played. Chamberlain sold **Jameson** and the High Commissioner or Rhodes sold us both" (Meredith, 2007:347).
- 3/1/96 As Sir Hercules Robinson is in the train *en route* to Pretoria, the German factor suddenly enters the British equation when the Kaiser sends a telegram to Paul Kruger, which is made public. This reads, "I express to you my sincere congratulations that without calling on the aid of friendly Powers you and your people, by your own energy against the armed bands which have broken into your country as disturbers of the peace, have succeeded in re-establishing peace, and defending the independence of the country against attacks from without". This creates a major public uproar in Britain, shifting the public focus away from the folly of the **Jameson Raid**, to the new question of the perceived menace of German aggression, meddling as it was in the British sphere of influence in southern Africa (Meredith, 2007:345).
- 4/1/96 Bolstered by this rapid change in public opinion, Lord Chamberlain writes to Lord Salisbury: "I think what is called for is an 'Act of Vigour'. It does not matter which of our numerous foes we defy, but we ought to defy someone". He thereby orders naval preparations, sending a message to Kruger on 6/1/1896, warning him: "The President would find that the little finger of Germany is thicker than England's loins" (Meredith, 2007:346).
- 9/1/96 Paul Kruger promises to pardon all those that lay down their arms other than the leading conspirators. He orders the arrest of the 64 members of the **Reform Committee**, using the list provided by them (see 31/12/1895).
- 15/1/96 Rhodes sets sail to England to face Chamberlain. He makes a parting speech saying, "I am going home to face the unctuous rectitude of my countrymen" (Meredith, 2007:349). **Note:** By calling England his "home" Rhodes makes it clear that he regarded South(ern) Africa simply as his playground and not his country, which gives more insight into his motives and the damage his actions have caused to millions of people of European origin who do regard this place as their genuine "home".
- 3/2/96 Cecil John Rhodes arrives in London where he immediately meets with his solicitor Bouchier Hawksley to discuss tactics (Meredith, 2007:349).
- 6/2/96 Rhodes has a personal meeting with Joseph Chamberlain, his co-conspirator in the **Jameson Raid**. Not a single mention is made of the telegrams, applying some blackmail in order to protect the Charter of the **British South Africa Company**. Meredith (2007:349) notes that the blackmail was mutual. "While Rhodes used his possession of the cables to prevent Chamberlain from abrogating the

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- Charter, Chamberlain used his power to withdraw the Charter to prevent Rhodes from publishing the cables”.
- 6/2/96 Kaiser Wilhelm sends a telegram to Paul Kruger offering a military force to protect Pretoria. This ups the ante as the dynamics that will eventually result in the **Second Anglo-Boer War** start to be unleashed.
- 3/96 Word of the defeat of **Jameson** reaches the Matabele, who now decide to revolt. **Fred Selous** reports that he has been questioned by the Ndebele leader Mlungulu, who had been specifically interested in the fate of **Jameson** and the BSAP now incarcerated in prison. The Matabele decide to settle old scores and they start to attack isolated farms, mining camps and trading outposts killing 200 whites. Within one week there are no whites left alive in the outlying areas of Matabeleland. Those that escape make their way to Bulawayo where they raise the alarm (Meredith, 2007:355).
- 5/3/96 **Rinderpest** is reported in Bulawayo. This rapidly moves south into the drought affected areas. Welsh (2000:353) says that, “In a reflection of the Xhosa cattle-killing, this natural catastrophe undermined the whole traditional pattern of life. The old men and fathers had to rely upon the young to leave home and seek wages in the goldmines, where they quickly adapted to the values of the compound and lost respect for the impotent chiefs and elders on the reserves”. (See earlier references in 1858 to the significance of the **Great Cattle Killing Delusion**).
- 4/96 Chamberlain reflects on the abortive **Jameson Raid**, sending a formal “statement of policy” to Fairfield. In this document he argues that previous generosity to the Boers was a piece of Christian chivalry that has brought no benefit. He describes Kruger as an, “Ignorant, dirty, cunning and obstinate man who has known how to feather his own nest and to enrich all his family and dependents”. Chamberlain then goes on to say, “I shall never go into such a war with a light heart, and at the present time we have no reason – either of right or of interest – which would justify the enterprise. ... If we were ever forced into it against our will I should try to seize and defend the gold-bearing districts. This is the key of S[outh] Africa. ... I do not believe that there will be war – but Kruger will not be wise if he dismisses that possibility altogether from his calculations” (Meredith, 2007:352).
- 5/96 Chamberlain delivers a speech in the House of Commons, saying, “A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a Civil War. It would be a long war, a bitter war and a costly war. ... It would leave behind it the embers of a strife which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. ... To go to war with President Kruger, to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his state, with which [we] have repudiated all rights of interference – that would have been a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise” (Meredith, 2007:352-3).
- 5/96 The **South African League** is formed. This aims to strengthen British interests and supremacy in southern Africa and it starts to campaign for a future federation of states under the Union Jack. It is supported by the London-based **South African Association** (Meredith, 2007:378).
- 8/5/96 **Turton Genealogy**: Richard Clarence (Paternal Grandfather’s Maternal Grandfather), dies in Muizenburg, Cape Town aged 92.
- 6/96 The Matabele uprising has now reached a point where Ndebele forces are starting to fall back into defensive positions in the Mambo Hills, under increased harassment by forces hastily raised by Rhodes to counter the revolt. Rhodes tells Lord Grey, the new administrator of Matabeleland replacing **Jameson**, “I see daylight. Until we catch them and thoroughly convince them that this country is to be the country of the white, and not the black, man we must go on hammering and hunting them” (Meredith, 2007:357). However, just as the tide is turning in Matabeleland, the Shona decide to emulate the Ndebele. Within a week of the new uprising 100 whites are killed in the outlying areas of Mashonaland. Survivors make their way to Fort Salisbury. In all the white casualties’ amount to 372 killed with 129 wounded. This is 10% of the entire white population of Rhodesia (Meredith, 2007:357). This is called the **First War of Chimurenga** and it lays the foundation for the **Rhodesian Bush War** to be fought in the 1960’s and 1970’s.

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- 7/96 The Cape Parliament publishes a Blue Book containing all the evidence available about the **Jameson Raid**, describing Rhodes, Beit, **Jameson** and Harris as “the promoters and moving spirits” behind the plot (Meredith, 2007:350).
- 20/7/96 An assault against the Ndebele holed up in the Matopos, designed to be the final phase of the suppression of the **Matabele Revolt**, ends in stalemate when high casualties are sustained without a decisive victory by Rhodes’ men (Meredith, 2007:358).
- 5/8/96 A second assault against the Ndebele in the Matopos is almost a disaster. This leads Rhodes to calculate that in order to win the war, he will need a new campaign in the dry season of 1897 with a new force of 2,500 troops, supported by 1,000 carriers, engineers and mountain guns deployed in a string of forts (Meredith, 2007:358).
- 21/8/96 Rhodes decides to negotiate with the Ndebele leadership. He travels to an indaba accompanied by three other men – Hans Sauer, Johann Colenbrander (a former chief native commissioner) and Vere Stent (a correspondent with the Cape Times) – and two **Mfengu** scouts named Jan Grootboom and James Makhunga. *En route* to the meeting, Sauer reminds Rhodes of the fate of **Piet Retief**. Stent writes of this journey, saying that the party is a little nervous. Colenbrander, given his deep understanding of Nguni culture, advises Rhodes to start the indaba with a greeting, “*Amehlo Amhlophe*”, meaning literally, “the eyes are white”, which is a greeting of peace (Meredith, 2007:358-9). **Note:** Johann Colenbrander goes hunting with my Grandfather Clarence Stanley Turton I near Hlabisa in the late 1920’s or early 1930’s. During that hunt a dog belonging to my father (Clarence Stanley Turton II) named Badger is gored by a wounded bushbuck. My father tries to nurse the dog, but it dies a few days later. The local Zulu Induna sends a delegation to console my father at the “funeral”, eulogizing the dog “as if he was a man”. This story was related by Minerva Turton, last surviving sister of my father in 2008, giving some insight into the relationship that my father had with the amaZulu (See Turton, 2008a).
- 10/96 Cecil Rhodes reaches a final agreement with the Matabele after a series of protracted negotiations (see 21/8/1896). Meredith (2007:360-1) comments that the Ndebele are promised peace in the form of no prosecution for the perpetrators of the uprising underpinned by some land restitution, but in reality they never get their land back. The Shona have no such luck however, because they are hunted like animals and literally dynamited out of caves “until the last pocket of resistance had been eliminated”. Meredith concludes by saying that, “Rhodesia was established by right of conquest” (2007:361). **Note:** This is a driver of the current Zimbabwe crisis, giving an indication of how enduring this wholesale land theft by Rhodes and his expatriate cronies has proven to be.
- 12/96 Cecil Rhodes, now chastened by the fallout of the **Jameson Raid**, says in a public speech made in Port Elizabeth, “I was told that my public life was at an end, but the first thing I told them was that this is only the beginning” (Meredith, 2007:378).
- 6/12/96 **Turton Genealogy:** Alice Hope Pistorius (Paternal Grandmother) is born in Middelburg, **Transvaal**, to Wilhelm Pieter Pistorius and Anna Sophia Mynhardt Weeber. **Note:** The name “Hope” is pertinent, because it is given in anticipation of a future that is better than the current or recent past has been (Turton, 2008a).
- 10/12/96 Earl Grey writes a formal letter to Chamberlain referring back to a meeting between the two in 1895 (see 1/8/1895). In this letter Grey says, “I told you privately that the ... rising of the **Uitlander’s** to secure for themselves the common rights of free men would shortly take place, and that being so it was desirable that an armed force should be stationed on the **Transvaal** border available for use if required (Meredith, 2007:316).

1897

- 1897 **Mbuya Nehanda**, a spirit medium in Mashonaland, is executed by being hanged in public for her alleged role in the **Mashona Rebellion** of June, 1896. This event is significant in Shona military history, because her spirit returns and becomes significant during the **War of Chimurenga**, when an

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- operational area is named in her honour. **Note:** After Zimbabwe independence, the maternity hospital in Harare is named in her honour, giving an indication of the enduring impact of this unjust revenge killing.
- 1897 Zululand is incorporated into Natal, as fears of a possible Zulu uprising such as that recently experienced in the **Matabele Rebellion** take root (Meredith, 2007:498).
- 1897 **Lord Milner**, the British Governor of the Cape Colony, decides that there is no place in South Africa for an Afrikaner nation. **Note:** This becomes significant after the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.
- 3/97 Sir Henry de Villiers, the Cape Chief Justice, visits Paul Kruger in Pretoria. During the meeting de Villiers urges Kruger to reform the **Transvaal** franchise as this is becoming a pressing issue from the British side. Kruger refuses to budge, stating that the **Uitlander's** will not be satisfied until they have the whole country, so piecemeal reform will achieve nothing (Meredith, 2007:371).
- 3/97 Paul Kruger travels to the **Orange Free State** where he opens discussions about a more formal peace treaty between the two Boer Republics. Kruger and Steyn renew a defence treaty first signed in 1889, pledging mutual support when "the independence of one of the two States may be threatened or attacked". They add a new clause stating that the goal is an eventual federal union between the two Boer Republics (Meredith, 2007:370).
- 4/97 Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, writes a letter to Chamberlain expressing his misgiving over possible war in the **Transvaal**. In response to Salisbury's letter, Chamberlain replies: "There are two possibilities to guard against. The first is a war with the **Transvaal** which might be ... unpopular in England and which might easily strain our relations with Germany. The other is the loss of confidence of the British in South Africa which would certainly lead to a republic – the elimination of the Imperial factor. Of the two this is the greatest evil, yet there is undoubtedly a strong party anxious to bring it about". With this as a strong statement of a specific policy position, Chamberlain and **Milner** set to work, but in the aftermath of the fallout of the **Jameson Raid**, they decide to play "a waiting game" (Meredith, 2007:367-8). The notion of the "Imperial factor" is thus relevant to any future understanding of the events leading up to the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, the **Scorched Earth Policy** and the subsequent **British Concentration Camps** that resulted. (See Turton *et al.*, 2006).
- 5/97 **Sir Alfred Milner** arrives as the new British High Commissioner. He has a powerful personality and very set views about empire, so his appointment by Chamberlain is set to make a major impact in South Africa. Meredith (2007:366) describes **Milner** as an "imperial zealot". **Milner's** credo is as follows: "I am a British Nationalist. If I am also an Imperialist, it is because the destiny of the English race, owing to its insular position and long supremacy at sea, has been to strike fresh roots in distant parts of the world. My patriotism knows no geographical but only racial limits. I am an Imperialist and not a Little Englander, because I am a British Race Patriot". In this role as "a civilian soldier of Empire" ... "**Milner** possessed a formidable intellect but a narrow mindset" notes Meredith (2007:366). This appointment thus confirms the Chamberlain/**Milner** belief that the ultimate objective of British policy in southern Africa should be to steer the **Transvaal** into the imperial sphere, before it became too powerful to determine its own destiny in the region, because that would likely not favour the British (Meredith, 2007:367). The actions that flowed from this appointment, most notably the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, with the subsequent **Scorched Earth Policy** and **British Concentration Camps** as a key component should thus be interpreted against this intellectual background. **Note:** In this regard **Milner** can be regarded as being a **Cultural Darwinist**, believing as he does that natural selection has favoured the British race over time.
- 8/97 **Lord Milner** states his position on the Cape Afrikaners in a letter to a friend. "Half of the white people of this Colony, indeed I fear more than half, while owing a formal allegiance to Britain, are at heart fellow-citizens with the Free Staters and Transvaaler's. As long as there is friction between Great Britain and the Republics, they don't mind being British subjects, in fact, being comfortable and lazy, they don't desire a change. But the moment Great Britain and either of the Republics are at loggerheads, they side openly and vehemently with the latter. Of course, the remedy may be found in time in an English party in the **Transvaal** getting the franchise and counterbalancing on that side the

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influence of the Colonial Dutch on this. But the Boer oligarchy of the **Transvaal** is going to die hard. And it is not going to precipitate its own demise by provoking us too much” (Meredith, 2007:369).

1898

- 1898 Thousands of Dervishes are killed by **Kitchener** at Omdurman thus avenging the death of Gordon. **Lt. Winston Churchill** distinguishes himself in this action.
- 1898 Paul Kruger is elected by an overwhelming majority to become the President of the **Transvaal**. He decides to modernize his administration a little so he replaces Leyds by appointing Frank Reitz, a Cape-born British-trained barrister as State Secretary. Reitz had served as Chief Justice of the **Orange Free State** and then as President of the **Orange Free State**, so he brings with him a host of new skills. Kruger also appoints **Jan Smuts**, a 28-year old Cambridge-trained lawyer who had won a string of academic honours, including a double first in law. **Smuts**, once a Rhodes-admirer when he was Prime Minister, had by now become disillusioned with him as a result of the fallout of the **Jameson Raid**. Significantly, both Reitz and **Smuts** are committed republicans, with **Smuts** having said, “Nowhere in the world has it [republicanism] had such a chance as in South Africa. ... Its day is coming and may be nearer than many think. ... The old ship of state is at last leaving her moorings, but it is the wind of republicanism and not of imperialism that is speeding her along. Already the political centre of gravity in South Africa has followed the commercial centre of gravity and shifted from Cape Town to the republican capital. The Colonies will gradually have to accustom their pride and readjust their economic and political relations so as to fall in with the new disposal of political forces in South Africa. ... The Dutch and even the English in the Colonies will come to look more and more to the **Transvaal** for material help and support. The Union Jack – which has been in South Africa, not a symbol of peace and goodwill, but of blood, force and aggression – will more and more be relegated to that limbo of innocuous fads in which ‘imperial federation’ and similar entities and nonentities flourish. ... The British Empire cannot be kept together by force and armaments.” Significantly, **Smuts** warns Britain against the adoption of a policy based on force and intimidation, dismissing as bogus, the claim repeatedly made by Chamberlain of “suzerainty” over the **Transvaal** by virtue of the 1884 London Convention (Meredith, 2007:486-7). The die is thus set for the forthcoming confrontation that leads eventually to the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.
- 1898 The **Liquor Act** makes it illegal to sell alcohol to “aboriginal natives”, giving rise to the practice of shebeen’s that become an enduring part of the cultural landscape.
- 1898 The **Transvaal Republic** administration is said to be corrupt in a report that indicates 2.4 million Pounds Sterling had been advanced to government officials and not properly accounted for. The **Deutsche Bank** withdraws from a loan that is being negotiated on the grounds of this corruption, which serves to stunt economic development (Welsh, 2000:304). This impacts negatively on the railway line to Delagoa Bay, so transport remains rudimentary and the development of the gold mines is slow as a result.
- 1898 As a result of the establishment of an inspectorate (see 1896), an audit of the treasury indicates that over the previous 16 years, a total of 2.4 Million Pounds advanced to officials could not be accounted for (Meredith, 2007:300).
- 1898 Olive Schreiner moves to Johannesburg with her husband. She describes the town as a “great, fiendish, hell of a city which for glitter and gold, and wickedness, carriages and palaces and brothels and gambling halls, bet creation” (Meredith, 2007:293).
- 2/98 Martinus Steyn, a barrister of the Inner Temple and married to a Scots woman, is elected as President of the **Orange Free State**.
- 2/98 Paul Kruger stands as candidate for President of the **Transvaal** against two other candidates – **Piet Joubert** (Commandant General) and **Schalk Burger** (a reformist politician supported by the mining industry and calling for modernization and an extension of the franchise). Kruger wins the election after polling 12,764 votes against Burger’s 3,716 and **Joubert**’s 1,943 votes and thus starts his fourth term as President. For **Lord Milner**, this election is a turning point, so he writes a letter to

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Chamberlain stating: “There is no way out of the political trouble in S[outh] Africa except reform in the **Transvaal** or war. And at present the chances of reform in the **Transvaal** are worse than ever. The Boers quarrel bitterly among themselves, but it is about jobs and contracts, not politics! In their determination to keep all power in their own hands and to use it with a total disregard of the interests of the unenfranchised, as well as their own hatred and suspicion of Great Britain, the vast majority of them are firmly united ... Kruger has returned to power, more autocratic and more reactionary than ever ... He has strengthened his hold on the **Orange Free State** and the Colonial Afrikaners continue to do obeisance to him. ... *Looking at the question from a purely S[outh] African point of view*, I should be inclined to work up to a crisis, not indeed by looking about for causes of complaint or making a fuss about trifles, but by steadily and inflexibly pressing for the redress of substantial wrongs and injustices. It would not be difficult thus to work up an extremely strong *cumulative case*” (Meredith, 2007:372-3). **Note:** From this it is evident that **Milner** is now looking for justification to go to war and is calling for a more active policy backed by the use of force, based on his observation that during the **Drifts Crisis** in 1895, Kruger backed down when the use of force was perceived to be real.

- 2/98 Percy Fitzpatrick visits **Alfred Milner** in Cape Town. Fitzpatrick is disbarred from all political activity because of his role as secretary of the **Reform Committee** that had supported the **Jameson Raid**, and his employers Wernher, Beit & Co., had warned him to avoid overt political activity. Fitzpatrick makes notes of this meeting because of his intense interest in politics. These notes later reveal that **Milner** says, “There is only one possible settlement – War! It has got to come. ... The difficulty is in the occasion and not in the job itself, that is very easily done and I think nothing of the bogies and difficulties of settling South African afterwards. You will find a very different tone and temper when the centre of unrest is dealt with” (Meredith, 2007:474).
- 3/98 **Lord Milner** makes a speech on the occasion of the opening of a new railway spur line at Graaf Reinet in the Cape. His speech targets what he considers to be the extremist faction in the **Afrikaner Bond**. This is the first public speech in which **Milner** makes a series of statements that reveals his belief. **Milner** states that he believed that whilst enjoying the advantages of British citizenship, the Cape Afrikaners were, “forever adulating the **Transvaal** while casting suspicion on the actions and interpretations of Her Majesty’s Government”, the effect of which has been to, “encourage the **Transvaal** oligarchy in the present policy till it becomes intolerable and ends in war”. For **Milner** it is not the aggressiveness of Britain that, “has caused the spirit of unrest in South Africa”, but rather the, “unprogressiveness, I will not say retroprogressiveness, of the Government of the **Transvaal**”. This speech enrages many Cape Afrikaners, because it casts aspersions on their loyalty as citizens. By publicly raising the possibility of war with the **Transvaal**, **Milner** is in effect challenging whites to choose which side they wanted to join in what he evidently believed was a forthcoming struggle between Boer and the British for supremacy. This serves to invoke all of the deep-seated mistrust that had arisen after the **Jameson Raid** (Meredith, 2007:375). As Meredith (2007:377) notes, Paul Kruger now knows he has a warmonger on his hands.
- 9/3/98 Cecil Rhodes is interviewed in Cape Town, when he says the following: “You want me. You can’t do without me. The feelings of the people – you may think is egoism, but these are the facts – is that somebody is wanted to fight a certain thing for them, and there is nobody else willing to fight it” (Meredith, 2007:379).
- 12/3/98 Cecil Rhodes makes a public speech in which he announces that the best service he can render to the country is to return and assist in the big aims of a closer union (Meredith, 2007:379). Rhodes now changes his political allegiance and starts to champion the cause of the urban voters.
- 20/4/98 **Milner** writes to a friend, “If it had not been for our troubles elsewhere, I should not have striven, as I did, for a peaceful issue. The Boer Gov[ernment] is too great a curse to all S[outh] Africa to be allowed to exist, if we were too busy to afford a considerable war, which alone can pull it down” (Meredith, 2007:377).
- 16/5/98 **Turton Genealogy:** Johannes Petrus Jordaan (Maternal Grandfather) is born to Schalk Dietloff Jacobus Jordaan and Barbara Christina Jacoba Botha. Barbara Botha is a blood relative of **Louis Botha**. He goes on to become a diamond driller and prospector working all over Southern Africa as

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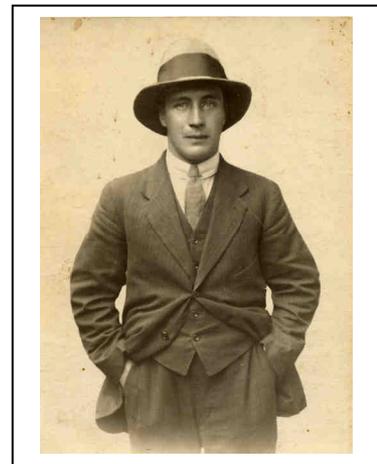
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far afield as the Belgian Congo and the Zambian Copperbelt, drilling assay holes for mining houses determining what the mineral value of a given ore body is. (The photo shows Johannes Petrus Jordaan, his mother Barbara Christina Jacoba Botha, his wife Ethel Cloete and my mother, Heather Kathleen Jordaan, looking rather unhappy).



9/98 In a bitterly contested general election in the Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes seeks re-election as Prime Minister. He runs against William Schreiner who had launched the South African Party as a moderate platform. Schreiner wins with a majority of one vote, and forms a new government with the **Afrikaner Bond** as partners. **Lord Milner** finds this outcome to be deeply unsatisfactory (Meredith, 2007:381).

23/9/98 **Turton Genealogy:** Sarah Catharina Viljoen, future wife of Joachim Jan Hendrik (also known as John Henry) Cloete (Maternal Great-Grandfather) (see 13/8/1900) has a son by the name of John Ferton Carles in Kimberley. A number of names are on different records for this son including Jack and John Ferton Cloete (see image). It is not known whether John Henry Cloete adopted this child, or fathered this child.



12/98 An incident involving a British **Uitlander** by the name of Tom Edgar at the hands of the **Transvaal** police triggers an incident that results in mass protest. Edgar is a Lancashire-trained boilermaker, who becomes involved in a drunken brawl, not uncommon in Johannesburg at this time. In this brawl Edgar knocks a man unconscious, and the public who intervene assume this man is dead, so they summon the police. Edgar fails to open the door when the police ask to interview him, so one policeman, Barend Jones, forces entry into Edgar's home without a warrant of arrest or search. Edgar attacks Jones with an iron-clad stick, so Jones shoots him in fear of his life. Jones is then arrested and charged with murder, but the prosecutor reduces this charge to one of culpable homicide. Members of the **South African League** immediately organize a public protest and this incident escalates. **Smuts** decides to re-arrest Jones and recharge him with murder. A local petition makes its way to the newspapers in London however, so the incident becomes an international one, so on Christmas eve, a

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crowd of 5,000 **Uitlander's** assemble outside the British Consulate to demonstrate their anger at the "unfair" treatment of the **Transvaal** police (Meredith, 2007:389).

1899

- 1899 In a secret meeting held at Saxonwold, Johannesburg, the **Imperial Light Horse (ILH) Regiment** is founded as a volunteer unit with the intention of engaging the Boers militarily (see Jackson, 1999). Queen Victoria takes personal responsibility in naming the new Regiment, granting permission for the use of the Royal Standard crossed with the Union Jack as the official insignia. The founding members are Sir Percy Fitzpatrick (formerly of the **Relief Committee**), Colonel Sir Aubrey Woolls-Sampson, Lt. Col., James Donaldson, Major Walter 'Karri' Davies and Major Charles Mullins (also formerly of the **Relief Committee**). The unit of 500 cavalrymen under arms is made up entirely of **Uitlander's** who are disenfranchised in the **Transvaal Republic**. Lt. Creswell, an officer serving with C Squadron during the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, later goes on to become Minister of Defence in the **Union Government**. On joining the Regiment, one needed to provide one's own horse and equipment. **Note:** It is this unit that the author later served in under the name of the **Light Horse Regiment** with their distinctive stable-belts going back to the time when the unit still used horses.
- 1899 **Jan Smuts** publishes a book entitled *Een Eeuw Van Onrecht (A Hundred Years of Wrong)*. This details Boer grievances and becomes popular as a political mobilizing vehicle.
- 1899 **Smuts** nudges reform in the **Transvaal** government. He cultivates a close working relationship with Percy Fitzpatrick, Wernher Beit's main representative, in an attempt to resolve the differences between the industry and government. The mining industry is also changing as a result of amalgamations. Whereas in 1888 there had been 44 separate mining companies, in 1899 there are now only 9 major finance houses controlling 114 out of the 124 Main Reef outcrop and deep level companies. Consolidated Gold Fields, Cecil Rhodes' company, having been stung by the repercussions of the **Jameson Raid**, is somewhat reluctant for close political involvement, but the rest are in favour of closer links to political power that the **Smuts** initiative would yield (Meredith, 2007:392-3). Meredith (2007:393) describes Fitzpatrick as a "colonial maverick with his own political agenda, ... intent on linking the mining industry's complaints to a wider political settlement [wanting] the British government to be involved". Fitzpatrick is reported as being exasperated by **Smuts'** apparent reluctance to see the "desperate seriousness of the position", saying that, "do you realize that it means war?" To this **Smuts** responds, his two hands apart and then crashing together, "I seem to see two great thunderclouds approaching, and when they meet there will come the crash". Fitzpatrick responds, "And do you know what such a war means? It will extend from the Zambezi to the ocean. It will divide the races and the States; it will split us from one end to the other; communities divided, families divided, father and son, brother against brother; God alone knows where the thing will end. It will mean utter ruin to South Africa; and you will risk all of this for a little thing which is only vanity. Inconsistent with your dignity, that's all it is! ... Your dignity! Your independence! Good God, you know England, you were educated in England: you know what the Empire means; in six months you will have no dignity left; you will have no independence; no State; Nothing! What kind of madness is this?" **Smuts** replies calmly to this outburst: "Yes, I know England; better perhaps than you think. Not in six months, my friend, not in six years; you may take the cities and the mines, for we would not meet you there, but for six or seven years we shall be able to hold out in the mountains, and long before that there will be a change of opinion in England. Other things will crop up [and] they will become tired and lose interest" (Meredith, 2007:394).
- 1899 At the start of the **Anglo-Boer War**, the combined population of the **Orange Free State** and **Transvaal** is 300,000.
- 1899 The gold industry is booming with output from the **Transvaal** being double what it was in 1895, making the **Transvaal** the largest single gold producer in the world. In July production reaches a new record, valued at 1.7 million pounds for the month. Investment into the industry along the Rand now equals 75 million pounds, three quarters of which is British (Meredith, 2007:420).
- 1899 Cecil Rhodes drafts his seventh will (see 1877, 1882, 1888 & 1891) with similar instructions as before. However, he now makes bequests to his family and to Oriel College at Oxford; and he

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declares that his home Grootte Schuur should become the official residence of future Prime Ministers of a federal South Africa. He also creates the Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford, stipulating qualifications needed – smugness, brutality, tact, leadership and unctuous rectitude (Meredith, 2007:382-3).

- 1899 Cecil Rhodes meets Princess Catherine Radziwill, fluent in five languages. Thus starts a complex relationship that eventually leads to a court case after she fraudulently signs his name to a series of promissory notes (see 22/1/01, 6/01, 9/01, 10/01, 6/2/02 & 28/2/02) (Meredith, 2007:384)
- 1/99 **Lord Milner** has spent a ten week period in England on home leave. Using much of this time to lobby for a more “vigorous” policy towards the **Transvaal**, **Milner** tells Selborne on his departure back to the Cape Colony that he will have to rely on his own actions and prepare the public for a gradual “awakening” of the threat that Kruger posed. “If I can advance matters by my own actions, as I still hope I may be able to do, I believe that I shall have support when the time comes. And if I can’t get things ‘forrander’ locally, I should not get support whatever I said. I quite realize that public opinion is dormant on the subject, though it would take, I believe, but little to wake it up in a fashion that would astonish all. My great fear is lest the waking up should come suddenly, perhaps irrationally, over some ‘incident’, which may turn out to be more or less hollow, instead of gradually in support of policy, carrying conviction to all but the absolutely biased” (Meredith, 2007:392). This strongly suggests that **Milner**’s objective is to take matters into his own hands, because they are not going in the direction he wants things to move.
- 28/1/99 **Lord Milner** departs from England after his home leave and starts the return journey to the Cape Colony (Meredith, 2007:392).
- 14/1/99 As a result of the Tom Edgar incident (see 12/1898), clashes take place between British **Uitlander**’s and Boer hecklers. This matter of public disorder is left to the acting High Commissioner General Sir William Butler to handle. Butler has no liking of the **South African League**, regarding them as “an agency of disquiet”. Butler briefs Chamberlain, stating that in his view the Edgar incident is a “prepared business” worked up by the League to draw the British government into confrontation with Paul Kruger’s regime. The affair dies down a little, but re-ignites when the charge against Jones is again reduced to one of manslaughter. Jones is later acquitted so **Uitlander** sentiments fester on (Meredith, 2007:390).
- 2/99 The Chamber of Mines passes a resolution condemning the decision by Kruger to extend the dynamite monopoly. The Chamber tables a number of alternative proposals developed by their membership, suggesting that the government should buy out the dynamite monopoly for 600,000 Pounds (Meredith, 2007:394).
- 3/99 **Smuts** and Reitz open confidential talks with mining companies in an attempt to seek consensus on key issues dividing them. This is known as the “**Great Deal**”. Central to this is the *Bewaarplaatsen* issue (where tailings dams were based on surface rights, but sub-surface mineral rights were still retained by the state), and the issue of the government dynamite monopoly. The **Great Deal** becomes divisive. Percy Fitzpatrick sees it as a ploy by government to protect the dynamite monopoly. Fitzpatrick retains his objective of drawing in the British government (Meredith, 2007:396).
- 14/3/99 David Harris suggests that Britain should accept the terms of the **Great Deal**. Chamberlain replies, “I said that Her Majesty’s Government would not interfere but that public opinion would probably sat that the Financiers had sold their cause and their compatriots – and sold them cheap and would not in the long run get even the price they had accepted. It was however their business not ours ...” (Meredith, 2007:396).
- 16/3/99 Mining magnates meet in London with the local representatives to sort out a common position on the **Great Deal**. They agree that the franchise is “the vital point upon which a permanent and peaceful settlement must hinge”. They draft a memorandum suggesting that a five year retrospective franchise be granted for **Uitlander**’s, with a redistribution of seats in the Volksraad (Meredith, 2007:397).
- 20/3/99 Chamberlain makes a speech in the House of Commons, claiming that in the past Kruger “had kept no promise with regard to the [**Uitlander**’s] and redressed no grievance”, slamming Kruger’s current

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reforms as being “entirely illusory”. Chamberlain concludes by stating that he did not feel “at the moment that any case had arisen which would justify me in taking the very strong action” (Meredith, 2007:398).

- 24/3/99 A petition with 21,684 signatures drafted by the **South African League** is delivered to Pretoria. Details are published in the Johannesburg *Star* and the London *Times*. The petition reads: “Your Majesty’s subjects are still deprived of all political rights, they are denied a voice in the government. ... Maladministration and peculation of public monies go hand in hand, without any vigorous measures being adopted to put a stop to the scandal. The education of **Uitlander** children is made subject to impossible conditions. The police afford no adequate protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Johannesburg; they are rather a source of danger to the peace and safety of the **Uitlander** population” (Meredith, 2007:398).
- 27/3/99 The petition by the **South African League** is delivered to **Lord Milner** in Cape Town. This petition, coinciding as it does with the **Great Deal** negotiations, provides Chamberlain with the cause he so desperately needs to intervene with Paul Kruger. Chamberlain vacillates as to which tactic should next be employed, so **Milner** and Fitzpatrick unilaterally decide on their own course of action to nudge things in the direction they feel they should be going in (Meredith, 2007:398-9).
- 31/3/99 **Milner** meets with Fitzpatrick in Cape Town, with **Milner** urging Fitzpatrick to find a way of undermining the **Great Deal** negotiations. Fitzpatrick pays a journalist to bribe a **Transvaal** official to get access to the confidential documents in order to cover himself. This way the journalist can honestly say that it was not Fitzpatrick that leaked the confidential documents, but rather a corrupt official, even if he paid the actual bribe money (“You can do the work, but there’s no reason why you should pay the expenses when it’s our cause too” he later said) (Meredith, 2007:399).
- 4/99 Sir Henry de Villiers, the Cape Chief Justice, travels to the **Transvaal** to persuade Paul Kruger to meet with **Milner** and to make some reforms. Supporting this initiative, William Schreiner, the Cape Prime Minister, holds talks with **Milner** during which he makes an offer to act as an intermediary between the two leaders. Schreiner also writes to **Jan Smuts**, urging the need for reforms. The **Afrikaner Bond** leader, Jan Hofmeyr also meets with **Milner**, urging him to meet with Kruger in Bloemfontein on neutral ground (Meredith, 2007:403).
- 3/4/99 The confidential documents explaining details of the **Great Deal** are published in the London *Times*. This derails the talks, leaving **Smuts** and Reitz furious at this breach of trust. “Our earnest attempt to promote a lasting reconciliation has been a disastrous failure” writes **Smuts** of this event. “Conditions are worse today than they have been for fifteen years – thanks to your efforts” (Meredith, 2007:399). This nudges the case for war with the **Transvaal** a little further along the trajectory that **Milner** has been envisioning all along.
- 5/4/99 **Milner** sends a despatch to Chamberlain, urging him to put the franchise issue at the centre of his strategy for the forthcoming meeting with Kruger. **Milner** suggests the publishing of a Blue Book setting out details of the **Uitlander** views. Chamberlain accepts the idea of a Blue Book, and asks **Milner** for a contribution, which he provides as follows: “The spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots [the slaves of ancient Greece] ... calling vainly to Her Majesty’s Government for redress, does steadily undermine the influence and reputation of Great Britain and the respect for the British Government within the Queen’s dominions”. **Milner** goes on to elaborate that the issue of republicanism is also a danger. “The doctrine of a Republic embracing all South Africa [and supported by] menacing references to the armaments of the **Transvaal**, its alliance with the **Orange Free State**, and the active sympathy which in case of war is would receive from a section of Her Majesty’s subjects [referring to the Cape Afrikaners]. ... I regret to say that this doctrine, supported as it is by a ceaseless stream of malignant lies about intentions of the British Government, is producing a great effect upon a large number of our Dutch fellow colonists. ... I can see nothing which will put a stop to this mischievous propaganda but some striking proof of the intention of Her Majesty’s Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa. And the best proof alike of its power and its justice would be to obtain for the **Uitlander’s** in the **Transvaal** a fair share in the Government of the country which owes everything to their exertions” (Meredith, 2007:401-2).

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- 15/4/99 Now that things are starting to move in the direction that **Milner** wants, he writes to Conyngham Greene in Pretoria (the person involved with the **South African League** petition – see 24/3/1899): “The great point seems to be (1) to keep the future course of negotiations public and (2) to force the [**Transvaal**] government into some definite position – yes or no – about the franchise. ... The other thing is the **Uitlander’s** – as they cannot have a mass meeting – to express in any way they can – by a series of smaller meetings along the Rand, if they can be organized – their approval of the scheme of reforms outlined in the memorandum. This would have a double effect. It would, so to speak, canonize that scheme as the **Uitlander’s** recognized programme, their Petition of Rights – at present it is merely the opinion of a few individuals and it would keep up English interest and rub the real issue well into the public mind” (Meredith, 2007:400).
- 5/99 Sir de Villiers returns to the Cape reporting that both **Smuts** and Reitz are willing to work towards a more liberal franchise, both supporting a meeting between Kruger and **Milner** in Bloemfontein. President Steyn thus offers his support and agrees to host the meeting. **Milner** responds in private that this action is “a good stroke of business on the part of the enemy”, having mollified “the British press a bit and relaxing for the moment, unfortunately I think, the screw upon the enemy” (Meredith, 2007:403). **Note:** **Milner** uses the word “enemy”, which betrays his inner thinking. This is not the language of a diplomat, but rather a warmonger, intent on crushing Afrikaner cultural identity.
- 8/5/99 **Milner** sends a despatch to Chamberlain on the eve of a cabinet meeting, referring to meetings taking place up and down the Rand in which ordinary **Uitlander’s** are demanding the franchise after five years residence (refer to **Milner’s** instructions to Conyngham Greene in Pretoria on 15/4/1899). **Milner** urges Chamberlain to “take the present opportunity of defiantly ranging ourselves on the side of the **Uitlander** Reformers in their struggle with the **Transvaal** Government” (Meredith, 2007:402).
- 8/5/99 **Milner** sends a note to the governor of Natal, stating that: “Perhaps it would be best if Kruger hardened his heart and the smash came. ... The great thing now, in the intervening breathing space before the bomb bursts, is for us to stiffen the wobblers. I know perfectly well that as soon as it becomes evident that H.M.G., means business, we shall have the usual outcry ... that there is nothing to fight about, that a race war would be too awful, etc. It is under cover of these bogeys that Kruger and Co., have kept up their game so long. Once you convince the wobblers ... that the British Government is resolute, the whole force of the peace-at-any price party will be directed to getting the **Transvaal** to give in. Sir H. de Villiers is decidedly on that track already, and with a little more pushing, Schreiner will follow suit” (Meredith, 2007:404).
- 9/5/99 The British cabinet decide to intervene on the side of the **Uitlander’s**, with **Milner’s** image of “helot” (see the Blue Book reference dated 5/4/1899) ringing in their ears (Meredith, 2007:402). **Milner** is clearly a skilful man at manipulating events to suit his predetermined agenda. And so the grievances of the **Uitlander’s** are set to become entwined with the burning question of preserving British supremacy in southern Africa. As Meredith (2007:402) notes, “For **Milner**, it was a triumph that he hoped would hasten the great day of reckoning”. (See also Krebs, 1992; Pakenham, 1992; Porch, 2000).
- 10/5/99 After reporting that Paul Kruger is increasingly of the view that war is unavoidable and will soon happen, even if England lacks a legitimate reason, **Jan Smuts** writes a letter to Hofmeyr in the Cape: “If England should venture into the ring without a formally good excuse, her cause in South Africa would be finished. And then the sooner the better; as we for our part are quite prepared to meet her. Our people throughout South Africa must be baptized with the baptism of blood and fire before they can be admitted among the other great peoples of the world. Of the outcome I have no doubt. Either we shall be exterminated or we shall fight our way out; and when I think of the great fighting qualities that our people possess, I cannot see why we should be exterminated” (Meredith, 2007:405).
- 15/5/99 Hofmeyr replies to **Smuts**, unimpressed by his bravado: “Cherish no illusions about the [Cape] Colony, you must not expect that Colonial Afrikaners will rush *en masse* to arms if hostilities break out – especially as most of them know nothing about the bearing of arms” (Meredith, 2007:405).

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- 30/5/99 The train carrying Kruger steams into Bloemfontein railway station. He is met by President Steyn, who gives him stern advice. "Much will depend on your attitude. You must make concessions on the franchise issue, Your Honour. Franchise after a residence of fourteen years is in conflict with the first principles of a republican and democratic government. The Free State expects you to concede, and will give you full support should you do so. Should you not give in on this issue, you will lose all sympathy and all your friends". To this advice Kruger responds, "I am prepared to do anything, but they must not touch my independence. They must be reasonable in their demands as I have my people and my Volksraad to reckon with" (Meredith, 2007:405).
- 31/5/99 A conference between **Lord Milner** and President Kruger fails to get consensus on the issue of citizenship for **Uitlander's**. Kruger deals with a range of issues, but **Milner** focuses only on the single issue of the franchise. This is his strategy to force the issue of war. **Smuts** writes of his impressions of this man, "**Milner** is as sweet as honey, but there is something in his very intelligent eyes that tells me he is a very dangerous man. ... More dangerous than Rhodes ... a second Bartle Frere (Meredith, 2007:405-6). **Milner's** tactic is clever. If Kruger rejects what at face value appears to be a reasonable request, then he provides Britain with a *casus belli*, which at present does not exist. Kruger is unmoved, saying that **Milner's** proposal means that in effect, he would be handing over his country to foreigners. "Our enfranchised burghers are probably about 30,000, and the newcomers may be from 60,000 to 70,000 and if we give them the franchise tomorrow we may as well give up the republic. ... It would be worse than annexation and the burghers would not agree to it" (Meredith, 2007:406-7). After three days of discussions, the gap narrows considerably. Kruger concedes offering what he calls a **Reform Bill** which includes: settlers who had arrived before 1890 that would be given the franchise after two years; settlers of two or more years standing would get the franchise after five years; and the rest would be enfranchised after seven years. Kruger also offers 5 seats on the Volksraad for gold mining areas. **Milner** insists on five years as the term for franchise qualification, and seven seats on the Volksraad (Meredith, 2007:407). Scholars later interpret this meeting as being a sham in any event, designed to engage the **Transvaal** in war and thus to impose British hegemony over the gold reserves that had been discovered there. (See also Krebs, 1992; Pakenham, 1992; Porch, 2000).
- 6/99 Chamberlain is convinced that there will be no fighting. He is convinced that the Boers are bluffing.
- 4/6/99 **Milner** sends a cable message to Chamberlain warning that the **Bloemfontein Conference** is likely to fail, even after he had been "seriously conciliatory". Chamberlain responds: "I hope you will not break off hastily. Boers do not understand quick decisions but prefer to waste a lot of time over a bargain without coming to terms. I am by no means convinced that the President ... has made his last offer, and you should be very patient and admit a good deal of haggling before you finally abandon the game". However, Chamberlain's response arrives too late to prevent **Milner** from terminating proceedings, because he has already made his mind up about his preferred objective - war (Meredith, 2007:408).
- 5/6/99 The **Bloemfontein Conference** takes place under the leadership of the Cape Afrikaners William Schreiner and Jan Hofmeyr. Mills & Williams (2006:83) note that this is the last attempt to settle the tensions between **Lord Milner** and the **Transvaal**. Three days after the failure of this initiative, **Field Marshall Lord Wolseley**, the Army Chief, proposes mobilizing an army corps and a cavalry division – a force of some 35,000 men – for manoeuvres on Salisbury Plain to demonstrate to Kruger the power of Britain (Meredith, 2007:417). Landsdowne rejects this proposal (Meredith, 2007:417).
- 5/6/99 Paul Kruger repeats in his last encounter with **Milner**, "it is our country you want". Meredith (2007:408) notes that **Milner** had this conclusion in mind already, because two weeks before the **Bloemfontein Conference**, he had told Lord Selborne that what he needed was a diplomatic offensive backed by the show of military force. A week before the **Bloemfontein Conference** **Milner** proposed that an "overwhelming force – 10,000 men and more – should be sent out at once to Natal and that Laing's Nek on the **Transvaal** frontier should be occupied to frustrate a Boer attack. The defence of Kimberley and Ladysmith also needed to be organized". Stating that with this, "we should have a means of pressure which would be irresistible" (Meredith, 2007:408).

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- 21/6/99 The British magazine *Punch* carries a cartoon sympathetic to Paul Kruger asking of Chamberlain what his “Dogs of War” are intended for.
- 7/99 Gold production in the **Transvaal** reaches a new record peak of 1.7 million pounds for the month. The president of the Chamber of Mines, George Rouliot, a partner in Wernher, Beit & Co., comments that he believes a war would have disastrous implications for the mining industry (Meredith, 2007:420).
- 7/99 Sir Edward Grey tells **Lord Milner** that, “War, in the absence of provocation, is not practicable”. Selborne supports this by saying, “public opinion insists on our using great patience and endeavouring to avert war” (Meredith, 2007:416). In the interim, **Lord Wolseley** urges the despatch of a contingent of 10,000 British troops to double the size of the existing garrison in the Cape and Natal. Landsdowne rejects this proposal (Meredith, 2007:417).
- 18/7/99 Intermediaries from the Cape and **Orange Free State** – Hofmeyr, Schreiner, Steyn and Fischer – all become deeply involved in persuading Paul Kruger to implement the **Reform Bill** offered to **Milner** during the **Bloemfontein Conference**, believing that even if it was rejected there, it would still placate the British and reduce the franchise issue as a *casus belli*. This had some positive effect, because Chamberlain is quoted in the London *Times* that he now sees an end to this crisis. “If Kruger has really given seven years’ retrospective franchise ... I congratulate him on a great victory. ... No one would dream of fighting over two years in a qualification period. We ought to accept this as a basis for settlement and make the most of it. Kruger, we should assume, has conceded in principle what we have asked for, viz., immediate substantial representation” (Meredith, 2007:409). **Milner** is horrified at this stance and he writes in his diary, “Very bad day indeed. Telegram from S[ecretary] of S[tate] this morning showing great change for worse in attitude of Government” (Meredith, 2007:410). Moving quickly to outmanoeuvre Chamberlain, **Milner** proposes a joint commission of enquiry.
- 28/7/99 **Milner** sends a telegram to Chamberlain on the eve of a parliamentary debate on South Africa. In this he urges that the debate should, “bring about wider aspects of questions which have been lost sight of in the long wrangle over details of [the] franchise Bill. It is practical assertion of British supremacy in forcing [the **Transvaal**] to move in direction of equal rights and genuine self-government which is real issue” (Meredith, 2007:411). Chamberlain responds by raising the stakes making it clear that the main aim of British policy is to enforce its supremacy. **Milner** thus wins another round in the ongoing battle for the future of the **Transvaal**. Chamberlain says: “A race antagonism [between Boer and Brit has developed in the **Transvaal** endangering] our position as the paramount power in South Africa. ... It is the power and authority of the British Empire. It is the position of Great Britain in South Africa. It is the question of our predominance and how it is interpreted, and it is the question of peace throughout the whole of South Africa. ... *The real point to be made to South Africa is that we, not the Dutch, are Boss*” (emphasis added) (Meredith, 2007:411). **Note:** This policy position makes it clear that whatever Kruger concedes, anything short of a total loss of independence would not be sufficient to stop the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.
- 8/99 The public is growing increasingly jittery in the **Transvaal**. Suddenly, after a record month of production in July, panic sets in and an exodus from the Reef begins. Trains are packed with immigrant artisans, shopkeepers and miners, heading for the Cape and Natal. The trains are so overbooked that many people agree to travel in open cattle trucks, simply to escape what they believe is about to happen if war erupts. Tens of thousands of black workers are sent home in anticipation, leaving the Rand in a state of heightened anxiety, but suddenly silent after a month of record activity (Meredith, 2007:420).
- 8/99 Ministers are reluctant to approve military expenditure, mostly believing that “Kruger would bluff up to the cannon’s mouth and then capitulate” rather than “face the greatest empire in the World”. Lord Salisbury refuses to approve a funding request made by the War Office, saying “the wiser plan is not to incur any serious expenditure until it is quite clear we are going to war”. British military dithering, it seems, has not yet disappeared! Furthermore there is “considerable unease” with **Milner**’s apparent appetite for confrontation (Meredith, 2007:416). A growing segment of the Liberal Party starts to use the term, “**Milner**’s war” (Meredith, 2007:417). The War Office calculates that it will take four

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months of time to equip, mobilize and position an army corps of 50,000 men in the Cape. The best that most ministers are prepared to approve at this stage is the despatch of a small force of 2,000 men to bolster the defences in Natal (Meredith, 2007:418). In the interim the War Office Intelligence Department prepares a threat assessment. In this document they predict that the largest force the Boers could muster would be 54,000, which would be no match for the professional British army. Furthermore they predict that the **Orange Free State** would join the **Transvaal**. The biggest British threat would be from Boer “raiding parties”. The British assumed that they could control the timing of the war, which plays in their favour as well (Meredith, 2007:418).

- 26/8/99 An official British government minute shows Chamberlain’s growing frustration that Kruger will still manage to remove the franchise issue as a *casus belli*. “It is clear that we cannot go on negotiating for ever and we must try to bring matters to a head. The next step in military preparations is so important and so costly that I hesitate to incur the expense ... so long as there seems a fair chance of a satisfactory settlement. But I dread above all the continued whittling away of differences *until we have no casus belli left*, although the Boers may claim a partial victory and can be disagreeable and intractable in the future as in the past” (emphasis added) (Meredith, 2007:414). **Note:** From this it is clear that the crisis is a manufactured one and that the franchise issue has been used to establish a reason for war, the need for which had been decided earlier somewhat unilaterally by **Milner** the arch-jingoist and a **Cultural Darwinist**.
- 28/8/99 The British government sends a formal note to the **Transvaal** accepting the franchise conditions stipulated by Kruger, but refusing to abandon its claims to suzerainty or the right to intervene in **Transvaal** affairs if it deemed this necessary. To this **Smuts** responds, “South Africa is on the eve of a terrible blood bath, from which people will emerge either as an exhausted remnant, wood-cutters and water-carriers for a hated race, or as victors, founders of a United South Africa, of one of the great empires of the world ... an Afrikaner republic ... stretching from Table Bay to the Zambezi” (Meredith, 2007:415).
- 30/8/99 When commenting on **Milner**’s appetite for war, Lord Landsdowne writes a letter to the Secretary of State for War in which he says: “His [**Milner**’s] view is too heated, if you consider the intrinsic significance and importance of the things which are in controversy. But it reck[sic] little to think of that now. What he has done cannot be effaced. We have to act upon a moral field prepared for us by him and his jingo supporters. And therefore I see before us the necessity for considerable military effort – and all for people whom we despise, and for territory which will bring no profit and no power to England” (Meredith, 2007:417).
- 9/99 The **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** goes on parade for the first time in Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 9/99 **Colonel Baden-Powell** commences with the construction of defensive positions around the town of Mafikeng, anticipating the war to come.
- 9/99 Two thirds of all business in Johannesburg are now shut down as their owners have left in anticipation of the forthcoming war (Meredith, 2009:420).
- 9/99 Kruger is by now convinced that nothing will satisfy Chamberlain short of total surrender. Kruger tells Hofmeyr, “With God before our eyes, we feel that we cannot go further without endangering if not totally destroying our independence” (Meredith, 2007:419).
- 9/99 **Jan Smuts** develops a plan for the forthcoming war. The Natal invasion forms a central part of the Boer strategy because it is designed to capture the line of rail connecting the hinterland with the port at Durban, thereby thwarting Britain’s chances of landing reinforcements and getting them to the front lines of battle. A total of 21,000 men are committed to this part of the campaign, consisting of 15,000 from the **Transvaal** and 6,000 from the **Orange Free State**. It was planned that early Boer military success would be vital, cutting off major rail links to hamper British reinforcements, but also to mobilize the Cape Boers and to build on the psychological weakness that the British might still harbour over their spectacular loss at Majuba in 1881 (Meredith, 2007:427-8). It is against this tactical background that the ensuing **Siege of Ladysmith** must be understood. The plan also calls for the isolation of Mafikeng and Kimberley that could be supplied from the line of rail coming south

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from Rhodesia. It is against this tactical background that the ensuing **Siege of Kimberley** and **Siege of Mafikeng** must be understood. Another part of the strategy is the use of propaganda. To this end **Smuts** compiles a 100-page document called *Een Eeuw Van Onrecht (A Century of Wrong)*, in which he claims that the **Jameson Raid** was in fact the real declaration of war against the **Transvaal** by the British Government (Meredith, 2007:428).

- 8/9/99 Chamberlain addresses a British cabinet meeting urging them to approve the despatch of a force of 10,000 men as reinforcements for existing troops (Meredith, 2007:418).
- 29/9/99 The British Cabinet agrees to press ahead with preparations for mobilizing an expeditionary force. **Milner** sends a cable to Chamberlain stating: “Personally I am still of opinion not to hurry in settling ultimatum, as events of next few days may supply us with a better one than anybody can compose. Ultimatum has always been great difficulty, as *unless we widen issue, there is not sufficient cause for war*, and if we do so, we are abused for shifting our ground and extending our demands” (emphasis added) (Meredith, 2007:420). **Note:** It is thus evident that in **Milner**’s own mind, there is still no option other than war, and that a *casus belli* has not yet been fully established.
- 30/9/99 Chamberlain replies to **Milner**’s cable of the previous day, stating: “It will be great moral advantage to us, especially here, that conflict should be brought about by attack on us without the excuse which the ultimatum would give them”. Chamberlain goes on to agree that, “the technical *casus belli* is a very weak one”. He concludes by stating that, “when all reinforcements are landed, my own feeling is that we shall be quite a match for the Boers even without the army corps” (Meredith, 2007:421).
- 10/99 The **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** holds its first military exercise outside Pietermaritzburg. At this stage **Captain John Orr** is the Squadron Commander of C Squadron.
- 10/99 Boer Commandos begin to mass along the borders of Natal in anticipation of their leaders deliberations as to whether there will be war or not. Denys Reitz, the seventeen year old son of Frank Reitz, who had volunteered for duty in the Pretoria Commando, later wrote, “There was not a man who did not believe we were heading straight for the coast” (Meredith, 2007:427).
- 2/10/99 The **Orange Free State** Volksraad meets in secret, deciding whether to stand together with the **Transvaal**. Abraham Fischer later writes of this meeting saying, “There was no bounce or *grootpraat* [boasting] but quiet determination, and the spontaneous and unmistakable enthusiasm with which the members burst out into the Volkslied [anthem] was something to remember. They were all most cheerful learning that the best had been done to avert war and that they were unjustly being dragged into it”. This sentiment is reinforced in a subsequent letter from Fischer to Hofmeyr, in which he says that, “Every reasonable concession has been granted and the British Government’s request complied with, and the only result of every concession has been trickery and increased demands. Further compliance would, I feel sure, only be an inducement for, and lead to further dishonourable and insulting treatment of [the **Transvaal**]. ... We have honestly done our best, and can do no more: if we are to lose our independence – since that is palpably what is demanded – leave us, at all events, the consolation that we did not sacrifice it dishonourably” (Meredith, 2007:422).
- 3/10/99 The bank rate suddenly spikes upward from 3.5% to 4.5%, fed by rumours of impending war.
- 7/10/99 The **Transvaal** and **Orange Free State** governments issue an official order for mobilization (Meredith, 2007:428).
- 9/10/99 The **Transvaal** government presents its own ultimatum to the British demanding the withdrawal of all forces from the borders and the recall of all reinforcements *en route*. The ultimatum reads that unless the British comply in 48 hours, the **Transvaal** would, “with great regret be compelled to regard the action as a formal declaration of war” (Meredith, 2007:422).
- 10/10/99 **Piet Joubert** addresses a parade of Boer Commandos at Sandspruit, ten miles from the Natal border, in his capacity as Commandant General of the **Transvaal**, informing them that an ultimatum had been sent to Britain. Denys Reitz, a 17 year old member of that group later wrote, “The excitement

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that followed was immense. The great throng stood in its stirrups and shouted itself hoarse” (Meredith, 2007:427).

- 10/10/99 Lord Chamberlain reads with some relief that the Boer ultimatum has been delivered. He comments in jubilation, “They have done it ... [and] liberated us from the necessity of explaining to the people of England why we are at war”. The British press is enthusiastic, labelling it a “tea-time war” that would be over by Christmas (Meredith, 2007:422-3).
- 10/10/99 Cecil Rhodes arrives in Kimberley, despite being asked to stay away because he posed a threat of being captured as a valuable prize. Ignoring this instruction, Meredith (2007:431) notes that Rhodes, “saw a heroic role for himself, defending the front of Empire”. Rhodes sets up his HQ in the Sanatorium, recently refurbished by De Beers as a health resort. He then tries to take over control of the town’s defences from **Colonel Robert Kekewich**.
- 11/10/99 The **Transvaal Republic** and the **Orange Free State** declare war on Britain. The **Second Anglo-Boer War** starts. This slowly decimates the Boer *Volk* through the introduction of a **Scorched Earth** policy. The first use of **Concentration Camps** occurs with the intention of denying the Boer fighter’s access to their women and children. More people are destined to die in the **Concentration Camps** than on the field of battle. This embitters the Afrikaner people in years to come.
- 12/10/99 A Boer Commando force moves out of its base close to the Natal border making its way for Laing’s Nek and Majuba Hill. Majuba has special psychological significance because it was here that **Colley** and his force were defeated by the Boers in 1881 (see d’Assonville, 1996). Denys Reitz later wrote of this event saying, “As far as the eye could see the plain was alive with horsemen, guns and cattle, all steadily going forward to the frontier” (Meredith, 2007:427). Simultaneous offensives begin into the northern cape, designed to isolate the towns of Mafikeng and Kimberley from possible support along the line of rail from Rhodesia (with the lessons from the **Jameson Raid** still fresh in mind) (Meredith, 2007:428).
- 12/10/99 A Boer force under the command of **General Cronje** cuts the telegraph line and breaks the line of rail into and out of Mafikeng.
- 13/10/99 A Boer force of 8,000 men mobilizes around the town of Mafeking and the **Siege of Mafeking** begins. Lasting a total of 217 days, the British commander, **Colonel Robert Baden-Powell**, makes a tactical decision to occupy Mafeking, because of its strategic link on the line of rail between Kimberley and Bulawayo, with the specific objective of drawing the Boer forces into a situation that would reduce their impact in Natal and the Cape Colony. **Baden-Powell** has under his command an array of soldiers, comprising 500 men from the Protectorate Regiment (a Rhodesian unit), 300 men from the Bechuanaland Rifles (another Rhodesian unit) and the Cape Police, and a further 300 men raised from the town itself. **Baden-Powell** also raises a force of child soldiers, known as the Cadet Corps, the fore-runners of the Scouting movement, whose task it is to carry messages between units in the field, thereby releasing able-bodied men for action. The combined force under the command of **Baden-Powell** is thus 2,000 men and boys.
- 14/10/99 The **Siege of Mafeking** commences (Mills & Williams, 2006:96).
- 16/10/99 **General Cronje’s** Boer force commences with the shelling of Mafikeng, after **Colonel Baden-Powell** refuses to accept the 09:00 deadline for surrender of the British forces. **Baden-Powell** starts a cunning war of deception (see Latimer, 2001).
- 16/10/99 The **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** deploys to Ladysmith, Natal, from their training base outside Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
- 19/10/99 A Boer expeditionary force enters Natal, taking the railway station at Elandslaagte. This severs the link with the British force at Ladysmith and a smaller detachment at Dundee. Learning of the attack, the British commander General Sir George White sends a cavalry unit under the command of Major General John French to recapture the railway station.

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20/10/99 The British are slow to mobilize a major force because they still believe that the war will be short and easy. The first infantry transport ships leave for Cape Town. The British public mood for the impending war is captured in a short poem by **Rudyard Kipling** (Meredith, 2007:429):

When you've shouted 'Rule Britannia', when you've sung 'God save the Queen',
When you've finished killing Kruger with your mouth,
Will you kindly drop a shilling in my little tambourine
For a gentleman in Khaki ordered South?

He's an absent-minded beggar, and his weaknesses are great –
But we and Paul must take him as we find him –
He's out on active service, wiping something off a slate –
And he's left a lot of little things behind him!

20/10/99 During the first major clash of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, a hasty frontal attack by the British drives a Boer detachment from their hilltop position at the **Battle of Talana Hill**. Before the dawn a Boer force of around 3,000 men (part of a larger deployment of around 8,000 men under the command of **General Erasmus**) under the command of **Lukas Meyer**, occupy Talana Hill east of Dundee with a few Krupp cannon, while **Erasmus's** men take up a position on Impathi Mountain, north of Dundee and the source of water for that mining town and thus an important tactical target. The British force of 4,000 men under the overall command of **Maj. Gen. Penn Symons**, spot the Boers on Talana Hill. The Boers open fire with their Krupp cannon but the British are out of range. The British infantry launch an assault but are pinned down by rifle fire. The British bring their artillery to bear on the Boers and around 1,000 Boers retreat under the fire. **Maj. Gen. Symons** is killed in this action. **Colonel Yule** takes operational command and orders an infantry attack with bayonets fixed. The British infantry take heavy casualties, many from their own artillery fire. The outcome of the battle is 546 British casualties compared to 150 on the Boer side. The Boer force, fighting a guerrilla war, disengages from the battle, leaving the British to claim victory but at great cost. The British retreat and after a four-day march of some 64 miles they reach the relative safety of Ladysmith. (For more details see the genealogical records of Elizabeth Raistrick, wife of Josiah Turton (Paternal Great-Great Grandfather) dated 15/3/1832, who is buried beneath Talana Hill).

20/10/99 **Piet Cronjé's** Commando encircles Mafeking. A veteran of the **Jameson Raid**, **Cronjé** calls for the surrender of the garrison of 7,500 colonial troops and policemen who had been sent there under the command of **Colonel Robert Baden-Powell** with orders to raid the **Transvaal** in the event of war breaking out. **Baden-Powell** refuses to surrender and decides to arm Africans to defend his position. **Cronjé** is shocked by this move and asks **Baden-Powell** to reconsider his role, "as a White man in a White man's war" (Meredith, 2007:430). This was because the Boer forces did not wish to engage Blacks as the enemy as that would escalate the conflict to a new level. **Cronjé** orders the first artillery bombardment to help **Baden-Powell** make up his mind.

21/10/99 **Colonel Baden-Powell** sends a message to **Piet Cronjé** saying, "October 21st. All well. Four hours' bombardment. One dog killed." This action makes **Baden-Powell** an instant hero in England as this is reported via the newspapers (Meredith, 2007:430).

21/10/99 At the **Battle of Elandsplaagte** a British force of 4,000 men under the overall command of **Maj. Gen. John French** and **Lt. Col. Ian Hamilton**, engage a Boer force of 2,000 men under the overall command of **General Koch**. During this battle the British sustain 261 casualties and the Boer forces around 500 casualties. During one action, **Captain Robert Johnston**, **Captain C. Mullins** and **Lt. Brabant** rally the troops of the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**, preventing a rout. They lead an action that takes the crest of a hill recently lost to the Boer forces. During this action both Capt. Johnston and Capt. Mullins are wounded. For their bravery on the field of battle they both receive the **Victoria Cross**. Capt. Johnston started his military career in 1890 as a member of the 5th Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers with whom he served until 1894. During 1896 he toured South Africa as a member of the British Isles Rugby Team. He joined the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** when it was founded in 1899. After the **Battle of Elandsplaagte** Capt. Johnston goes on to be wounded on the field of battle during the **Siege of Ladysmith**. Captain Charles Herbert Mullins was a lawyer and a member of the **Reform Committee**. He became a founding member of the **Imperial Light Horse**

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Regiment. The **Battle of Elandslaagte** sees the last cavalry charge of the British Army when the Dragoons and Lancers engage the Boers. After the **Battle of Elandslaagte**, the first British POW's are sent overseas, a practice continued until **Lord Kitchener** decides to introduce a **Scorched Earth Policy** supported by **British Concentration Camps** (see 3/1901).

22/10/99 Kimberley comes under threat by Boer forces (Meredith, 2007:431).

26/10/99 As a result of the rapid nature of the Boer deployment into Natal, they had routed a British Brigade at Dundee, driving the remnants back to Ladysmith, then the third largest town in the Natal colony. The Boer forces had captured more than 1,000 British prisoners by this time (Meredith, 2007:429).

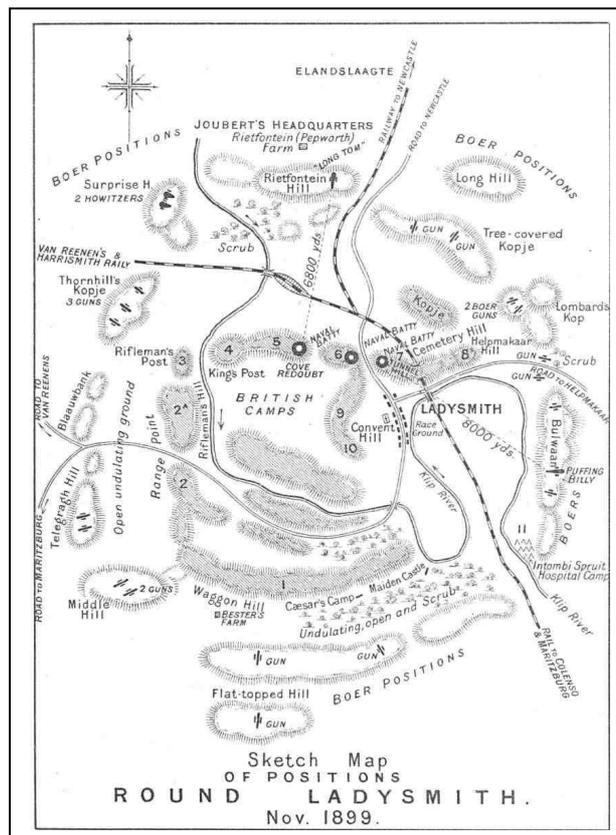
29/10/99 Boer forces prepare to lay siege to Ladysmith when they place their heavy Creusot howitzers (nicknamed Long-Tom's) on Pepworth Hill four miles outside the town.

30/10/99 **Sir Redvers Buller** arrives at the Cape in his capacity as new Commander of the British forces in South Africa. **Buller** is highly decorated, having won the VC during the **Battle of Hlobane** (see 28/3/1879), but with combat experience from the Peking Expedition in 1860, the Red River Rebellion in Canada in 1870 and the Ashanti War (present day Ghana) between 1873 and 1874. Mills & Williams (2006:84) refer to two factions in the British military leadership at the time. There is the "Indian" faction under **Lord Roberts**, and the "African" faction under **Lord Wolseley**. Meredith (2007:431) notes that **Buller** had been given overall command of the British Army Corps, but he had instead decided to take personal charge of the Natal campaign, leaving the Cape theatre to other Generals to manage. This could be because **Buller** was familiar with Natal, having won a Victoria Cross in 1879 while rescuing a wounded British soldier during the **Anglo-Zulu War**. **Buller** decides to divide the 47,000 strong Army Corps between the Western and Natal Theatres of War. **Buller** takes direct command of the Natal Theatre and starts to move towards his new command. Under his command are 4 infantry brigades, a cavalry brigade, 5 batteries of field artillery including 2 4.7 inch and 12 12-pounder guns. His total force in the Natal Theatre is 20,000 men and 44 guns. (Meredith (2007:432) reports his force strength as 14,000 infantry, 2,700 cavalry and 44 field guns). **Buller** sets up his forward base at Frere on the line of rail south of the Thukela some 25 miles from Ladysmith in anticipation of his advance. Tactically, **Buller** faces a problem as he crosses the Thukela River, and it is here that the focus of the war shifts, because the Boers anticipate this and plan accordingly by blowing the railway bridge at Colenso. **Buller** regards the river crossing he will have to make as a "walk over" (Meredith, 2007:432).

30/10/99 A British force comes under heavy fire from Boer guns placed on Pepworth Hill and is forced to withdraw. John Norwood earns the Victoria Cross during this action. The **Siege of Ladysmith** begins as Boers sever all railway links, effectively cutting off all tactical support to the besieged garrison. The siege lasts for 118 days.

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Force deployments during the Siege of Ladysmith (image courtesy of the Gutenberg Project as presented in the Wikipedia Commons).

- 31/10/99 The British now have a total of 27,000 men, 3,600 horses and 42 artillery pieces on the high seas sailing for Cape Town and Durban (Meredith, 2007:429). At this stage the Boer forces in Natal had fully encircled Ladysmith, severing the rail link to Pietermaritzburg and trapping 12,000 troops in the town. This is the largest British force in the colony, with only 3,000 other British soldiers left free for engagement in Natal (Meredith, 2007:429).
- 1/11/99 Boer Commandos cross the Orange River into the Cape Colony and start to overrun a string of frontier towns. In their wake they exhort Cape Boers to join their cause (Meredith, 2007:431).
- 2/11/99 No. 2 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 24/11/1899 carries a poem that is written in longhand, referring to the shelling that occurred on 2/11/1899. This reads as follows:

The Borough of Ladysmith was Shelled on November 2, 1899.

(Anonymous)

All within the leagured Bobs,
Calm and peaceful as of yore,
Sat the people silently waiting
The dread cannon's awful roar.

Overhead the sun was shining,
All serene the landscape lay.
Waiting for the great disturbance
All expected on that day.

Then broke forth a voice of thunder -

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With the shock the air was rent -
Overhead there came a something -
Instantly every head was bent.

Part a whistle – part a howling -
Part a scream. And part a yell –
Then a shock – a noise of bursting.
'Twas the “murmur of the shell”.

- 4/11/99 **Lord Milner** writes in his personal diary, “The blackest of black days. ... everything went wrong” (Meredith, 2007:431).
- 5/11/99 Cecil Rhodes cables **Lord Milner** from his HQ in Kimberley, stating that, “if you do not advance at once from Orange River you will lose Kimberley” (Meredith, 2007:431).
- 9/11/99 **Lord Milner** sends a cable to Chamberlain stating, “I write this quaking, for one fears every hour for Kimberley” (Meredith, 2007:431).
- 14/11/99 A Boer Commando of 2,000 men cross the Thukela River heading along the line of rail to Pietermaritzburg (Meredith, 2007:430).
- 15/11/99 A Boer force under the command of **Piet Joubert** and **Louis Botha** attack an armoured train between Estcourt and Colenso at a point just south of Chieveley. The train contains 164 officers and men of the Dublin Fusiliers and Durban Light Infantry. **Winston Churchill** is a war correspondent on that train and is captured (see 12/12/1899).
- 15/11/99 **Winston Churchill** is the son of Randolph Churchill and a prize indeed. He is interrogated by **Jan Smuts**, who later describes how he looked dishevelled and indignant, claiming to be a non-combatant and thus deserving immunity. **Smuts** points out that Churchill had been carrying a pistol at the time of his capture and orders him sent to a detention camp in Pretoria (Meredith, 2007:430).
- 15/11/99 The last British troop transport ship disembarks from England for Cape Town. This brings the total expeditionary force level up to 47,000 men under arms (Meredith, 2007:429).
- 18/11/99 In order to build morale during the **Siege of Ladysmith**, No. 1 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** is published. This is a hand-drawn newsletter containing a mixture of cartoons, poetry, military orders and a number of other items that collectively serve as snapshots in historic time. Original documents in the hands of the author reveal a deteriorating state of mind as the siege sets in. Extracts from the **Ladysmith Bombshell** over time give an insight into the psychological condition of the British forces living under siege. No. 1 Vol. 1 reveals the following poetry about the Boer artillery called Long Tom located on M’Bulwana:

Long Tom O’ Pepworth’s Hill (Anonymous)

He doth not speak in parable
Or whisper soft and low,
So all the folk of Ladysmith
His ever every accent know;
For he can bend the stiffest back
And mould the strongest will,
He’s quite a little autocrat,
Long Tom o’ Pepworth’s Hill.

We listen when he speaks in wrath,
We’re braver when he cools,
Yet he is very kind to men
If somewhat rough on mules.

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He brings us bounding out of bed
When we would fain lie still,
We grumble but we all obey
Long Tom o' Pepworth's Hill.

A breezy bluff intrusive sort,
He visits everywhere,
Sometimes he seeks your cellar cool,
Sometimes your easy chair.
Sometimes he enters by the roof,
Sometimes the window sill,
It's vain to say you're not at home
To Tom o' Pepworth's Hill.

No. 1 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 18/11/1899 makes mention of the quality of life of the residents under siege. Reference is made to the following: "Troglodytic Conchologist. What is it? One who dwells in a cave and sallies forth at cease fire to collect shell". This refers to people living in hand-dug caves along the side of the Klip River, but is also a play on the word "shell". One such "Troglodytic Conchologist" was the grandfather of George Thornhill, who was eight at the time. His role was to scavenge along the banks of the Klip River to find crabs (shell) in order to supplement the meagre rations of the besieged. It is from this source that the author eventually obtained two shell casings from the very same Six Inch Creusot Long Tom cannon referred to in the poem entitled **Long Tom O' Pepworth's Hill** (No.1. Vol. 1 dated 18/11/1899); **The Shells** (see No. 3. Vol. 1 dated 2/12/1899); **Nevermore** (No. 4. Vol. 1 dated 9/12/1899); **The Song of the Besieged** (No. 4. Vol. 1 dated 9/12/1899); **The Six Inch Gun** (No. 6. Vol. 1 dated 23/12/1899); **There Was an Old Nigger** (No. 1. Vol. 2 dated 1/1/1900); one shell casing from a British naval gun used to defend Ladysmith (referred to in **The Homecoming** as the "gallant Powerful" (No. 5. Vol. 1 dated 16/12/1899), and referred to in **Maloney**, the "bombardier gay of the gallant R.A. (Royal Artillery)" (No.2. Vol. 1 dated 24/11/1899); and an original copy of the entire series of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** on 2/5/2008. The author is grateful for this as it offers a unique insight, not available from secondary sources, into the reality on the ground during the **Siege of Ladysmith**.

- 19/11/99 Unable to take Mafeking, half of the 8,000 Boer fighters are redeployed to other theatres of operation, leaving the rest to maintain the **Siege of Mafeking**, which is maintained until 17 May 1900. No. 3 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 2/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith** at this time. This carries the following notice: "Pretoria, November 19, 1899. From **Joubert** to Kruger – having heard that England has annexed the Moon, last night opened a vigorous fire on it. Eventually Moon retired behind a cloud. Casualties on our side 53 men moonstruck. Enemy's loss unknown."
- 20/11/99 **General Methuen** and his force of 8,000 infantry cross the Orange River into the **Orange Free State**, fighting past Boer positions at Belmont, Graspan and Modder River. Bolstered by reinforcements **Methuen** then prepares to challenge **de la Rey's** Boer Commando in the Magersfontein hills in anticipation of relieving Kimberley (Meredith, 2007:432-3).
- 21/11/99 **Lord Methuen's Kimberley Relief Column** of 8,500 men leaves the Orange River Station by rail. They are intercepted by the Boers at Witput and find their way to Belmont blocked by 2,000 Boers under the command of **General Prinsloo**. **Methuen** orders his intelligence officer, **Lt. Col. Verner**, to do a reconnaissance of the Belmont Hills in order to map the Boer positions. Verner draws maps under fire but makes some errors in his calculations.
- 22/11/99 Using **Verner's** maps, a small assault force of Royal Engineers and British mounted troops occupy the area, but come under fire from the Boer artillery placed on Gun Hill. **Verner's** maps cause confusion and delay (Mills & Williams, 2006:97).
- 23/11/99 The **Battle of Belmont** takes place in the **Orange Free State** when a British force of 8,000 under the command of **Lord Methuen** assault a Boer position on a hill with a force of 2,000 under the command of **J. Prinsloo**. The Boers are not prepared to hold ground, giving way to the British attack

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after leaving 75 British dead and 220 wounded. It is not known what the Boer casualties are but estimates suggest 26 (Mills & Williams, 2006:97). British history books record this as a British victory, but this is not true, because the Boer forces had no intention of defending and holding ground given their preference for a **Guerrilla Warfare** stratagem. The Boer forces retreat along the line of rail towards Graspan. History is written by the overall victor and detail tends to get lost as memories fade. After the **Battle of Belmont**, the British establish a camp on the farm belonging to Thomas, because this is the only source of water between the Orange and Modder Rivers. This water supports 10,000 men and horses and is an example of the tactical significance of water in times of war (see Mills & Williams, 2006:97 for more details).

23/11/99 Meredith (2007:433) describes the **Battle of Belmont** as follows: “**Methuen** opened his attack with an artillery bombardment, expecting the Boers to retreat, but the Boers were already dispersed in different positions. When **Methuen** ordered his Highland Brigade to advance after a night march, they ran into withering fire from the Boer fighters concealed in a line of trenches at the foot of Magersfontein Kop. With casualties of nearly a thousand men, **Methuen** was forced to retreat back to the Modder River”.

24/11/99 No. 2 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. A short inscription reads: “The latest information is the effect that the Boer fleet composed of the captured armoured train on two pontoons is sailing up the Thukela *en route* for Gilestown to intercept any flank movement on the part of the British Troops”. Another inscription reads: “Someone was enquiring on Friday about the rainfall. He was told that statistics of the shellfire only were now taken”. A third inscription reads: “Gordon Highlander (whose pannikin has just been filled with sand by the bursting of a shell not three yards away), ‘Damn it all, that’s the third time they spoil my tea’”. A fourth inscription reads: “Say, old man, if it takes **Joubert** and 23,579 Boers 23 days and three midnight hours, to kill four White men and two Kaffirs [sic], at what hour on what date will the last of the population of Ladysmith be exterminated?” A poem in the same edition written by one of the besieged soldiers reads as follows:

Maloney.
(Anonymous)

I was a rolling blade of the Irish Brigade
Of **Joubert**'s, and fond of orating,
I'm hungry for foight, shore
I'll kill 'em all right,
I'm hungry for want of a bating;
Have a hoult no me head
Let me at 'em he said,
Put me up on a horse or a pony.
An I'm sthrong, an I'm talle talk
I'll slaughter thim all
For there's no sich a man as Maloney.

He was a bombardier gay
of the gallant R.A.,
And the pride of the force
and they know it,
Went out for a walk,
Heard that orator talk,
His answer was simply “ere stow it”.
He slipped in a shell and he rammed it home well,
It burst on a ridge bleak and stony,
It grieves me to say. When the smoke cleared away,
There was no such a man as Maloney.

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A second poem in No. 2 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 24/11/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This reads as follows:

To General Slim Piet (Anonymous)

Hail Mighty Oom; Jew Beer [sic]
Proud leader of a dirty crew
Who shell at night, instead of fight.
As savage Bowibon [sic] Tartars do.

Your deeds of valour at the sound
The nations well may quake
The sick and wounded down you strike,
The Church and Town Hall break.

The native folk you blandly strip
Of cattle clothes and money,
And thus you prove you're closely bred
To sow and wolf or monkey.

Oh' slippery one at last you've hit
The biggest marks in town.
Day's twenty four you've done your best
To shell the Red Cross down.

But still it waves and at it's back
Stands honour, brave, and true
Our warrior lads but wait the word,
To meet and shave [sic] and square with you.

28/11/99 In an attempt to break the **Siege of Kimberley**, a British force of unknown size under the command of **Lord Methuen** engages with a Boer force of unknown size under the command of **Piet Cronje**. This is the **Battle of Modder River**, fought in the **Cape Colony**, and is best known for the new and unconventional tactics being developed by **General Koos de la Rey**, who concluded that the Boer forces were vulnerable on high ground because of the superior British artillery. **De la Rey** proposed an entrenched position on flat ground using the flat trajectory of the German Mauser rifle to best advantage. The battle occurs when a British force, advancing along the line of rail (after the **Battle of Belmont**) stumble on the entrenched Boers, and are pinned down for the entire day. When a small British force crosses the river to start a flanking attack, they are killed by their own artillery. During this battle **Lord Methuen** is wounded. Consistent with the Boer guerrilla warfare stratagem, they withdraw tactically, not wishing to be tied down holding worthless ground. The end result is 70 dead and 415 wounded on the British side, as against the Boer casualties of 150. British history books refer to this as a British victory, because the Boers decide not to hold ground, which is a strategy not yet known to British military doctrine.

12/00 The Boer forces reach their peak mobilization of around 70,000 men under arms. They are also supported by 10,000 Black who serve as auxiliaries. Meredith (2007:435) notes that this is the peak that they can ever reach, because unlike the **First Anglo Boer-War** in 1881, there has been no crushing blow to induce the British to negotiate.

2/12/99 No. 3 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 2/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries the following notice: "Lost. My adopted child named **Transvaal** Independence, when last seen was in the company of her sister named Free State followed by a German Band. Anyone finding and returning the same to my new Residence "St. Helena" will be rewarded with a confiscated gold mine". Another notice reads: "The Natal Carbineer Sports are being held today under the distinguished shadow of Lombard's Kop and

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Umbulwana [sic] – there is a long and varied programme – music is being supplied by Long Tom, Slim Piet, Baby Jack, Boys in Blue, Big Ben and a host of others”. British racism is confirmed by a short story that reads: “Harry Sparks the M.L.A., has come up to Ladysmith to further enquire into the Asiatic question. He finds the town full of them [sic] and feels himself bound to take immediate action. He is inducing the Mayor to convene a public meeting and has already prepared a carefully worded speech for the occasion.” A hand-written poem in the same edition reads as follows:

The Shells

(With apologies to Edgar Allan Poe)

(Anonymous)

Hear the shrieking of the shells, cursed shells
What a host of Dutchmen their presence foretells.
How they yell, and scream, and whistle, at morning,
Noon and night,
While old Sol, who's hotly burning,
Smiles to see the people twining,
In a dickens of a fright,
Keeping time, time, time,
With the most infernal rhyme,
The shrieking and the screaming that so constantly foretells
Of the coming of the shells, shells, shells, shells,
Of the shrieking and the bursting of the shells.

See the little damage done:
What a waste of powder, 'tis wasted by the ton:
How the Boer's would storm and bluster, and be
In a perfect fluster;
Oh what fun,
Nothing done
By the shells.
Though they come along in dozens, bunging sisters,
Aunts, and cousins,
They are practically harmless, those big shells,
Oh the screaming of the shells, shells, shells,
Oh the shrieking and the bursting of the shells.

We are growing quite accustomed to the shells.
No one seems to mind their screaming and their yells,
They may hiss, and shriek, and whistle, at morning,
Noon and night.
While old Sols keep brightly shining
On the citizens' reclining
In a state of calm delight,
Making fun all the time of that most infernal rhyme,
The shrieking and the screaming that so constantly foretells
Of the coming of the shells, the useless futile shells,
Of the shrieking and the bursting of the shells.

9/12/99 No. 4 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 9/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries the following news item that gives an insight into the situation in the town:

“Sydney Thorold appeared before the Magistrate this morning charged with committing an offence viz., the displaying of lights after a certain hour in the store of Sparks Bros on Saturday last. Mr. Thorold pleaded guilty and asked the Magistrate to take a lenient view, it being his first appearance. **Col. Robert Walker** and **Capt. Bulleier** [sic] of the Town Guard briefly stated the facts. The accused elected to give evidence and informed the bench that the lights were intended for Mr. S.W. Sutton's

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cat. He understood from Mr. Sutton that Mr. Marshall had arranged to send them earlier in the evening. This however, he neglected to do. Both Mr. Sutton and himself much regretted the inconvenience and they attached considerable blame to Mr. Marshall. Mr. Giles pointed out the absolute need of observing very carefully all orders and regulations issued during the siege, without doubt the offence had been committed, he regretted he had no power to deal with Mr. Sutton or Mr. Marshall but he ordered Mr. Thorold to forthwith leave the town. Mr. Thorold we understand has now taken up his abode at Bellair.”

Another brief message reads as follows: “Messrs Scott and Hyde, duly favoured with instructions from Mr. Lotter, will sell at his residence (or whatever is left of it) on Boxing Day the whole remains of his household furniture and effects including several fragments of a handsome wardrobe. Special terms to most purchasers. To **Joubert** and Co., terms strictly cash.”

No. 4 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 9/12/1899 also carried the following two poems:

Nevermore

(With more apologies to Edgar Allan Poe)

(Anonymous)

Once upon a midnight dreary while I pondered weak and weary,
Over all the quaint and curious yarns we've had about the war,
Suddenly there comes a rumour (we can always take a few more)
Started by some chaps who knew more than others knew before,
We shall have the reinforcements in another month or more
Only this and nothing more,

But we're waiting still for Cleary, waiting, waiting sick and weary
Of the strange and silly rumours we have often heard before
And we now begin to fancy there's a touch of necromancy
Something almost too uncanny in the undegenerate [sic] Boer
Only this and nothing more

Though our hopes are undiminished that the war will soon be finished
We would be a little happier if we knew a little more
If we had a little information about **Buller**
News about **Sir Redvers Buller** and his famous Army Corps
Information of the General and his fighting Army Corps
Only this and nothing more

And the midnight shells uncertain whistling through
The nights black curtain
Thrills us, fills us, with a touch of horror never felt before
So that now to still the beating of our hearts we keep repeating
Tis some visitor entreating entrance at the chamber door
Some late visitor entreating entrance at the chamber door
Tis this and nothing more.

Oh how slow the shells come dropping, sometimes bursting, sometimes stopping
As if they themselves were weary of the very languid war
How distinctly we'll remember all the weary dull November
And it seems as though December will have little else in store
And our Xmas dinner will be bully beef and plain stickpant [sic]
Only this and nothing more.

Altham, Altham tell us truly if there's any news come newly
Not the old fantastic rumours we have often heard before
Desolate, yet left undaunted, in the town the Boers still haunted
This is all the news that's wanted, tell us truly we implore

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Is, there, is there a relief force? Tell us, tell us we implore
Only this and nothing more.

For we're waiting rather weary, is there such a man as **Cleary**?
Are there really reinforcements? Is there any Army Corps?
Shall we see our Wives and Mothers, or our Sisters and our Brothers,
Shall we ever see those others, who went Southwards long before?
Shall we ever see fresh butter? Tell us, tell us we implore
Shall be answered evermore.

Song of the Besieged

(By J.S.D. – full name unknown)

When **Buller** wheels round Lombard's Kop;
When **Piet Joubert** has done a "hop",
We'll sing, if only over "Dop", -
"For this relief much thanks!"

Of rations short we've had enough;
Of milk condensed quite quantum suff [sic]
Of biscuit hard and "bully" tough –
"For this relief much thanks!"

"Long Tom be hanged!" we bravely cry,
But when his shells go whizzing by –
And miss us – then we gently sigh –
"For this relief much thanks!"

To "Tom" "Big Ben" and "Silent Sue",
To "Weary Willie" "Tired Tim" too,
We're ready quite to say – "adieu"!
"For this relief much thanks!"

When once again from flies we're freed,
When Southwards merrily we speed,
Our "*Mercury*" and our "*Witness*" read –
"For this relief much thanks!"

When no more heard are "Who goes there?"
"Of martial law are you aware?"
And "Half-past-eight! Lights out! Beware!"
"For this relief much thanks!"

And "Who are you?" and "Where's your pass?"
"Get out this you wretched ass!"
"He-haw! [sic] Hee-haw! And my eye-glass!"
"For this relief much thanks!"

We know we've earned eternal fame;
But somehow, and just all the same,
We're all quite ready to exclaim:
"For this relief much thanks!"

Dear Ladysmith! Sweet, pretty thing,
Fond memories you'll always bring,
But please excuse me while we sing –
"For this relief much thanks!"

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- 10/12/99 Three battles take place between 10/12/99 and 15/12/99 during what becomes known as **Black Week**. Around 3,000 casualties occur (of which 1,000 are Killed in Action) at the **Battle of Stormberg**, the **Battle of Magersfontein**, and the **Battle of Colenso**.
- 10/12/99 The first of the Battles of the **Black Week** takes place at Stormberg in the Cape Colony. A British force of 1,200 infantry, 250 of which are mounted cavalry, supported by 12 artillery pieces, all under the command of **General William Forbes Gatacre**, engage a Boer force of 2,400 men under the command of **Field Commandant Olivier** at the **Battle of Stormberg**. Reacting to the loss of British forces at Stormberg near Graaf Reinet on 8 December 1899, **General Gatacre** decides on an immediate counter-attack, using the line of rail to rapidly deploy a force of 1,800 men. Unable to do effective reconnaissance as a result of the rapidity of his deployment, the attacking force gets lost during the night advance, after spending most of the day in hot railway cars waiting for locomotives to be found. As dawn breaks the British force is near Kiessieberg and is spotted by a Boer outpost, and they are engaged using a 75mm Krupp artillery piece. The British infantry panics and launch an uncoordinated frontal assault with limited tactical intelligence to guide their actions. British guns are brought to engagement but kill British infantry in the confusion of battle. **General Gatacre** orders a retreat and his force is attacked by a mounted Boer element. After reaching Molteno, **Gatacre** discovers that he has left around 600 of his men stranded behind Kiessieberg. The final result is a Boer victory with 135 British killed and wounded, and an additional 696 captured, against a Boer loss of unknown but trivial proportion.
- 10/12/99 The **Battle of Stormberg** is described by Meredith (2007:433) as follows: “Further south in the Cape Colony **General Gatacre** set out to dislodge invading Boer Commandos who had occupied a key railway junction at Stormberg. Without making a preliminary reconnaissance, he ordered his 3,000 troops to embark on a night march over rough and broken countryside before launching a dawn assault. In muddle and confusion, **Gatacre’s** force lost its way and was forced to retreat, leaving behind 600 men to be taken prisoner”.
- 11/12/99 The second of the Battles of the **Black Week** takes place at Magersfontein on the border between the **Cape Colony** and the **Orange Free State**. A British force of 13,000 men under the command of **Lord Methuen**, engages a Boer force of 8,500 under the command of **General Piet Cronje**. The British, intent to break the **Siege of Kimberley** where Cecil John Rhodes is trapped, advance along the line of rail. Having successfully tried the new tactic suggested by **General Koos de la Rey** at the **Battle of Modder River**, the Boers dig trenches that dominate the flat ground in front of Magersfontein Hills, from where their Mauser fire can be brought to bear on the movement of British troops along the line of rail. Believing that the Boers are entrenched in the hills and still unaware of their changed stratagem, a blistering artillery attack is followed by a night-time deployment of the newly-arrived Highland Brigade under the command of **Major General Wauchope**, using standard British military doctrine. The night-time advance to battle is hampered by the presence of iron deposits in the underlying geology that affect the compasses, so the Highland Brigade, arriving late at their objective, is spotted by the entrenched Boers and is brought to contact. **General Wauchope** is killed in the first volley, throwing the British forces into turmoil. Elements of the Black Watch launch a frontal attack and make it to the foothills of the Magersfontein Hills. British artillery still continues to pound the Magersfontein Hills, believing the Boers to be entrenched there in terms of conventional military doctrine, and the Highland Brigade is forced to retreat. The final outcome of the **Battle of Magersfontein** is the second Boer victory with 1,000 British casualties, against 70 dead and 250 wounded on the Boer side. The British defeat causes **Lord Roberts** to requisition 12,000 horses from Australia and Argentina as it starts to become evident that mobility away from the line of rail is a key tactical element of the guerrilla war being waged by the Boers. During the **Battle of Magersfontein**, the soldiers of the Black Watch invent a new slang word for the sun – Old McCormick – and a famous poem entitled “The Black Watch at Magersfontein” is written (Pakenham, 1982: 233; Mills & Williams, 2006:99):

Wire and the Mauser rifle, Thirst and the burning sun,
Knocked us down by the hundred, Ere the long day was done ...
All day in the same position, Watching our own shells burst,
Lying with our dead men and wounded, Lips swollen blue-black with thirst.

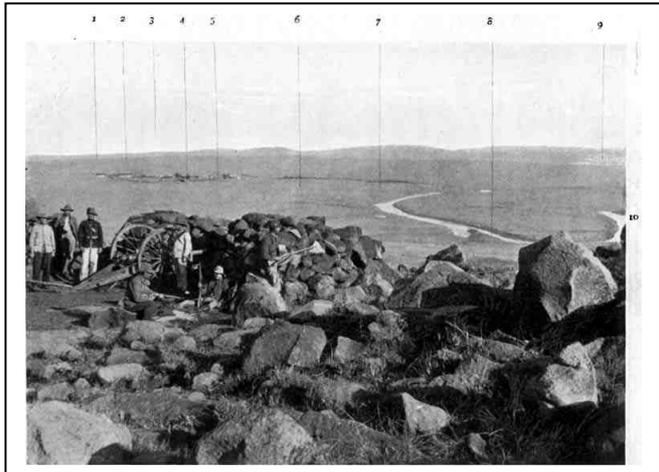
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12/12/99 **Winston Churchill**, having been captured on 15/11/1899, escapes from POW camp in Pretoria. He makes his way to Delagoa Bay (modern day Maputo) where he catches a steamer bound for Durban on 23/12/1899. This action earns **Churchill** an honorary commission to the rank of Lieutenant and a deployment to the South African Light Horse Regiment. He is back in action in time for the British attack on Spionkop in January 1900. (See the **Relief of Ladysmith** on 28/2/1900).

13/12/99 **Buller** starts his assault of the Thukela River by launching a 2 day artillery bombardment of the Boer positions across the river. The plan is that this bombardment will cause the Boer forces to collapse leaving the way clear to cross the river. Unbeknown to **Buller** however, **Louis Botha** had anticipated this crossing and had spent considerable effort in planning the Boer defensive positions (Meredith, 2007:432).

15/12/99 The third of the Battles of **Black Week** takes place at Colenso in Natal. A British force of 21,000 men under the command of **General Sir Redvers Henry Buller**, intent on breaking the **Siege of Ladysmith**, is formally paraded and then marched to a crossing of the Thukela River two miles upstream of Colenso. Their orders are to cross the river in a large oxbow (evident in the picture) and then support the assault on Colenso. The Boer force of 4,500 men under the command of **General Louis Botha** is dug in on high ground overlooking the oxbow in the river (see picture reproduced by courtesy of the Wikipedia Commons). The British 5th Brigade, that is ordered to cross the river at this point, uses a Zulu guide that speaks no English, so he takes them to the wrong fording point, directly under the Boer guns. Holding their fire until the British 5th Brigade is crossing the river, the Boer force wreaks havoc with the vulnerable column, unable to find any cover (see picture), losing 500 wounded in action. **Buller** decides to withdraw his forces from the foot of Hlangwane Hill, even though another element of this advancing force under the command of Major General Hildyard had already reached its objective and was in control of the town of Colenso. Hildyard had sent an advance party of artillery under the command of Colonel Charles James Long, which comes into range of **Botha's** own artillery. They suffer heavy casualties after a brutal engagement. **Buller** orders a full retreat, abandoning many artillery pieces and wounded gunners to their fate. The outcome of the **Battle of Colenso** is a resounding victory for the Boers with 143 British killed, 756 wounded, 240 captured and 10 artillery pieces captured, against 6 dead of wounds with a 7th having drowned and 30 wounded on the Boer side. Meredith (2007:432) reports that, "**Buller's** forces were cut to pieces in a storm of rifle fire; more than a thousand men were killed and wounded. At eight o'clock in the morning **Buller** decided to withdraw; ten field guns had to be abandoned. Newspapers spoke of 'another Majuba'". During the **Battle of Colenso** four Victoria Crosses are earned by **Captain Walter Congreve**, **Captain Harry Scofield**, **Lt. Frederick Roberts** (the



only son of **Field Marshall Lord Roberts**) and **Corporal George Nurse**. (Photo non-copyright courtesy of the Gutenberg Project and part of the Wikipedia Commons taken on 15/12/1899. Legend: 1 = **Gen Louis Botha's** Commando; 2 = Boksburg Commando; 3 = Colenso; 4 = Krugersdorp Commando; 5 = Wakkerstroom Commando; 6 = Ermelo Commando; 7 = Swaziland Police; 8 = Ermelo Commando; 9 = British Camp Chieveley; 10 = Thukela River.) The awarding of the VC's is commensurate with the British need to create a sense of victory out of a reality of despair (see the **Battle of Isandlwana** and **Rorke's Drift**), although the soldiers concerned did fight bravely. Significantly, one of the VC's awarded after the Battle of Colenso is for **Captain Walter Congreve**, who goes on to command the XIII Corps at the **Battle of the Somme** in which he orders the South African forces to take Delville Wood "at all cost" (see Mills & Williams, 2006:92). This results in massive loss of life for the South African forces.

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- 15/12/99 After the **Battle of Colenso**, **Buller** sends a heliograph message to **General George White**, the commander of the British forces in Ladysmith, warning that it will take at least another month for him to break through and relieve the besieged town. **Buller** even goes so far as to order **White** to consider destroying all the garrison ammunition if he is unable to hold out so long and seek “the best terms you can” in a negotiated surrender with the Boer forces (Meredith, 2007:432).
- 15/12/99 After the **Battle of Colenso**, **Buller** writes a letter to the Marquess of Landsdowne who is also the British Secretary for War in London. This letter reveals **Buller**’s thoughts. “My failure today raises a serious question. I don’t think I am now strong enough to relieve **White** ... I do not think either a gun or a Boer was seen by us all day... My view is that I ought to let Ladysmith go, and occupy good positions for the defence of South Natal, and let time help us” (Bourquain & Torlage, 1999:35; Mills & Williams, 2006:93). Landsdowne disagrees and a decision is made that has far-reaching implications for the **Second Anglo-Boer War**. Landsdowne appoints **Wolseley**’s bitter rival, **Lord Roberts**, as Commander-in-Chief South Africa. More importantly, **Lord Kitchener** is appointed as **Roberts**’ Chief of Staff. It is **Kitchener** that goes on to develop the **Scorched Earth Policy** and the use of **Concentration Camps** to break the Boer will to fight. **Lord Roberts** of Kandahar is famous for being a combat leader during the Second Afghan War (1870 – 1880), and for suppressing the Indian Mutiny of 1857 – 1858.
- 16/12/99 No. 5 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 16/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries a short inscription that reads: “If the Relief Column takes a day-and-a-half to march a yard-and-a-half, how much longer will the price of eggs be 10/7 per dozen?” Another short story hints at a growing fear as morale deteriorates, by stating the following: “Wanted to know. Whether the Boers have not formed a murderous idea to drive our Troops [sic] to the horizon and over the edge? Whether this is not contrary to the Geneva Convention? If the ‘Powerful’ is only waiting for a heavy dew to be able to get steam up for the relief of Ladysmith? (See references to ‘Powerful’ on 18/11/1899 above). If Kruger has received the appointment of Governor of Britain’s latest acquired colony? How war correspondents are to be distinguished from camp followers in the forthcoming battle and whether they are likely to have the same influence on Bruce’s memorable following at B-bwin [sic] and whether they are not as numerous as that following?” The same edition carries the following poem:

The Home Coming

(Anonymous)

The Flags unfurl! Beat loud the drums!
Shout out the victor’s song
At last the day of triumph comes,
For which we’ve waited long.
Yet while o’erhead bright garlands wave,
And fragrant roses rain,
Forget we not those heroes brave
Who’ll ne’er come home again.

Hail Lancers swift, and old Dragoons!
Leicesters and Rifles true!
Staunch Dublin lads; stern Gordon “looms”;
The gallant “Powerful’s” crew!
Yet, as ye march with heads upheld,
A vacant place retain
For those whose graves are on the veld,
Who’ll ne’er come home again.

On! Volunteers, Natal’s stout hearts!
Light Horsemen of the Rand!
And all ye braves from many parts –
A noble conquering band!
But there were others fought and won:

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Yet they behind remain
To rest beneath the Southern Sun
They'll ne'er come home again.

Ye thousands raise your deafening cheer
As onward proud they go!
But there are wives and mothers dear
And sisters with locks of snow,
Who scan with tears the serried rows
They look – but oh! In vain –
To catch the longed for smile of those
Who'll never come home again.

The vacant chair stands as it stood!
Fresh let their memory live!
Sweet life they gave for others good,
'Tis all a man can give!
They, too were victors in the fray –
Then let us not restrain
A tear for those far, far away,
Who'll never come home again!

23/12/99 No. 6 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 23/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries two short inscriptions that read:

Ladysmith

(The Aldershot of South Africa)

White: Welcome, Sir Redvers. Glad to see you here,
Although I cannot offer you the festive season's cheer.

Buller: How do, Sir George! I'm sorry you have had to wait so long,
But Boers were thick as bumble-bees,
And in position strong.

White: Ah! Well, our waiting's over.
Triumph's ours all'long the line.

Buller: Yes, I think our troubles ended with 1899.

Kruger

(Anonymous)

Know that the end draws nigh,
Rash man, and thou must die!
Useless resistance won't await thee,
Germans, Frenchmen, all will fail thee
Easy times are nearly o'er,
Revenge is Britain's, wily Boer.

No. 6 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 23/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries the following poem that speaks volumes:

The Six Inch Gun

(Anonymous)

There is a famous hill looks down

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Five miles away on Ladysmith town,
With a long flat ridge that meets the sky
Almost a thousand feet on high
And on the ridge there is mounted one
Long range terrible six inch gun.

And down in the street a bugle is blown
When the cloud of smoke on the sky is thrown
For it's twenty seconds before the roar
Reverberates o'er, and a second more
Till the shell comes down with a whiz and a stun
From that long range terrible six inch gun.

And men and women walk up and down
The long hot streets of Ladysmith town.
And the housewives work in the usual round
And the children play till the warning sound
Then into their holes they scurry and run
From the whistling shell of the six inch gun.

For the shells they weigh a hundred pounds
Bursting wherever they strike the ground
While the strong concussion shakes the air
And shatters the window panes everywhere
And we may laugh, but there's little of fun
In the bursting shell of a six inch gun.

Oh! 'Twas whistle and jest with the Carbineers gay
As they cleaned their steeds at break of day.
But like a thunderclap there fell
In the midst of the horses and men a shell
And the sight we saw was a fearful one
After that shell from the six inch gun.

Though the foe may beset us on every side
We'll find some cheer in this Christmas tide
We will laugh and be gay, but a tear will be shed
And a thought will be given to the gallant dead
Cut off in the midst of life and fun
By the long range terrible six inch gun.

No. 6 Vol. 1 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 23/12/1899 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**, specifically with regard to the need to build morale. This carries a number of short stories, with the following giving an indication of the humoristic propaganda of the time: "Saturday morning. It is reported this morning that a picket of the N.M.R. captured a Dutch General during the night's outpost duty. It seems there was an attempt to enter our lines by the picket. Being on the alert as usual, the enemy's plan was frustrated. The companions of the General succeeded in escaping and the General himself was only secured with the greatest difficulty. The name of the General has not yet been ascertained. ... Saturday afternoon. It transpires that the capture effected by the N.M.R. picket last night was that of an old he-goat. In imagining that they had taken a Dutch General the N.M.R. were probably misled by the smell." Another short story speaks of the water supply, but also alludes to the mentality of the Boer people: "Mr. Holliday in his interesting '*Dottings on Natal*' written some 35 years ago, gives a brief account of Ladysmith. He thus describes the little arcadia as he found it. 'Ladysmith. Situated on a bend of the Klip River, a very dry spot. About fifteen years back a dam was erected across the river, at a heavy cost, to enable the town that was to be, to obtain a supply of water; but that dam broke down, and the damned water got away. One extra dry season an account was published in the newspapers stating that, as no water was obtainable, the inhabitants had to live on bottled beer. The buildings comprise

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about sixty houses, magistrate's office, gaol, chapel, and a gallows. Inhabitants 250.' ... The population now numbers 20,000 thirsty souls, with as many more waiting outside. The water reported as unfit for 'drinking purposes' and again the inhabitants will have reluctantly perhaps to fall back upon the 'Bottled Beer'."

12/99 As a result of the dismal performance of the British forces on the field of battle **General Buller** is replaced by **Field Marshall Roberts**.

1900

1900 Cecil Rhodes appoints **Starr Jameson** as a director of De Beers (see **Jameson Raid** on 30/12/1895). He also stands unopposed for election as a Progressive in the Kimberley constituency, thereby becoming a Member of Parliament (Meredith, 2007:492).

1900 Elements of the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** participate in the **Relief of Mafeking**.

1/00 The total number of British troops in South Africa now lies at 110,000 with reinforcements coming from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The **Imperial Light Horse** and the South African Light Horse are being financed by Werner, Beit & Co as a private venture. The level of casualties being suffered is shattering to the British morale. Over 700 men have been killed in action or have died of wounds, 3,000 have been wounded and 2,000 have been taken prisoner with three strategic towns still under siege and facing disease and starvation. As Meredith (2007:433) notes, "All at the hands of a group of peasant farmers dressed in civilian clothes – 'stock breeders of the lowest kind', according to the *Economist* – whom the British had confidently predicted would pack up and go home after firing a few shots". With the change in command to **Field Marshall Frederick Roberts** and **Buller** still in charge of the Natal Theatre, two more divisions – the last readily available to Britain – are despatched. Just as British forces were being bolstered from the Commonwealth, so too were the Boer forces. Around 2,000 foreign fighters came in from countries like Germany, Netherlands, Ireland, Irish-Americans, Russia, Scandinavia and even from England. A retired French General, **Count de Villebois-Mareuil** enlists hoping to capture Cecil Rhodes, whom he regarded as the Napoleon of the Cape (he was killed in action in April 1900) (Meredith, 2007:434).

1/1/00 No. 1 Vol. 2 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 1/1/1900 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries a short inscription that reads: "It is reported that the members of the Town Guard who so smartly out-manoeuved the Boers by evacuating the town before it was invested are now anxious to return in time to take part in the approaching peace celebrations." Another inscription reads: "After 60 days siege it is little wonder that people are not eager to know the time of day. One occasionally meets with the enquiry, 'Let me see to day is ...' In the future the question will be, 'What month are we in now?' To remedy this perplexing state of affairs, and to satisfy all manner of doubt, there has been a sharp run on pocket knives and the thoughtful inhabitant is carefully 'notching' each day on his walking stick. It is surmised he will require a good many of these sticks before the difficulty is over". Another short piece refers to the **Natal Mounted Rifles** (NMR) by saying the following: "The C Squadron of the N.M.R. known as the 'Forty Thieves' have formed a band. By kind permission of the Officers they will perform on the Market Square this evening. Each item on the program will be performed with variations. A prize of one Guinea will be given by Mr. Allsopp to any member of the audience identifying any particular air". Another piece refers to rationing difficulties: "**Capt. Molyneux** is having a good deal of anxiety with regard to the outfit of the members of the Town Guard. By dint of much perseverance a supply of Madagascar meat and bread is now obtained at 6 o'clock in the morning, but the genial Captain is not satisfied with this and the order now goes forth that the watchers on the Klip are from the beginning of the year to wear kilts, as owing to the extreme dampness of the ground the men's trousers have so considerably shrunk as to make it impossible to get their feet through." A final short inscription reads: "Regret. One of the Naval Brigade was removing a fuse from a live shell, when it exploded, carrying away his left arm. 'Well, that's too bad', exclaimed he, for it was only yesterday that I had paid 10p for having that same arm tattooed."

No. 1 Vol. 2 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 1/1/1900 also carries three poems that give insight into the changing mindset among the besieged:

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Buller

(Anonymous)

Buller, Buller, hear our loud entreaty,
Under dire bombardment we are laid;
Let thy legions come to us in pity,
Let them come, and lend us all thy aid.
Endurance has been tried, and stood the test right well,
Relieve and aid us, oh, hear the besiegers' yell.

There Was an Old Nigger

(Anonymous)

There was an old nigger, and they call him **Piet Joubert**,
And his fighting's awfully slow.
Buller's coming up behind him, and it's very, very clear
To the nether regions soon **Joubert** will go.

Chorus: So saddle up your horses, keep your rifles clean,
Sling your cartridges around your manly chest:
Buller's men will do their share, but it's easy to be seen,
That our garrison will have to do the rest.

Piet Joubert he has no conscience, he's an awful, awful skunk,
On our sick and on our wounded he has fired;
But judging from the symptoms, it is plain he's in a funk,
"Long Tom" and "Big Ben" are growing very tired.

Chorus: So saddle up your horses, keep your rifles clean,
Sling your cartridges around your manly chest:
Buller's men will do their share, but it's easy to be seen,
That our garrison will have to do the rest.

But in fighting with true Britons, he is dealing with brave men
Who will, never strike below the belt:
They will fight on lines humane, though outnumbered ten times ten,
They will fight fair, however angry they have felt.

So saddle up your horses, and go in to fight,
Like true Britons ready for the fray:
Strike 'em hard, but strike 'em fair: on our side we have the right,
And grand victory will crown that glorious day.

Marking Time

(Anonymous)

The New Year comes, so let us fill
The glorious bowl with right good will
Though **Buller's** at Colenso still,
Marking time.

We hoped in human hopes we see
The idlest form of vanity –
Ere this we should no longer be
Marking time.

We dreamed of battles fought and won,

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We dreamed our scattered foes would run
Before us – but we haven't done
Marking time.

Our lingering faith is growing small
“Where's **Buller**?” is the weary call,
“Where's **French**, where's **Cleary**?” They are all
Marking time.

November passed; we smiled and said
“Another week!” that week soon sped
But still we smiled, “Next week” that fled
And we marked time.

The New Year comes, and we are here
With every prospect still to fear
The dawning of another year
Marking time!

6/1/00 A Boer force attacks **Wagon Hill at Ladysmith**, Natal. Reinforcements are rushed in from the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**. During a lull in the fighting, a party of Boers from Harrismith under the command of **Field Cornet's Japie de Villiers** and **Zacharias de Jager** launch an attack. The troops on the hill break and run. **Colonel Ian Hamilton**, **Major Miller-Walnut**, **Captain Fitzgerald**, **Sergeant Lindsay**, **Trooper Herman Albrecht** and others throw themselves into this breach. **Field Cornet Zacharias de Jager** shoots and kills **Trooper Albrecht** and is then shot dead by **Lt. Digby-Jones**. As a result of this action the gun pits are returned to British hands and **Trooper Albrecht** and **Lt. Digby-Jones** are awarded the **Victoria Cross** posthumously for their action on the field of battle. **Trooper Herman Albrecht** is buried in a communal grave at **Wagon Hill**. **Note:** This story is interesting in the context of the battle because his name suggests that he is of Boer origin but is fighting on the side of the British – he is thus in all probability a **Joiner**. Such mixed allegiance is a feature of the time, indicating that it is not birth that determines loyalties, but rather individual viewpoints on key issues of the day and other circumstances.

8/1/00 No. 2 Vol. 2 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 8/1/1900 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries a short inscription that reads: “It was a wet drenching day. The Carbineers had been in the saddle some four or five hours. An order was issued from Headquarters that on returning from duty the men were to change their shirts. So the Captain sent for the Sergeant and gave the order. ‘But, Sir’, said the Sergeant, ‘the men have only one apiece left’. ‘No matter’, replied **Capt. Molyneux**, ‘they must change with each other’.” Another short piece states: “The umbrella hospital, Ladysmith. Fractured ribs and dislocated joints scientifically mended and set by an eminent Professor. Debilitated frames revived and strengthened and recovery guaranteed while you wait.” A short story tells of requisitioning: “There is a man in the front room, wants to see Mr. Banbeuf [sic]. Mr. Banbeuf, ‘I’ll be there in a minute, ask him to take a chair’. ‘He says he’s going to take them all. He’s from the military authorities I fancy’.” A short story speaks of the rigours of guard duty and the apparent stupidity of enlisted men under orders: “**Capt. Bulleier** of the Town Guard generally has some difficulty in making out the orders. The other wet night he was placed on sentry duty near Matthew Brown’s, the usual smelling bottle not being omitted. After a while the Adjutant visited him and enquired what would be the first thing to do if the enemy were to surprise him. ‘I’d get the countersign, Sir’. ‘But they are the enemy and don’t know it’, said the Adjutant. ‘Well Sir, I’d make them repeat it after me ‘till they did know it, and if they didn’t succeed I’d get Brother Dunkley to let fly with his rifle’.”

No. 2 Vol. 2 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 8/1/1900 gives yet more insight into the mindset of the besieged British forces at the **Siege of Ladysmith**. This carries a short story that speaks volumes about the schism between Officer and enlisted men when nerves are fraying: “A Warrior Bold am I (heading). It will be generally conceded that a few of the Officers of our Volunteer forces have a very good idea of their own importance; and it is a well known fact that an impression is ingrained in these few that their personal comfort and convenience are items of the utmost importance to the final

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success of the present campaign. There is an old proverb concerning the destination of a beggar when mounted on a Pegasus: but swiftly a worse fate will be provided for the Volunteer Officer when astride of his high horse 'Self Conceit'. Certain of these gentlemen have the good fortune to be quartered in a garden adjoining a residence where a very tiny dog is kennelled, who does his utmost to earn his food by acting as a small watch dog giving vent to occasional miniature barks, the best he can do, poor little mite, as a warning against intruders. A native servant was sent by his master to ask that the dog might be destroyed, as its barking disturbs his slumbers. Just imagine an Officer, living on premises by courtesy of the owner, actually requesting that a dog belonging to that owner should be made away with because its barking annoyed its officership. Here we have a 'Soldier of the Queen', used to the hwitle [sic] and bruit [sic] of battle, accustomed to bivouac in the open, actually unable to sleep because of the yelping of that wee, tiny dog, whose only fault is that he does his duty. 'Oh, wad some poubi the giftie gi'e us; Tae see oursels as ithers see us'."

No. 2 Vol. 2 of the **Ladysmith Bombshell** dated 8/1/1900 also carries three poems that give insight into the desperate mindset among the besieged during the final days of the **Siege of Ladysmith**:

The Civilian's Complaint

(Anonymous)

Who made a mess of this 'ere war?
Who dilly-dallied from afar?
And left us in this 'nasty jar' ...
Who told us when the siege begun
Our enemies right soon should run!
(Upon my word it takes the bun) ...
Who wasn't that told us to provide
Ten days of rations, so's to tide
Us over **Joubert's** monstrous stride! ...
Who then swooped down, and commandeered
All stoves, when famine once was feared!
And left us all to 'dree our weird' ...
Who heck's not if we live or die!
Who will not let us victuals buy!
Altho' the stoves can yet supply ...
Who has the best of this affair!
We citizens who live on air!
Nay, we're worse off than our Bugbear. The en-em-y
Thanks to Woodhouse and Frank Reid too
They get us beef eno' to stew,
Some people make a great ado, Tis tough they say –
Let **Buller** come, or **Buller** stop,
We'll stick this show out till we drop,
And never leave this blessed shop, though had it be.
We'll stay to see the fighting o'er
If needs be, we will do our share;
And then we'll advertise galore.

The hard times we have had to bear:
We'll slate Great Britain right and left,
We'll curse the British Parliament:
Of friends and property bereft
We'll show to all the world we meant
To demonstrate the sad delay,
That's caused our misery today;
Confound J – C.

Untitled

(Anonymous)

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When friends frae friends are gaun to part,
An' parting causes many a smart,
A wee, wee drap cheers up the heart
And mak's them pairt fu' fuskey O.
And when retwined – been absent lang,
And absence brings them many a pang –
Their joys maun hae an auld Scots sang,
Wi a drap 'o Heilant Whiskey O.
A drap 'o barley brae sae clear,
It drooms oor care an' flags oor fear,
Mak's friends and Dutch like brithers dear,
A drap o' Heilant Whisky O.

What News! (Anonymous)

What news! What news! What anxious ones are waiting
Far off to know if with us all is well!
What news! What news! With pulses palpitating
They wait and hope, for there is none to tell.

What news! What news! Oh anxious one, thou fearest
To listen yet for what may give thee pain
What news! What news! Perchance thy best and dearest
Will never clasp thee to his heart again.

What news! What news! What homes are desolated
What mothers' hearts must sorrow ever more
What loving ones can never now be mated,
What constant vows no more be whispered o'er.

What news! What news! Perhaps no more hereafter
Thy friend will meet thee with a smile;
No more thy heart shall echo to the laughter
Of happy children whom thou loved'st erewhile.

What news! What news! Are not the hosts engaging
In some fierce conflict under the sun's glare!
What news! What news! What battles, then, are raging
Mid rocky hills! What streams are reddened there!

What news! What news! Our Leader hath he left us,
And shall his voice no longer call us on!
Too well we know that Fate hath thus bereft us
That voice is silenced and Harry Escomb gone.

What news! What news! Still in the balance pending
The right and wrong, the future that will be,
What news! What news! With hopes and fears unending
Yet strong and steadfast till the Victory.

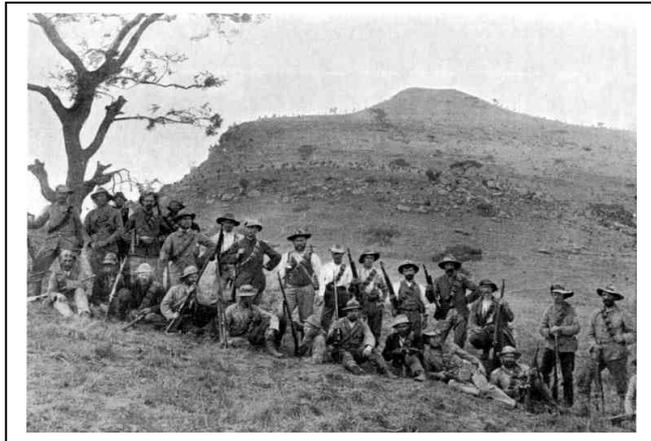
10/1/00 **Lord Roberts** the new British Commander in Chief arrives in Cape Town. He is informed that despite orders he had sent to **Buller** to remain on the defensive in the Natal Theatre, it seems that **Buller** had decided to try and redeem his battered honour by staying on the offensive. This means that yet another British disaster was in the making (Meredith, 2007:436). The British military dithering that had been the hallmark of the 1800's is still evident in places.

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- 12/1/00 Buller, no longer Commander-in-Chief since the arrival of **Lord Roberts** (see 10/1/1900), but still in command of the Natal front, arrives at his new HQ at Mount Alice. Here he plans his next move and decides to split his force with 15,000 men and 36 guns being placed under the command of **Lt. Gen. Warren**, **Buller's** Second-in-Command. **Warren** is ordered to cross the Thukela at Trichardt's Drift and then to push on to **Ladysmith**. **Buller** is to remain with a reserve of 9,000 at Mount Alice.
- 20/1/00 **Buller** has by now assembled a large force comprising 24,000 infantry, 2,500 cavalry supported by 8 field batteries, 10 naval guns and a vast amount of supplies. Buller orders his main force to cross the Thukela River where it must advance between two bits of high ground known as Spionkop and Twin Peaks. The objective is an open plain beyond the high ground within striking distance of Ladysmith. Anticipating this new offensive, **Louis Botha** has brought up reinforcements from Colenso digging his artillery into key positions with tactical objectives clearly identified and ranged in. John Atkins of the Manchester Guardian describes how **Buller's** force wades, "sliding, sucking, pumping, gurgling through the mud" with men, animals and wagons strung out for miles as they move into position for the crossing. **Buller** orders **General Sir Charles Warren's** division to make the assault on Spionkop, believing it will give tactical advantage to the advancing forces once it has been captured (Meredith, 2007:436). This is the background against which the **Battle of Spionkop** should be interpreted.

- 23/1/00 The **Battle of Spionkop** takes place 38-km west of Ladysmith in Natal. After ten days travel to reach Trichardt's Drift on the Thukela River, a British force of 11,000 infantry, 2,200 mounted cavalry supported by 36 field guns all under the command of **General Sir Charles Warren**, but part of a larger force under the overall command of **General Sir Redvers Buller**, engages a Boer force of 6,000 men under the command of **General Louis Botha**. The Boers are entrenched on Spionkop, a piece of high ground that dominates the area and is thus a tactical advantage (Photo of the Boer force at Spionkop reproduced by the courtesy of the Wikipedia Commons). Buller's main force is advancing to break the **Siege of Ladysmith**, but this axis of advance is blocked by Spionkop. **Warren** despatches a smaller force under the



command of **Major General Edward Woodgate** to capture Spionkop in order to clear the way for **Buller's** force. **Lt. Col. Alexander Thorneycroft** is selected to command the assault party. He leads his men up the hill in mist, surprising a Boer element that is entrenched, engaging them with fixed bayonets. One Boer soldier is killed (and his grave lies there to this day) with the others retreating. A British Sapper element prepares trenches, but as the mist lifts, they are surprised to find that they have not captured Spionkop, but only a small hill beneath it. The British trenches had been prepared without adequate tactical intelligence so they are poorly suited to defence against incoming fire from higher ground. The Boers engage using artillery placed on Thabanyama (a Zulu word meaning Black Mountain), as **Commandant Hendrik Prinsloo** of the Carolina Commando leads an assault on Aloe Knoll and Conical Hill. This assault is supported by Burghers from Pretoria Commando, but is repulsed. The Burghers are not trained soldiers, so their morale is a problem as the heat of the day drives intense thirst and some Burghers refuse to engage further. **Major General Woodgate** is mortally wounded by a Boer shell, followed in quick succession by the loss of three more senior officers. This throws the British forces into disarray, giving the Boers the advantage again. **Lt. Winston Churchill** (see 15/11/1899 and 12/12/1899) is a courier between Spionkop and **Buller's** main force, later describing the scenes of battle carnage. The Lancashire Fusiliers surrender to the Boers, but **Thorneycroft** intervenes, ordering his men back into the fray. This rallies the soldiers, who are reinforced shortly afterwards, going on to assault Twin Peaks. With that action darkness falls on the battlefield leaving both sides to contemplate their next moves. During the night **Thorneycroft**, despite playing such a major role in turning the tide of battle, loses his nerve and orders a retreat. The Boers, expecting a vicious battle at dawn the next day, are surprised at the sight of two Burghers on the top of Twin Peaks, waving their hats in victory, with the only British present being the dead and

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wounded. The outcome of the **Battle of Spionkop** is a Boer victory with 383 killed in action, 1,000 wounded and 300 captured, against the Boer loss of 58 killed and 100 wounded. Significantly, in terms of subsequent South African history, Mahatma Ghandi is a stretcher bearer at the **Battle of Spionkop**, an event that goes on to shape his own views about passive resistance in the early phase of the **Armed Struggle**. Also present at this battle is **Winston Churchill**.

23/1/00 During the **Battle of Spionkop**, **Mahatma Gandhi** and his corps of 1,100 Indian ambulance corps volunteers, act with great courage extracting hundreds of dead and wounded British soldiers, often under harrowing fire. He is later thanked for this service by the Natal Prime Minister **Sir John Robinson** (Meredith, 2007:505).

23/1/00 **Buller** orders a night assault to capture Spionkop. Meredith (2007:437-8) describes this event as follows: “only a light Boer picket had been posted to defend Spionkop. Clambering up the steep, rock-strewn slope, **Warren’s** men soon put the picket to flight and in the dark started digging defence works. As the ground was rocky, the main trench they managed to gouge out was no more than a broad, shallow ditch, running some 200 yards. When the morning mist lifted, they discovered that they had won only part of the summit. Their position, moreover, was exposed to Boer artillery fire from surrounding hills and to boer fighters creeping up the slopes below them, unsuspected, determined to recapture the hill. Among them was Denys Reitz: ‘Many of our men dropped, but already the foremost were within a few yards of the rocky edge which marked the crest, and the [British] soldiers



were rising from behind their cover to meet the final rush. For a moment or two there was confused hand to hand fighting, then the combatants surged over the rim of the plateau’. With no adequate cover, British ranks were ripped apart by Boer artillery fire. The main trench was soon filled with bodies, two or three deep (Photograph of the trenches courtesy of the Wikipedia Commons). In the British command there was a muddle and confusion. Reinforcements were sent up, but counter-attacks and diversions on Boer positions elsewhere to relieve the pressure on Spionkop were delayed or called back. Watching the carnage unfold through a telescope from **Buller’s** headquarters on a hill south of the [Thukela] River, John Atkins wrote: ‘I shall always have it in memory – that acre of massacre, that complete shambles’... In the late afternoon, **Winston Churchill** climbed up the narrow track to the summit, passing streams of wounded men: ‘Men were staggering along, or supported by comrades, or crawling on hands and knees, or carried on stretchers. Corpses lay here and there. ... The splinters and fragments of shell had torn and mutilated in the most ghastly manner. I passed about two hundred while I was climbing up. There was, moreover, a small but steady leakage of unwounded men of all corps. Some of these cursed and swore. Others were utterly exhausted and fell on the hillside in stupor’”. During the night the British retreat in disarray having lost 1,100 men killed, wounded or captured. The Boer forces were unaware of their impending victory. As Denys Reitz later wrote: “We were hungry, thirsty and tired, around us were the dead men covered with swarms of flies attracted by the smell of blood. We did not know the cruel losses that the English were suffering and we believed that they were easily holding their own, so discouragement spread as the shadows lengthened. Batches of men left the line” (Meredith, 2007:438).

24/1/00 A British force under the command of **Maj. Gen. Edward Woodgate** clear a Boer picket off Spionkop early in the morning. The Boer’s immediately regroup and wait for the mist to clear before launching a massive artillery barrage against the British. The battle rages the whole day and a decision is made just before midnight to withdraw the British forces from the high ground they had already captured at Twin Peaks, just west of Spionkop (Mills & Williams, 2006:96). Confusion reigns in the British forces and an alternative crossing of the Thukela has to be found.

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- 25/1/00 Buller orders his troops back across the Thukela, earning himself the nickname of “Sir Reverse Buller” and the “Ferryman of the Tugela” (Mills & Williams, 2006:96).
- 5/2/00 As a result of the blistering losses of the **Battle of Spionkop**, Buller has removed his entire army back onto the south bank of the Thukela River, abandoning his bridgehead won during his second crossing on 20/1/1900. He now launches a third attempt to cross the river. At this stage, **Buller's** 20,000 strong army greatly outnumbers the Boer forces, but again he dithers, and after sustaining 400 new casualties with his third attempt at crossing, orders a retreat once more, earning him the nickname of Ferryman of the Tugela (Meredith, 2007:438).
- 7/2/00 **Buller's** force is defeated at the **Battle of Vaal Krantz** (5-7/2.00).
- 7/2/00 While **Buller** is being rebuffed during his fourth attempt to cross the Thukela River, some 400 miles to the west **Lord Roberts** had marshalled a massive army of 60,000 men south of the Modder River. His original plan is to thrust towards Bloemfontein, but on the insistence of Cecil Rhodes, **Roberts** had modified his plan to take Kimberley first (Meredith, 2007:439). The Boer forces begin a blistering artillery barrage with their 6 inch Long Tom guns, replacing their smaller field pieces that until now had been less effective. A total of 22 shells fall from the Long Tom's on this day changing the nature of the **Siege of Kimberley** significantly.
- 8/2/00 A total of 30 Long Tom shells are dropped on Kimberley as the siege intensifies (Meredith, 2007:439).
- 9/2/00 A total of 74 Long Tom shells are dropped on Kimberley. Faced with an increased artillery barrage since the introduction of the Boer Long Tom guns on 7/2/1900, Cecil Rhodes threatens to organize a public meeting to protest against the British delays in rescue (Meredith, 2007:439).
- 10/2/00 Cecil Rhodes publishes an editorial in his *Diamond Fields Advertiser* entitled ‘Why Kimberley Cannot Wait’, which heaps layers of scorn on the British military leadership and their bumbling incompetence. Outraged by the blatant breach of military censorship laws, **Kekewich** orders the arrest of the editor, to be told by Rhodes that he has been hidden down a mine. Rhodes insists on a message being sent by military heliograph to **Lord Roberts**. **Roberts** replies, authorizing **Kekewich** to arrest anyone that resists him, but also urging **Kekewich** to try and convince Rhodes not to attempt a negotiated surrender to the Boer besiegers (Meredith, 2007:440). **Note:** This suggests that Rhodes is not trusted by **Roberts**, who fears he might panic when under live fire and capitulate.
- 11/2/00 Cecil Rhodes announces publicly that any person wishing to find safety from the artillery barrage will be kept safe down a De Beers mine shaft. His message reads, “I recommend that women and children who desire complete shelter to proceed to Kimberley and De Beers shafts. They will be lowered at once in the mines from 8 o'clock throughout the night. Lamps and guides will be provided” (Meredith, 2007:441). Residents assume that Rhodes has advance information of an increase in shelling so they panic.
- 14/2/00 In Natal **Buller** renews his offensive by concentrating his army, now 25,000 strong, along a narrow six mile wide arc of land downstream from Colenso. The Boers can only muster 5,000 as a counter force and are thus unable to contain **Buller**. The Boer forces are becoming weary having lived in the veld for weeks with no re-supply or comfort. Morale starts to wane as **Louis Botha** suggests to Paul Kruger that Ladysmith should be relinquished. Kruger orders the **Siege of Ladysmith** to continue (Meredith, 2007:442).
- 15/2/00 A British force under the command of **French** start their final assault that results in the **Relief of Kimberley**. This ends a 124-day siege. They encounter only sporadic Boer resistance. On entering Kimberley, **French** reports directly to Cecil John Rhodes, ignoring **Lt. Col. Kekewich**, the commander of the besieged garrison. This gives some insight into the enormous authority that Rhodes has. French's force is spent however, as the horses are in poor condition and unable to carry on as an effective fighting force.

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- 17/2/00 A Boer force of around 5,000 from the **Transvaal Republic** and the **Orange Free State** under the command of **Cronje**, along with their families riding in ox-wagons, ford the Modder River as Paardeberg Drift. Some of **French's** tired men attack, forcing **Cronje** to go into a protective laager. **French's** force is unable to defeat the Boers and a stalemate ensues.
- 18/2/00 The British have their greatest loss on **Bloody Sunday** during the early phases of the **Battle of Paardeberg**, fought at Paardeberg Drift (see reference to Estienne (Etienne) Nel (Niel) (Maternal 9th Great-Grandparent) in 1714) across the Modder River in the **Orange Free State**. A combined British and Canadian force of 6,000 men under the command of **Horatio Kitchener**, engages a Boer force of 5,000 under the command of **Piet Cronje** along the Modder River. Battle is joined when **Kitchener**, replacing **Lord Roberts** who is ill, orders a frontal attack against the entrenched Boers. The Boers hold their fire until the charging British are 100 metres away, pinning the Highland Brigade down for much of the rest of the day. Initial British losses are very high – over 1,100 casualties with 280 killed – the greatest loss on the British side in a single day during the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, but **Roberts** takes command that evening and rallies his force. Ordering a blistering artillery bombardment that lasts the next 9 days, **Roberts** leads an assault on 27 February 1900, capturing the surviving Boers (4,000 shell-shocked men). The outcome of the **Battle of Paardeberg** is a marginal British victory with a loss of 1,100 men wounded including 280 dead and 86 captured, compared to the Boer loss of 1,000 dead and 4,000 captured. Casualties still mount after the **Battle of Paardeberg** however, with the British losing an additional 2,000 as a result of illness and death, mostly caused by drinking water from the Modder River, downstream of where the Boers had been disposing of horses killed by the artillery barrage and thus left to putrefy in the water. An interesting lesson emerges from this event - the Boers drink coffee using boiled water, whereas the British do not. Unknowingly, the act of boiling the water kills any bacterial load, rendering it safe for human consumption. Such things were not known at the time. An interesting element of the **Battle of Paardeberg** is that it represents the first surrender of Boer forces to Canadian forces, which in turn saw their first foreign action during the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.
- 24/2/00 The Ladysmith Bombshell carries a small notice on page 23 that reads: “Notice is hereby given that by request of the General Officer Commanding, owners of fowls within the Borough must hand over all eggs to the Municipal Authorities for the use of the sick and wounded. Upon intimation being given by the Town Clerk, at the office of Messrs., Walton and Tatham, arrangements will be made daily to collect and receive the same, or they can be forwarded to him direct at the office in question, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. (Sundays excepted). Failing this notice being fully observed by 12 o'clock noon on Monday, the 26th inst., the Military Authorities intimate through the undersigned that owners, with no exception, will be compelled to hand over their fowls for the purpose of supplying the eggs now so urgently required”. This indicates that food scarcity is now a major aspect of the **Siege of Ladysmith** and that civilian resources are being commandeered for military purposes.
- 27/2/00 A British force under the command of **Buller** breaks through the Boer lines outside **Ladysmith** during the **Battle of Peter's Hill**. This is **Buller's** first significant victory, but at significant cost to his force.
- 27/2/00 **Buller** is now firmly in control of the Thukela heights for the first time since his arrival, placing him in striking distance of Ladysmith (Meredith, 2007:442).
- 27/2/00 After securing Kimberley, **Roberts** has mobilized his force for a thrust towards Bloemfontein. Part of this thrust is a ten day artillery engagement – the longest thus far from the British side – against **Cronjé** and his force (Meredith, 2007:442). **General Piet Cronjé** and his Boer force of 4,069 (including 50 women) surrenders after the longest single battle of the **Second Anglo-Boer War** – the **Battle of Paardeberg**. This is significant, because it takes place on the 19th Anniversary of the **Battle of Majuba** (see 27/2/1881), so it becomes a particularly poignant moment from a British perspective.
- 28/2/00 The **Relief of Ladysmith** takes place when a column under the command of **Major Hubert Gough** arrives to the famous words of, “Thank God we kept the flag flying”. The citizens of Ladysmith are in bad shape due to serious food scarcities (they had eaten all their draught oxen and horses) and water scarcity (the Boer forces had captured the water supply to the city, forcing them to drink polluted

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- water from the nearby Klip River resulting in enteric diseases). This is an example of water as a tactical target in times of war. **Lt. Winston Churchill** (see 12/12/1899) is in the column that relieves Ladysmith, helping him to launch his political career (Mills & Williams, 2006:87).
- 28/2/00 Mounted troops from **Buller's** force enter Ladysmith thus ending 188 days of siege. **Buller** writes in a Special Army Order that, "the campaign to relieve Ladysmith has been a 'glorious page' in the history of the British empire" (Meredith, 2007:442). This 'glorious page' has cost more than 5,000 British casualties and reflects British military dithering of staggering proportions.
- 7/3/00 Paul Kruger arrives at General de Wet's base at Poplar Grove to rally the forces after the loss of Boer morale arising from the **Battle of Paardeberg** (see 27/2/1900). No sooner has Kruger arrived when the British artillery shells start falling. De Wet bundles Kruger off under armed escort and decides to move from Poplar Grove before a major engagement can take place. This is the last stronghold before Bloemfontein so the railway line is now open to the British forces. **De Wet** fights a vigorous rearguard action and manages to extricate his force of 6,000 men (Meredith, 2007:443).
- 12/3/00 With British forces approaching Bloemfontein, being harassed by Boer guerrilla actions *en route*, President Steyn leaves the capital of the **Orange Free State** (Meredith, 2007:443).
- 13/3/00 With **Roberts** now in command, the British fortunes are reversed when Bloemfontein, the capital of the **Orange Free State**, is captured with hardly a shot being fired.
- 18/3/00 **Baden-Powell** writes in his diary in Mafikeng, "that the townspeople are expressing themselves tired of the siege and of me. They say that I am asking for reinforcements not to be sent in order that I gain Kudos afterwards" (Meredith, 2007:444).
- 31/3/00 The British now occupy Bloemfontein, the capital of the **Orange Free State**, and are preparing to use the line of rail to capture Pretoria, capital city of the **Transvaal Republic**. The Boer forces have been developing a distinctive military doctrine, which comes to fruition during the **Battle of Sanna's Post** near Bloemfontein in the **Orange Free State**. Known in military circles as the first effective use of guerrilla warfare tactics, a Boer force of around 2,000 men under the command of **General Christiaan de Wet**, advances towards Bloemfontein, using field reconnaissance to gather tactical intelligence. A small British garrison is detected at Sanna's Post, some 23 miles east of Bloemfontein and the location of the city's water works and thus a tactically significant target. **De Wet** positions a small fire force in a ravine created by the Modder River, carefully selecting a killing field for an ambush. An early morning artillery barrage confuses the British troops, sending them headlong into the ambush site. Clever interception of the civilian wagon drivers ensured that no shots are fired and around 200 soldiers and six guns of "U" Battery are captured. The field commander of "Q" Battery sees what is happening and orders his men to escape, triggering the ambush. A heavy fire-fight ensues, with a tactical British retreat, leaving the Bloemfontein water works in the hands of the Boers. The final outcome of the **Battle of Sanna's Post** is a Boer victory with 155 British soldiers killed or wounded, along with 428 men, 17 pieces of field artillery and 117 supply wagons captured, against a Boer loss of 3 dead and 5 wounded. Tactically this results in Boer control over the water supply of Bloemfontein, eventually resulting in an escalation of enteric fever with the subsequent loss of 2,000 people among the occupying British forces. The British are awarded a special edition of the Victoria Cross for "collective bravery", and **Maj. Edmund John Phipps-Hornby**, **Sgt. Charles Parker**, **Gunner Isaac Lodge** and **Driver Horace Henry Glascock** collect the medals on behalf of "Q" Battery. A Victoria Cross is also awarded to **Lt. Francis Maxwell** for his five voluntary incursions across open terrain in an attempt to recapture the artillery pieces that were under threat.
- 4/00 The British occupation of Bloemfontein causes many disruptions. The town is small with a normal population of 4,000 and has limited services, so when the British forces of 50,000 are billeted there, disease rapidly follows. Typhoid breaks out killing around 1,000 soldiers in April (Meredith, 2007:443).
- 4/00 A retired French General, **Count de Villebois-Mareuil**, who had joined the Boer forces hoping to capture Cecil Rhodes, is killed in action (Meredith, 2007:434).

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- 5/00 Queen Victoria sends a message to **Colonel Robert Baden-Powell**, expressing her admiration for the patient and resolute defence of Mafikeng (Meredith, 2007:445).
- 3/5/00 **Lord Roberts** leads his force of 170,000 men (expecting more reinforcements to follow) out of Bloemfontein towards Pretoria. The popular song “We are marching to Pretoria” is sung for the first time. The Boer forces at this time number no more than 30,000 but they are scattered over wide areas. In Natal **Buller’s** force moves towards the **Orange Free State** via Laing’s Nek. To the west a flying column leaves Kimberley heading for Mafikeng (Meredith, 2007:444). The British now seem unstoppable.
- 6/5/00 No. 1 Troop of E Squadron, **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**, is badly mauled in a fight with the Boers at Ladysmith, Natal.
- 11/5/00 A Boer force engages the British relief column intent on ending the **Siege of Mafikeng**. The Boers penetrate the defensive perimeter of the town, setting some building alight, but are unable to hold the ground they have captured so they retreat back to their previous positions.
- 17/5/00 A British force under the command of **Colonel B.T. Mahon**, fights its way through the Boer forces, ending the 217 day long **Siege of Mafikeng**. Under the command of **Mahon** is **Major Baden Fletcher Smyth Baden-Powell**, brother of **Colonel Robert Baden-Powell**, the garrison commander at Mafikeng. The final outcome of the **Siege of Mafikeng** is 212 dead and 600 wounded on the British side, with an unknown loss on the Boer side. The crowds in Mafikeng are delirious with happiness. A new word enters the Oxford English Dictionary on this day – to maffick – meaning to exult riotously (Meredith, 2007:445).
- 19/5/00 A skirmish takes place in Laingsnek, Natal, as part of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**. It is a Laingsnek that Johannes Petrus Botha (my Maternal 2nd Great Grandparent), born in the **Orange Free State** on 7/3/1841, dies on 28/1/1881.
- 24/5/00 After the capture of Bloemfontein by British forces under the command of **Lord Roberts** on 13/3/00, the **Orange Free State** is formally annexed to the **Orange River Colony**.
- 27/5/00 **Lord Roberts’** Grand Army crosses the Vaal River into the **Transvaal**. By arrangement with Boer Commandos, they pause on the outskirts of Johannesburg allowing the Boer forces to withdraw unhindered (Meredith, 2007:445).
- 28/5/00 Britain formally annexes the Orange Free State, renaming it the **Orange River Colony** (Meredith, 2007:445).
- 29/5/00 Paul Kruger receives visitors in his house in Pretoria for the last time. His wife Gezina is too ill to travel so Paul Kruger bids her farewell and boards a train bound for the eastern **Transvaal** (Meredith, 2007:446).
- 31/5/00 Johannesburg falls to the British who raise the Union Jack over the main square (Meredith, 2007:445).
- 1/6/00 The Boer Generals debate whether to surrender. In an assessment of their available forces, they have only around 7,000 men still robust enough to fight. **Jan Smuts** later wrote of this debate: “I shall never forget the bitter humiliation and despondency of that awful moment when the stoutest hearts and the strongest wills in the **Transvaal** army were, albeit but for a moment, to sink beneath the tide of our misfortune. ... What all felt so deeply was that the fight had gone out of the Boers, that the heroes who had stood like a stone wall on the Tugela and the Modder River, who had stormed Spionkop and Ladysmith and many other forlorn hopes, had lost their heart and hope, had gone home and forsaken these great officers. It was not **Lord Roberts’** army that they feared, it was the utter collapse of the Boer rank and file which staggered these great officers” (Meredith, 2007:446).
- 5/6/00 Pretoria falls to the British, effectively ending the conventional phase of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.

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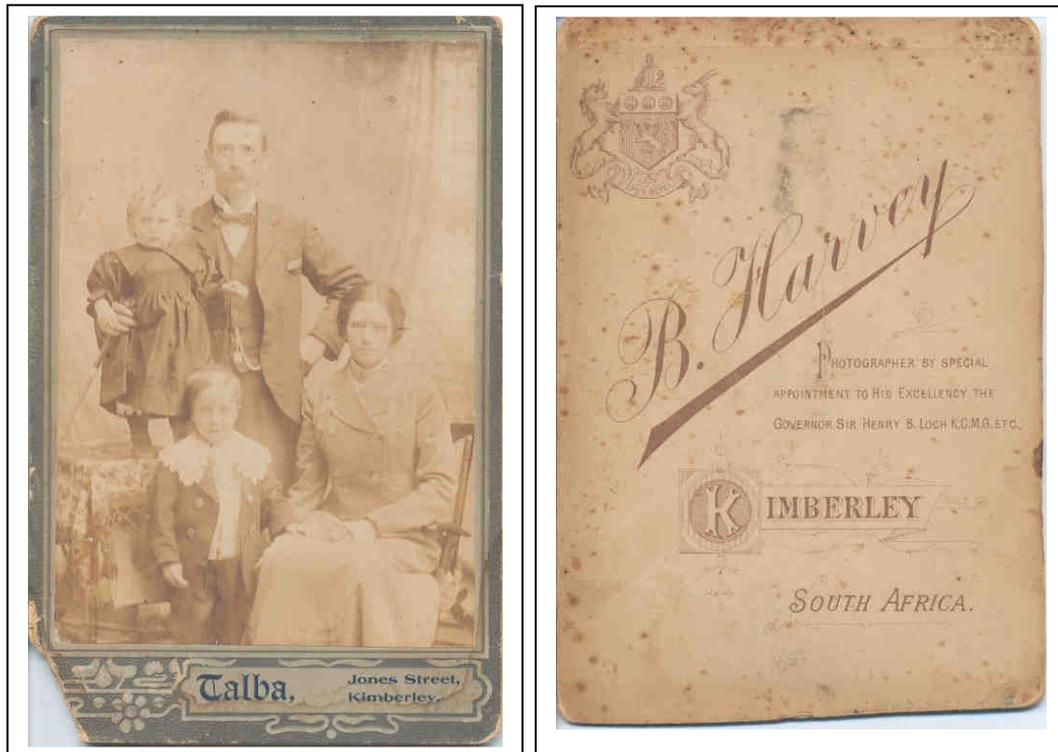
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- 5/6/00 After making an agreement with Boer officials, **Roberts** makes his triumphal entry into Pretoria after his army had advanced 300 miles from Bloemfontein in just 34 days. Boer morale had collapsed and thousands of men had capitulated. These are named **Hensoppers** – those who put their hands up – and are destined to become scorned by those who remain – the **Bittereinders** – those that fight to the bitter end (Meredith, 2007:446-7). (See reference to the significance of the impact of the **Bittereinder** sentiment in the author’s own lifetime).
- 6/6/00 The capture of Pretoria results in a Boer Krijgsraad (War Council), which recognizes that having lost the capital the war is effectively over, so the only way forward is to launch an insurgency based on guerrilla tactics. This is a significant turning point of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, because from this moment on power asymmetry becomes the key element. The word “commando” enters the military dictionaries of the world as a result of the decision taken by the Boer Krijgsraad (War Council).
- 7/00 The **First Pan African Congress** takes place in London under the leadership of Trinidadian barrister Henry Williams. It is attended by 32 delegates from Africa and the Americas. WE Du Bois, an American civil rights leader, addresses this Congress.
- 7/00 **Starr Jameson** is elected to the Cape Legislature as a Progressive. On taking his seat in Parliament he is met with a dead silence as a sign of public disapproval over the **Jameson Raid** (see 30/12/1895). **Jameson** moves into Groote Schuur and decides to take up Rhodes mantle as a matter of duty (Meredith, 2007:492).
- 7/00 A small but effective Boer Commando under the leadership of general de Wet, is chased by a 30,000 strong British force for six weeks. The chase takes them across the **Transvaal** and **Orange River Colony**. This demonstrates the benefit of guerrilla tactics, which later feeds into the **Bittereinder** mentality (see 5/6/1900).
- 13/8/00 **Turton Genealogy:** Joachim Jan Hendrik (also known as John Henry) Cloete (my Maternal Great-Grandfather) marries Sarah Catharina Viljoen in Beaconsfield, Kimberley, shortly after the lifting of the **Siege of Kimberley**. Sarah had some association with Sir Pierre van Ryneveld in her lifetime, but the exact nature of this is unknown. It is known however that she ran off to join the circus, being an excellent horse rider, and it is believed that this activity was frowned on in the van Ryneveld household. This is Sarah’s second marriage, assuming her son John Ferton Carles was born in wedlock (see 23/9/1898). Joachim Jan Hendrik Cloete is known to be excellent in the field of equestrian skills. It is possible that Joachim Jan Hendrik Cloete met Sarah Viljoen in a bar in Kimberley where he was working as a digger at the time, but exact details of this are not known. The photo (right) is of Sarah Viljoen taken roughly at the time of her marriage, by a professional photographer named B. Harvey (see overleaf). The photo overleaf is of a baby Sarah Viljoen with her parents. Nothing is known of their identity, or the identity of the second child in the picture. The photo was taken by a photographer (Talba) working out of Jones Street in Kimberley. It would be appreciated if anybody with information on this family could contact the author).



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- 27/8/00 British forces defeat the Boers during a skirmish at Bergendal.
- 9/00 **Lord Roberts** gives a hint of things to come when he comments, “Unless the people generally are made to suffer for the misdeeds of those [still] in arms against us, the war will never end”. This is in reference to the growing **Bittereinder** Boer force that refuses to surrender. It also hints at the growing sentiment that supports a **Policy** (Meredith, 2007:450).
- 9/00 In response to the rising number of destitute women and children arising from the increased farm burning activities, the British government decides to establish what they call “refugee camps” (Meredith, 2007:452). These are destined to become **British Concentration Camps** over time.
- 1/9/00 **Lord Roberts** formally annexes the **Transvaal**, prompting Paul Kruger to issue a message of defiance from his railway refuge in Nelspruit declaring this annexation to be null and void (Meredith, 2007:447).
- 11/9/00 British forces advance on Kruger’s position in Nelspruit, forcing him to depart for Delagoa Bay by train. He crosses the border at Komatipoort with tears streaming down his cheeks (Meredith, 2007:447).
- 1/10/00 **Lt. Col., D. Mc Kenzie** is given command of 2nd **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**, a position he holds until 30 June 1902.
- 20/10/00 Paul Kruger boards a Dutch warship in Delagoa Bay, sent for him by the Netherlands Queen Wilhelmina (Meredith, 2007:448).
- 25/10/00 The annexation of **Transvaal** is formally proclaimed.
- 11/00 Paul Kruger, now in exile, says on his arrival in Marseilles, France, that “the war in South Africa has exceeded the limits of barbarism. I have fought against many barbarous [African] tribes in the course of my life; but they are not so barbarous as the English, who have burnt our farms and driven our women and children into destitution, without food or shelter.” (Meredith, 2007:476).

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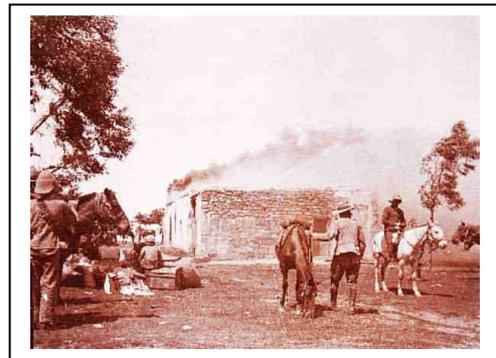
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11/00 Now victorious, **Lord Roberts** is bestowed an earldom by Queen Victoria and he departs from South Africa (Meredith, 2007:448). The British are of the firm conviction that the **Second Anglo-Boer War** is over. But it is not – it is merely about to enter a desperate phase that will leave its impact indelibly imprinted on the Afrikaner people for decades to come (see Turton *et al.*, 2006).

11/00 The British are still unable to capture the **De Wet Commando** (see 7/1900). The Boers briefly capture a British garrison at De Wets Dorp in the Free State, a town named after his father, hoping to inspire rebellion there. The **De Wet Commando** manages to outrun 15 British fighting units sent to capture him for six weeks (Meredith, 2007:449). This experience feeds into the growing **Bittereinder** sentiment. However, this also starts to frustrate the British, who now turn their focus to a new and devastating tactic to reign in the last recalcitrant Boer fighters – the **Scorched Earth Policy**.

11/00 In one of many letters sent from a British military unit written by **Captain March Phillips** and later published as a book called *With Rimington*, an insight is given into the changing British mindset of this time. A letter sent from Frankfort in the **Orange River Colony** dated November 1900 says:

“Farm-burning goes merrily on, and our course through the country is marked as in prehistoric ages by pillars of smoke by day and fire by night. We usually burn from six to a dozen farms a day; these being about all that in this sparsely-inhabited country we encounter. I do not gather that any special reason or cause is alleged or proved against the farms burnt. If Boers have used the farm; if the owner is on commando; if the [railway] line within a certain distance has been blown up; or even if there are Boers in the neighbourhood who persist in fighting. Of course the people living in the farms have no say in these matters, and are quite powerless to interfere



with the plan of the fighting Boers. Anyway, we find that one reason or another generally covers pretty nearly every farm we come to, and so to save trouble we burn the lot without enquiry; unless indeed, which sometimes happens, some names are given in before marching in the morning of farms to be spared”. In another letter sent from Kroonstad, Phillips describes a particular farm burning incident in which his unit is directly involved: “I had to go myself the other day, at the General’s bidding, to burn a farm near the line of march. We got to the place and I gave the inmates, three women and some children, ten minutes to clear their clothes and things out of the house, and my men then fetched bundles of straw and we proceeded to burn it down. The old grandmother was very angry ... Most of them, however, were too miserable to curse. The women cried and the children stood by holding on to them and looking with large frightened eyes at the burning house. They won’t forget that sight, I’ll bet a sovereign, not even when they grow up. We rode away and left them, a forlorn little group, standing among their household goods – beds, furniture, and gimericks strewn about the veldt; the crackling of the fire in their ears, and smoke and flame streaming overhead. The worst moment is when you first come into the house. The people thought we had called for refreshments, and one of the women went to get milk. Then we had to tell them that we had come to burn the place down. I simply didn’t know which way to look ...”

In the face of this increased farm burning, **Captain Phillips** notes the beginning of a sense of defiance when he wrote: “Husbands and sons in the hills fighting. Homes in the valley blazing, and they sitting and watching it all, almost always with the same fortitude, the same patience, and the same resolve. ... At another farm a



small girl interrupted her preparation for departure to play indignantly their national anthem at us on an old piano. We were carting people off. It was raining hard and blowing – a miserable, hurried home-leaving; ransacked house, muddied soldiers, a distracted mother saving one or two trifles and pushing along her children to the ox-wagon outside, and this poor little wretch in the midst of it

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pulling herself to stum a final defiance ...” These combined experiences cause **Captain Phillips** to question the whole purpose of the **Scorched Earth Policy**. “We can’t exterminate the Dutch or seriously reduce their numbers. We can do enough to make hatred of England and thirst for revenge the duty of every Dutchman, and we can’t effectively reduce the numbers of the men who will carry that duty out. Of course it is not a question of war only. It is a question of governing the country afterwards” (Meredith, 2007:450-452). **Note:** These are very wise words indeed as the author’s own unfortunate historic experience is about to teach him half a century later.

- 12/00 When **Kitchener** takes over command of the British forces from **Roberts**, he begins to systematically transform the “refugee camps” – nine of which already exist at this stage all established to accommodate the **Hensopper** families – into camps reserved for the families of the **Bittereinder** fighters (Meredith, 2007:452). **Kitchener** also escalates the **British Scorched Earth Policy** and revitalises the **Concentration Camps** as places of collective punishment for recalcitrant Boers who refuse to give up the fight and recognize British victory. **Kitchener** is a military engineer known to be ruthless. Having won fame for conquering the Mahdi’s Dervish army in Sudan, he regarded Boer women as obstacles to victory in the same vein as their fighting husbands were. His solution is thus to embark on systematic and mass removal of women and children from farms into what he calls “concentration camps”, in the belief that this removal would deprive Boer fighters of food and intelligence, but also induce their desire to surrender (Meredith, 2007:453). Thus a new and bitter phase is entered into as the **Second Anglo-Boer War** becomes one of total destruction. (See Farwell, 1976; Fawcett, 1901; Hasian, 2003; Hobhouse, 1901; 1907; Raath, 1999; Spies, 1977; Van Rensburg, 1980).

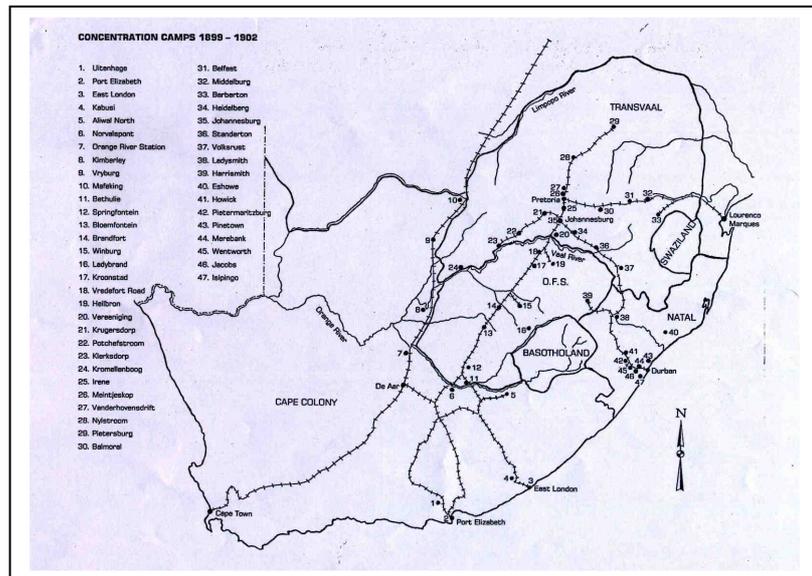
1901

- 1901 Swaziland, having been abandoned by the British to the **Transvaal**, now comes under British rule (Welsh, 2000:436).
- 1901 **Emily Hobhouse** publishes the *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies* via the Friars Printing Association Ltd., in London. This creates public awareness about the **British Concentration Camps** and **Kitchener’s Scorched Earth Policy** (see 1907 and 1909 for the implications of this).
- 1/01 **Kitchener** embarks on the first of a number of military “drives” designed to flush out remaining Boer fighters. Meredith (2007:453) describes this as follows: “Whole areas were laid waste, left as blackened and desolate patches on the landscape. Thousands of Boer refugees carrying what few possessions they were allowed to take with them, were dumped into concentration camps. Africans were caught up in the same sweeps and sent into their own concentration camps”.
- 1/01 **Emily Hobhouse**, a 41 year old Quaker woman representing the South African Women and Children Distress Fund, arrives in the **Orange River Colony** with blankets and clothing. Her first visit is to the **British Concentration Camp** in Bloemfontein where she finds 1,800 people living in a desolate treeless landscape with no fixed amenities. She is stuck by the death rate and subsequently writes of this as follows: “I began to compare a parish I had known at home of 2,000 people where a funeral was an event – and usually of an old person. Here some twenty to twenty-five were carried away daily. ... The full realization of the position dawned upon me – it was a death-rate such as had never been known except in times of the Great Plagues. ... The whole talk was of death – who died yesterday, who lay dying today, who would be dead tomorrow” (Meredith, 2007:455). In her subsequent book *The Brunt of War and Where it Fell* **Emily Hobhouse** details her findings at the **Bloemfontein Concentration Camp**: “The shelter was totally insufficient. When the 8, 10 or 12 persons who occupied a bell-tent were all packed into it, either to escape from the fierceness of the sun or dust or rainstorms, there was no room to move, and the atmosphere was indescribable, even with duly lifted flaps. There is no soap provided. The water supplied would not go round. No kartels [bedsteads] or mattresses were to be had. Those, and they were the majority, who could not buy these things must go without. Fuel was scanty. ... The [food] ration was sufficiently small, but when ... the actual amount did not come up to the scale, it became a starvation rate” (Meredith, 2007:455-6).

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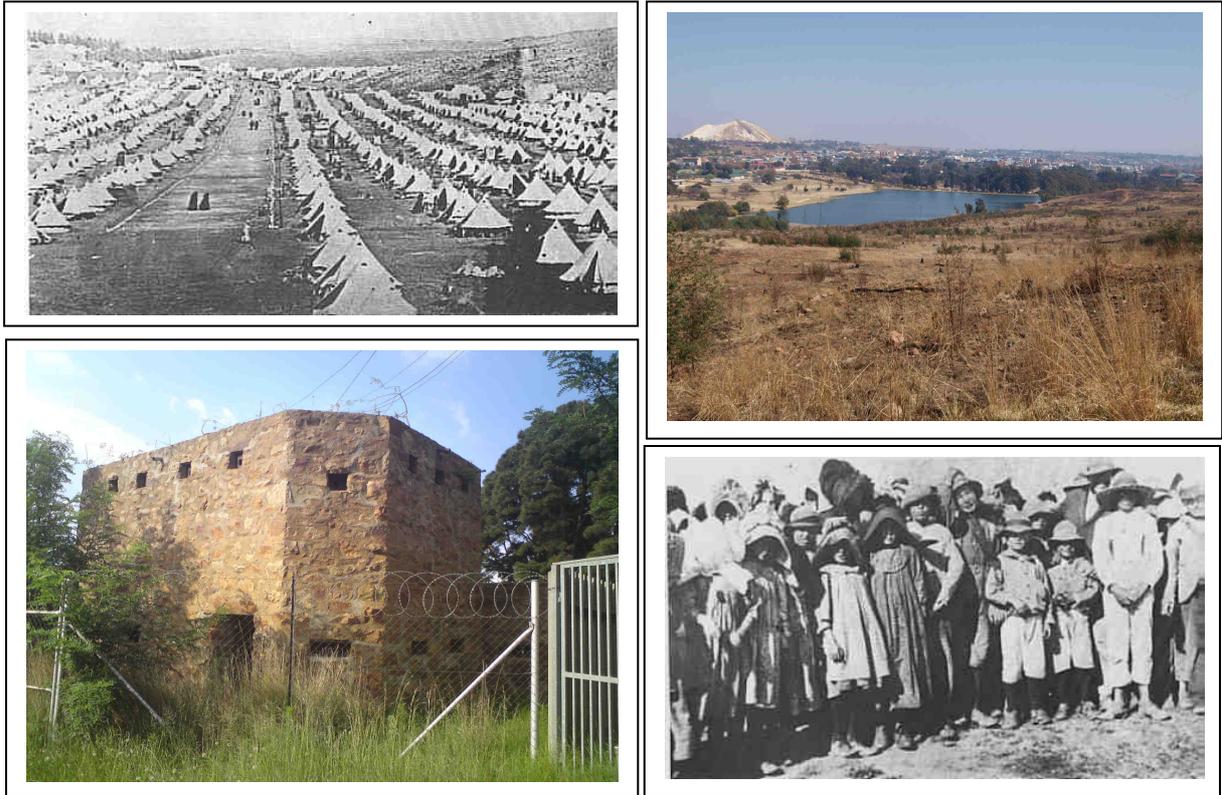
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- 21/1/01 King Edward VII becomes the Colonel-in-Chief of the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**. He holds this position until 6 May 1910.
- 22/1/01 Princess Radziwill has lunch with Cecil Rhodes at Groote Schuur. She notes later that a violent quarrel had ensued. Central to that quarrel are certain papers in her possession, probably linking Rhodes to the **Jameson Raid**. Radziwill described the incident as follows: "I had some [papers] which were very compromising for certain reasons and I possessed above all several which, after having been stolen from their legitimate owners, have fallen into my hands. ... I had on this subject a tragical [sic] scene with Rhodes. He insisted that I should surrender to him such letters and papers as I possessed. I refused vehemently" (Meredith, 2007:471).
- 2/01 **Kitchener** remarks that, "It is a most difficult problem. ... An enemy escapes, a country so vast that there is always room to escape, supplies such as they want abundant almost everywhere" (Meredith, 2007:453).
- 6/2/01 In a letter from **Lord Milner** in his capacity as High Commissioner to **Winston Churchill**, the issue of amnesty to the Cape Rebels is discussed. **Churchill** wants amnesty for the Cape Boers, but **Milner** does not, so he pleads his case (see Welsh 2000, 338).
- 28/2/01 A meeting takes place between **General Louis Botha** and **Lord Kitchener**, in which possible peace is discussed. This meeting is arranged by Mrs. Botha.
- 3/01 **Lord Kitchener** is confronted by a frustrating stale-mate in the **Second Anglo-Boer War**. Unable to win any decisive battlefield victories, because of the Boer preference for guerrilla warfare, and being confronted by an escalating cost of around 2.5 million Pounds a month, he decides to implement a **Scorched Earth Policy** in which Boer farms are razed to the ground, their fields burnt and animals destroyed, with their women and children being herded into **Concentration Camps** (map courtesy of the Anglo-Boer War Museum). This leads to the total destruction of 30,000 Boer homesteads and farms, with the partial destruction of 40 towns. Thousands of women and children are moved from their homes by force. These victims are fed on a paltry ration leading to disease, particularly among the malnourished children. A two-tier rationing system is used, with women whose men folk are riding on Boer Commando, being given a reduced ration with no meat. In an assessment of the **Scorched Earth Policy**, Welsh (2000:343) says that "the whole fabric of the former rural society had been swept away. Outside the largest towns there was hardly a building intact, except where, in a refinement of offensiveness, the animals had been driven into the houses before being slaughtered. Perhaps a tenth of the pre-war stock remained, and away from the strip of cultivated land that followed the railway, on which the Black refugee camps [sic – Welsh's euphemism for **Concentration Camps**] had been placed, no crops had been sown for two years".



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Images of the Krugersdorp Concentration Camp. Top left is an image of the original camp (courtesy of the Australian Archives). Note the shoulder of high ground at the top right corner and the fact that the camp is located in a low valley. The top right photo is of the same location today (image courtesy of Andrew Rose), where the Centenary Dam has been built. Note the shoulder of high ground immediately to the right of the dam wall, which is the same shoulder visible in the original photo of the camp. The British blockhouse (bottom left image) is located on the ridge of high ground immediately above that shoulder, dominating the access to the original camp. The block house is poorly maintained and is across the entrance to Monument Primary School in Krugersdorp. The image bottom right is of children in the Krugersdorp Concentration Camp (courtesy of the Australian Archive). It must be noted that the camp was located in a wholly inappropriate site, being a natural watercourse and wetland, infested with insects and damp, but this was typical of the British choice of sites. Ironically, today the site is the “home” to a community of near- destitute people, living in utter misery on the fringes of society. The site of the Krugersdorp Concentration Camp is thus a place of endemic misery it seems. The Hall Handbook to the Anglo-Boer War lists 664 deaths in the Krugersdorp Concentration Camp, all of children below the age of 15.

4/01 **Emily Hobhouse**, having last visited the **British Concentration Camp** in Bloemfontein in January 1901, visits for a second time in April. She notes that the population has now doubled as a result of a stepping up of the **Scorched Earth Policy**. She later writes of this as follows: “More and more are coming in. A new sweeping movement has begun resulting in hundreds and thousands of these unfortunate people either crowding into already overcrowded camps or else being dumped down to form a new one, where nothing is at hand to shelter them. Colonel says, what can he do? The General wires: ‘Expect 500 or 1,000 at such a place’. And he has nothing to send there to provide for them. ... No wonder sickness abounds. Since I left here six weeks ago there have been 62 deaths in camp, and the doctor himself is down with enteric [typhoid]. Two of the Boer girls we trained as nurses and who were doing good work are dead, too ...” (Meredith, 2007:456). **Hobhouse** decides to set sail for England to inform the British government of the brutality of **Kitchener’s Scorched Earth Policy** and

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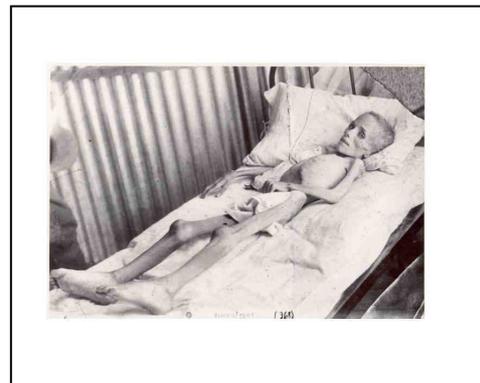
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the death and suffering in the **Concentration Camps**. Her findings are immediately picked up by opposition politicians and the House Liberal Leader **Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman** refers to “methods of barbarism” (Meredith, 2007:456). (See Spies, 1977).

- 6/01 Armed with reports from the **British Concentration Camps** provided by **Emily Hobhouse**, **David Lloyd George** accuses the government of following a policy of extermination (Meredith, 2007:457). This brings the whole issue into a public debate in England.
- 6/01 **Emily Hobhouse**, of the South African Women and Children’s Distress Fund, visits various **British Concentration Camps** and is shocked at what she finds. She drafts a report that is sent to the Committee of the South African Women and Children’s Distress Fund. This report creates an immediate public outcry and prompts the following poem to be composed.

The terror reigns! Our lips are dumb:
The terror reigns, Our hands are tied:
Yet hither did a woman come
Across two oceans wide....
Those Camps of death where Horror lowers,
All summoned her away....
O Englishwoman, tall and fair,
O Englishwoman, calm and brave,
Within the breach thou standest there
Those innocents to save!
Thou standest there with outstretched arms,
Like some Madonna, strong to bless,
To sooth their childish wild alarms,
And comfort their distress.
They seem’st [sic] to say, in accents low,
“If on these babes ye mean to tread,
Then ye must o’er my body go,
And trample on my head....
If at these babes ye dare to strike,
Ye strike at England’s heart as well;
Then hang and starve us all alike,
Complete your deeds of Hell! ... (Van Reenen, 2000.
Emily Hobhouse: Boer War letters. Cape Town:
Human & Rousseau. Pp 158.159).

The reference to the “childish wild alarms” is about the story of **Lizzie van Zyl**, who **Emily Hobhouse** saw just before her death at the **Bloemfontein Concentration Camp**. Lizzie was crying for her mother and **Emily Hobhouse** tried to soothe her fears, to be chased away by a camp official accusing her of upsetting the child. Lizzie died moments later. The attached image of **Lizzie van Zyl** tells the story better



than words. It was such images that **Emily Hobhouse** took back to England, mobilizing public opinion against **Lord Kitchener’s Scorched Earth Policy**, but also resulting in her being vilified to this day back in England (see Hasian, 2003 for details). It was these images and memories that led to Afrikaner bitterness for generations to come, driving the desire for independence from Britain (see 1961) and ultimately the policy of Apartheid. **Emily Hobhouse** goes to be honoured by future generations of Afrikaners, with a submarine being named after her (see 2/1971 and 1972) (Photo of **Lizzie van Zyl** shortly before her death courtesy of the Anglo Boer War Museum).

- 6/01 Boer leaders meet in the Eastern **Transvaal** agree on a joint statement rejecting British terms (Meredith, 2007:545).

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- 6/01 Princess Radziwill purchases a signed photo of Cecil Rhodes. She forges the signature and uses this to start issuing a number of promissory notes in her favour, calculating that Rhodes would not dare to intervene knowing that she had in her possession, papers linking him to nefarious deeds, possibly the **Jameson Raid** (Meredith, 2007:471). She issues many promissory notes, some up to the value of GBP 6,000, in her favour. Rhodes sets a trap for her, agreeing with a friend in secret, to advance to Princess Radziwill GBP 2,000 on the strength of such a false promissory note (see 9/1901).
- 8/01 **Kitchener's** sweeps continue unabated despite growing resistance in England arising from **Emily Hobhouse's** report (see 6/1901). In August the **British Concentration Camps** population reaches 105,000 Whites and 32,000 Blacks. Epidemics of typhoid and measles rage with death tolls mounting. The August death toll is 2,666 (Meredith, 2007:457).
- 8/01 As a result of the report by **Emily Hobhouse**, the **Fawcett Commission of Enquiry** visits a number of **British Concentration Camps** between August and December 1901. Their findings confirm what **Emily Hobhouse** had reported and send a wave of outrage through British Society. (Photograph of **Abraham Carel Wessels** taken at the **British Concentration Camp** in Bloemfontein and reproduced courtesy of the Anglo-Boer War Museum).
- 
- 9/01 The death tolls in the **British Concentration Camps** from disease is reported for September as being 2,752 (Meredith, 2007:457).
- 9/01 After agreeing in secret with his friend Tom Louw (see 6/01), Cecil Rhodes traps Princess Radziwill. When her forged promissory note falls due to Louw, she is unable to pay, but in the interim Rhodes signs an affidavit stating that these are forgeries. Louw is angered because he loses out, so he sues both Radziwill and Rhodes (Meredith, 2007:472). It is not known if this is part of the secret plan, or whether Rhodes has also set up Louw to destroy Radziwill.
- 9/01 In one of the last acts of defiance by the **Bittereinders**, **General Jan Smuts** and a Commando of 250 hand-picked **Transvaal** Boers cross into the Cape Colony. They move freely for six weeks, mobilizing Boer sentiment in their favour. British officials acknowledge that around 50% of the Cape population are now openly hostile towards the British, with a "state of half suppressed secret rebellion" in existence. Times are hard as **Denys Reitz** later writes: "Dry fuel was almost unprocurable, and after a weary day we had to spend the hours of darkness cowering together to snatch a little sleep on some muddy mountain-side, or in an equally sodden valley. ... The night of the great rain was the worst. Our guide lost his way; we went floundering ankle-deep in mud and water, our poor weakened horses stumbling and slipping at every turn; the rain beat down on us, and the cold was awful. Towards midnight it began to sleet. The grain-bag which I wore froze solid on my body, like a coat of mail, and I believe that if we had not kept moving every one of us would have died. We had known two years of war, but we came nearer to despair that night than I care to remember" (Meredith, 2007:458).
- 10/01 The **Smuts Commando**, still un-captured in the Cape Colony, now breaks further west into the open plains of the Karoo. They collect new recruits as they move to Namaqualand. The Commando roams freely. They later speak of the thrill of capturing British books, because the leadership was somewhat erudite and were now starved of good literature to read. They refer to the thrill of capturing Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and *Überweg's History of Philosophy* (Meredith, 2007:458). The fortunes of the other Boer **Bittereinder** leaders were not so rosy however. Both **Botha** and **de la Rey** had been confined to areas that the **British Scorched Earth Policy** had reduced to wasteland. In despatches to London, **Milner** had described the Free State as being virtually a desert, with cattle and sheep having been slaughtered or driven off. **Milner** noted that the Free State Boers had lost around 50% of their total herd while the **Transvaal** Boers had lost some 75%. **Milner** describes 30,000 farmsteads that had been destroyed by this time (Meredith, 2007:458).
- 10/01 Rhodes allows Tom Louw's legal action to proceed as this gives him the chance to take on Radziwill in court. Rhodes opens a line of secret communications with Radziwill trying to recover his stolen papers, but he fails (Meredith, 2007:472).

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- 10/01 The mortality rate of **British Concentration Camp** inmates is reported to be 344 per thousand. Welsh (2000:343) cites October 1901 as being the peak of deaths in the camps with a rate of 34%. (See 3/02).
- 10/01 The death tolls in the **British Concentration Camps** from disease is reported for October as being 3,205 (Meredith, 2007:457).
- 10/01 **Emily Hobhouse** tries to return to the war zone, but **Kitchener** orders her deportation back to England. **Kitchener** refers to **Hobhouse** as “that bloody woman” in discussions with his aides (Meredith, 2007:536).
- 12/01 The **Fawcett Commission of Enquiry** tables an official report that in essence confirms what **Emily Hobhouse** had earlier noted. This forces the British government to take steps to intervene in the **British Concentration Camps**. Meredith (2007:457) cites the death toll in the camps as 26,000, mostly women and children under the age of sixteen, amounting to about one tenth of the total Boer population in the **Orange River Colony** and **Transvaal** at the time. In the Black camps, which eventually rise to a total population of 116,000, some 14,000 die. (See Fawcett, 1901).
- 18/12/01 During the **Battle of Tygerkloofspruit**, Surgeon **Captain Thomas Joseph Crean** of the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** is wounded in action. While wounded he continues to attend the other wounded men under his care. **Captain Crean** is awarded the **Victoria Cross** for this action. He studied medicine and qualified as a surgeon in Dublin, Ireland where he excelled in the sport of rugby. He toured South Africa as a rugby player with a team mate Robert Johnston (awarded the **Victoria Cross** for an action during the **Battle of Elandslaagte** on 21 October, 1899) and later joined the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** as a Private. He was soon promoted and served under his friend, **Captain Robert Johnston**, and was wounded at the **Battle of Wagon Hill**. He took part in the **Relief of Mafikeng** and was given command of a fighting squadron on this occasion. (See Jackson, 1999).
- 25/12/01 The British public are becoming disenchanted by the war, with a growing segment of the population starting to feel that the fight was unfair (Reitz, 1929:229). This is reflected in a poem that is published in a British newspaper on Christmas Day.

Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Man (Anonymous)

The story is too old: no more it thrills.
Pity is dead; peace is a paltry art.
How can a glory on Judean hills
Make glad my heart?

The mighty splendours of our state shall show
A worthier creed than Decalogue or love,
Let death and vengeance, launched on every foe,
Our greatness prove.

Why mock us with the thoughts of Bethlehem
And glory humbled, and exalting grace?
Celestial music fits not with our theme,
Our pride of race.

Dear God, forgive! Let other hearts be stone;
Christ's natal message shakes me like a reed.
Nor pride nor power nor country can condone,
The wild beast's creed!

1902

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- 1902 All of South Africa south of the Zambezi is now under British rule, so Lord Carnarvon's vision of a South African Federation is a possible reality (Welsh, 2000:355).
- 1902 With the ending of Dutch Law in South Africa, farms were fragmented because of inheritance laws. This, combined with the utter devastation of the **Scorched Earth Policy**, results in a major segment of the Afrikaner population becoming what is known as **Bywoners** (squatters), doomed to utter poverty. These **Bywoners** have little sympathy with **Jan Smuts** or **Louis Botha** after the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, becoming the root cause of the **Poor White** problem and a key driver in **Afrikaner Nationalism**. **Note:** This fact becomes a silent but powerful driver of Apartheid in the next decades, with its roots in the **Scorched Earth Policy** that left the Afrikaners destitute; in much the same way as the **Great Cattle Killing Delusion** had done to the proud amaXhosa in 1857.
- 1902 During the Coronation of King Edward VII, a contingent of Officers from the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** is sent from South Africa.
- 1902 At the end of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, 30,000 citizens of the **Transvaal Republic** and **Orange Free State** are dead, 150,000 are either **Prisoners of War** or in the **British Concentration Camps**. A total of 30,000 farmsteads had been destroyed along with 22 villages in terms of **Kitchener's Scorched Earth Policy**. A total of 27,927 white people had died in 44 **British Concentration Camps** housing 111,619 people, of which 22,000 were under the age of 16. A total of 14,154 black people had died in 29 **British Concentration Camps** housing 107,344 people. **Note:** These staggering losses devastate South Africa for decades to come.
- 1/02 Gordon le Seur meets with Cecil Rhodes in London, noting that Rhodes looks very ill indeed (Meredith, 2007:470).
- 2/02 As a result of the **Fawcett Commission** report, death rates in the **British Concentration Camps** are reduced from 6.9% in late 1901 to 2% by February 1902. Of the 26,370 documented deaths, 81% of these are for children with the rest being for women. **Note:** In contemporary international law these deaths would be condemned, because they are civilians not being adequately looked after.
- 2/02 **Kitchener** now has an army of 250,000 men at his disposal. He has built a total of 8,000 blockhouses and spanned 3,700 miles of barbed wire cordon fencing to limit the movement of the **Bittereinder Commandos**. He now sets about a sweep operation using 9,000 soldiers deployed in one continuous cordon fifty-miles long, each soldier no further than twelve yards apart with armoured cars patrolling the main railway routes. In support of this single operation are another 8,000 men manning the various stationary blockhouse fortifications. This operation bags 300 Burghers, but **General de Wet** evades capture (Meredith, 2007:460).
- 2/02 A Labour politician **Ramsay MacDonald**, describes the prevailing **Scorched Earth Policy** as follows: "It was as though I had slept among ancient ruins of the desert. Every house, without a single exception was burnt; the church in the square was burnt. ... Although taken and retaken many times, the place stood practically untouched until February 1902, when a British column entered it unmolested, found it absolutely deserted and proceeded to burn it. The houses are separated from each other by gardens that the greatest care must be taken to set every one alight. From enquiries I made from our officers and from our host, who was the chief intelligence officer for the district, there was no earthly reason why **Lindley** should have been torched. ... The whole journey was through a land of sorrow, of mourning and hate" (Meredith, 2007:459). **Note:** In contemporary international law this would be regarded as a war crime.
- 4/2/02 Cecil Rhodes arrives in Cape Town on a ship accompanied by **Starr Jameson** in preparation for his impending court case. His health is poor and the trip has caused him new illness and distress (Meredith, 2007:472).
- 6/2/02 Cecil Rhodes and Princess Radziwill are both summonsed to appear in the Cape Town Supreme Court in the action led by Tom Louw (see 10/1901). Radziwill fails to appear citing ill health but Rhodes gives evidence. Judgement is given in favour of Rhodes who claims the promissory notes to

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be forgeries, but the judge says he cannot find Radziwill guilty of fraud as a formal charge against her has not been laid (Meredith, 2007:473).

- 28/2/02 Princess Radziwill is formally charged with forgery after she tries to sue Rhodes for the GBP 2,000 that she claims Rhodes had in fact endorsed in his secret transaction with Tom Louw (see 9/1901). She is subsequently convicted on 24 counts of fraud and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment (Meredith, 2007:473).
- 3/02 Welsh (2000:343) notes that deaths in the **British Concentration Camps** have dropped to 4%, compared to their high of 34% in 10/1901.
- 3/02 **General de la Rey** and his Commando captures a British General, **Lord Methuen** and a contingent of 600 troops. They have no means of holding them however, so they are released as an act of defiance (Meredith, 2007:459). **Note:** The contemporary song called **de la Rey** is an attempt to recapture the pride that this man once invoked in the Afrikaner nation by a cultural group increasingly leaderless and stigmatized by the burden of their history.
- 3/02 **Kitchener** launches another massive sweep operation, this time succeeding in capturing 800 burghers, but **de Wet** evades capture. **Kitchener** now orders his field commanders to leave the women after farm burning, rather than bring them in to the **Concentration Camps**, because this new tactic would mean that the burden for caring for the refugees would befall the **Bittereinders**. And so a further 13,000 women and children are left to the mercy of nature as pawns in **Kitchener** and **Milner**'s vicious game (Meredith, 2007:460-1). **Note:** In contemporary international law this would be regarded as a war crime.
- 26/3/02 Lewis Mitchell, friend and banker to Cecil Rhodes, visits him at Groote Schuur. Mitchell hears Rhodes say, "so little done, so much to do". Rhodes then slowly starts to sing to himself. Asking his favourite aide Jack Grimmer to, "turn me over Jack" Rhodes falls silent. **Starr Jameson** announces his death to an assembled audience, citing Mitchell's claim as Rhodes' last words to have been, "so little done, so much to do", thereby entering this into the myth about Rhodes (Meredith, 2007:474). Rhodes lies in state at the Cape Town Parliament, and is later sent by train to the Matopo Hills in Matabeleland where he is finally buried. As the train to Rhodesia skirts the military action between Kimberley and Mafikeng, it avoids the attempts by the British to capture **Koos de la Rey** (see 3/1902). At the funeral in the Matopo Hills, it is alleged that a group of Ndebele warriors accord Rhodes a royal salute (Meredith, 2007:475). The Bishop of Mashonaland reads a poem about Rhodes by Rudyard Kipling written for the occasion:

The great and brooding spirit still
Shall quicken and control;
Living he was the land, and dead
His soul shall be her soul

- 4/02 A delegation of two British officers approach **General Jan Smuts** at his base in Concordia, not far from O'Okiep, under the white flag of truce. They bring a message from **Lord Kitchener**, summoning **General Smuts**, a Secretary and an Orderly to the **Vereeniging Peace Conference**. Reitz (1929:243) writes of these times as follows: "Unfortunately, while matters stood thus well with us [in the Cape Colony], the situation in the two Republic's up north was far otherwise. Lord Kitchener's relentless policy of attrition was slowly breaking the hearts of the commando's. We had been out of touch with them for so long that we did not realize the desperate straits to which they had come, and our men judged the position from our own more favourable circumstances. Personally, I was not quite so sanguine, for, from such English newspapers as had come my way, I had learned something of the true state of affairs, but I hoped that all would yet be well and I kept my thoughts to myself". Smuts selects as his two travelling companions, Krige (his brother-in-law) and Denys Reitz. Before he departs he makes a speech to his men described as follows: "The day after that the commando came in from the outlying posts to say goodbye to their leader. The men paraded before the Court House, each man sitting his horse, rifle at thigh, while **General Smuts** addressed them. He briefly told them of the object of his going, and asked them to be prepared for disappointment if need be, but there were only cheers and shouts of courage, as they pressed from all sides to with him

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farewell. I steered through the throng to shake hands with such as I could reach, waving to others, and in this way I saw the last of many good friends and companions” (Reitz, 1929:244).

- 4/02 Some 4,000 Boers are by now actively collaborating with the British, including the brother of **General Piet de Wet, Christiaan de Wet**, who had joined the **Orange River Colony Volunteers** (Meredith, 2007:460). These people are called **Joiners** and are vilified by the Boer *volk*. **Kitchener** writes of this sentiment: “There are already two parties among them ready to fly at each other’s throats, and if the Boers could be induced to hate each other more than they hate the British, the British objective would have been obtained” (Meredith, 2007:460). **Note:** This sows the bitter seeds of division and mistrust that still exist in the remnants of the Afrikaner nation today, preventing any form of unified political action to articulate their common interests, by having a plethora of impotent political parties built on personality cults and different interpretations of history.
- 4/02 Denys Reitz (1929:248) describes how **General Smuts** and his small party meet up with **General Botha** the Boer Commandant General in the **Eastern Transvaal**: “Here about three hundred men were assembled. They were delegates from every commando in the **Eastern Transvaal**, come to elect representatives to the **Peace Congress** to be held at Vereeniging, and nothing could have proved more clearly how nearly the Boer cause was spent than these starving, ragged men, clad in skins or sacking, their bodies covered with sores, from the lack of salt and food, and their appearance was a great shock to us, who came from the better-conditioned forces in the Cape. Their spirit was undaunted, but they had reached the limit of physical endurance, and we realized that, if these haggard, emaciated men were the pick of the **Transvaal** commando’s, then the war must be irretrievably lost. Food was so scarce that **General Botha** himself had only a few strips of leathery biltong to offer us, and he said that, but for the lucky chance of having raided a small herd of cattle from the British a fortnight before, he would have been unable to hold the meeting at all.”
- 9/4/02 Boer leaders meet in Klerksdorp to discuss their future, given safe passage by the British officials. In the delegation is President **Marthinus Steyn** from the **Orange Free State**, **Schalk Burger** the acting President from the **Transvaal**, and four Boer generals – **Botha, Smuts, De Wet** and **De la Rey**. They deliberate for two days after which they decide on a peace plan to offer **Kitchener** (Meredith, 2007:462).
- 11/4/02 A delegation of Boers including **Louis Botha, Marthinus Steyn** and **Jan Smuts** meets with **Lord Kitchener** in Pretoria. Welsh (2000:339) notes that it is the “misery of the [Concentration] camps and the brutalities of a bitter war” that makes **Botha** willing to talk peace.
- 12/4/02 The Boer delegation meets **Kitchener** in **Melrose House** in Pretoria where they present their seven point plan that they believe will lead to an enduring peace. This plan includes: commercial union with the adjacent British territories; votes for **Uitlander’s**; equal language rights for all; and mutual amnesty for all fighters. **Schalk Burger** opens the proceeding explaining the plan. **Kitchener** interjects asking if he understands correctly whether the Boer demand is to retain their independence? **Steyn** replies in the affirmative explaining that the Boers must not lose their self-respect (Meredith, 2007:462-3).
- 14/4/02 **Milner** joins the negotiations at **Melrose House** in Pretoria. He is hostile towards the Boers and what he wants is nothing other than total and unconditional surrender and a free hand to dictate post-war reconstruction. The British table a counter-proposal requiring the Boer leaders to surrender their independence. Agreement is reached that a series of local armistices will be allowed to give the Boer leader’s time to consult with their principals because they have no constitutional mandate to surrender their independence. This infuriates **Milner** (Meredith, 2007:463).
- 17/4/02 **Milner** writes in his diary, “I think it is a very bad arrangement. ... Very tired and hot not a little disgusted to bed” (Meredith, 2007:463).
- 28/4/02 A letter is written by **Field General S.G. Maritz** (of the **Transvaal Scouting Corps** on the Boer side) and sent to **Major Edwards** (of the British side) proposing that hostilities along one front of the **Second Anglo-Boer War** be put aside temporarily for a rugby match on 29 April 1902. This incident gives some insight to the role of sport in the subsequent **Armed Struggle**. This must be evaluated in

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light of the localized armistices that had recently been negotiated (see 14/4/1902). Note the **Transvaal Scouting Corps** is a **Joiner** unit, so this is not a fair reflection of the ending of hostilities between combatants.

- 15/5/02 Sixty delegates from the **Bittereinder Commandos** – 30 from the **Transvaal** and 30 from the **Orange Free State** – assemble at Vereeniging to discuss the future. They are deeply divided. The Transvaal delegates favour ending the war, but the **Orange Free State** delegates want to continue. **Louis Botha** reports to the Free State delegates that in the hundred miles from Ermelo to Vereeniging, there are no cattle left, there are only 36 goats and the horses are too weak to move. Furthermore the women are trekking about in a pitiful state. Increased reports of Black aggression towards these defenceless people were coming in with a recent killing in Natal near Vryheid. The issue of what it means to be a **Bittereinder** now comes up. **Botha** notes that much is being said about fighting to the bitter end, but he asks, does this not come when all have been banished or in their graves? Schalk Burger joins the debate, asking if it is correct to allow the Boer *volk* to be annihilated for the sake of honour and fame for the **Bittereinder** fighters? **Louis Botha** adds, “Fight to the bitter end it is said. But has the bitter end not come? I think each one of us must decide for himself. It must be borne in mind that everything – cattle, goods, money, man, woman and child – has been sacrificed. In my division many people go almost naked. There are men and women who wear nothing more than plain skins on the naked body. Is this not the bitter end?” (Meredith, 2007:464). The **Orange Free State** delegates remain unmoved by their **Transvaal** counterparts. **De Wet** suggests a renewed covenant with God. **Steyn** supports this notion. (See 10/4/1994 for a reference to this lesson).
- 16/5/02 At the end of the second day of deliberations in Vereeniging **Frank Reitz**, the **Transvaal** State Attorney suggests a compromise. He proposes that on condition that the two Republics can retain their independence, then they surrender control of all else including control of Swaziland and the Witwatersrand goldfields (seen to be “that cancer in our country”). Armed with this mandate, a five man commission – **Botha, De la Rey, De Wet, Smuts** and **General Barry Hertzog** – travel to Pretoria hoping to gain British approval (Meredith, 2007:465).
- 27/5/02 The treaty terms are negotiated vigorously, specifically regarding war reparations. The British offer 1 million Pounds, but **Botha** asks for 3 million. **Kitchener** infuriates **Milner** by agreeing with **Botha** on this issue. The British cabinet is sent the agreed terms of peace, which includes that the Boers will henceforth recognize King Edward VII as their lawful sovereign (Meredith, 2007:466-7).
- 28/5/02 The British position is presented to ten Boer leaders and they are given three days to answer either yes or no. They return to Vereeniging where Steyn pronounces the agreement as a betrayal. **Botha** starts to persuade him, supported by **De la Rey**. **Smuts** adds that the **Bittereinders** had fought bravely, and were prepared to sacrifice everything for independence, but he says there was no longer a reasonable chance of success. **Smuts** says, “we have moved to stand fast to the bitter end; but let us be men and acknowledge that the end has now come and it was more bitter than we thought it would be. For death itself would be sweeter than the step we must now take. ... No one shall ever convince me that this unparalleled sacrifice that the [Afrikaner] nation has laid upon the altar of freedom will be in vain.” **Steyn** of the Free State delegation remains adamant that they would not support this agreement however, but he falls ill and is unable to continue the deliberations. He resigns as President handing over to **De Wet** saying as a parting gesture, “If the Transvaaler’s should decide to make peace and if you should find it futile to resist further – then give in. We cannot continue the war with a handful of Free Staters. So we are not to blame. We have fulfilled to the letter our agreement with the sister Republic. Without the **Transvaal** it would be folly for us to continue the struggle on our own.” De Wet therefore decides to support the **Transvaal** in order to prevent a disastrous split. When **Jan Smuts** later presents the terms of this agreement to his own Commando, they say, “**Jan Smuts**, you have betrayed us” (Meredith, 2007:467-8)
- 31/5/02 The **Treaty of Vereeniging** is signed ending the **Second Anglo-Boer War** but with massive internal refugee problems. The Boers are landless, with few modern skills and are plunged into extreme poverty. The British now control the mineral wealth in the richest gold reserve that the world has yet known, having effectively stolen it by force, but the Boer people are left destitute and bitter. Meredith (2007:484) notes that at the end of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, “the bulk of the Boer population had been removed from their homes: 117,000 men, women and children were living in

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Concentration Camps; 31,000 Burghers were Prisoners-of-War, most of them held in camps overseas, as far afield as Ceylon and Bermuda". In an assessment of the outcome, Mills & Williams (2006:102) note that the Boers emerged virtually destitute after three years of bitter fighting. In many cases they had no families or homes to return to and thus became urban migrants, ending the Boer pastoral lifestyle that contained a high degree of personal freedom. This sentiment feeds into the birth of Apartheid and thus impacts the next century of politics in South Africa. The memory of the **British Concentration Camps** is burned into the Boer psyche, in much the same way as the memory of the suffering caused by the **Great Cattle Killing Delusion** in 1857 is part of amaXhosa collective memory, and the bitter defeat at the **Battle of Ulundi** in 1879 is part of the amaZulu collective conscience. (**Note:** This simple fact is generally not appreciated in contemporary South Africa – see Turton, 2008b). Mills & Williams (2006:79) note that in the final tally, the **Second Anglo-Boer War** becomes the largest British mobilization since the **Crimean War**, costing the British public 223 million Pounds and the lives of 22,000 of the total of 364,693 Imperial troops that were eventually deployed. In addition to this 82,742 colonial soldiers are killed with over 100,000 casualties overall. These losses are tallied up against the Boer's figures, which include 7,000 deaths on the field of battle out of a total force of 87,365. However, as a result of the **Scorched Earth Policy** these Boers are destitute, and as a direct result of the **British Concentration Camps**, 28,000 Boer non-combatants (women, children and the aged) lose their lives, along with 20,000 Black South Africans, accused either of collaborating with the Boers or else suspected of supporting them. The **Second Anglo-Boer War** is thus a tragedy of monumental proportions for South Africa, and for all of those people who call that country home.

31/5/02 Paul Kruger, now in exile in Europe, breaks down in tears when he hears of the conditions agreed to in **Treaty of Vereeniging**. Sometime after this **Emily Hobhouse** visits Kruger at Menton on the French Côte d'Azur. She later writes of this meeting saying that, "Our talk was not long. I saw that already his mind was elsewhere and the world had ended for him. ... He wanted so much to know if I had seen his wife and when I told him that I had not been allowed to visit Pretoria before her death, he seemed too disappointed to make further effort" (Meredith, 2007:478).

31/5/02 When Boer leaders gather in **Melrose House** to sign the final peace agreement, **Kitchener** shakes their hands declaring, "We are good friends now". For **Milner**, however the war remains unfinished business, telling a journalist (H. Spencer Wilkinson) later, "It has changed its character: it is no longer war with buckets, but war it still is. It is quite true we hold the winning cards, but it is not true we have won the game, and we cannot afford to lose a trick". In Kipling's memorable verse, the war had given Britain "no end of a lesson". A total of 450,000 Imperial troops had been deployed, and the original estimated cost of 10 million Pounds had run into an actual cost of 217 million Pounds. A total of 22,000 British military were dead, two thirds from disease. It was thus less of a victory than a relief, for as Kipling wrote (Meredith, 2007:469):

"Me an' my trusty friend 'ave 'ad,
As you might say, a war,
But seein what both parties done
Before 'e owned defeat,
I ain't proud of 'avin won
Than I am pleased with Piet".

6/02 Denys Reitz (1929:249) writes of the **Treaty of Vereeniging**: "I know little of the actual Peace Conference as I was not a delegate, but the outcome was a foregone conclusion. Every representative had the same disastrous tale to tell of starvation, lack of ammunition, horses, and clothing, and of how the great block-house system was strangling their efforts to carry on the war. Added to this was the heavy death-toll among the women and children, of whom twenty-five thousand had already died in the **Concentration Camps**, and the universal ruin that had overtaken the country. Every homestead was burned, all crops and livestock destroyed, and there was nothing left but to bow to the inevitable". As Reitz and his father depart for exile, he receives a short hand-written poem from his father, which says the following:

South Africa,
Whatever foreign shores my feet must tread,

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My hopes for thee are not yet dead.
Thy freedom's sun may for awhile be set,
But not for ever, God does not forget.
(Reitz, 1929: 251)

- 6/02 Shortly after the signing of the **Treaty of Vereeniging, Milner**, the perpetual warmonger, attempts a *coup d'état* by trying to suspend the Cape Constitution so that he can have his way with the future of the **Transvaal**. This involves a petition signed by 42 Members of Parliament, presented to Hely-Hutchinson for onward presentation to **Lord Milner** on behalf of the British Government. The logic in the petition is that the **Afrikaner Bond** could no longer be trusted as many of their members became the so-called **Cape Rebels** fighting against the British. This attempted *coup d'état* fails (Meredith, 2007:490). (See 2/1904 for the aftermath).
- 6/02 Denys Reitz (1929:250) writes about the disarming of the Boer commandos as follows: "When all was over, the men rode off on their different ways, to search for what remained of their families and ruined homes".
- 10/02 The **British Concentration Camp** at Mafikeng reports an annual death rate of 173%.
- 10/02 **Eugène Marais**, in his capacity as editor of the Dutch newspaper *Land en Volk*, writes of the bitterness of a divided and vanquished nation. When referring to the **Hensoppers** (those Boers who capitulated) and the **Joiners** (those Boers who actively worked with the British to hunt down their own people), Marais writes that "we hate these people from the depth of our hearts because they besmirched our honourable name. It is not possible to forgive and even less to forget" (Meredith, 2007:488). (See 1/1903). **Note:** This becomes the legacy of the Afrikaner nation for the next century.
- 12/02 Lord Chamberlain visits South Africa and finds that the "ravages of war" are worse than he anticipated (Welsh, 2000:347).
- 2/12/02 **Lt. Colonel Bottomley** is given command of the **2nd Imperial Light Horse Regiment**, a post he holds until 21/12/1904.

1903

- 1903 The **Treaty of Vereeniging** places **Lord Milner** as the new overlord of the **Transvaal** and **Orange River Colony**. He decides to rebuild the smashed countries, but intends to make Johannesburg his new capital. **Chamberlain** overrules him, stating that Pretoria must remain. **Milner** appoints a group of bureaucrats, all Oxford graduates, known as **Milner's Kindergarten**. Among them is **John Buchan**, later to write a book called *Prester John* based on this experience. **Buchan** is in charge of the **Concentration Camp** issue; the repatriation of the Boer POW's and later land resettlement. **Milner** develops a reconstruction plan designed to achieve two objectives: (1) allow large scale emigration of Britons in order to transform the former Boer Republics into a "thoroughly British domain where British interests, British ideas and British education" would prevail; (2) anglicize the Boer population by introducing a new education system. For the latter **Milner** appointed **Edmund Sargant** as his Director of Education (Meredith, 2007:481-3). In support of this **Milner** decides to introduce a professional bureaucracy and he plans to aggressively promote economic growth and development. The objective is that that "a thoroughly British **Transvaal** will draw South Africa after it" (Meredith, 2007:484). Among **Milner's** nominees to the **Transvaal** Legislative Council is **Sir Percy Fitzpatrick**, the first post-war President of the **Chamber of Mines**, and **Sir George Farrar**, the second post-war President of the **Chamber of Mines**, both veterans of the **Jameson Raid**, now newly knighted in recognition (Meredith, 2007:485).
- 1903 The first **Rinderpest** outbreak devastates rural communities in South Africa. Welsh (2000:353) notes that, "in a reflection of the Xhosa cattle killing (see 4/1856), this natural catastrophe undermined the whole traditional pattern of life. The old men and fathers had to rely on the young to leave home and seek wages in the goldmines, where they quickly adapted to the values of the compound and lost respect for the impotent chiefs and elders on the reserves".

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- 1903 A devastating drought takes place. This adds to the misery of the landless Boers. Many have nowhere to go so they stay in the **British Concentration Camps** instead (Meredith, 2007:487). This triggers an agricultural depression that lasts to 1909, further exacerbating the plight of the vanquished Boers.
- 1903 An official report notes that 8,117 African voters on the Cape roll affected the outcome of 46 constituencies, enough to decide the outcome of the Cape Colony election. However in Natal an official enquiry indicated the existence of only 2 registered African voters, both of whom were dead (Meredith, 2007:496).
- 1903 There is a labour crisis in the mining industry. Whereas in 1899 there were 96,000 Black workers in the mines, in 1903 there are only 63,000. **Milner** strikes a deal with the Portuguese authorities to recruit labour from Portuguese East Africa (later Mozambique) agreeing that in return half of the **Transvaal** trade would be channelled *via* the port at Lourenço Marques (Meredith, 2007:485). In response to this labour crisis, consideration is given by **Milner** to importing Chinese labour, but this is opposed by Chamberlain (Meredith, 2007:486).
- 1903 **Lord Milner** appoints the South African Native Affairs Commission under the Chairmanship of **Sir Godfrey Lagden** (Meredith, 2007:497). (See **Lagden Commission** in 1905). This starts to implement and codify **Milner's** racist policies.
- 1/03 A Royal Commission sits in Bermuda to decide the fate of the many Boers who had been imprisoned on Hawkins Island and St. Helena in Bermuda for their role in the **Second Anglo-Boer War**. These Boers are part of what is known as the **Cape Rebels** – citizens of the Cape Province but sympathetic to the Boer cause – and thus tried for treason. The surviving **Cape Rebels** (many had been shot by firing squad) are sent back to the Cape on the ship **SS Sunda** where they await a decision on their ultimate fate.
- 1/03 A leading **Joiner, Piet Joubert**, writes that “we are branded, distrusted and hated” (Meredith, 2007:488) (see 10/1902).
- 22/3/03 After being housed in the Tokai prison, the surviving **Cape Rebels** are released when a General Amnesty is granted to them.
- 5/03 **Emily Hobhouse** returns to monitor progress in rehabilitating victims of the **British Concentration Camps**.
- 9/03 **Lord Milner** pursues his main goal of flooding the **Transvaal** and **Orange Free State** with **Uitlander's** in order to create an English-speaking political majority.
- 9/03 **Chamberlain** resigns to be replaced as Colonial Secretary by **Alfred Lyttelton**. The latter gets on better with **Milner** than the former did, leaving **Milner** with a greater degree of freedom to implement his grand plans to anglicize the **Transvaal** (Meredith, 2007:486).

1904

- 1904 A census shows that the total White population of the **Transvaal** is 300,000, with Johannesburg accounting for 83,000 (from 76,500 before the **Second Anglo-Boer War**) and the Witwatersrand goldfields accounting for 117,000, but with a growth in the number of rural Afrikaners, now in the majority (Meredith, 2007:492). This suggests that **Milner's** policy of Anglicization had in effect failed to achieve its objectives.
- 1904 Gold production in the **Transvaal** reaches pre-war production levels again. Welsh (2000:343) notes that, “the new colonial Government and the Chamber of Mines worked closely, almost indistinguishably, together” to make this happen. He then goes on to quote **Edmund Bright**, an American mining engineer, that, “the mining people, who caused the conflict, would give anything to have the old times back” (Welsh, 2000:343).

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- 1904 **Lord Milner** goes on record saying that, “South Africa is essentially a White man’s country. The Asiatics are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them” (Meredith, 2007:506). **Note:** This indicates that **Milner** is profoundly racist, opposed to any cultural group that is not British, commensurate with his beliefs in **Cultural Darwinism**.
- 1904 **Milner** manages to get the British parliament to approve the **Transvaal Labour Importation Ordinance**, opening the way to recruit Chinese labourers for the gold mines (Meredith, 2007:486). The first batch of Chinese workers arrive in the **Transvaal** on three year contracts. Over the next four years the Chinese labour force grows to 60,000, or one third of the total labour, used at the time (Meredith, 2007:486).
- 1904 Maize production on the Vereeniging Estates farm belonging to Sammy Marks exceeds pre-war levels as post-conflict reconstruction takes place.
- 1904 The racial split in the Orange Free State is 37% white and 58% black, changing in 1911 to 33% white and 62% black (Welsh, 2000:366).
- 1904 The **Zululand Land Delimitation Commission** sets aside 3.8 million acres of land for Zulu people and 2.6 million acres for Whites (Meredith, 2007:498).
- 1904 In response to **Milner’s** aggressive Anglicization policies, a number of Boer groups emerge to champion the Afrikaaner language and cause. These include the Dutch Reformed Church, which launches a debate on the merits of Afrikaans as a unique language. **Eugène Marais**, **Louis Leipoldt** and **Jan Cilliers** start to publish poetry in Afrikaans to demonstrate that the language is viable. The subject matter of this poetry is mostly the suffering of the Boer *volk* during the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, now called the **Second War of Independence**. Leading Boer Generals add their voice (Meredith, 2007:488-9).
- 15/1/04 **Turton Genealogy:** Sarah Jane Turton, sister of Jabez Turton (my Paternal Great-Grandfather), born in 1839 in Leeds, Yorkshire, dies in Dundee aged 67, having lived through the **Anglo-Zulu War**, the **Battle of Talana Hill** (20/10/1899) and the **Battle of Elandsplaagte** (21/10/1899) of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.
- 25/1/04 **Turton Genealogy:** Ethel Hendrina Cloete (my Maternal Grandmother) is born in Cape Town to Joachim Hendrik (also known as John Henry) Cloete and Sarah Catharina Viljoen.
- 2/04 The Cape general election brings the Progressives into power, vanquishing the **South African Party** and their **Afrikaner Bond** allies (see **Milner’s** *coup d’état* attempt in 6/1902). Significantly, this is driven by the fact that 10,000 voters are disenfranchised as punishment for their role as so-called **Cape Rebels**. It also marks the return to grace of **Starr Jameson**, who had fallen from favour after the abortive **Jameson Raid** (see 30/12/1895), this time in his capacity as leader of the Progressive Party and thus becoming the new Cape Prime Minister.
- 5/04 Paul Kruger settles into a villa at Clarens on the shores of Lake Geneva. When **Smuts** and **Botha** urge him to return to the Cape Colony, he replies in a letter, “Born under the British flag, I do not wish to die under it. I have learned to accept the bitter thought of death as a lone exile in a foreign land, far from my kith and kin, whose faces I am not likely to see again; far from the soil of Africa upon which I am not likely to set foot again; far from the country to which I devoted my whole life in an effort to open it up for civilization and in which I saw my own nation grow” (Meredith, 2007:478).
- 6/04 Some 63,695 Chinese labourers are imported to work on the gold mines, doubling production by 1906 (Welsh, 2000:345).
- 14/7/04 Paul Kruger dies in exile after contracting pneumonia (Meredith, 2007:478).
- 28/9/04 The Kings Colour is presented to the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** by Helena Princess Christian at a formal ceremony in South Africa. This is done in recognition of the role played by the Regiment during the **Second Anglo-Boer War**.

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- 11/04 Two new political groups are launched in the **Transvaal**. The **Transvaal Progressive Association** is headed by **Percy Fitzpatrick** and **George Farrar**, favouring mining and financial interests and calling for limited self government. The **Transvaal Responsible Government Association** is led by prosperous professional men who are critical of **Milner's** autocratic style, including his decision to allow Chinese labour to be recruited for the mines (Meredith, 2007:487).
- 11/04 Paul Kruger's body is brought back from exile in Europe. In a railway journey from Cape Town, the driver is instructed to stop the train wherever a light is shown to allow people to mourn (Meredith, 2007:478).
- 16/12/04 Paul Kruger is buried in Pretoria alongside his wife Gezina. The date is significant in Afrikaner political history as **Dingane Day** – later to become **Day of the Covenant** as **Afrikaner Nationalism** grows over time (Meredith, 2007:478).

1905

- 1905 The **German-Herero War of Extermination** drives the Ovaherero eastwards into the Okavango Delta region of the Kalahari Desert. The name Kalahari is derived from the Setswana word "Kgalagadi" which means "the great thirst".
- 1905 **Lord Milner** leaves South Africa with a bitter legacy among Boers (Meredith, 2007:492).
- 1905 The **Lagden Commission** created by **Lord Milner** (see 1903) recommends that White and Black must be segregated on a permanent basis, with a separate Black system of representation subject ultimately to White control. This elevates the practice of racial segregation to the level of official political doctrine in a legally codified form (Meredith, 2007:497). **Note:** This starts to codify **Milner's** racist views based on his **Cultural Darwinist** belief system and lays the foundation for the future of Apartheid.
- 1/05 **General Louis Botha** announces the launch of a new party called **Het Volk** with a head committee consisting of former Boer Generals. They call for: relief for the destitute Boer victims of the **British Concentration Camps** and **Scorched Earth Policy**; an ending of official discrimination against the Dutch language; and termination of the Chinese labour policy (Meredith, 2007:489).
- 7/05 Taking a cue from the **Transvaal**, **Barry Hertzog** and **Abraham Fischer** launch a similar party in the **Orange River Colony** called **Orangia Unie** (Meredith, 2007:490).
- 9/05 Government administration in Natal is in dire financial straits, so it promulgates a new **Poll Tax** to be implemented in January 1906 (Meredith, 2007:499). (See 7/2/1906).

1906

- 1906 During the **Natal Rebellion**, the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment** is deployed as part of the **Transvaal Mounted Rifles** to quell the uprising.
- 1906 The British authorities produce draft legislation that will seek to have all Asian males over the age of eight to be fingerprinted and registered. This is called the **Black Ordinance** and it sparks a reaction from **Mahatma Gandhi** and the **Transvaal** Indian community (Meredith, 2007:507).
- 1906 As the result of Chinese mine workers gold production has doubled since 1904.
- 1906 In response to the intransigence of the **Lagden Commission** (see 1905) an African-owned newspaper in Natal called *Ilange Lase Natal* urged black people to rise up in a piece entitled *Vukani Bantu* ("rise up - awaken - you people"). The editor, **John Dube**, is summonsed to explain to the Governor and is forced to publish an apology (Meredith, 2007:498).

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- 1906 One prominent Afrikaner notes that in response to **Milner**'s attempt to obliterate the Dutch language, he has only succeed in "making us a nation" (Meredith, 2007:490). This can be considered the first formal recognition of a unique **Afrikaner Nationalism** sentiment that spans narrow geographic frames of identity reference.
- 1/06 With the collapse of the British Conservative Government in 12/05, a new Prime Minister is installed. His name is **Henry Campbell-Bannerman** and he is critical of **Kitchener**'s **Scorched Earth Policy**, saying, "War is not war when it is carried out by methods of barbarism" (Welsh, 2000:358).
- 1/06 A Liberal British government comes to power under **Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman**. He is inclined to grant the **Transvaal** and **Orange River Colony** self-government as soon as possible (Meredith, 2007:493). This means that five years after the two Boer Republics were conquered at massive cost to both sides, they were effectively handed back to Boer leaders again. This shows the supreme irony of the **Second Anglo-Boer War**, which was fought largely at the personal instigation of **Lord Milner** and **Kitchener**, both of whom committed atrocities that today would be considered war crimes (see 2/1902, 2/1902 and 3/1902 for examples of specific incidents).
- 1/06 **Jan Smuts** attends the **Colonial Conference**.
- 7/2/06 In defiance of the **Poll Tax** (see 9/1905), 27 Zulu people living on a farm near Byrnetown in the Midlands refuse to pay. A police detachment is sent to collect the money. A scuffle breaks out and 2 White policemen are stabbed fatally. This triggers a violent response from government, fearful of a repeat of the Matabele (Ndebele) uprisings of June 1896 (see 9/2/06).
- 9/2/06 The Natal Government declares martial law in response to the Byrnetown killings (see 7/2/06). They despatch the Natal Militia to the Midlands. This unit is under the command of **Colonel Duncan McKenzie**, who had seen action in Rhodesia suppressing the Shona and Ndebele uprisings. He believes in instilling fear into would-be rebels, so he executes two culprits by firing squad. Twelve others captured at this time are shot in March after being found guilty of non-payment of **Poll Tax** (Meredith, 2007:499).
- 4/06 The **Bambatha Rebellion** takes place when a minor chief from the Weenen district, having been appointed in 1890, and subsequently having become embroiled in various land disputes with local farmers and thus fleeing from debt, returns. On his return **Bambatha** kidnaps the Chief that had been appointed subsequent to his defection. Bambatha has under his control an impi of warriors claiming to be under the command of **Dinizulu**, son of **Cetshwayo**. This impi engages the police in combat. For almost a month this impi, using the war cry of "Usuthu" (the royal Zulu clan), engage in localized guerrilla warfare against the Natal Militia under the command of **Colonel Duncan McKenzie** (see 9/2/1906). This ends in June when a final skirmish takes place at Mome Gorge during which the **Bambatha Rebellion** is forcefully put down (Meredith, 2007:500).
- 6/06 An inter-colonial customs agreement is signed in order to stimulate trading between the various political entities in South Africa.
- 18/6/06 After the skirmish at Mome Gorge that ends the **Bambatha Rebellion**, a separate engagement happens at Mapamulo, a heavily populated district of Natal bordering on Zululand. This starts an armed uprising that eventually sees the death of 3,000 Zulu warriors with the imprisonment of 7,000 more (Meredith, 2007:500).
- 15/8/06 **Winston Churchill**, now Under Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, writes a letter to King Edward VII, stating that he sees South Africa becoming a "piebald country" in which both descendents of the Dutch and British live side by side (Welsh, 2000:361).
- 9/06 At a mass meeting of Indians in the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg, **Mahatma Gandhi** calls on every British Indian to be prepared to go to prison while resisting the **Black Ordinance**. This is the birth of his passive resistance philosophy, also known as *Satyagraha* (Meredith, 2007:507).

1907

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- 1907 **Emily Hobhouse** publishes a book entitled *The Brunt of War and Where it Fell* through Portrayer Publishers in London. This feeds into the British public opinion (see 1901 and 1909).
- 1907 In seething unrest in Natal, several loyalist chiefs are murdered. It is also discovered that **Dinizulu** had given shelter to the wife and children of **Chief Bambatha** (see 4/06). **Dinizulu** is arrested and charged with high treason and a host of lesser charges (Meredith, 2007:501).
- 1907 As a result of the important of Chinese labour, gold production grows from GBP 12.6 million in 1903 to GBP 27.4 million in 1907 (Meredith, 2007:486).
- 2/07 **Het Volk** win a clear majority over **Fitzpatrick's** Progressives and forms a new Government in the **Transvaal** with **Louis Botha** as Prime Minister (Meredith, 2007:493).
- 3/07 In a general election in the **Transvaal**, **Het Volk** become the majority party in government by winning 37 seats, with a divided opposition consisting of 21 Progressives, 6 Responsibles, 3 Labour and 2 Independent seats.
- 4/07 **Louis Botha**, in his capacity as the Prime Minister of the new Colony of the **Transvaal**, attends the **London Colonial Conference**. He is received well.
- 6/07 **Turton Genealogy**: Clarence Stanley Turton (I) is living at Mtunzini and sends a letter to the Magistrate at Hlabisa where he later takes up employment as Messenger of the Court.
- 7/07 A memorandum edited by **Lord Selborne** sets out a proposal for a future constitution applicable to the Cape, Natal, **Transvaal**, the **Orange Free State** and potentially also for Rhodesia and the various British Protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland).
- 1/7/07 **Lt. Colonel John E. Orr** is appointed as the Commanding Officer of **2nd Imperial Light Horse Regiment**. He holds this command until 30 June 1908.
- 11/07 As a result of **Gandhi's** passive resistance campaign, only 545 applicants had come forward in terms of the **Black Ordinance** out of a total potential of 7,000 (Meredith, 2007:508).
- 11/07 **Orangia Unie** win all but 8 seats in the Legislature of the **Orange River Colony** with **Abraham Fischer** becoming the new Prime Minister (Meredith, 2007:493). This victory, coming as it does after the **Transvaal** election with a similar result (see 2/1907), is seen by **Milner** as a great betrayal.
- 28/12/07 As a result of the passive resistance campaign the **Black Ordinance** is being undermined, so **Jan Smuts** decides to prosecute dissident leaders rather than followers. The first arrests net **Mahatma Gandhi** and 20 others (Meredith, 2007:508). This causes many objectors to waver so **Gandhi** has to make a new plan.

1908

- 1908 The **Bunga** is established in the Transkei (see 1920). It consists of Chiefs, government nominees and some elected members working under the chairmanship of the Chief Magistrate (Welsh, 2000:394).
- 28/1/08 As a result of the wavering passive resistance campaign against the **Black Ordinance**, **Mahatma Gandhi** writes from prison to **Jan Smuts** proposing the repeal of the legislation, followed by a voluntary registration of all Asian males as a token of goodwill (Meredith, 2007:509).
- 2/08 A general election in the Cape Colony brings John Xavier Merriman in as Prime Minister. He uses the constitutional memorandum edited by Lord Selborne (see 7/1907) as a platform for his political activities. The post **Second Anglo-Boer War** era has brought with it a depression in the South African colonies, so effort is made to change this situation (Welsh, 2000:364).

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- 2/08 After four years in office **Jameson's Progressive Party** (See **Jameson Raid**) is ousted in the Cape general election by the South African Party backed by the **Afrikaner Bond** (Meredith, 2007:511). Merriman finds common cause with **Jan Smuts** in the **Transvaal** and **Marthinus Steyn**, the former President of the **Orange Free State**. This common ground becomes the foundation for thinking about the merits of Union. Natal, normally preferring to stay out of such union talks, has been shaken by the 1906 **Zulu Rebellion**, so they are also starting to think of the potential benefits of a common security regime.
- 5/08 Representatives of **Transvaal**, Natal, Cape and Free State meet in Pretoria to resolve disputes over tariffs and railway routes. This gives impetus to the thinking already underway by the respective Prime Ministers of the four colonies, of the benefit of Union (Meredith, 2007:512). They propose a **National Convention** to explore this option.
- 6/08 As the proposed **National Convention** approaches two delegations depart for London to articulate their views on what the outcome should be. The one is led by Sir Henry de Villiers, representing white public opinion. The other is led by William Schreiner, former Prime Minister of the Cape and advocate of **Dinizulu**, representing black aspirations.
- 1/7/08 The **Transvaal Indigency Committee** reports that the "restriction of the native to the sphere of unskilled work cannot be permanent" (Welsh, 2000:344).
- 8/08 At a mass meeting in a Johannesburg mosque, demonstrator's burn 2,000 registration certificates and trade licences in opposition to the **Black Ordinance**. Mass arrests occur, including **Gandhi** (Meredith, 2007:509).
- 10/08 A **National Convention** is held with delegates having been nominated by the various colonial parliaments and mandated to consider what form a future **Union of South Africa** might take. Of these delegates, 14 are Afrikaners (including **General de la Rey**) and 16 are English-speakers. This **National Convention** ends in 2/1909.
- 10/08 The first meeting of the **National Convention** is convened in Durban. This consists of 30 delegates nominated from each colonial parliament. Twelve came from the Cape Colony, 8 from the **Transvaal**, 5 from the **Orange River Colony** and 5 from Natal. Fourteen are Afrikaners and 16 are of British origin. Included in their ranks are prominent leaders – 4 Prime Ministers (**John Merriman** from the Cape, **Louis Botha** from the **Transvaal**, **Abraham Fischer** from the **Orange River Colony** and **Frederick Moor** from Natal); **Marthinus Steyn**, **General de Wet** and **General Hertzog** (**Orange River Colony**); **General de la Rey**, **Jan Smuts** and **Sir Percy Fitzpatrick** (**Transvaal**); and **Starr Jameson** (Cape). The Chairman is **Sir Henry de Villiers**, the Cape Chief Justice. Three delegates from Rhodesia are also included (Meredith, 2007:513).
- 11/08 The second meeting of the **National Convention** convenes in Cape Town (Meredith, 2007:512).
- 11/08 **Dinizulu** goes to trial for treason and other charges (see 1907) at Greytown. His defence attorney is William Schreiner, the former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. He is acquitted of all charges in 1909 except for the charge of harbouring rebels before and after the **Bambatha Rebellion** (see 4/1906) for which he is sentenced to four years imprisonment (Meredith, 2007:502).

1909

- 1909 Public opinion in England is that the **Second Anglo-Boer War** was not a glorious episode. There is also a sense of public shame arising from **Kitchener's Scorched Earth Policy** and the **British Concentration Camps**. Collectively these feed into a general sentiment that some gesture of magnanimity should be made towards the Afrikaner people (Welsh, 2000:372). An important element driving this public opinion is the book by **Emily Hobhouse** that was published in 1907 entitled *The Brunt of War and Where it Fell* and her earlier *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies* published in 1901. **Note: Hobhouse** shows how one person with integrity, using factual data to support a given cause, can change the outcome for the better, by placing those data in the public domain where they can inform constructive public debate. The author

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learns from this lesson and tries to apply it consistently in his professional life later on (see specifically Turton, 2008b).

- 1909 An agricultural depression, triggered by a massive drought in 1903, comes to an end (Meredith, 2007:487). It leaves many destitute Boers who have not managed to recover from the **Scorched Earth Policy**.
- 2/09 The **National Convention** ends with an agreement that the **Union of South Africa** will have its legislative arm (Parliament) in Cape Town, its executive arm (Government) in Pretoria, and its judicial arm (Court of Appeal) in Bloemfontein. The allocation of seats in Parliament is skewed in favour of Natal and the **Orange Free State** in order to pacify dissenting Afrikaner voices from those areas. This allocation becomes significant in the 1948 General Election that sees the defeat of the **South African Party** (SAP) by the **Nationalist Party** (NP). Equal status is given to both English and Dutch as official languages.
- 9/2/09 The **National Convention** has achieved sufficient consensus to publish a draft constitution. This is based on the four colonies becoming provinces in the **Union of South Africa**, with equal recognition being given to Afrikaans and English as official languages. Provision is made for the eventual incorporation of Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland as well (Meredith, 2007:514).
- 2/09 As a result of police activity, most of the Asian males register for the **Black Ordinance**. **Gandhi** is faced with a serious challenge to his passive resistance movement, but is again in prison, so he can do little but plan his next moves (Meredith, 2007:509).
- 4/09 A convention of African groups from all four colonies meets in Bloemfontein to discuss the work underway at the **National Convention**. They agree that Union is beneficial, but plead for Britain to protect their interests, in particular the vote as it has been practiced in the Cape for so long. Their cause is taken up by William Schreiner, former Cape Prime Minister and recently re-elected as an independent member to the Cape Parliament. One paper describes Schreiner as “our African Abe Lincoln” (Meredith, 2007:515-6).
- 5/09 **Gandhi** is released from prison when he learns that the **British Indian Association** is bankrupt and that many of the Asians had been financially ruined by the **Black Ordinance** (Meredith, 2007:509).
- 6/09 The parliaments of the **Transvaal** and **Orange River Colony** adopt a motion agreeing to the proposed **Union Constitution** published by the **National Convention** on 9/2/09. It is also accepted by plebiscite in Natal and in the Cape it is adopted with only 2 dissenting votes in Parliament (Meredith, 2007:515).
- 7/09 A delegation from the four Colonies departs for London to gain approval from the British Parliament for the **Union Constitution** developed by the **National Convention** (Meredith, 2007:515).
- 20/7/09 During a meeting between the South African delegation and **Lord Crewe** of the Foreign Office, **Crewe** gives assurances that he intends to honour the decision taken during the **Vereeniging Peace Conference** in 1902 that the issue of self government for Blacks would be left for later consideration. **Crewe** announces however that Britain will not include Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland in the **Union of South Africa** at this time, preferring to wait “until we see how the new machine works” (Meredith, 2007:517).
- 22/7/09 **General Louis Botha** is introduced to King Edward VII at a formal dinner in London, and two days later, a formal banquet is held for all of the 19 South African delegates and their wives at Buckingham Palace. At this dinner **Abraham Fischer’s** wife Ada is seated next to **Lord Milner** and she shows her deep disdain for the man (Meredith, 2007:516). **Note:** This disdain is merely a reflection of the revulsion that the Afrikaner nation has for this man, whom they regard as nothing more than a common war criminal.

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- 22/7/09 William Schreiner meets with **Lord Crewe** at the Foreign Office. The meeting is courteous but no changes are made to the decision already made by **Crewe** and communicated to the official South African delegation, which means that the issue of the Black franchise is removed off the official agenda at this time (Meredith, 2007:518).
- 27/7/09 **The South Africa Bill** is debated by the House of Lords with all delegates from South Africa being present. The four South African Privy Councillors – **Botha, Merriman, Moor** and **de Villiers** – all sit in the main chamber exercising their rights, with the rest of the delegation sitting in the Official Gallery. Opposite seated in the Strangers Gallery is William Schreiner, **Mahatma Gandhi** and representatives from the African and Coloured delegation (Meredith, 2007:518). **Note:** This is a historic moment, because it shows that England fails to recognize the need for a universal franchise in South Africa, deferring that decision instead to the newly formed Union Government.
- 8/09 **The South Africa Bill** is debated by the House of Commons and is accepted (Meredith, 2007:518). This means that the four separate British colonies in South Africa are free to become provinces in the **Union of South Africa**.

1910

- 1910 The Basotho National Council is created, consisting of 100 members, responsible for the Basotho people.
- 1910 A census reflects a total population in the **Union of South Africa** as being 5,878,000 made up of 3,956,000 “Africans”, 1,257,000 “whites” of which about 700,000 are Afrikaners, 517,000 “coloureds” and 148,000 Asians (Meredith, 2007:537).
- 31/5/10 The **Act of Union** is passed “uniting” the two vanquished Boer Republics (**Transvaal** and **Orange Free State** – now called **Orange River Colony**) with the British colonies of the Cape and Natal. The overall intention is that the **Bechuanaland Protectorate** should also be incorporated during this process, but there are strong protests from the Batswana Dikgosi (see 1895) so this incorporation is not finalized. **Lord Gladstone** is appointed as the Governor General and **General Louis Botha** is appointed as the Head pending the outcome of a forthcoming general election (Welsh, 2000:373).
- 31/5/10 When the **Act of Union** is implemented, South Africa produces one third of the world’s gold and 98% of its diamonds. The implementation of the Act also shows an overwhelming desire by Afrikaners to support the call for reconciliation between their own divided ranks and the British who had treated them so harshly (Meredith, 2007:520).
- 9/10 The first general election to be held in the **Union of South Africa** is contested between the supporters of **General Louis Botha**, the old provincial political parties of **Het Volk** in the **Transvaal**, the **Orangia Unie** in the **Orange Free State**, and the Cape **Afrikaner Bond** (which was in the process of uniting all liberals into the **African National Party**), the **Labour Party** and the **Unionist Party** of **Leander Starr Jamieson** (see **Jameson Raid** on 30/12/1895 for more details). **Botha** loses his seat to **Percy Fitzpatrick**, but his party wins sufficient seats (66 out of 121) to become the government of the day. The **Labour Party** gains 4 seats.
- 6/10/10 King George V becomes the Colonel-in-Chief of the **Imperial Light Horse Regiment**. He holds this command until 20 January 1936.

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