

# *Natal Afrikaners as loyalists during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902)*

In Albert Grundlingh's groundbreaking work on Afrikaners who sided with the British during the Anglo-Boer War,<sup>1</sup> these individuals are referred to as 'hendsoppers' or 'joiners'. The Natal Afrikaner loyalists were neither, for as British subjects they were expected by their government, at the very least, to remain neutral.

It would therefore be more appropriate to use a simple definition from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* to explain who and what a loyalist is, namely: 'a person who remains loyal to the legitimate sovereign ... in the face of rebellion or usurpation'.<sup>2</sup>

Within the Natal Afrikaner community resident in the Colony of Natal, and especially in Klip River County, the area occupied by the Boer commandos

and the focus region of this article, a small group managed to exhibit a willing, practical and thoroughgoing devotion to the Imperial cause.<sup>3</sup> This happened despite the fact that they were for almost six months under the rule of fellow Afrikaners who placed immense pressure on them to renege on their loyalty to the Crown.

Who were this extremely small group of Natal Afrikaner loyalists? Why did they remain loyal to the Empire and the Natal Government in the face of aggressive republicanism? Or was it a question of all the Natal Afrikaners being disloyal and some being more disloyal than others? In this article an attempt will be made to answer these and other questions related to loyalist Natal Afrikaners during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902.

**Support for, and involvement in, the British and colonial forces**

In terms of war, ultimate loyalty is the willingness to take up arms against invaders of the same ethnic or cultural group as yourself. This display of loyalty was exhibited by the Natal Afrikaners who joined the Umvoti Mounted Rifles (UMR), a volunteer regiment from the Greytown and Kranskop districts in Umvoti County. A detachment of this unit, 36 strong, consisting of 21 Afrikaners and 15 Germans, under the command of Captain E.J. Landsberg, was despatched to Ixopo on 6 October 1899<sup>4</sup> to guard the southern border of Natal against a possible African uprising in the Pondoland area.<sup>5</sup> The troop remained in this locality for the duration of the Boer commandos' presence in Natal, that is until June 1900.

Governor Walter Hely-Hutchinson explained the thinking of the Natal Government when he addressed the men prior to their departure for Ixopo:

You must not think we, the Government, distrust your loyalty by sending you to the Southern Border, as we consider it our duty to send a body of men to guard that border as well as the other borders of the Colony, and we have studied the situation and consider it right and proper that as you are of Dutch descent, you should be sent there, bearing in mind that some of you have blood relations and ties on the other side, but we feel confident and satisfied that you will do your duty equally with those who are now at the front.<sup>6</sup>

The vast majority of Afrikaners from Umvoti County were less enthusiastic about this deployment as can be gauged by their lack of contribution

towards a gift for the unit prior to its deployment. Of the 41 people who contributed only P.R. Botha and his son were Afrikaners.<sup>7</sup> At the same time the homes of those Afrikaners who were associated with the UMR were, according to rumour, earmarked for ruthless looting.<sup>8</sup>

The sensible decision by the Natal authorities to send the specific detachment of the UMR to the Ixopo area meant that they would not be directly confronted by their relations in battle. As a result the impression was created amongst some in Natal that the detachment could not be trusted to fight the Boer commandos.<sup>9</sup> The posting also resulted in long periods of inactivity and idleness. To try to pass the time two rifle matches were organised against the Ixopo Rifle Association,<sup>10</sup> and this soon attracted public criticism. 'Britisher' in a letter to the *Natal Witness* complained that the UMR volunteers were receiving all the perks soldiers were entitled to while they were playing games. He believed that a 'volunteer is a volunteer' and that they should be at the front.<sup>11</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed by 'One who knows'.<sup>12</sup> This criticism elicited an angry response from one G.E. Francis who explained that it was no fault of the detachment that they were prevented from proceeding to the front by the authorities. As far as Francis was concerned all the men were willing to serve at the front since they had all taken an oath of allegiance to defend the Colony. Francis proceeded to advise 'One who knows' that if he was so anxious to see the detachment disbanded he should show his loyalty and patriotism by joining instead of writing incorrect and disparaging remarks under a *nom de plume*.<sup>13</sup>

By the time that the Boer commandos were all but driven from Natal the magistrate of Ixopo also questioned the presence of the UMR detachment in his district. The Natal Government, realising that it would make little political sense to move the troop to the front, decided to maintain the *status quo* for the time being. This decision was altered a couple of days later when the unit was employed in doing police-like patrolling of the Ixopo and Polela areas.<sup>14</sup> A month later a rumour surfaced that the troop would be transferred to Dundee. An outcry from the commander of volunteers resulted in an urgent telegraph to the prime minister to protest that the transfer ‘was not advisable for many reasons’. Prime Minister Albert Hime agreed and angrily demanded to know the source ‘of such an absurd rumour’.<sup>15</sup>

It was clear that the Natal Government was not willing to take any risk by sending this particular force to the front. The hesitancy of the Natal Government can be understood when one considers the case against Privates J.M. (Mias) and J.J. (Marthinus) Botha, members of the UMR. In a joint letter written home the men used disloyal language towards the Crown. Both were brought before a military court, which identified J.M. Botha as the real culprit. He was found guilty and dismissed from the UMR.<sup>16</sup> In addition, with the Boers driven from Natal, the authorities were uncertain what to do with the Afrikaner troop of the UMR, as well as the other Natal volunteer units. Consequently all Natal volunteer units were disbanded in August 1900.<sup>17</sup>

When the UMR was disbanded not a single Afrikaner attended any of the subsequent homecoming

functions. The commanding officer, Major George Leuchars, called it ‘ill will’<sup>18</sup> and encouraged the Afrikaners to accept British rule, to bury the past, and to work with the British colonists for a better future.<sup>19</sup> This ‘ill will’ was, however, reciprocated, especially by the British military. The disbandment, for example, left Captain E.J. Landsberg without a position. He therefore applied for permission to return to his farm *Morgenstond* in the Dundee district which he had vacated to join the UMR. Serving the war effort did not count for much in his case and the commandant of Dundee refused the request.<sup>20</sup>

In the end very little value was attached to the duty done by the UMR unit stationed at Ixopo. This can be gathered from the names which appear on the shield which honoured those who served the unit from 29 September 1899 to 9 October 1900, presented to the unit by the inhabitants of Umvoti County. Not one of the names of those who served at Ixopo appears on the shield. The only names of men who might have been Afrikaners and appear on the shield are: Sergeant J. Laatz, C. Laatz, P. Meyer, W.J.H. Muller, Corporals A. Krause and A. Muller, C. Krause and F. Krause.<sup>21</sup> These men were possibly those who were transferred to the UMR detachments along the Tugela River and who had then guided the Imperial Light Infantry in April 1900 from Greytown on their march towards the area.<sup>22</sup>

A number of Natal Afrikaners also joined the British Army by enlisting in units other than the UMR. L.P. de Jager of *Serpentine*, Newcastle, first joined the Normandien Volunteer Corps in November 1900 to counteract stock theft by raiding Boer commandos

and in July 1901 he joined Loxton's Horse.<sup>23</sup> Other Natal Afrikaners who enlisted in the military included Hans (Johannes) Strydom of Newcastle, who served as a guide with the Swaziland Column,<sup>24</sup> F.W. Prinsloo of Dundee who joined Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry,<sup>25</sup> Pelster of Dundee who joined the Scottish Horse Regiment,<sup>26</sup> and Theunis de Jager of Wasbank who was killed in action by the Boers near Nqutu,<sup>27</sup> making him the only Natal Afrikaner loyalist to pay the ultimate price in fighting for the Empire.

A Natal Afrikaner to join the British forces for ulterior motives was Jan (Theunis Jacobus) Nel, the son of 'Mal Theuns' Nel of *Spitzkop*, Umvoti district. During the early stages of the war Jan Nel carried letters to the Boer forces. After a quarrel with his family he changed his allegiance and joined Menne's Scouts 'with the express purpose of giving a few of his Greytown friends away'. Apart from serving in the Standerton district, he did what he promised and accused 14 prominent farmers in the Umvoti district, including his father and five other Nels, of harbouring and communicating with the Boers, stealing government cattle, colluding with Chief Gayede, and talking seditiously. The fact that Jan Nel testified against his own father marred his statement, at least in the books of Attorney-General Henry Bale and the clerk of the peace in Greytown, Charles Tatham. Despite these reservations against his testimony, the intelligence he provided was used to remove a large number of Afrikaners under Martial law from Umvoti County to Pietermaritzburg.<sup>28</sup>

Worse was to follow in time for Jan Nel. He lost his property and was no longer on a good footing with his

relations. Consequently he applied for the post of Dutch and Zulu interpreter. In an effort to advance his prospects he approached Frank Tatham, requesting him to use his influence in the matter. Tatham wrote to both the Colonial Secretary and John Henry Brand de Villiers, the Registrar of the Natal Supreme Court, singing the virtues and loyalty of Nel.<sup>29</sup> This did not seem to have helped as no record of an appointment for Nel can be found.

A small number of Natal Afrikaners also served the armed forces in non-combat or logistical capacities. J. Theunissen served as a conductor in the Natal Transport Unit and for that he was awarded the Queen's South African medal.<sup>30</sup> Donald Mackenzie, despite his name, was an Afrikaner who could not speak a word of English. His lack of English language skills, however, did not prevent him from finding a position with the British military as an ambulance conductor.<sup>31</sup> P.W.C. Jordaan of Dundee rendered services from 25 September 1900 for the British Army. During his treason trial this did not count for much and on 21 August 1901 he was sentenced to four months in prison. His father, G.J., was commended by several Britishers for the assistance he rendered to them in terms of supplying food and clothing while they were fleeing Dundee after the Battle of Talana. He, too, was found guilty of treason.<sup>32</sup>

Two Natal Afrikaners found a niche for themselves in the intelligence services of the British Army. The Dutch inspector of schools, J.H. Kleinschmidt, enlisted with only a couple of hours' notice and was appointed as the Dutch interpreter to General Redvers Buller – then still the

commander-in-chief of British forces in southern Africa. He only informed the superintendent of education, Robert Russell, of his enlistment once he had arrived at Frere Camp on 8 December 1899. Kleinschmidt clearly revelled in this new role and described the pay as generous, and informed his superior that he intended to follow Buller through the campaign and would, if he ‘found any trophies worth collecting’, keep them for Russell. As an initial task Kleinschmidt was handed a ‘long rigmarole of lies from President Steyn’ to deal with.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately for Kleinschmidt, his enthusiasm did not match his staying power and his health failed. Finding a replacement for him did not prove a problem. The 26-year-old John Henry Brand de Villiers, originally from the OFS, who had become a naturalised British subject after living in Natal for two years,<sup>34</sup> asked the Natal Government if he could vacate his position in the Natal Civil Service to apply for Kleinschmidt’s post. Unfortunately for De Villiers another eager candidate had already filled the position.<sup>35</sup> The loyalty of De Villiers to his new country did, however, pay off and after serving as a Dutch interpreter for the Special Court created to try Natal Afrikaners suspected of rebellious activities and high treason,<sup>36</sup> a position he had to resign from for health reasons,<sup>37</sup> he was promoted in May 1902 to the position of registrar of the Supreme Court.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from his work at the front, J.H. Kleinschmidt also acted as a secret agent. Under the guise of inspecting the teaching of Dutch in the government school in Greytown, he investigated the matter of disloyalty amongst the local Afrikaners.<sup>39</sup> The

other Natal Afrikaner who worked for the intelligence department was Alan Hershensohn, the son of the editor of the *De Natal Afrikaner*, Joshua Hershensohn. It is doubtful if Hershensohn’s work carried much weight or was even taken seriously. Like a typical amateur spy he referred to the existence of secret societies, numerous spies that operated in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg and plots to ‘poison the local garrison’. Little attention was paid to his revelations by either the civil or military authorities.<sup>40</sup>

Overall only a small number of Natal Afrikaners joined the Natal Volunteer Regiments and other British/Colonial units. Of the 435 members on the muster roll of the Natal Carbineers, only five were Afrikaner – four Meyers and a De Haas – while the 221-strong Natal Mounted Rifles only had four Afrikaners in its ranks.<sup>41</sup> Of the roughly 2 208 Natal men involved in the various volunteer regiments during the war, excluding the UMR, no more than an estimated 20 were Afrikaners.<sup>42</sup>

The only other armed groupings which contained a reasonable number of Afrikaners were the rifle associations. Although most Afrikaners resigned from these associations when members were legally forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown, some retained their membership. In terms of Law No. 19 of 1862, and according to the rules of rifle associations, members could be called out for duty in their respective magisterial districts by the local magistrate.<sup>43</sup> Thus, when the Camperdown and District Rifle Association was called out for duty by the local magistrate in November 1899, two Afrikaners, H. and W.C. Meyer, reported for duty. A third,

E.W. Meyer, was a volunteer on service with the Natal Carbineers. The Meyers remained active in the rifle association until the end of the war.<sup>44</sup> Camperdown was no exception as a number of Afrikaners in other areas also remained active members. J.A. Maré, J.A. de Waal and A.P., C.F. and C. Keyter continued as members of the Kranskop Rifle Association,<sup>45</sup> while G.F. van Rooyen, who was a member of the Newcastle Rifle Association,<sup>46</sup> resigned leaving only L.P. de Jager as a member.<sup>47</sup> Other Rifle Associations such as Tsekana, Seven Oaks, Umvoti, Riet Vlei, Melmoth, Charlestown, Ingogo, Elandslaagte, Highlands and Indowane collectively had but 24 Afrikaner members.<sup>48</sup> The Rifle Association with the largest number of Afrikaner members was Weenen. At its annual shooting competition in August 1900, 12 Afrikaner men and 13 Afrikaner women participated in proceedings.<sup>49</sup> This Natal Afrikaner involvement did not last long and by April 1903 only five out of 51 members of the Weenen Rifle Association were Afrikaners.<sup>50</sup> All in all, by June 1902 no more than a maximum of 40 Afrikaners counted amongst the estimated 2 292 Rifle Association members.<sup>51</sup>

The decline in Afrikaner membership can be explained by the fear of being called out to fight the Boers and by the anti-Afrikaner sentiment of the time and can be illustrated by the following case. Two of the Natal Afrikaners who participated in the Weenen Rifle Association activities, J.L.J. Pieterse senior and junior, were originally from the farm *Danskraal* near Ladysmith. They were removed by the military to Weenen during the Siege of Ladysmith. J.L.J. Pieterse (snr) was

eventually charged with high treason but acquitted. When the Pieterses returned to their farm in 1901 they wanted to join the Ladysmith Rifle Association and consequently signed the required oath of allegiance. The Ladysmith Rifle Association, however, was not as accommodating as its Weenen counterpart and was reluctant to issue the Pieterses with rifles. Instead, it chose to reject the verdict of the court and continued to believe that the Pieterses had assisted the Boers during the Siege of Ladysmith. Only a lengthy correspondence process managed to sway the Ladysmith Rifle Association to assign rifles to the loyal Pieterses.<sup>52</sup>

Membership of the town guard, which was introduced in early 1902, operated in stark contrast to the rifle associations. All white male British subjects over the age of 18 were compelled to become members. This military creation was even less successful in attracting Afrikaner members than the rifle associations, largely due to the fact that most Afrikaners resided on farms outside the towns or were at the time in prison as rebels or banned by the military from their districts of origin. Of the hundreds of men in the Dundee Town Guard, for example, only five were Afrikaners: J.M. and H. Slabbert, A.H.O. Kruger and J. and Stephen Liebenberg. The name of Barend Liebenberg also appears on the list, but as a non-combatant.<sup>53</sup> In Ladysmith, Dominee H.F. Schoon of the local Dutch Reformed Church refused to join the activities of the town guard. He voiced two concerns: firstly, that he was required to take the oath of allegiance again, even though he had done it 20 years earlier and, secondly,

that he might be forced to take up arms against his own people. He was consequently banned to Weenen by Lt-Col G.H. Sim.<sup>54</sup>

Other Natal Afrikaners supported the war effort by more indirect means. In Proviso B they assisted wounded and sick members of the Melmoth Field Force in the following ways: T.R. Ortlepp gave his house to the Red Cross while Ortlepp and D.C. (Vaal Dirk) Uys, the latter a member of the Legislative Council of Natal, allowed them to use the facilities offered by the local Dutch Reformed Church. A.F. Ortlepp in turn provided the patients with smoking filters,<sup>55</sup> Piet Uys provided 'splendid grapes',<sup>56</sup> Vaal Dirk Uys also a large quantity of grapes, Mrs Britz and D.C. Uys chicken broth, J.W.F. Ortlepp custard, custard pudding, preserves and magazines, and Mrs Pretorius a daily supply of milk.<sup>57</sup> At Dundee, J.H. Ries of *Langfontein*, who was eventually convicted as a rebel, sent milk and eggs to the British hospital,<sup>58</sup> while in the Weenen district some Afrikaners were prepared to contribute financially to the British victims of war. After the Relief of Mafeking a collection list with the intimidating caption, 'Heroes All! Pay! Pay!! Pay!!!' circulated in the area. Of the 62 people who contributed 15 were Afrikaners. All of them contributed five shillings each, except for J.C. Buys, Frikk Buys, W.J. Basson and Dominee A.M. Murray who contributed more.<sup>59</sup>

Some of the those who supported the Imperial war effort, like Mrs A Otto who contributed to the Maritzburg Association for Aid to Sick and Wounded,<sup>60</sup> were dyed-in-the-wool loyalists. Others, including some of those mentioned above,

were definitely not loyalists but cared enough for victims of the war to make some contribution to improve their lot. Deeds such as these contributed to making loyalty to the Imperial war effort a grey area which allowed Natal Afrikaners to adopt multiple loyalist identities during the war. All considered, the active contribution to the Imperial war effort by Natal Afrikaners was of a varied nature and in terms of scale extremely modest. Furthermore, the involvement, both in a combative and logistical manner, was generally based on individual motivation and not because of collective feelings of loyalty from within the Natal Afrikaner community.

### **Loyalist Natal Afrikaners' experiences during the Boer occupation**

Against the background of the successful Boer occupation of Klip River County a decision was made, towards the end of November 1899, to commandeer all the white residents of the occupied Klip River County.<sup>61</sup> Consequently immense pressure was placed by General Schalk Burger, the initiator of the idea, and his Natal Afrikaner henchmen on the local Afrikaners especially to join the Republican cause. To convince these people to join, Burger provided two reasons – to suppress an imminent African uprising and because the area in Natal occupied by the commandos had been annexed by the Republics. As a result, most Natal Afrikaners of Klip River County enlisted reluctantly in three local commandos – the Newcastle Commando, Otto's Commando (for the Ladysmith district) and the Natal Commando (for the Dundee and Umsinga districts).

In the Dundee district the first meeting called to inform the Natal Afrikaners that they needed to enlist with the commandos took place at Wasbank on 20 November 1899. Several Afrikaner men of the Dundee area, amongst them the Strydom brothers, Wynand, Gerhardus, John, Paul, Theunis and Frederick, did not go.<sup>62</sup> Not even threats that they would be fined £37.10.0 each or be driven across the Tugela River could convince them to attend. In an attempt to gain clarity about their situation Wynand and John Strydom later visited the laager at Helpmekaar. Their visit culminated in a row with General J.J. Ferreira, with the latter threatening to confiscate all their property if they did not cross the Tugela within seven days – this being the terms of the original order issued by General P.J. (Piet) Joubert, the officer commanding of the Transvaal forces, which were subsequently replaced by the order issued by General Burger. The meeting ended without any firm decision, possibly because of the uncertainty on the part of the Boer officers of which order to follow. Consequently the Strydoms received a pass from Commandant Engelbrecht to visit Revd Dr James Dalzell at Pomeroy.<sup>63</sup>

The visit to Dalzell was but an excuse to communicate with the UMR across the Tugela River. In a letter to the officer commanding, the spokesman for the Strydom clan, Wynand, made it clear that they refused to be commandeered. According to Strydom, the disloyal Afrikaners in the area were the instigators behind their eviction, and he feared that they could be attacked as they were heading towards the Tugela. He therefore requested the assistance of the UMR

or the Natal Government to negotiate their safe passage with General Piet Joubert. A defiant Strydom, in a note in the margin, informed the officer commanding that ‘I will try and bring ten sacks of potatoes as a present for your men.’<sup>64</sup> The loyalty of the Strydoms was applauded by Dalzell, who described it as ‘... magnificent! These men are surrounded by the enemy and disloyal boers.’<sup>65</sup> Not long after the return to their farm, two local Afrikaners by the surname of Vermaak visited the Strydoms, urging them to co-operate with the Transvaalers by providing information regarding stock and property belonging to loyalists. The Vermaaks argued that such a step would remove any suspicion of their loyalist activities. The Strydoms were also informed that a meeting of Natal Afrikaners was planned at Dundee for 29 November 1899 to appoint officials for the Natal Commando. The meeting was to be held under the chairmanship of the Republican-appointed justice of the peace, D.P. Wolfaardt, at *Paddafontein* between Dundee and Helpmekaar. Upon hearing that the meeting had been moved to Dundee, some of the Strydom brothers returned home while others held a family meeting at *Blesboklaagte* outside Dundee. Here they decided to stick together even if it meant expulsion across the Tugela River as per the proclamation issued by General Joubert.<sup>66</sup> At this stage roughly 100 other people were likewise rumoured to be willing to cross the Tugela River rather than join the Boers.<sup>67</sup>

Other loyalists like A.W. Illing, his father-in-law D.C. (Dirk) Pieters of *Zwartwater* near Dundee, and C.L. (Coenraad) and A.J. Pieters, as well as

members of the Jansen and Gregory families, attended this meeting.<sup>68</sup> The issue of allegiance to the Crown was soon raised. Dirk Pieters requested to remain neutral but was told by Justice of the Peace Wolfaardt ‘... that if any Afrikaner is so rotten as not to take up arms, he must be plundered and persecuted by any burger who comes across him’. Wolfaardt took the debate one step further and declared that an oath of allegiance to the Crown made by local Afrikaners was null and void since the British had vacated the area. This was disputed by A.L. (August) Jansen, who made it clear that such an oath could not be broken. Jansen warned all those present against joining the Boers.<sup>69</sup> The Dundee townlands manager, Barend Liebenberg, also did not mince his words and made it clear that he was a British subject and intended to remain one.<sup>70</sup> Realising that they could be conscripted, the Pieterses and Illing asked for passes to cross the Tugela as per the proclamation issued by General Joubert. This was declined and only passes to cross into the besieged Ladysmith were offered. The Pieterses and the Jansens thereafter left the meeting.<sup>71</sup>

In due course the loyalists were informed that it had been decided at the Dundee meeting that all the Natal Afrikaners who did not want to take up arms on the behalf of the Republics would have to move south of the Tugela River within seven days. Passes for this could be obtained from the justice of the peace in Dundee. To clarify their position, three of the Strydom brothers consulted with General J.J. Ferreira at Helpmekaar, who informed them that they would have to be ready to move within four days. In the meantime the justice of the peace was

swamped with requests for passes.<sup>72</sup> It seems as if the large number of white inhabitants who wanted to escape Republican occupation offended the Boer administration, and Ferreira as a result informed the Strydoms that he had decided against issuing passes as this would amount to a breach of security. He was, however, willing to allow them to go to Ladysmith.

Only in one case, that of the Liebenbergs, was a pass issued by the Boers to Natal Afrikaners to cross the Tugela into British-held territory. When the loyalist family group reached Helpmekaar with the intention of crossing by wagon via Pomeroy, they were stopped and kept prisoner in the laager for three days. Guards surrounded the wagon and the Liebenbergs were told that they would be shot if they tried to leave. The family was then returned to Dundee, where the eldest Liebenberg boy was imprisoned for nine days, apparently because he was a loyal British subject. On 2 January 1900 the Liebenberg family was sent to Pretoria and then on to Durban via Lourenco Marques. Barend Liebenberg was also removed to Pretoria. He arrived in Durban on 4 May 1900, after being released by the Transvaal authorities.<sup>73</sup>

The remainder of the Natal Afrikaner loyalists of the Dundee district were now trapped in Boer-occupied territory and exposed to the mercy of the invaders. On 5 December 1899, three of the Strydom brothers, John, Paul and Wynand, were arrested and brought before General Ferreira and his staff at Helpmekaar. They were threatened and given the choice of taking up arms or being driven into the besieged Ladysmith. They opted for the latter. Unsure of how to deal

with such defiance, Ferreira allowed the Strydoms to proceed home. Within an hour of their return home a group of Boers arrived to confiscate their arms and ammunition. The posse also remained to guard the house. The following day, 6 December 1899, Ferreira, on three occasions, sent a messenger to enquire if the three Strydoms had changed their minds. When this did not happen Ferreira lost his patience and 50 Boers arrived and took the three Strydoms to Helpmekaar, from where they were ordered to proceed to *Blesboklaagte*. The fact that the loyalist brothers complained of having left behind most of their furniture, 100 pockets of potatoes, a number of horses and some cattle, did not impress the Boer officers. As a favour Wynand Strydom was allowed to send back one of his African labourers on horseback, to remain with their property. The labourer, however, did not reach the farm as a local Afrikaner, C.J. Vermaak, captured him and took him on as an agterryer, while another, J. Kemp, took the horse.

En route three messengers arrived and informed the group of loyalists that Ferreira had changed his mind and that they were to proceed to Dundee. Dismayed, the three Strydoms left their families at *Blesboklaagte*. Accompanied by their other three brothers and their brother-in-law, Wade, they proceeded to the Dundee Police Station. From then on the three ringleaders, Wynand, John and Paul, were subjected to the disjointed Boer administration where decisions were taken as situations arose. The threesome was locked up for a day and a night without food. Warden Nel then ordered their wives to visit them because they were to be transferred

to Pretoria. The brothers insisted on seeing the justice of the peace first. The justice of the peace found the situation puzzling since he had not received orders to imprison the men. He therefore ordered that they be fed, their stock handed over to their brother Gert, and that their families be allowed to reside in Dundee. Although the brothers were initially removed to the police barracks on his orders, they were taken back to the prison by the warder and Field-Cornet Meyer, apparently 'on instructions from Pretoria'. The Strydoms were soon joined by nine other loyalist prisoners. After six days of imprisonment they were brought before the justice of the peace, who asked if they would take an oath of neutrality if he placed them under house arrest. They agreed and were consequently granted permission to join their families in Dundee.

Circumstances changed for the trio with the arrival of a new justice of the peace, Wolmarans, at the end of December 1899. On meeting Wynand Strydom and the mother of the clan he lifted the house arrest. Wolmarans, on investigation of the charges against the brothers, declared that under Transvaal law no one had the right to commandeer or interfere with British subjects. The magistrate then allowed the brothers to proceed to the farm *Helena* with their stock, advising them to remain quiet so as not to offend the Boers. On being informed that the horses and potatoes belonging to the Strydoms had been confiscated without the issue of receipts, Wolmarans wrote to General J.J. Ferreira asking for receipts to be issued. The general bluntly refused.<sup>74</sup>

The rudimentary Boer administration in the Klip River County, with the assistance of disloyal

Afrikaners, started to turn the screws on the loyalists from December 1899 onwards. One Kirkness, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ladysmith, complained that the Boers wanted to arrest him on three occasions on suspicion of being a spy.<sup>75</sup> August Jansen and J.J. Kemp were threatened with being sent either to Pretoria, Colesberg or Ladysmith, or forced south of the Tugela River.<sup>76</sup> A number of loyalists from Dundee, including Barend Liebenberg, J.A. Naudé, J. Craig, A.J. Nienaber, Magistrate P. Hugo and about 160 others were arrested and sent to prison in Pretoria.<sup>77</sup> Included in this number were J.C. Uys and C.R. (Coenraad) Cronjé<sup>78</sup> of Newcastle who refused to join the Boer forces. Uys was later released and allowed to travel via Lourenco Marques (modern day Maputo) to Durban. As he was well acquainted with the residents of Newcastle and with the geography of the area, Magistrate J.O. Jackson, who was also arrested and deported via Lourenco Marques to Durban, highly recommended Uys for employment in the military.<sup>79</sup> After a short stay in the capital of the Transvaal, some of the Natal prisoners were returned to Ladysmith and forced into Intombi Camp, firstly because the officials in Pretoria could not cope with the large number of inmates and possibly also as a means to flood the besieged town with people, which in turn would deplete the British resources and hasten the town's surrender.<sup>80</sup> Other Natalians, like J.E. Northern and A.J. Oldacre, were later allowed to proceed to Durban via Lourenco Marques. On arrival in Durban they wasted no time in informing the authorities of the identity of the Natal rebels.

Oldacre could also reveal that the Jansens, Pieterses, Illing, C.M. Meyer of *Gladstone*, Dundee and Cornelius Meyer of *Tafelberg*, Dundee, had remained loyal.<sup>81</sup> While this handful of Klip River County Afrikaners managed to remain true, the treatment they suffered convinced J.J. Kemp of *Zuurfontein*, Dundee, to abandon his intention of not taking up arms. He therefore, in mid-December, on the insistence of his wife, proceeded to Helpmekaar to collect his rifle and join the Natal Commando.<sup>82</sup>

In the meantime the persecution of the loyalist Natal Afrikaners in the Dundee district continued. On 21 December 1899, Illing, A.J. and Coenraad Pieters were arrested at *Blesboklaagte* by Gideon Kok and a group of men. They were taken to the laager at Helpmekaar and handed over to Dirk Uys, an officer in the Natal Commando, who informed them that they had been arrested because they refused to take up arms on the Boer side.<sup>83</sup> The following morning Illing, A.J. and Coenraad Pieters, James Craig, Ridley, and four of the Strydom brothers, Gerhardus, Theunis, John and Frederick, were brought before a court martial chaired by General Ferreira and charged with being British subjects who refused to take up arms. No evidence was presented against them and they were, after their appearance, locked up again. The next day they were released with the warning that they were to report at Helpmekaar on 27 December. On the return date the men were read a telegram, apparently from President S.J.P. (Paul) Kruger, stating that all Natal Afrikaners needed to be commandeered at once or pay a fine ranging from £1 to £300. The nine loyalists informed the court martial,

which included three Natal rebels, P.J. van Rensburg as well as Dirk and Koos Uys, that Kruger had no authority over them and that they refused to pay either the fine or take up arms. Some of those in the crowd of onlookers now warned the group that they would be shot. This did not happen and the group was allowed to return home. Two days later Pieter Nel jnr, a Natal rebel accompanied by a Transvaler, came to the farm *Zwartwater* to collect £15 each from Dirk, A.J. and Coenraad Pieters, from James Craig and Illing. Only Dirk Pieters paid up; the rest refused wanting to know what the money was for.<sup>84</sup> The following day Craig, Illing, A.J. and Coenraad Pieters proceeded to the laager at Helpmekaar to inquire about the £15 demanded from them. In no uncertain terms they were informed that it was not a fine but money commandeered from them. Seeing no way out they all decided to pay. This extortion bought the loyalists three weeks' grace.

The treatment of the loyalists by the Republican forces confused the Natal rebels stationed at Helpmekaar. In a letter to General J.J. Ferreira, the 96 Afrikaners signatories pointed out that they were informed at the conscription meeting held at Dundee on 29 October 1899 that only two options existed – you either supported the Boers by enlisting or you were against them. Those who opted for the second choice were to be expelled across the Tugela River within seven days. What deeply concerned the signatories was that a third option seemed to exist, namely that of remaining neutral. They complained that while they were on commando the neutral Afrikaners were allowed to move around freely, even though every now and again some of

them were arrested only to be released after paying a small fine. They felt that if this option was allowed some of the men presently in the laager might also choose to become neutral since it was a safer and more comfortable option. The real concern of the signatories was then brought up, namely that should they as rebels fall into the hands of the British they could be executed for taking up arms because the Crown would point out that some men had managed to remain neutral since that possibility existed. They therefore called on the Transvaal authorities, for the sake of the protection of the rebels, to implement their earlier decision and bring everybody into the fold.<sup>85</sup>

It seems as if the Transvaal authorities paid some attention to the fear expressed by the commandeered Natal Afrikaners that if they were not all to be treated in the same manner, or at least as per the orders that existed, those who had enlisted would find themselves in a precarious legal position. Therefore, on 22 January 1900, the Pieterses, Illing and Craig were again commandeered by a Natal rebel, J.S. Swart, this time on the orders of Commandant T. Steenkamp and Field-Cornet P.J. van Rensburg. The loyalists had to report at Helpmekaar on 27 January 1900, armed and with provisions for eight days.<sup>86</sup> The Pieterses and Illing again refused and proceeded to seek an audience with the newly appointed Commandant Steenkamp, who proved to be much more accommodating than Ferreira. He listened to the men, questioned them, took depositions from them and informed them that he would refer the matter to General Piet Joubert. It is uncertain what became of the report but matters did change after

General Joubert's visit to Helpmekaar on 10 February 1900 because five days later two rebels, C.M. Vermaak and Fritz Havemann, informed the loyalists that they had to remain within the boundaries of their farms or suffer the consequences if they were found outside the stated parameters. Rumours later indicated this meant that they would be shot. Most of the loyalists were thereafter left alone,<sup>87</sup> apart from Ridley and Craig, who were sent to Pretoria, confirming the fears of the Natal Afrikaners who had rebelled, that the option of remaining neutral actually existed.

Against this background F.S. Bishop, a loyalist resident of Helpmekaar, complained that: '... the Natal Boers never ceased to annoy me. Their behaviour generally towards me and other residents who remained was worse than that of the Transvaal Boers.'<sup>88</sup> The reasoning behind the pressures placed on loyalists by fellow Natal Afrikaners was quite simple – loyalty to the British Crown was not good for group survival – for if all were not seen as having co-operated with the Boer commandos, it would destroy any future arguments of compulsion and conscription. In turn the Natal Afrikaners who chose loyalty did so as part of an ongoing effort to avoid charges of treason which they knew would be laid with the return of the Natal authorities.

Consequently the Strydoms could not escape intimidatory actions such as that referred to by Bishop and at the beginning of February 1900, they were once again commandeered, this time by a Natal rebel, J. Schalkwyk. The Strydoms threw Schalkwyk from their house in a violent manner. When rumours started to circulate

that they would be punished for this, Wynand consulted Justice of the Peace Wolmarans. The latter informed them that they had acted incorrectly and that they should rather have written a letter stating their position. Still fearing the repercussions of their deed, the brothers hid in the veld for three days. A letter from Commandant Steenkamp eventually reached the men informing them that he wanted to speak to them. The meeting took place in fairly amicable circumstances but the brothers were informed that if they were found guilty of assaulting Schalkwyk they would be shot. Steenkamp then took statements from them regarding the treatment they received since he had been given power by General Piet Joubert to judge such cases. The statements inevitably led to an argument about loyalty. Gert Strydom stated that he refused to join the Boers since that would be tantamount to being a rebel. The argument about loyalty raged for a while with Steenkamp insisting that the Strydoms' 'unborn children's children' would curse them some day. Steenkamp then allowed the men to go home while he awaited orders from Joubert. Afterwards three Natal rebels informed the Strydoms that they could not leave the farm they were residing on,<sup>89</sup> as was the case with other loyalists.

By early May 1900 the position of the Strydom brothers had become precarious. Their loyalty meant that they were being imprisoned on a farm other than their own and were running low on food. Three of the brothers therefore proceeded to Glencoe to consult with General Lucas Meyer. Meyer's response was curt: the brothers could not expect the Transvaal to feed

disloyal people, but he was prepared to send them to Ladysmith, where they would find both ‘food and Englishmen enough’. Meyer ended the meeting by ordering the brothers to return to their residence and remain quiet.

On 7 May 1900, as the Boer defences started to crumble, Commandant Steenkamp gave the Strydoms permission to return to their own farms<sup>90</sup> to await the arrival of Buller’s Natal Army. This return proved to be unpleasant, as J.M. Strydom, mother of the loyal Strydoms, testified. Her house had been used as a stable and all the fruit trees were cut down.<sup>91</sup> Similar sights awaited other loyalists who were absent from their properties. J.S., L. and J.H. Combrink of *Uithoek*, Umsinga, all one-time members of the UMR, and closely associated with the Strydoms on whose farm they resided, found that their property was looted by the Boers as a punitive measure.<sup>92</sup>

The vindictive and vengeful treatment of loyalist Natal Afrikaners at the hands of both the Boers and their fellow Natal Afrikaners came to an end with the advance of the Natal Army under General Buller and the retreat of the commandos. The imminent return of the Natal authorities meant a radical shift in the power dynamics of the occupied Klip River County, with the Natal Afrikaner loyalists about to gain both the upper hand and the due rewards for the position they had adopted.

### **Brother against brother – The post-Boer occupation relationship between Natal Afrikaner loyalists and Natal rebels**

When the Republican forces were driven from Natal in early June 1900 the Natal colonial authorities returned

in the wake of Buller’s Natal Army. In the wake of the Boer retreat from northern Natal the advancing British military arrested every Afrikaner and confiscated large herds of livestock.<sup>93</sup> Even the loyalists were caught up in these mop-up operations. In time, however, the investigation and legal processes managed somehow to extract the loyalists from the rebels, a process that deepened the rift between those Afrikaners who remained loyal to the Crown and most of those who aligned themselves with the invading Republican forces. Vengeful attitudes towards loyalists by disloyal Natal Afrikaners did not take long to surface. H.J. Strydom, another member of the extended loyalist Strydom clan, complained that he had been molested by someone for several nights in late September 1900 when the person threw stones at his house. In one case a stone broke a window and injured a family member.<sup>94</sup>

The levels of anti-loyalist emotions also surfaced in the church. When Dominee D.F. Bosman of the Dutch Reformed Church in Newcastle conducted a service at Judith, a church situated between Dundee and Helpmekaar, August Jansen was informed that he was not welcome. In reaction Jansen sent a message to Bosman, requesting a visit from him. When this did not happen, Jansen did not become angry but professed a feeling of sadness for the local Afrikaners who were misled and ended up in jail. At the same time he stated that his eyes were opened to the behaviour of the members of his congregation.<sup>95</sup>

The real conflict between loyal and disloyal Afrikaners, however, came to a head during the rebel

trials which started in September 1900. In trial after trial the loyalists exacted revenge for their treatment at the hands of the occupiers and their fellow Natal Afrikaners by testifying against suspected rebels. The Strydom brothers alone testified against between 40 and 50 suspected rebels, including family members, who they alleged were harder on them than the Republicans.<sup>96</sup> Likewise Illing and the Pieters family became key witnesses in the rebel trials, testifying against a large numbers of rebels.<sup>97</sup> Other loyalists who also testified for the Crown in the rebel trials included amongst others Daniel Opperman of Newcastle against A.J. Mathee,<sup>98</sup> M.W. Theunissen and Trooper Steyn of the UMR against A.C., H. and T.C. Vermaak<sup>99</sup> and Barend and Stephen Liebenberg against P.J., I.J.M. and H.G. Jordaan.<sup>100</sup>

Being a witness in the rebel trials also had a downside. Barend Liebenberg complained that he was 'suffering through the Rebels' because his testimony as a witness in the Special Court had become a 'permanent job'. Consequently his business suffered when he was called to testify in Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt and other places. Liebenberg, therefore complained that he was paid too little and submitted a claim for money lost while absent from his business. The Natal authorities did not entertain this claim and informed Liebenberg that he had actually been overpaid to the amount of 8/6.<sup>101</sup>

Other loyal Natal Afrikaners were quite happy to exact revenge for the treatment they had received. In the words of James Carville, sticking with the Empire would mean 'sticking it' to those who were rebels.<sup>102</sup> One such

person was Coenraad Cronjé. When released from prison by the British forces that had captured Pretoria, he provided the provost-marshal with the names of 42 alleged rebels, 'residents of Natal who have been assisting the enemy in the present war against the Empire'. Cronjé promised that if he 'had the opportunity of visiting the districts in Northern Natal he would add many more names to the list'.<sup>103</sup> This was not the end of the involvement of Cronjé in identifying disloyal Afrikaners. After the war ended he was employed on the dockside in Durban, and at the Umbilo Prisoner-of-War Camp, to identify Natal rebels from amongst the prisoners returning from overseas camps.<sup>104</sup>

Those Natal Afrikaner rebels on the wrong side of the evidence provided by the loyalists, and who sought revenge, each developed their own strategies. J.C. Vermaak, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, decided to exact retribution by publicly humiliating and exposing Natal Afrikaner loyalists. In a letter to the *Natal Witness* he declared: 'I wish through remedy of your respected paper my respectful and hearty thanks to convey to Messrs. F. Leroux, J.J. Muller, Aug. Jansen, J.J.S. Maritz, Adrian Jansen and others for the evidence by them given in my case. Of the seven counts against me brought I have been found guilty of only two by the Judge and those are the two admitted by me ... The Lord give me the strength that I forgive the witnesses who without reason have persecuted me ...'<sup>105</sup> *De Natal Afrikaner* refused to publish this letter and responded by bemoaning the state some Natal Afrikaners found themselves in.<sup>106</sup>

Other rebels followed a less

sophisticated but equally harmful approach. This strategy consisted of the rebels attempting either to implicate loyalists in rebellious activities or discredit their applications for compensation before the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission – set up to investigate the financial losses suffered by loyalists during the war. In sworn affidavits convicted rebels like W.F.J. Prinsloo, J.C.L. Labuschagne, C.F.H. Posselt (jnr), C.F.H. Posselt (snr) and S.L. (Fanie) Strydom implicated A.W. Illing in rebellious activities and in falsifying compensation claims. The men were in agreement that during the early part of the war Illing had continued ‘freely and willingly’ with the operation of his store at Coalfields outside Dundee. As it was the only well-stocked store in the area, Illing had apparently not only received permission to increase his prices by 100%, but the members of the Natal Commando also purchased boots, tobacco, and liquor from him. Furthermore, in early November 1899, Illing presented a barrel of Cape brandy to the Boer forces while delivering a rousing speech in which he referred to himself as one member of the Afrikaner nation who was glad that they were retaking the lands of their forefathers. Afterwards Illing managed to secure a permanent guard to prevent Boers from looting his store, thereby enabling him to continue with the operation of his enterprise until almost all his stock was sold. He then handed it over to the Boer forces. Some rebels claimed that Illing was even seen carrying a rifle at times and that he had also visited the Boer wounded after the Battle of Talana. In the light of this the convicted rebels mentioned found it strange that Illing could claim

£6 000 compensation.<sup>107</sup>

Even the members of the Strydom family, despite their professed loyalty, were suspected of dealing with the enemy. Magistrate Thomas Maxwell of Umsinga informed the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission that Hendrik Strydom of *Uithoek*’s claim that the Boers had taken some of his cattle, horses and 1 000 lbs of fodder was false. According to Maxwell he had proof that Strydom had actually sold the horses and fodder to the Boers and that some of the cattle in the claim were with his son in Zululand.<sup>108</sup>

Other loyalists faced similar accusations of disloyalty. Rebel Lucas Willem Meyer<sup>109</sup> stated that he saw Gert Strydom talking to some Transvaal burghers on the stoep of Nelson’s store in Dundee during late October 1899, while in December 1899, he collected a Lee Metford rifle from Strydom which had been left with him by some Transvalers.<sup>110</sup> The elderly Dirk Pieters of *Zwartwater* was likewise accused of treason. According to G.P. Kemp, Pieters had taken two loads of furniture belonging to the magistrate of Umsinga to his farm *Zwartwater*. When this was uncovered by the Transvaal authorities, the furniture was removed. S.L. (Fanie) Strydom in turn testified that Dirk Pieters had also sold slaughter animals to the Boers to the value of £70. Loyalist Coenraad Pieters of *Zwartwater* was similarly accused by G.P. Kemp of voluntarily supplying the Boers with forage and two riding horses. S.L. Strydom added to the accusation by declaring that Pieters had, before the formation of the Natal Commando, participated in the action at Lombard’s Kop.<sup>111</sup> The evidence against Coenraad Pieters mounted when rebels J.J. and G.C. van

Tonder charged him with attending the commandeering meeting at Dundee and of nominating a C.J. de Villiers as assistant field-cornet. The claims of disloyalty against Coenraad Pieters were rejected out of hand by the Natal authorities as pure fabrication.<sup>112</sup> A dimmer view was taken of the accusations against other loyalists and an inquiry was launched.

The task of evaluating the belated depositions by convicted rebels against loyalists fell on the shoulders of Charles Tatham, the chief investigator into rebel activities in Klip River County. The point of departure for Tatham was a very pragmatic but also defensive one by a person with the power to decide who was loyal or disloyal:

Few people who remained within the area occupied by the enemy – did not, in some way, become involved with the invaders – I have therefore, throughout my connection with treason work, been careful as to whom I caused to be prosecuted and whilst it was hinted to me, when I was at Dundee, that several persons of Dutch birth or sentiment, whom I treated as witnesses for the Crown were not untainted with treasonable acts – I preferred to accept them as witnesses after carefully considering the facts and circumstances connected with each case and from personal observation – as I personally visited at their farms, on my way to Dundee ... I may say that so far I have seen no reason, or proof, that a mistake has been made ...

For Tatham to acknowledge that any of the accusations against the loyalists were true would therefore imply that the original investigative work done by him was not up to standard. Tatham's verdict was therefore predictable. He

regarded Gert Strydom as a very loyal man who served in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and was arrested by the Boers during the Anglo-Transvaal War of 1880–1881. During the Boer occupation of Klip River County he was arrested and endlessly harassed by the Boers who commandeered his fodder. Despite all of this he remained loyal. Tatham likewise regarded the wealthy Dirk Pieters and his son Coenraad as extremely loyal. All the witnesses he consulted denied that the Pieterses traded with the Boers; it was merely a case of goods being commandeered from them. The trip to Lombard's Kop was conducted to reap some crops and collect cattle from a farm the family owned in the area.

Tatham treated the evidence against A.W. Illing much more circumspectly. He admitted that Illing could have committed treasonable acts between 20 October and 15 December 1899. Illing confessed that he had traded with the Boers, saying that if he had not done so they would have taken the goods without paying. In December the Boers commandeered most of his stock and gave him two receipts. Since the Boers offered him no protection he had to move his stock and furniture to the house of his father-in-law. Tatham rejected the depositions by the Posselts out of hand since they were 'considered the biggest looters in the Biggarsberg'. As far as Tatham was concerned, if Illing did carry a firearm it was merely a 'pass' to allow him to move about freely and trade for as long as possible. What Tatham could not hide was Illing's opportunistic exploitation of the war since he was being sued by a rebel, Edmund du Bois, for wool paid with an unexchangeable money order issued to him by the

Transvaal Government. What was most important to Tatham was that Illing did not take up arms on behalf of the Boers.<sup>113</sup>

Although the investigation by Tatham, which was in effect a review of his own work, smacked of double standards and a cover-up, it took care of the serious accusations levelled at several leading loyalists. To a certain extent Tatham had to come to this conclusion, for finding that all Natal Afrikaners from Klip River County were somehow guilty of high treason by dint of the fact that they all had some dealings with the Republican occupiers would have created a situation whereby there were no loyalists and merely rebels forced into action by conscription. This would have made it extremely difficult to prosecute some Natal Afrikaners for high treason because the argument that was often used, that they were compelled to join the commandos, would have to be taken more seriously. In simple terms, loyalists were needed, even if they had to be created, so as to prosecute those guilty of high treason. Therefore in many cases Natal Afrikaners became loyalists not because of their activities but because of decisions by officials like Tatham.

An example of the blurred area that surrounded loyalty and disloyalty is the case of Justice of the Peace Renier Dannhauser of *Palmietfontein*, Dannhauser. He was found not guilty of all treason charges in February 1902. The reason for this was described by Judge Mason in his verdict: ‘... it appears while he endeavoured perhaps not to commit himself openly to the Boer side, on the other hand he was careful not to make any declaration of loyalty that might in any way

offend the enemy. He was anxious, perhaps, to avoid being prosecuted for high treason, but at the same time he paraded as not unfriendly to the Boers’. He was not what the judge claimed to be an ‘actively loyal’ subject.<sup>114</sup> However, to the Natal colonial authorities Dannhauser was guilty, for Natal Afrikaners like him – tried for high treason and acquitted – could not apply for compensation from the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission.

As a result of Tatham’s investigation the hatred and anger felt towards loyalists by some Natal Afrikaners deepened. This anger manifested itself either in physical violence or in writing and it remained ingrained in the memory of many of the Natal Afrikaners. An example of physical violence was that suffered by a member of the Strydom clan, Fanie, who had joined the Boers. While imprisoned in Pietermaritzburg he, hoping to get a reduction on his two year prison sentence, decided to become a witness for the Crown against Thomas Boshoff. When this came to light, his fellow inmates were furious. Some wanted him to be punished by the so-called ‘beesvel ry’. Hereby the person being punished was propelled into the air by means of a blanket which was removed when the victim was in the air. Dirk Uys, however, came up with an alternative suggestion. Strydom had to be thrown into the prison swimming pool every morning. From then on, every morning, regardless of the weather, Strydom had to endure an early swim.<sup>115</sup>

According to J.C. Buys, Strydom and J.G. Wiggell were endlessly tormented by their fellow Natal Afrikaner inmates for their willingness to testify against

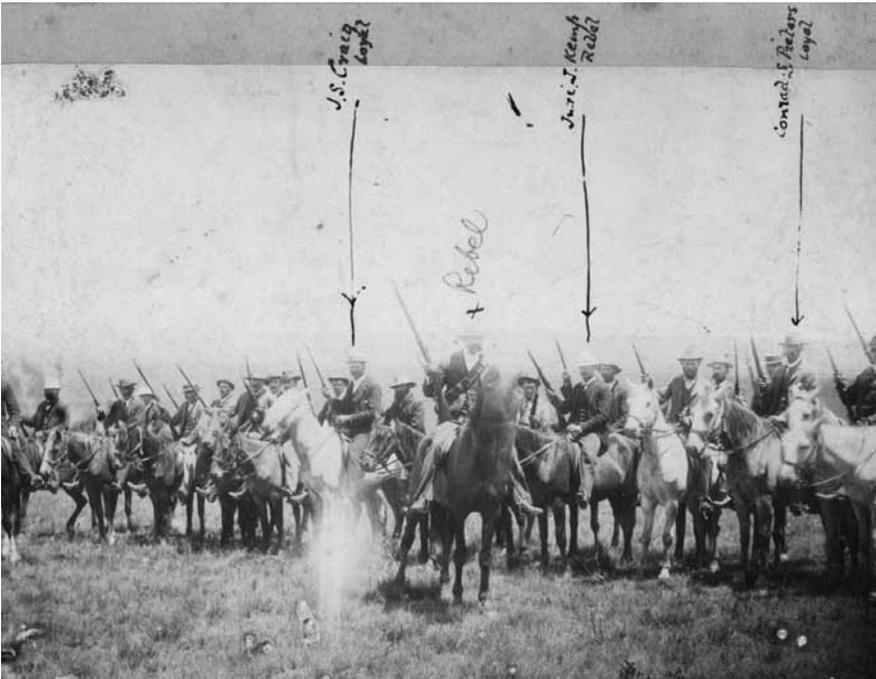
fellow rebels. In an early form of Afrikaans he provides an insight into the events that took place in and around the cell of the two loyalists:

... was de laaste mens achter hem zoo als een klop kraaien om een uil, naderhand toen ons met ons kos de avond op sters ging toen heef het eers dol gegaan, de ouw Strydom ze bynaam is Wolvie, party zeg de wolf zal bijt de menschen moet op pas, perty zeg het is nu twee wolven een mannetjie en een wijvie ... en party van de menschen heef hen altwee net zoo sleg geseg als wat mogenlijk was de joaler heef kom stil maak mar kun zijn lag niet houw, de menschen wil de een de ander dood trap voor de twee Konings getuigen ze door om hen te zien ...

This process repeated itself the next morning, and again when the two loyalists returned from having testified in Dundee. Apparently the men hoped to have their sentences lifted but in the words of Buys ‘de jutsen heef hem uit gelag’.<sup>116</sup>

The tormenting became too much for Strydom and in a letter to Attorney-General Henry Bale he complained that ‘I cannot stay here with these people; they are angry with me ... I ask to be removed here today. I cannot stand this. Bad things will occur here. I am afraid to stay here any longer.’ Strydom’s wish was granted and he was transferred to the Dundee Prison.<sup>117</sup>

The words written about loyalist Natal Afrikaners were to have a long-



*The finicky nature of loyalty – loyal Natal Afrikaners Coenraad Pieters and James Craig (see arrows) appearing as members of the Biggarsberg Rifle Association in 1898 alongside men later convicted as rebels. This association was not sponsored by the Natal Government and was in effect in direct opposition to the officially sanctioned ones. One year later Pieters and Craig had changed their allegiance.*

lasting effect. H.C. McPeak, (formerly Zietsman, born Rheeder) who was a six-year-old girl during the war, in a semi-biographical sketch entitled *Vierkleur*, recalls the loyalty of Paul Bester: ‘You see the sun sinking into the redness – that is the blood of our people, all the men, women and children you have betrayed, Paul Bester. You are a traitor and their blood fills the sky.’<sup>118</sup>

Other Natal Afrikaners took to poetry to express their anger towards the loyalists. In pure doggerel, of which some is quoted below, Rebel J.C. Vermaak made his feelings clear:

De eerste hield zich neutraal  
En sprak dus ook geen leugentaa  
De laatste vol schynheiligheid  
Die predikt leugens wyd en zyd  
Om hunnen eigen kwaad te dek  
Bleven zy toen in geen gebrek  
Geveinsdheid aan den day to beg  
Dan komen hunse zaaken rech<sup>119</sup>

Even greater anger, with striking religious overtones, was spewed by P.R.N. Vermaak in a poem entitled *Aan die verraaiers*,<sup>120</sup> of which some lines are quoted below:

In watter gedaante sal Jy voor hom  
verskyn?  
Sal jy waag om in Jou omhulsel van  
Satan ???  
Verraaiers, jy is die Judas, die vloek  
van Jou volk  
Jou naam dit is Judas; Verraaiers en  
duiwels gespuis;  
Mismaakte gedierte en kruipende luis;  
Verraaiers, braaksel, skuim van die  
aarde.

Equally long lasting are the memories by the rebels and their descendants of the loyalist individuals. J.C. Vermaak, a convicted rebel, still wrote of Coenraad Cronjé in 1941 as a ‘verraaiers en vloek der aarde’.<sup>121</sup> The grandson of another Natal rebel was even able to recall 100

years later how Coenraad Cronjé was ostracised by the Newcastle Afrikaner community, forcing him to sell off his property and move to Weenen, where he was not known.<sup>122</sup> Likewise the ‘disloyalties’ of Coenraad Pieters are easily recalled.<sup>123</sup>

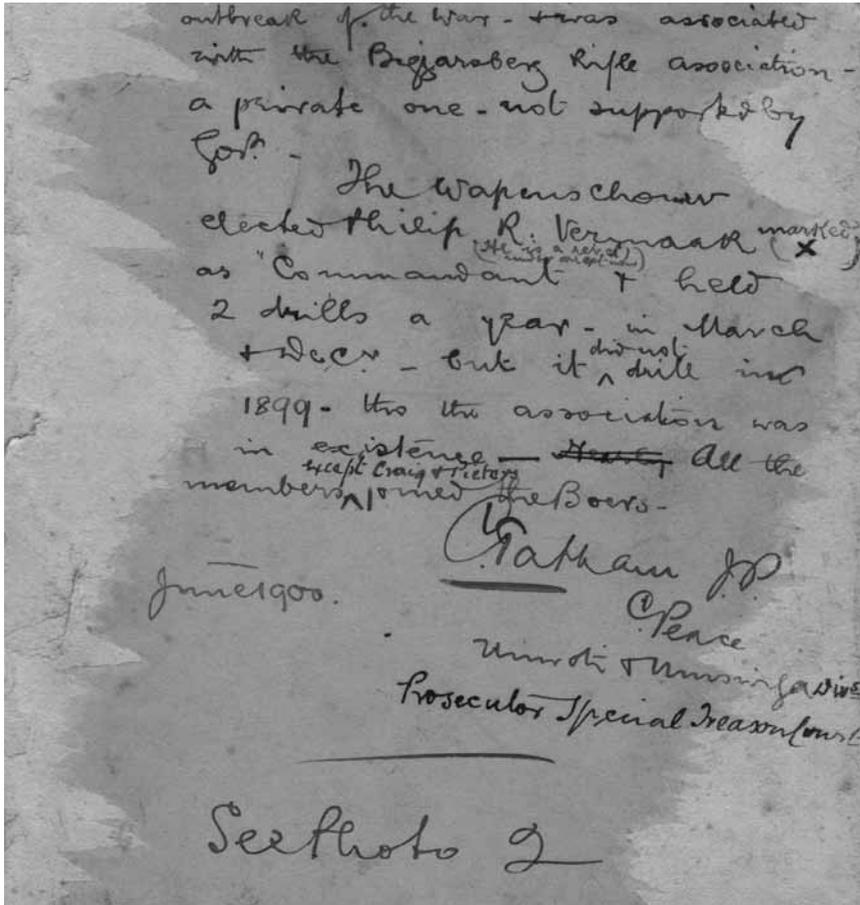
Not all Natal Afrikaners guilty of high treason, however, found it a bitter pill to co-exist alongside loyalists, many a time blood relatives. In fact, in many cases the families of rebels who had lost everything were cared for by the Afrikaners of the Dundee district who remained loyal. These charitable deeds received high praise from the *Dundee Commercial Advertiser*<sup>124</sup> and also served to challenge the impression that all Afrikaners convicted of treason blamed their loyalist kin for their plight. In reality the relationship between loyalist and disloyal Natal Afrikaners was multi-faceted and complex in nature and cannot be reduced to one merely based on animosity.

### **The relationship between Afrikaner loyalists and the Natal Government**

Within the context of the Anglo-Boer War, the relationship between loyal Natal Afrikaners and their government was a complex one – dominated by martial law and contestations about what loyalty was worth. Using the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission documentation as a basis, it was determined that 46 loyalists came from the Dundee and Umsinga districts, 17 from the Newcastle district and 27 from the Ladysmith and Upper Tugela districts – a total of 90 individuals and their families from across the economic spectrum from the area occupied by the Boers for a lengthy period of time.<sup>125</sup> Most of these Natal Afrikaner loyalists did not go public

about their suffering and their deeds and allowed others to speak on their behalf or endured their fate stoically. Dr Dalzell, for example, took it upon himself to inform the Natal authorities that Justice of the Peace Adrian Jansen, and his brother August, remained loyal to the end. Dalzell considered the Jansens as loyal as the Strydoms, and believed that they had suffered much more in economic terms than the latter in the wake of the Boer retreat and the British advance into Northern Natal when every Natal Afrikaner male was

arrested and large herds of livestock were confiscated.<sup>126</sup> While the Strydoms were released within days and their cattle returned, the Jansens did not receive the same treatment. All livestock belonging to the Jansens was confiscated and August Jansen was banned to Pietermaritzburg under the suspicion of having committed treason. The sons of August, Arnold, Alexander and Johannes Stephanus, furthermore, were kept in prison awaiting trial.<sup>127</sup> Dalzell's letter prompted an immediate investigation



Notes on the back of the picture of rebels tried for treason . The signature of Charles Tatham, the chief investigator into rebel activities in Klip River County can be clearly seen.

into the charges against the Jansen boys. The clerk of the peace, Charles Tatham, felt very strongly that the Jansens were guilty of taking up arms, harbouring the Boers, and supplying them with food and shelter. He even produced 12 witnesses to testify against them.<sup>128</sup> In time, however, Dalzell was vindicated as the Jansens were found not guilty of all the charges of treason brought against them.<sup>129</sup>

Other Afrikaners who remained loyal were treated even worse by their own government and especially the military in the unclear application of martial law. W.S. Naudé of the Dundee district was removed to Greytown. Three months after his banishment he requested permission to return to his farm but was denied permission by the military authorities.<sup>130</sup> When further requests failed, Naudé took up Joshua Hershensohn's offer, extended in the *De Natal Afrikaner*, to assist loyal Natal Afrikaners in their attempts to return to their farms. What irked Naudé was that a fellow loyalist like August Jansen was given permission to return to Dundee, and disloyal Afrikaners and English Natalians allowed to remain on their farms, while he was refused permission and suffered economically for it. Hershensohn's good intentions to help fellow Afrikaners by corresponding directly with the prime minister proved to be just that. He failed to negotiate the successful return to their farms of Naudé and another loyal Afrikaner, J.N. Nel of *Bronkhorstville* near Ladysmith. In both instances the military failed to reveal their reasons for denying the farmers permission to return home.<sup>131</sup> Nel himself possibly offered the most plausible reason: 'I know, of course, that being an Africander, or Dutchman,

as we are designated by some, I am liable to be suspected of actively sympathising with the enemy.'<sup>132</sup>

Frank Tatham reached a similar conclusion after he had taken the case of his loyalist client, C.M. Meyer of *Gladstone*, Dundee, to both the prime minister and the governor of Natal. To Tatham the case was simple: The British military allowed Meyer to stay on his farm until 7 November 1901, when he was told to leave his farms, 13 000 acres in total, 500 head of cattle and 4 000 sheep, and proceed with his family to Pietermaritzburg. Tatham's claim 'that Mr Meyer's position is precisely the same as that of any loyal British subject ...' fell on deaf ears and despite Tatham's position and his access to officials in high places, the military denied Meyer permission to return to his farm.<sup>133</sup>

But the exception to the above and the darlings of the Natal colonial authorities amongst the loyalists were the Strydoms. Governor Walter Hely-Hutchinson sang their praises in a letter to Secretary of State Joseph Chamberlain and also recommended their cause to the Natal Government.<sup>134</sup> The government reacted with great speed and Wynand Strydom was rewarded for the 'exemplary behaviour of yourself and members of your family' by being appointed as a justice of the peace.<sup>135</sup> Apart from being appointed to the Natal Civil Service the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission was also instructed to pay immediate attention to the Strydoms' case.<sup>136</sup>

The good relations between the loyalist Strydoms and the Natal authorities soon soured. On 18 August 1900, Charles Tatham brought Gert Strydom to Attorney-General Bale.

After Strydom explained that they had suffered considerable economic losses at the hands of both the Boers and the British, Bale wrote to Prime Minister Hime suggesting that he hoped ‘it may be found possible for the government to reward them substantially’.<sup>137</sup> What the Strydoms were looking for, according to Dr Dalzell, was a grant of 500 acres in land or the equivalent in cash.<sup>138</sup> The Natal Government found this unjustifiable and made it clear that no reward would be paid for their loyalty to any member of the Strydom family.<sup>139</sup>

This verdict silenced the Strydoms for almost two years. Two months after the war ended they launched a second attempt to gain compensation for the loyal services rendered. The Strydoms approached Frank Tatham, the clerk of the peace at Dundee during the war, to try to negotiate some economic benefit on their part. Tatham deemed it necessary to inform the Natal Government of ‘all the facts’ about the most loyal family on the Biggarsberg and proceeded to explain that because they were regularly being called upon to testify in rebel trials the brothers were often absent from their farms. This caused stock losses and a neglect of their farming activities, indirect losses not covered by the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission. When the government held sales of looted stock, the Strydoms, because they were Afrikaners, were denied permits to attend the auctions and buy cattle at low prices. Adding to this dilemma the Strydom family was ostracised by the other Afrikaners in the area. To reward them for their loyalty and to allow them to improve their unbearable position Tatham called upon the government to grant ‘... allotments

in the Piet Retief or Vryheid districts (the other side of Vryheid) so that they can be a long distance away from those that they gave evidence against’. As far as Tatham was concerned, this was not a case of rewarding loyalty but a grant for their services ‘... similar to the grant which was made to the late Richard King in the early days of this Colony, for his services at the time of the Boer Attack upon Capt. Smith.’<sup>140</sup> Tatham’s plea received strong support from Henry Wiltshire, the member of the legislative assembly for Dundee.<sup>141</sup>

The appeal on the behalf of the Strydoms again fell on deaf ears and the Natal Government, possibly wary of setting a precedent, replied: ‘The ministers, while recognising the value of the services of the Strydom family during the war, regret that they do not see their way to extend to these gentlemen any further recognition of their services.’<sup>142</sup>

Several months later the Strydom brothers saw the imminent visit of Joseph Chamberlain to Natal as an opportunity to revive their cause. Attorney-General C.A. de R Labistour approached the colonial secretary on their behalf, requesting an interview with Chamberlain.<sup>143</sup> This was refused until the exact nature of their reasons for requesting an audience was made known. Consequently Wynand Strydom declared his reasons:

We believe that it is an Imperial matter, as the redress we seek is for loss and suffering incurred during an Imperial war, and under martial law. You are aware of my brothers and my own suffering during the war, on account of our loyalty, and that we gave the Government a large amount of assistance after the Boers were driven from Natal. We would like to know if something special could

not be done in the way of a grant of land on easy terms, or otherwise, to help to recompense us for what we have gone through, and the losses we have incurred. Only one of us is an owner of land. On account of constant attendance of treason trials, we had no opportunity of attending stock sales, and buying stock at a reasonable price. We were the only Dutch British subjects in this district, who were removed from their farms, and imprisoned by the Boers. Even now, we are boycotted on account of our loyalty by Dutch residents here. I am afraid that we may be obliged to leave this district, as we shall be unable to procure land for our stock here. We also suffered heavy indirect losses in the form of loss of stock etc., from being driven with our families from our farms for five months.<sup>144</sup>

Despite the eloquently written letter the Strydoms had very little luck. Governor Henry McCallum deemed the issue a matter for local government and not one for Chamberlain, whose time could not allow him to interview individuals.<sup>145</sup> This, however, did not deter the Strydoms; instead they inquired if it would be possible, since it was a matter for the Natal Government, to submit a full report of their treatment and losses during the war.<sup>146</sup> The government responded by pointing out that the compensation by the Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission had, or would, be paid to them in full, but that this compensation only related to direct losses since indirect losses could not be recognised.

In concluding, the Principal Under-Secretary attempted to put the morality of the loyal services rendered by the Strydoms in perspective: ‘This government highly appreciates the loyal attitude which you, and the other members of your family, maintained

throughout the War, and regrets that attitude should have subjected you to ill treatment and annoyances at the hands of the enemy; but it would be impossible, nor do I think that you would desire, that the Government should put a monetary value upon what you suffered in this respect.’<sup>147</sup> This put an end to any hopes of economic gain the loyalist Strydoms harboured as no more rewards and privileges would in future be forthcoming.

Although loyalty for the sake of loyalty was not enough for the Strydoms, for other Natal Afrikaner loyalists and their government this was sufficient but possibly not enough in terms of any wartime deprivation. Evidence of this is the comment by the president of the Special Court, A.W. Mason, after presiding over hundreds of rebel cases. He preferred to play down the suffering of Natal Afrikaner loyalists when compared to that of English colonists. His verdict was:

No instance, however, of any kind, was brought to our notice of personal hardship being inflicted upon a Dutch resident of the Dundee district declining to take up arms. One or two men lost a few pounds, or an ox or two, and some were detained for a short time in laager at Helpmekaar under custody, in the Newcastle district one or two men were sent into the Transvaal and thence to Delagoa Bay, and this happened with respect to the British inhabitants of Dundee some of whom, however, were sent into Ladysmith, and there endured the privations of the siege ... While the loyal Dutch suffered little more than inconvenience, those of British nationality were in many cases treated with extreme harshness, some being confined to their farms, some removed from their farms, while others were deported to the Transvaal.<sup>148</sup>

Even though the available evidence related to the experiences of Natal Afrikaner loyalists at the hands of both Boers and rebels serves to contradict this point of view, Mason's opinion is probably a fair reflection of the general sentiment at the time. Scant wonder then that the loyalist *De Natal Afrikaner* reported in June 1901: 'We who remained loyal since the outbreak of war, and who are still most heartily loyal, we who always contended that our Afrikaners may safely rely upon the sense of fair play of the better class of English Colonists as a guarantee for good treatment in the future, we are now compelled to admit that we were sadly mistaken in our belief.'<sup>149</sup>

Being an Afrikaner in Natal during the Anglo-Boer War, therefore, meant that it was virtually impossible to be regarded as a loyalist. While Afrikaners were imprisoned by virtue of their ethnicity, the Natal authorities were in turn imprisoned by the reductionist manner in which they suspected almost all Afrikaners of being disloyal while using some whom they deemed to be legally loyal to punish those deemed to be rebels. Despite this many still opted to choose loyalty to the Crown.

### **The real Natal Afrikaner war heroes**

Why, then, did a group of Natal Afrikaners from the country occupied by the Boer commandos opt to remain loyal to the Empire and the Colony of Natal? Each Natal Afrikaner who remained loyal had his own reasons for it and consequently their loyalties took on different forms, be it passive or active loyalty – as displayed by, for example, the Afrikaner members of the UMR. While some remained loyal because they believed it to be

the correct thing to do – legally and morally – others acted in this manner because of a series of variables. The Strydoms seem to have been loyal in the hope that they would gain economically from it, T.J. Nel acted loyally to harm his family and friends, Pelster because he was arrested by the Boers, while J.H. Ries of Dundee or the Ortlepps of Proviso B acted humanely but not necessarily loyally. Others like D.J. Pretorius of the farm *Waterfall* near Melmoth, who had reported the presence of small groups of armed Boers near his house on 4 and 19 February 1901,<sup>150</sup> and the 71-year-old Johannes Christoffel Buys, a resident of Natal since 1844, who provided a statement about the actions of the Dreyers, did so not out of conviction, but because they were forced to do so by law.<sup>151</sup> Some were even loyal because of their economic circumstances, i.e. in the employment of English Natalians. Captain E.J. Landsberg, a member of the UMR, worked for T.Y. Griffen near Dundee,<sup>152</sup> A.J. Nienaber worked in the colliery outside of Dundee,<sup>153</sup> F.W. Prinsloo of Dundee, who joined Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry, worked in a English butchery,<sup>154</sup> and F.J. Swartz, an illiterate Afrikaner who worked for an English Natalian near Newcastle, all remained true to the Crown.<sup>155</sup> Others, like the Jansens, remained loyal because they viewed it morally and legally as the right thing to do.

Whatever the motivation of the various Natal Afrikaner loyalists, it was invariably more than a feeling or sentiment but was expressed through deeds which were rationally motivated. Their deeds, even when it proved disadvantageous and costly,

were the litmus test of loyalty to the Crown. At the same time, as Afrikaners they did not allow, in most cases, one loyalty – that of being an Afrikaner related to the invading Boer commandos – to be trumped by another loyalty, namely that of being a British subject. This happened because their social identification with Natal and the Empire weighed more heavily than their identification with the Republics. From the perspectives of the Natal Afrikaner loyalists they were legally, morally and emotionally tied to both Colony and Empire. For this loyalty they were happy to take risks based on deliberate choices, for theirs was not a loyalty of complacency and in all probability not a loyalty merely born out of the Boer invasion.<sup>156</sup>

It is within the ranks of the loyalists that the real Natal Afrikaner heroes of the war are to be found – individuals and families who remained loyal despite being deserted by their own government and the British Army; intimidated, threatened with death, fines, imprisonment and deportation by the Boers; scorned and ostracised by their fellow Natal Afrikaners; and arrested, imprisoned or deported by the British forces. In spite of all this their belief in the Empire did not falter and they firmly believed that their loyalty was worth the trouble and pain it caused.

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- 96 PRO, CO 179/212: Despatch C. Tatham to Attorney-General H. Bale, 20.6.1900; VTR, J.C. Vermaak collection, 03/14223: Testimonies of T.J. and G.C. Strydom and C.L. Pieters against J.C. Vermaak, 24.9.1900; PAR, AGO 1/7/35: Testimony of S.L. Strydom against J.J. van Tonder, 26.11.1901.
- 97 PAR, AGO 1/7/42: Statement by A.W. Illing, 22.5.1900.
- 98 PAR, Archive of the Newcastle magistrate (1/NEW) 1/1/2/1: Regina vs. W.J. Matthee in the special magistrate's court, 8.1.1901.
- 99 PAR, AGO 1/7/37: Rex vs. A.C., H. and T.C. Vermaak, pp.950-952.
- 100 PAR, AGO 1/7/44: Rex vs. P.J., I.J.M. and H.G. Jordaan, pp.1140-1144.
- 101 PAR, AGO 1/8/80: Correspondence surrounding the claim by B. Liebenberg that he had been underpaid, 11.6.1901–12.6.1901.
- 102 J Carville, *Stickin': The case for loyalty*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 2000. *passim*.
- 103 NAR, Post Master's Office (PMO) 5, 352/02: Letter C.R. Cronjé to provost marshal, 26.6.1900.
- 104 Interview with Hans Meyer conducted at Ingagane, 10.7.2000.
- 105 *Natal Witness*, 5.10.1900.
- 106 *De Natal Afrikaner*, 9.10.1900.
- 107 PAR, AGO 1/8/81: Depositions by W.F.J. Prinsloo, J.C.L. Labuschagne, C.F.H. Posselt jnr and snr and S.L. Strydom, 3.6.1901, 18.6.1901, 24.6.1901, 27.6.1901.
- 108 PAR, 1/UMS 38: Letter Magistrate T. Maxwell to Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission, 13.11.1900.
- 109 L.W. Meyer was the son-in-law of the loyalist August Jansen. The latter, on two occasions, unsuccessfully petitioned for the release of Meyer. PAR, AGO 1/8/72: Letter J. Hershensohnn to Attorney-General H. Bale, 2.8.1900; PAR, CSO 1673: Petition by A. Jansen to governor regarding the release of L.W. Meyer, 4.4.1901–15.4.1901.
- 110 PAR, AGO 1/8/81: Deposition by L.W. Meyer, 26.6.1901.
- 111 PAR, AGO 1/8/81: Depositions by G.P. Kemp and S.L. Strydom, 14.6.1901, 21.6.1901.
- 112 PAR, AGO 1/7/34: Rex vs. J.J. and G.C. van Tonder, pp.826-827.
- 113 PAR, AGO 1/8/81: Report to Attorney-General H. Bale by Charles Tatham on the accusations levelled against several loyalists, 4.9.1901.
- 114 PAR, AGO 1/7/34: Rex vs. R. Dannhauser, pp.801-805; *Natal Witness*, 27.2.1902.
- 115 VTR, J.C. Vermaak collection, 03/2554/2: Document entitled 'Voorvalle en grappe in die tronk', 1941.
- 116 War Museum (WM), Dagboek van Johannes Christoffel Buys: Deel 2, pp.20-21, 3-4.6.1901.
- 117 PAR, AGO 1/8/80: Request by S.L. Strydom to be removed from the Pietermaritzburg Prison to Dundee, 6.6.1901–26.6.1901.
- 118 M.P. Tarr private collection: Biographical sketch by H.C. McPeak (formerly Zietsman, born Rheeder) entitled *Vierkleur*.
- 119 Foy Vermaak private collection: Letter J.C. Vermaak to C.T. Vermaak alias Miss C. Herzog, 30.5.1901.
- 120 Foy Vermaak private collection: Poem entitled: *Aan Die Verraaiers* by P.R.N. Vermaak, no date. Vermaak was banned to Pietermaritzburg from Dundee prior to the Boer occupation of the area. He then worked as a teacher in the Pietermaritzburg Concentration Camp.

- 121 VTR, J.C. Vermaak collection, 03/2553: Memoirs of J.C. Vermaak, p.27, 1941.
- 122 Interview with Hans Meyer conducted at Ingagane, 10.7.2000.
- 123 Interview with Foy Vermaak conducted at Helpmekaar, 10.7.2000.
- 124 *Dundee Commercial Advertiser*, 12.3.1902.
- 125 PAR, CSO 2864-2914: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claims, 1900-1903.
- 126 PAR, CSO 2912: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claim by C.M. Wessels, 28.11.1900.
- 127 PRO, CO 179/213: Letter Dr Dalzell to Attorney-General H. Bale, 10.8.1900. Another member of the Jansen family, E.G. (Ernest) was a pupil at Durban High School during the outbreak of the war and served as a sergeant in the Cadet Corps. He later became the Governor-General of South Africa.
- 128 PRO, CO 179/213: Affidavit by C. Tatham regarding the charges against A.J. Jansen and J.S. Jansen, 21.8.1900.
- 129 PAR, AGO 1/7/37: Rex vs. A.J. and J.S. Jansen, pp.338-340. The Jansens were not the only loyalists to suffer this fate. Countless were arrested on suspicion of treason but released without being charged. Others like, N.J. Degenaar, C.J. van Rooyen, I.J. Meyer, W.M. Lotter and C.J. van Rooyen, to name but a few, were arrested, tried and found innocent. See, PAR, AGO 1/7/1-1/7/37: Judgements and sentences against Natal rebels, *circa* 1900–1902.
- 130 PAR, Archive of the Greytown magistrate (1/GTN) 3/2/18: Letter W.S. Naudé to G. Gibson, 27.2.1901; Letter Magistrate Gibson to commandant, Dundee, 27.2.1901.
- 131 PAR, PM 21: Correspondence regarding the return of W.S. Naudé, 26.4.1901–13.5.1901.
- 132 PAR, PM 24: Correspondence regarding the return of J.H. Nel, 28.10.1901–7.11.1901.
- 133 PAR, PM 20: Correspondence regarding the return of C.M. Meyer, 17.12.1900–7.2.1901.
- 134 PRO, CO 179/212: Letter Governor W. Hely-Hutchinson to Colonial Secretary J. Chamberlain, 20.6.1900.
- 135 PAR, CSO 2589: Letter PUS C. Bird to W.W. Strydom, 13.8.1900.
- 136 PAR, CSO 2589: Correspondence PUS C. Bird to secretary Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission, 7.7.1900.
- 137 PAR, CSO 2589: Letter Attorney-General H. Bale to Prime Minister A.H. Hime, 18.8.1900.
- 138 PRO, CO 179/213: Letter Dr Dalzell to Attorney-General H. Bale, 10.8.1900.
- 139 PAR, CSO 2589: Letter Attorney-General H. Bale to Prime Minister A.H. Hime, 18.8.1900.
- 140 PAR, CSO 1708: Letters F.S. Tatham to colonial secretary, 14.7.1902. and 16.7.1902.
- 141 PAR, CSO 1708: Letter H. Wiltshire to Prime Minister A.H. Hime, 24.7.1902.
- 142 PAR, CSO 1708: Minute paper containing pleas on behalf of G.C. Strydom for recognition of services rendered during the war, 16.7.1902–2.8.1902.
- 143 PAR, CSO 1719: Letter Attorney-General C.A. de R. Labistour to Colonial Secretary, 9.12.1902.
- 144 PAR, CSO 1719: Letter W.W. Strydom to Attorney-General C.A. de R. Labistour, 19.12.1902.
- 145 PAR, CSO, 1719: Letter PUS to Attorney-General C.A. de R. Labistour, 27.12.1902.
- 146 PAR, CSO, 1719: Letter W.W. Strydom to PUS, 14.2.1903.
- 147 PAR, CSO, 1719: Letter PUS to W.W. Strydom, 20.2.1903.
- 148 PRO, CO 179/218: Report by president of the Special Court, A.W. Mason, in response to the application by Mrs J.J. Webb to have her husband's sentence reduced, 10.6.1901.
- 149 *De Natal Afrikaner*; 18.6.1901.
- 150 Durban Archive Repository (DAR), Archives of the Melmoth magistrate (1/Mel) 3/2/8: Letter D.J. Pretorius to magistrate, Melmoth, 4.2.1901; Letter D.J. Pretorius to magistrate, Melmoth, 19.2.1901.
- 151 PAR, AGO 1/7/34: Statement by J.C. Buys, 19.7.1901.
- 152 PAR, CSO 2888: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claim by E.J. Landsberg, 5.2.1901.
- 153 PAR, CSO 2896: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claim by A.J. Nienaber, 9.2.1901.
- 154 PAR, CSO 2900: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claim by F.W. Prinsloo, 20.11.1900.
- 155 PAR, CSO 2906: Invasion Losses Enquiry Commission: Claim by F.J. Swartz, 17.1.1901.
- 156 J. Kleinig, *Loyalty – Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. Stanford, 2007. *passim*.