

# **ARCHIVAL AND HISTORICAL DESKTOP STUDY**

**ON THE FARM LODWICH'S LUST 163-JU**

**Report: BEUP-LL-1**

**Compiled by: P.D. Birkholtz**

**Date: 16 January 2006**



***Archaeology Africa CC***

P.O. Box 14706, Hatfield, 0028

Tel: +27 12 333 7142

Fax: +27 12 333 7213

E-mail: [polke@lantic.net](mailto:polke@lantic.net)

## INDEX

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<b>2. AIMS</b> .....	1
<b>3. METHODOLOGY</b> .....	1
<b>4. CARTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL</b> .....	2
4.1 Undated Map (National Archives, Maps, S.2/6) .....	2
4.2 Undated Map (National Archives, Maps, S.2/8) .....	3
4.3 Historical Map, dated 21 April 1891 (National Archives, Maps, 1/148) .....	4
4.4 "De Kaap", Imperial Map of South Africa, April 1900 .....	5
4.5 "Komatipoort" Sheet, dated April 1910 .....	6
4.6 2531BC Topographical Sheet, dated 1970 .....	6
<b>5. FINDINGS</b> .....	9
5.1 The Stone Age .....	9
5.2 The Iron Age .....	9
5.2.1 Findings from the Malelane ranger's division .....	11
5.2.2 Findings from the Crocodile Bridge ranger's division .....	12
5.3 Historical Settlement and Distribution of Black Farmers .....	14
5.3.1 Ethnographic Data .....	14
5.3.2 Historical Data .....	16
5.4 The Road to Delagoa Bay .....	16
5.4.1 The Nellmapius Road .....	17
5.4.1.1 Nellmapius's Plan .....	17
5.4.1.2 The <i>Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company</i> .....	18
5.4.1.3 The rest station on Lodwich's Lust .....	20
5.4.1.4 Nellmapius Drift .....	22
5.4.1.5 The end of the " <i>Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company</i> " .....	22

5.4.2 The Pettigrew Road .....	23
5.5 The Railway Line to Delagoa Bay.....	25
5.6 Anglo Boer War (1899-1902).....	27
5.7 Treasure Hunts .....	30
5.7.1 Search for the Kruger Millions .....	30
5.7.2 Other Treasure Stories.....	33
5.8 Establishment of the Kruger National Park.....	33
<b>6. DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>37</b>

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

*Archaeology Africa* was appointed by *BE at UP (Business Enterprises at the University of Pretoria)* to undertake an historical and archival study of the farm Lodwich's Lust 163-JU, situated on the southern boundary of the Kruger National Park in the vicinity of Hectorspruit.

The study forms part of the overall Heritage Impact Assessment which is undertaken for assessing the impact of proposed development activities on the farm.

## **2. AIMS**

The primary aim of the study was to locate, review and compile available archival and historical records to provide supportive information for the Heritage Impact Assessment undertaken on the farm.

The results of the study can be used to make recommendations and evaluations based on historical truth rather than conjecture.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

The methodology consisted of the study of published and unpublished literature, archival records as well as maps to compile the available information needed to address the project aims.

The following institutions were approached for information:

- National Archives, Pretoria
- Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, Cape Town
- UNISA Library, Pretoria

#### 4. CARTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

##### 4.1 Undated Map (National Archives, Maps, S.2/6)

A section of an undated historical map is shown in **Figure 1**, which is said to depict a new road between Barberton and Delagoa Bay. Such a road was built during 1886 by one Pettigrew, and the completed road was referred to as the Pettigrew Road.

Although the farms Pretorius Kop (outside of depicted area), Joubertshoop and to a lesser extent Coopersdal are shown, another associated property known as Lodwich's Lust is not even indicated on the map. All these properties once formed part of the so-called Nellmapius road between Delagoa Bay and the goldfields, and were used as rest stations.

The reason for the omission of Lodwich's Lust is not clear. Another inaccuracy on the map is the meeting of the Pettigrew and Nellmapius Roads in the vicinity of Coopersdal. These two roads used to meet a short distance from the Nellmapius Drift (over the Crocodile River), and within the boundaries of the farm Lodwich's Lust.

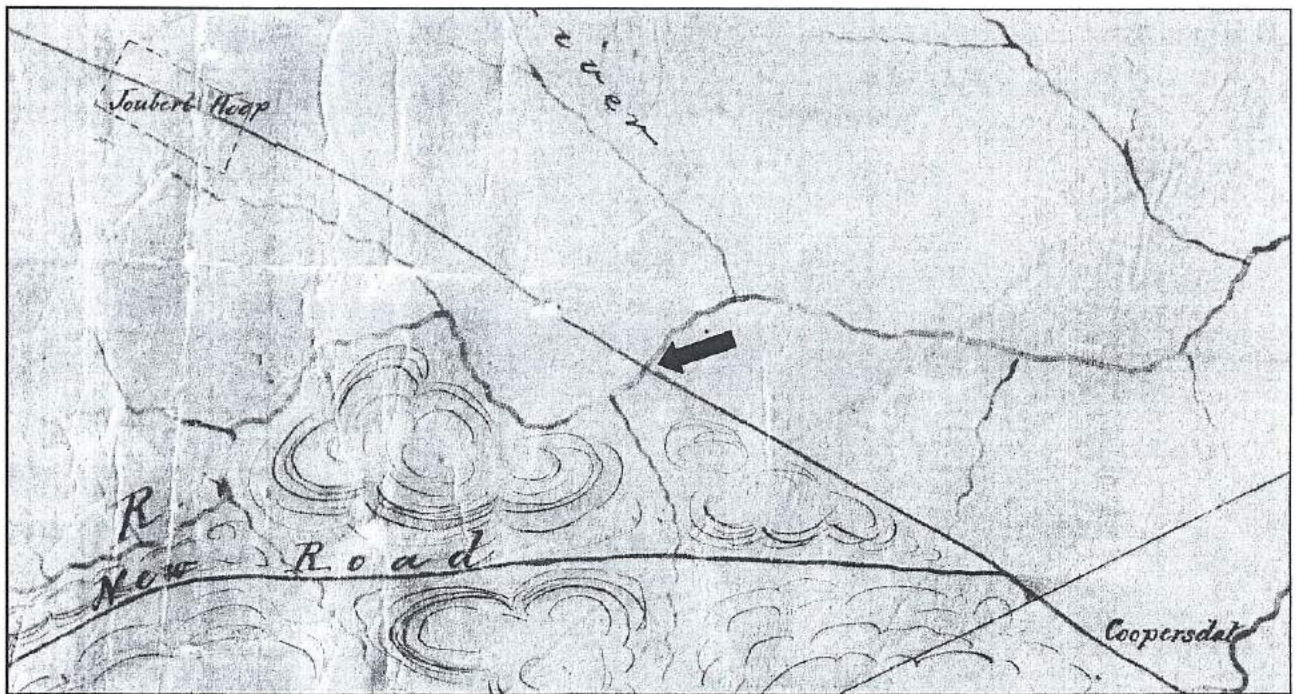


Figure 1 Undated map (National Archives, Maps, S. 2/6) which depicts the new road between Barberton and Delagoa Bay, possibly dating from ca. 1886. The arrow indicates the position of Nellmapius Drift on the farm Lodwich's Lust.

#### 4.2 Undated Map (National Archives, Maps, S.2/8)

**Figure 2** depicts a section of an undated map which indicates the area set aside for a game reserve. The farms Joubertshoop and Lodwich's Lust are both shown on the map. The pink boundaries of these farms indicate that they are private farms falling within the boundaries of the game reserve.

The red inscription in the bottom right of the depiction demarcates a section of the proposed railway line between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay. The railway line to Hectorspruit was completed on 1 October 1891 (De Jong, Van der Waal & Heydenrych, 1988), which indicates that the map depicted here must pre-date this date.

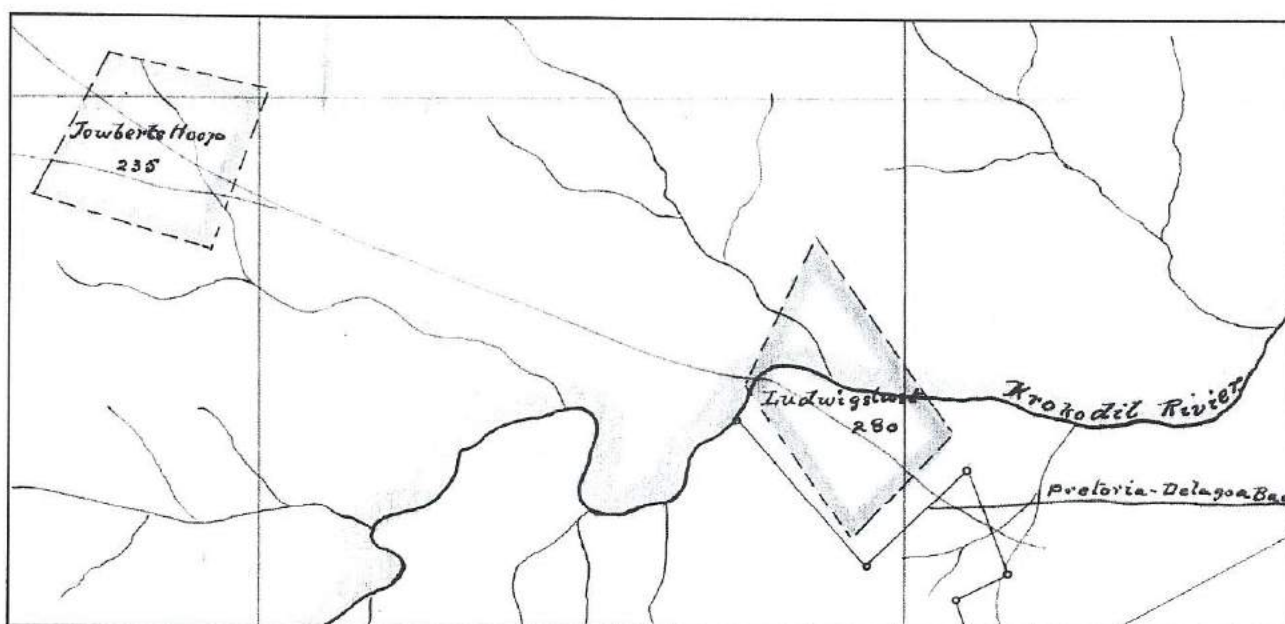


Figure 2 Undated map showing the farms Joubertshoop and Lodwich's Lust, the old transport road as well as the proposed railway line in the bottom right-hand corner.

### 4.3 Historical Map, dated 21 April 1891 (National Archives, Maps, 1/148)

The map depicted in **Figure 3** is untitled, and dates from 21 April 1891. Although it was compiled to indicate the proposed railway line between Komatipoort and Leydsdorp, the map also shows the Nellmapius Road crossing over the Crocodile River at Lodwich's Lust. The Pettigrew Road from Barberton is also shown and meets the Nellmapius Road a short distance south-east of the drift.

Two words appear in the general vicinity of where Lodwich's Lust is located, namely "Makay" some distance south-west of the Nellmapius Drift, and "Mameluken" to the east thereof. On a map titled "Komatipoort" and dated April 1910, a property to the west of Hectorspruit is titled Mackay's. Today this property forms part of Thornhill Farm 171-JU.

On a map published by Myburgh (1949), a mission station ("Makukukwa") is depicted in the vicinity of where the word "Mameluken" is shown. Whether these two features are linked in any way, is not certain. However, it must be stated that the word could possibly indicate a Black settlement.



Figure 3 Enlarged section of the untitled map dated 21 April 1891, which was compiled to depict the proposed railway line between Komatipoort and Leydsdorp (see red demarcation in top right-hand corner).

#### 4.4 "De Kaap", Imperial Map of South Africa, April 1900

The map depicted here is the "De Kaap" sheet of the Imperial Map of South Africa, dated April 1900. It does not appear to be very accurate. The crossing over the Crocodile River known as Nellmapius Drift is indicated in the wrong place. Its actual location is indicated by the arrow.. The smaller road crossing over the river before meeting the transport road, is not shown on any of the other maps. However, a sketch map produced during a search for buried gold in 1904 (refer **Figure 23**) shows strong similarities to the layout of these two roads.

Another interesting aspect depicted on the map is the phrase "T.Cons.Co.". This suggests that by this time the farm was already owned by the *Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company*.

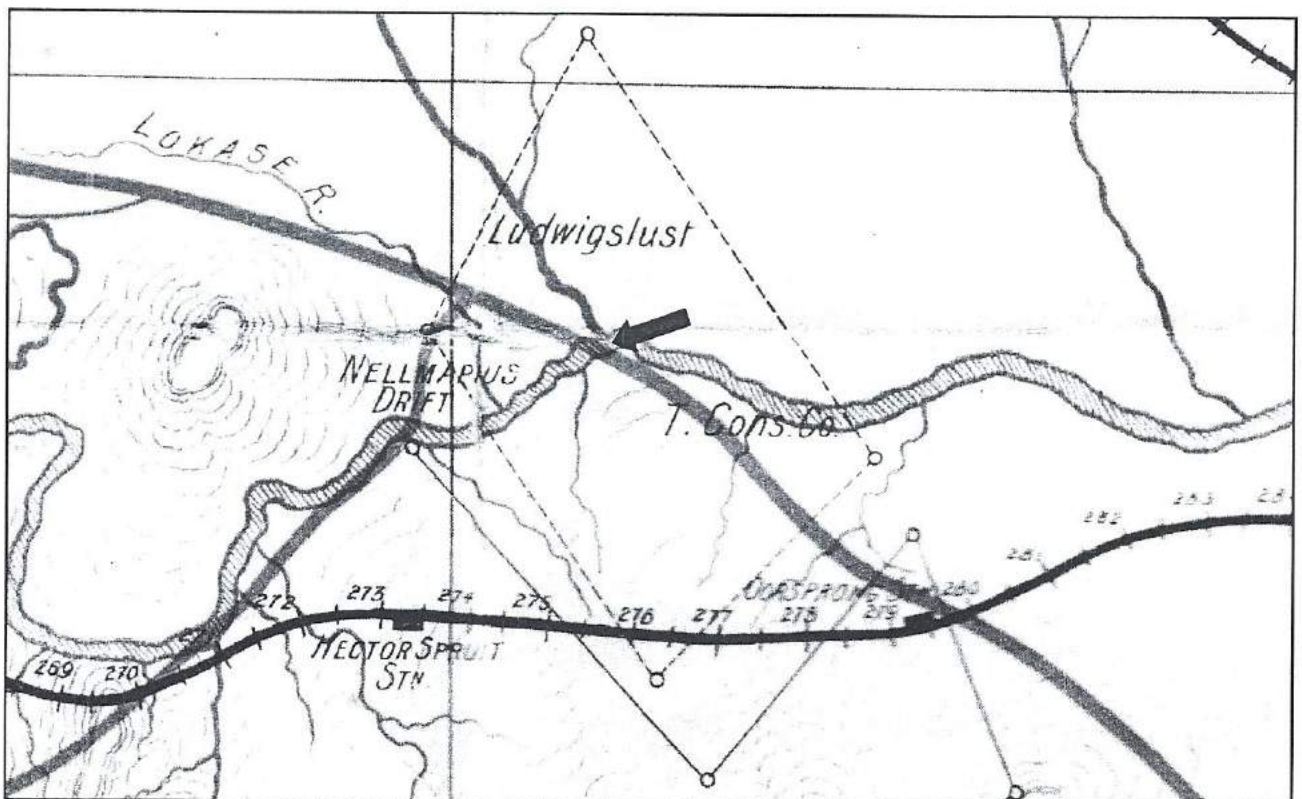


Figure 4 The "De Kaap" sheet, Imperial Map of South Africa, April 1900 (National Archives, Maps, 3/512).



#### **4.5 "Komatipoort" Sheet, dated April 1910**

The sheet depicted below was drawn and lithographed in the Surveyor-General's Office and printed at the Government Printing Works in Pretoria. The map provides an accurate historical depiction of the farm Lodwich's Lust. The transport road (also referred to as the Nellmapius Road) is seen crossing the Crocodile River at Nellmapius Drift, whereas the general layout of the 1886 Pettigrew road is still demarcated by a road. This road also meets the transport road south-east of the drift.

Although the map depicts Black settlements by making use of a hut symbol, no such features are shown within the boundaries of the farm. However, such a settlement (marked in red) is shown for the north-eastern corner of the adjacent farm (presently known as Thankerton 175-JU).

#### **4.6 2531BC Topographical Sheet, dated 1970**

Although this sheet is the first edition, it was compiled using aerial photography from 1965 and surveys undertaken during 1970.

The following features are depicted on the map:

- Huts (marked in red) are indicated in two localities, namely a cluster of twelve huts near the Nellmapius Drift, and a single hut further east.
- Three different kraals, located in two localities (marked in blue)
- A shed is indicated in the north-western corner of the farm, just inside the boundary.

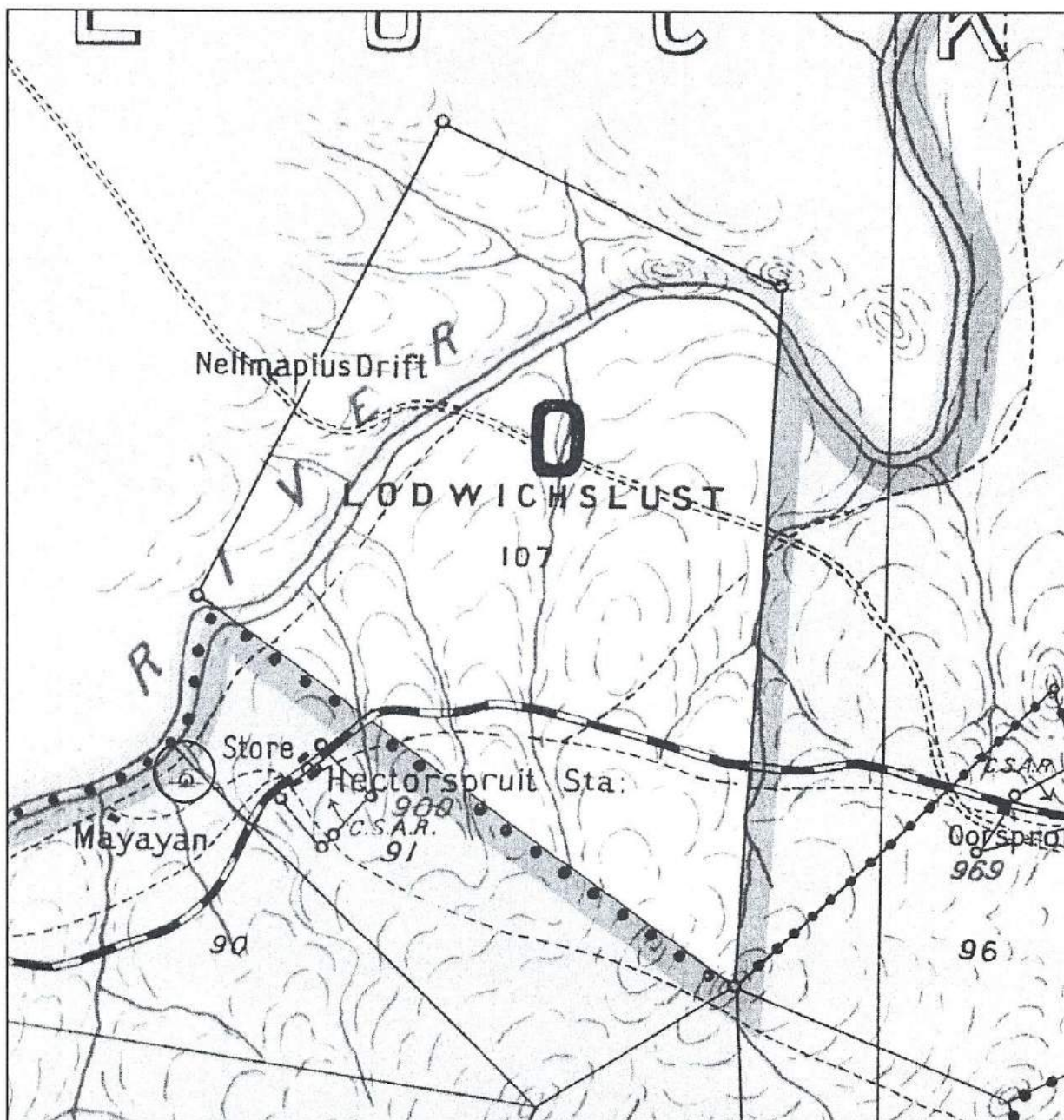


Figure 5 "Komatiport" sheet, dated April 1910 (National Archives, Maps, 2/202). A hut shown on a neighbouring farm is marked in red.

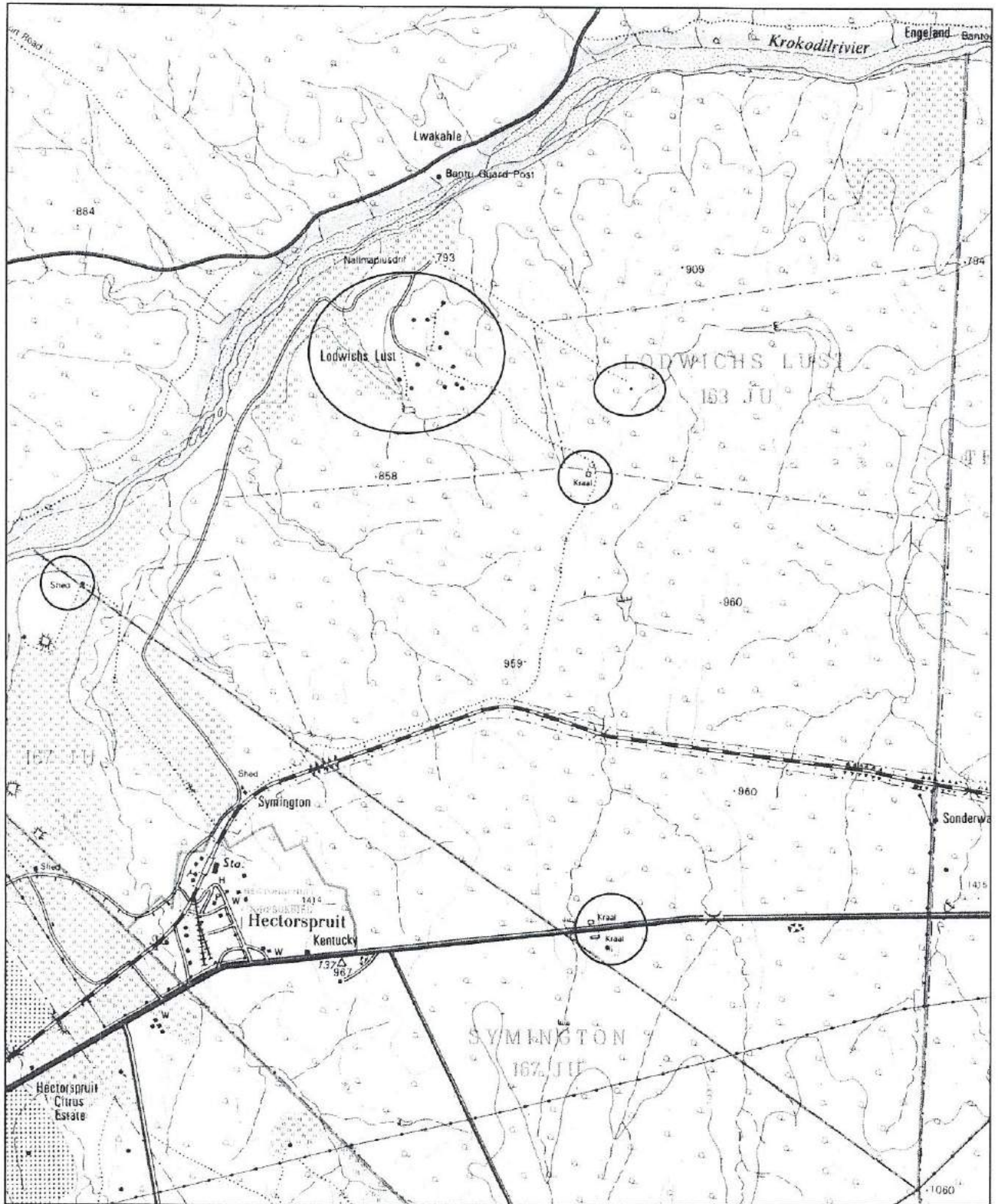


Figure 6 2531BC Topographical Sheet, dated 1970.

## **5. FINDINGS**

### **5.1 The Stone Age**

Various archaeological surveys of the Kruger National Park were undertaken by the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of the University of Pretoria. These surveys took place between 1976 and 1985, and resulted in the discovery of numerous Stone Age open air sites, shelters and caves. Apart from the surveys, limited excavations were also undertaken on certain sites.

Sites associated with the Early, Middle and Later Stone Age have been found in the Stolsnek ranger's division (Eloff, 1990), which is located in the south-western corner of the Kruger National Park and adjacent to the Malelane ranger's division. Stone Age sites have also been found in the Malelane ranger's division.

The research of retired ranger Mike English in especially the southern part of the Park has revealed numerous rock art sites as well. His research has revealed rock art sites approximately 15 kilometres from the present study area. Many of these rock art sites are also associated with archaeological material and deposits associated with the Stone Age. These rock art sites are mostly located on rocky outcrops.

Stone Age and rock art sites in the general vicinity of the study area but located outside of the Kruger National Park, are also known. A few years ago, more than 100 rock art sites were located in the Bongani Mountain Lodge Game Reserve in the Krokodilpoort Mountains (Hampson *et al*, 2002), approximately 35 kilometres west of the present study area. Most of these rock art sites are indicated to be associated with the Later Stone Age.

### **5.2 The Iron Age**

During the surveys undertaken by the University of Pretoria, a total of 313 Iron Age sites were located. Apart from the surveys, limited excavations were also undertaken on certain sites. The Iron Age findings from both the surveys and excavations were used by Professor Andrie Meyer for his PhD Thesis titled "*n Kultuurhistoriese Interpretasie van die Ystertydperk in die Nasionale Krugerwildtuin*", dated April 1986.

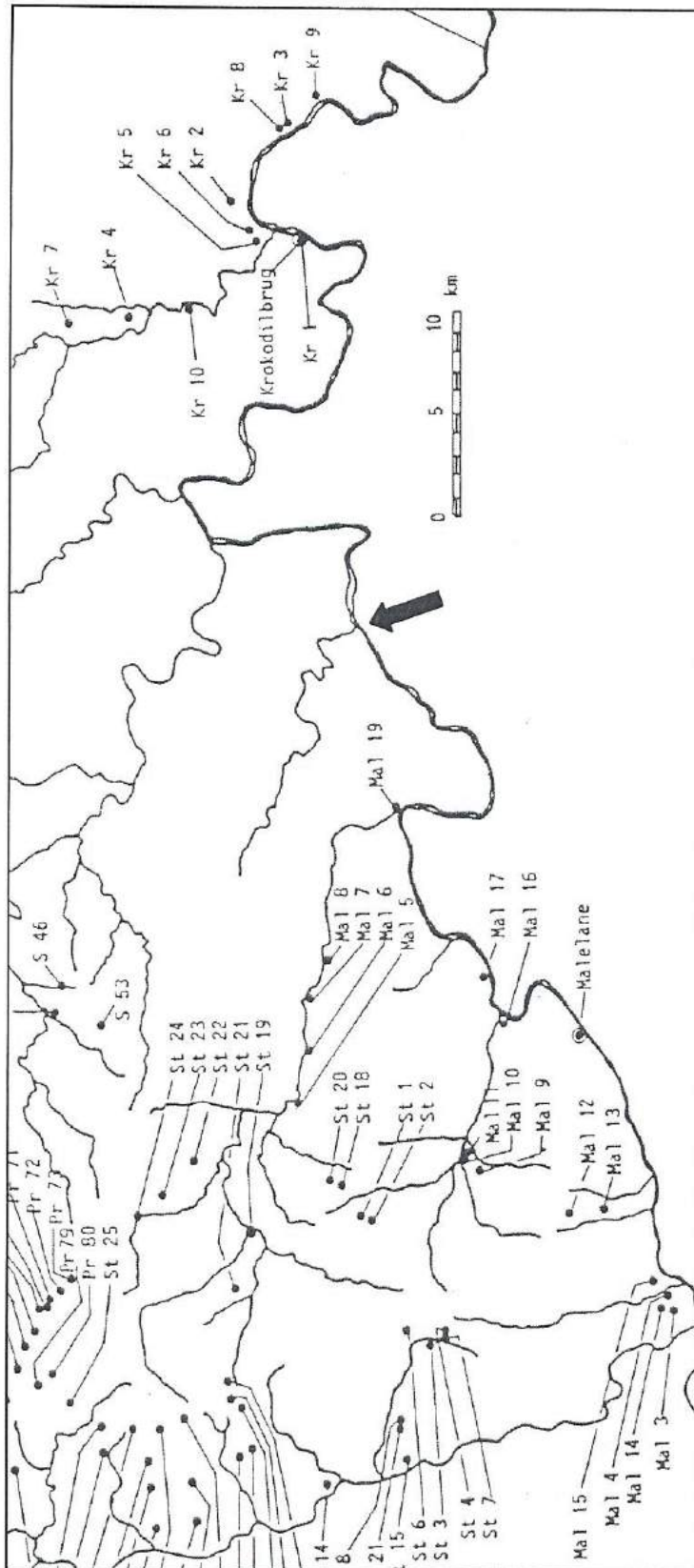


Figure 7 Site distribution map of the southern Kruger National Park. The position of Lodwich's Lust is indicated (Meyer, 1986:95)

Although the study area for Meyer's doctorate was the Kruger National Park, his findings in terms of areas closer to the present study area of Lodwich's Lust would be of relevance. In this regard it is especially the results of the archaeological surveys and excavations undertaken in the Malelane and Crocodile Bridge ranger's divisions which are important.

### **5.2.1 Findings from the Malelane ranger's division**

In the Malelane area a total of 19 Iron Age sites were located. Of these sites, only two were associated with stonewalling, whereas only three sites were associated with stone concentrations. The decorated ceramics from those Malelane sites for which enough such material were obtained, were classified as belonging to Meyer's (1986) Ceramic Group 2 (one site: Mal 10) and Ceramic Group 9 (four possible sites: Mal 3, Mal 4, Mal 10 and Mal 16). Ceramic Group 2 is defined as pots characterised by outward hanging rims with oblique broad line incisions, and bowls that are semi-carinated with incised motifs such as triangles.

Although very few classifiable examples of ceramics associated with Ceramic Group 9 could be found, pots are mostly characterised by slightly concave necks that in some cases hang slightly inwards, whereas the rims are bent slightly outwards. Broad line incisions in bands and triangles on the necks and shoulder sections are often found, whereas some of the pots are also carinated. The bowls are all carinated with broad line incisions on the shoulder (Meyer, 1986).

Ceramic Group 2 sites were classified as being associated with the Meyer's Mutlumuvi Industry. The sites from this industry are mostly found in the vicinity of large streams and rivers, and especially near confluences. Ash middens, small ash-filled pits as well as bone and ceramic concentrations can be expected at these sites. Only one of the sites from the Mutlumuvi Industry in the Kruger National Park was dated, namely site TSH1 from the Tshokwane ranger's division. This site was dated to  $510 \pm 50$  A.D. Meyer (1986) associated these sites with sites excavated at Broederstroom, Lydenburg as well as Mzonjani.

Ceramic Group 9 was associated with the Mahlambamadube Industry. These sites are also mostly found in the vicinity of streams and rivers, and especially where confluences exist. Very little further information of this industry exists.

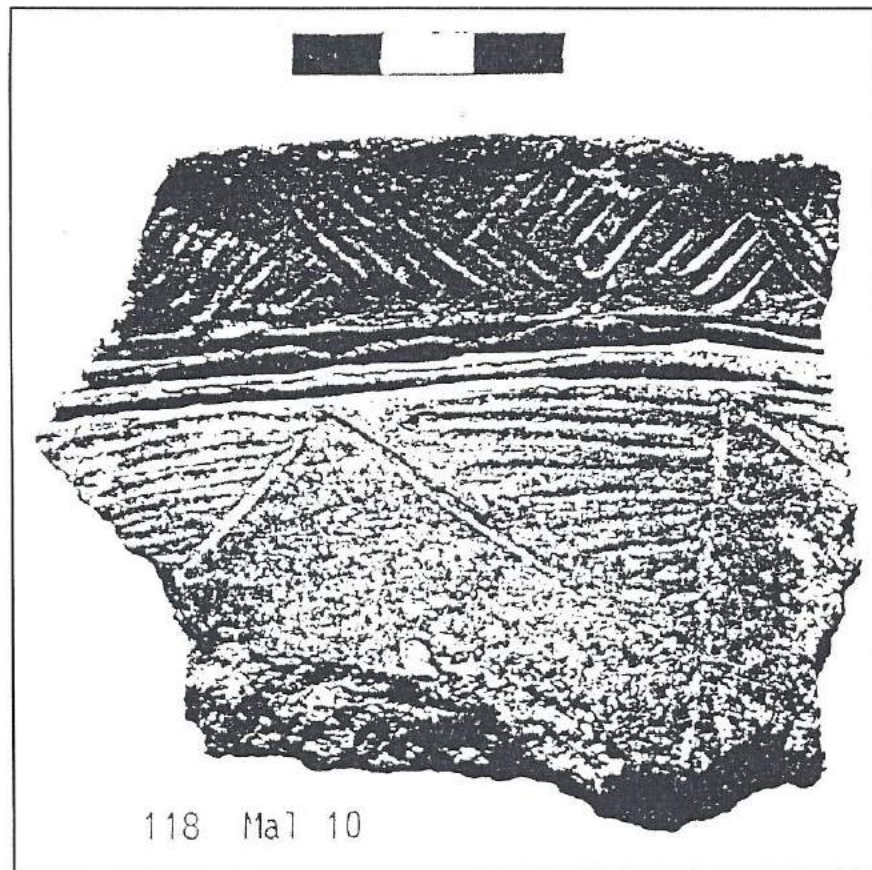


Figure 8 Decorated ceramic sherd from site Mal 10 (Meyer, 1986, Figure 118).

### 5.2.2 Findings from the Crocodile Bridge ranger's division

Ten Iron Age sites were located in the Crocodile Bridge ranger's division. Of these, only three sites were associated with stone concentrations and no sites were found associated with stonewalling. The Crocodile Bridge sites containing large enough decorated ceramic assemblages for classification purposes, were classified as belonging to Meyer's (1986) Ceramic Group 9 (one possible site: Kr 7) and Ceramic Group 12 (six sites: Kr 1, Kr 2, Kr 3, Kr 6, Kr 8 and Kr 10). Ceramic Group 9 has been discussed and can be seen under the previous section.

Ceramic Group 12 is characterised by slightly shouldered pots with none or very little evidence of necks. The decorations are panels with narrow bands of oblique stamping. The preferred decoration motif is the herringbone motif, while the decoration often stretches from the rim to the shoulder. The external surfaces are often decorated with red burnish. No bowls or fragments of bowls have yet been found at any of these sites.

Group 12 sites are associated with the Ngwenya Industry. Characteristics of these sites include the presence of ceramics and ceramic-fragments surrounding small kraal ash middens. Furthermore, these sites are mostly found in the vicinity of riverbanks.

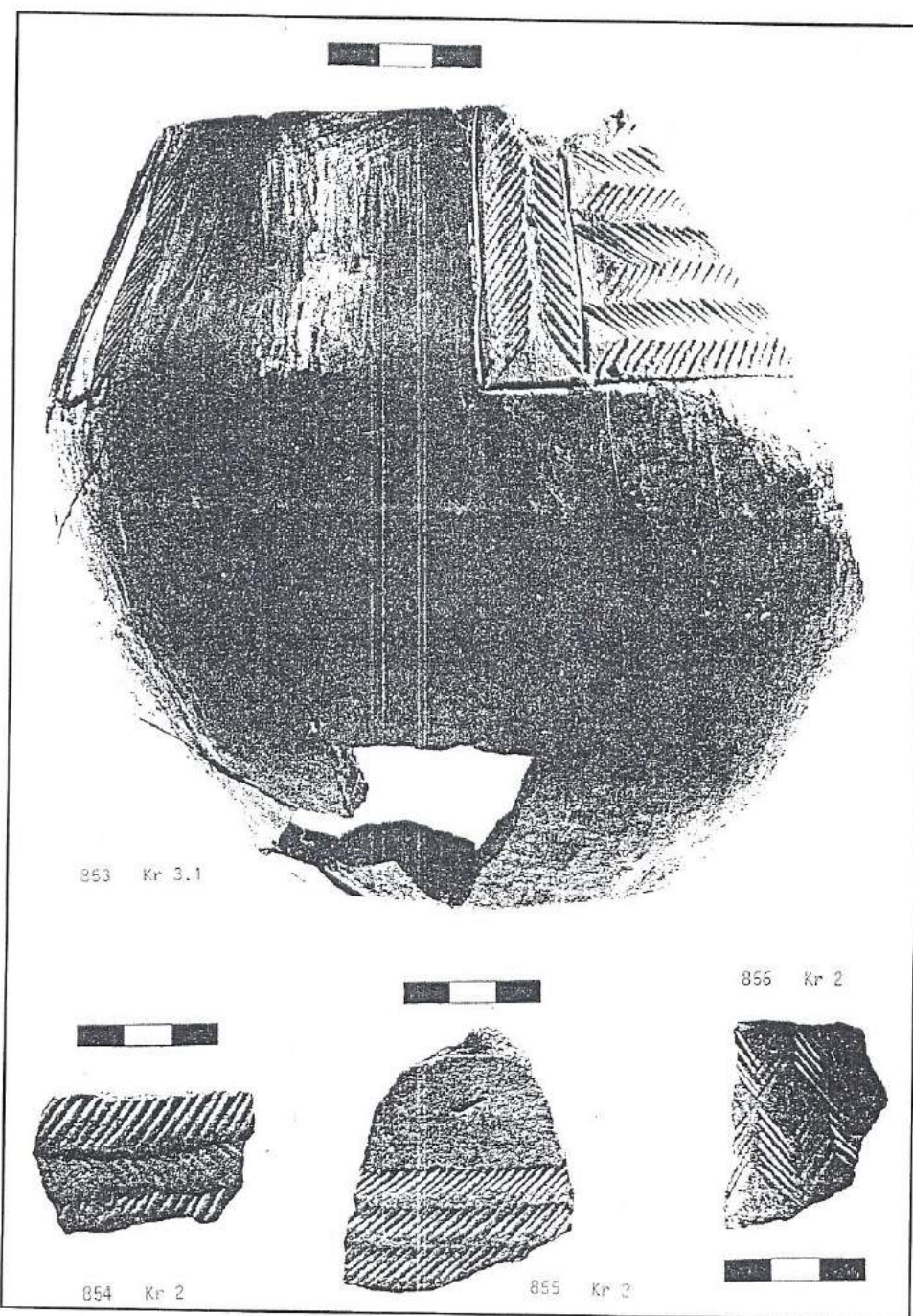


Figure 9 Decorated ceramic sherds from sites Kr 2 and Kr 3 (Meyer, 1986, Figures 853-856).



### 5.3 Historical Settlement and Distribution of Black Farmers

#### 5.3.1 Ethnographic Data

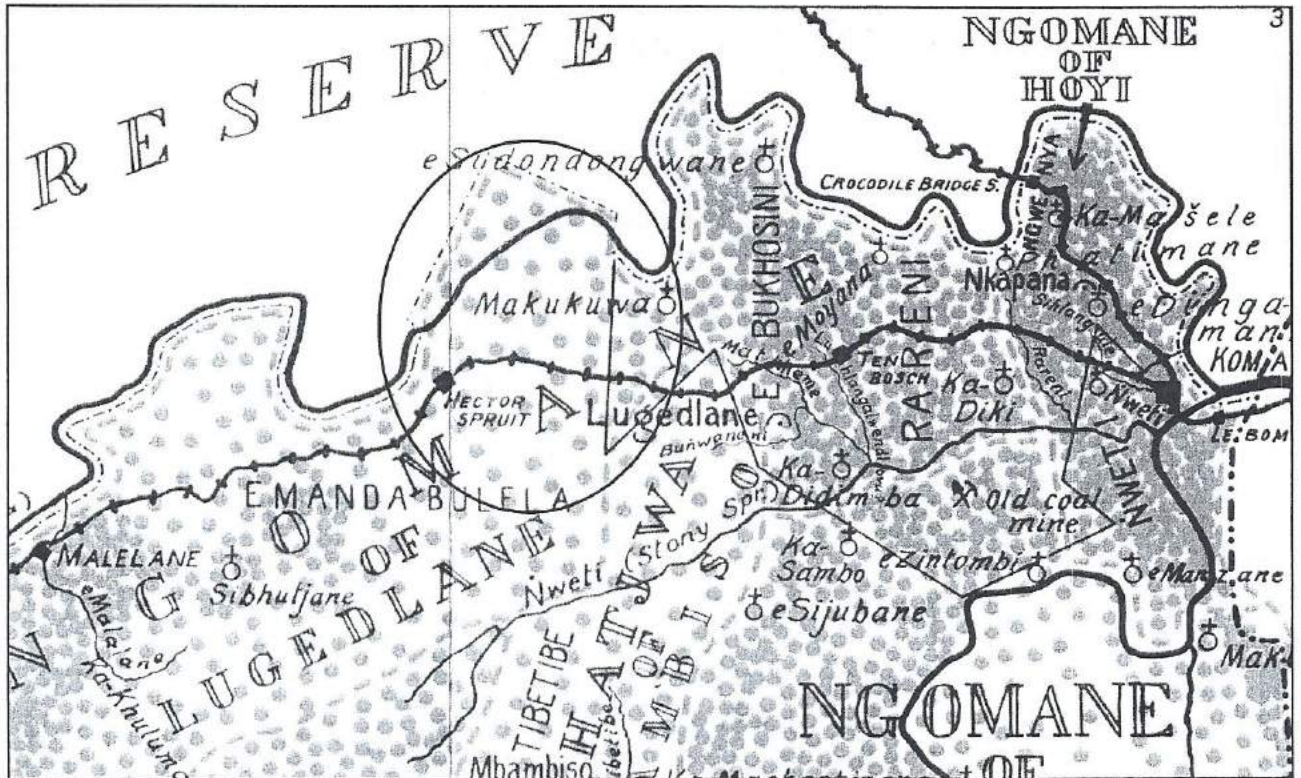


Figure 10 Section of a map that was published in Myburgh's (1949) ethnographic work on the Black communities of the Barberton District. Lodwich's Lust is marked in blue.

During the 1940s the area falling between the Crocodile River in the north, the Stony (Nweti) Spruit in the south, the Malelane Estates in the west and the Rareni (Lily Pond Spruit) in the east was occupied by the Ngomane of Luggedlane. This group had branched off from the Ngomane parent group in ca. 1800 (Myburgh, 1949).

The earliest oral historical evidence for the group places them in the vicinity of White River and possibly during the late 1600s. In approximately 1700, reign of *Kgoši* Ngomane, they moved to the Komati River. Later, in 1750, the headquarters was again moved, this time to the bank of the Crocodile River opposite the Crocodile Bridge siding. This took place during the reign of *Kgoši* Simuhulu.

After separating from the parent group, the Ngomane of Legudlane settled within what is today the Kruger National Park until ca. 1840, when they moved to Mozambique. Shortly thereafter,

during ca. 1850 they returned to the Crocodile River and settled in the vicinity of Hectorspruit. Their leader during this time was *Kgoši* Mdjedjane. He died on 3 February 1912 and was buried at his settlement near Hectorspruit (Myburgh, 1949).

After the death of Mdjedjane, he was succeeded by his son Luggedlane. Shortly thereafter the main settlement was moved to an area to the north of Oorsprong Kop on the farm Tenbosch, which is directly to the east of Lodwich's Lust. Although the exact date is unknown, a possible date of 1915 is suggested for this move. In 1944, the capital was moved to Bunwaneni, also on Tenbosch.



Figure 11 *Kgoši* Legudlane (Myburgh, 1949: Plate 10).

An interesting observation made by Myburgh (1949) was that the Ngomane groups, although not principally pastoralists, used to have numerous cattle herds. However, their settlement in these areas of the Lowveld meant that large portions of their cattle herds were lost due to tsetse fly. The Ngomane's last cattle were destroyed during the outbreak of foot and mouth disease and the subsequent destruction of cattle by the authorities in 1937. As a result, no cattle kraals were observed by Myburgh during his research in 1949.

### 5.3.2 Historical Data

An historical reference to this settlement of Mdjedjane is found in the book by Edwards P. Mathers, *"The Gold Fields Revisited"*. The book describes the observations made by Mathers on a journey from Delagoa Bay to the goldfields in 1887. Of interest for the present study is that apart from Mdjedjane (Mathers refers to it as "*Umjijan*"), the existence of other settlements are also alluded to. For example, Mathers (1887) indicates the existence of a kraal in the vicinity of what appears to be the Nellmapius Drift across the Crocodile River, 500 yards to the right of the road. If the road described in the book is the same as the Nellmapius road, the kraal or settlement should be located within the boundaries of Lodwich's Lust.

Another historical reference to the existence of Black settlements in the vicinity of Nellmapius Drift comes from the period during the Sekhukhune wars when the rest station at Ludwich's Lust, including stores of ammunition and weapons, were abandoned. A visit to the deserted rest stations was subsequently made by the bailiff and police inspector of Pilgrim's Rest, William (Bill) Barter. Barter managed to recover the abandoned ammunition and weapons from Lodwich's Lust, and is said to have temporarily placed these in the care of a local headman (Liebenberg, 1990).

### 5.4 The Road to Delagoa Bay

Ever since the first discoveries of gold in what is today Mpumalanga, increasing numbers of fortune-seekers and prospectors from all over the world flooded to these areas. The only transport road with which supplies and goods could be brought to the goldfields was from Durban, approximately 720 kilometres away. This excessive distance resulted in exorbitant prices for all items sold at the goldfields. The need for a shorter alternative road was soon felt. From the early 1870s various attempts were made to achieve this.

In 1871 a person by the name John Pigott Moodie had travelled twice between Delagoa Bay and the goldfields to find a suitable route for a road to be built. Nothing came of his undertaking.

On 19 September 1873, two brother-in-laws by the names of Walter George Compton and James Atherton Hampson, were awarded the tender to build a road from the Mac Mac goldfields to the Mozambique border. The road was completed by the end of the year, and transport riders were allowed to use it (Pienaar, 1990).

Although a road to Delagoa Bay therefore existed by this time, it was Alois Hugo Nellmapius who became famous for providing a transport network between the goldfields and Delagoa Bay. His undertaking was supported by the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* in that it was felt that the Compton-Hampson road was largely untraversable (Liebenberg, 1990).

#### **5.4.1 The Nellmapius Road**

Alois Hugo Nellmapius was born in Budapest, Hungary, on 5 May 1847. He decided to move to Southern Africa and in 1873 arrived in Delagoa Bay (present-day Maputo), from where he travelled by foot to the goldfields at Mac Mac. After the discovery of gold at Pilgrim's Rest, Nellmapius moved there and became a successful entrepreneur. His business activities included alluvial gold mining and vegetable farming.

##### **5.4.1.1 Nellmapius's Plan**

The need for a road linking the goldfields with Delagoa Bay soon attracted Nellmapius' keen eye. He knew that the road would pass through areas where man and beast would be deeply affected by Malaria and tsetse fly. As a result Nellmapius argued for substituting the oxen and horses with donkeys, mules and even camels. He also reasoned that local Black people, who were more resistant to Malaria than the European transport riders, could be used as porters. Nellmapius also saw the need for establishing refreshment stations at frequent intervals along the route where fresh food and accommodation were available for man and beast (Kaye, 1978).

The proposal made by Nellmapius was that he wanted to transport the goods from Delagoa Bay to the Lebombo Mountains via boats - probably along the Komati River. Here the goods were to be placed in store rooms. The next component in the route was for the goods to be carried over the mountains and all the way to Pretorius Kop. Nellmapius was of the opinion that as these areas are mostly affected by both Malaria and tsetse fly, the goods had to be transported by human carriers. From Pretorius Kop the goods were to be placed on ox wagons and transported to Mac Mac (Liebenberg, 1990).



Figure 12 Alois Hugo Nellmapius (National Archives, TAB, 19307)

The available information suggests that in the end human carriers were used from Delagoa Bay all the way to Pretorius Kop, without the use of boats. Furthermore, private transport riders were allowed to use the road on payment of toll fees (Kaye, 1978). One of the more famous of these transport riders, who made use of the road later on, was Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. He described some of his experiences along the road in his book "*Jock of the Bushveld*".

#### **5.4.1.2 The Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company**

In 1875 Nellmapius met the Acting State President, General P.J. Joubert in Pretoria and presented him with his ideas. Joubert agreed with the plans and agreed to present them to the Volksraad.

On 18 May 1875 a contract was signed between Acting President O.J. Joubert, Acting state Secretary H. Stiemens and A.H. Nellmapius in Pretoria (Liebenberg, 1990). In terms of this

agreement, Nellmapius was granted ownership of six farms along the route on which rest stations were to be established. These farms were Burger's Hall, Joubertshoop, Lodwich's Lust, Coopersdal, Pretorius Kop and Castilhopolis, which were all transferred to Nellmapius on 9 May 1876. They were strategically placed every twenty-four kilometres of the route. Nellmapius also received two farms in the Soutpansberg area, namely Parsons and Excellence (Liebenberg, 1990).

The farms granted to Nellmapius by the Z.A.R. totalled three thousand morgen (2570 hectares), which meant that at the time Nellmapius became one of the greatest landowners in the country.

After signing the agreement with the Z.A.R. government, Nellmapius visited Lydenburg to meet with the magistrate of Lydenburg, Advocate Cooper. Cooper agreed to help Nellmapius where he could and also agreed to travel with him to Delagoa Bay to meet with the Governor-General of Moçambique. Within a short time Nellmapius was granted a concession in Moçambique similar to the one he had received in the Z.A.R.. Furthermore, he was also offered the position of vice-consul for Portugal on the goldfields, which he accepted.

Nellmapius registered a company titled *The Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company* in Lydenburg. The company was a partnership consisting of himself and a Lourenço Marques resident, Albertos Carlos de Paiva Rapoza. The contract for the partnership was signed in the presence of Landdrost Cooper in Lydenburg and in terms of its stipulations all the farms acquired from the Transvaal Republic and Portugal were to be divided between the partners so that Nellmapius owned two-thirds of each farm, and Rapoza one-third (Liebenberg, 1990).

The construction of the road commenced after that, and in a relatively short time teams of people were working on the road between the goldfields and the Crocodile River. The river crossing for the road was made on the farm Lodwich's Lust, and became known as Nellmapius Drift. From here the road was made to Matalha Poort and all the way to Delagoa Bay. On each of the farms allocated to Nellmapius rest stations were established which consisted of shops and storage depots under white managers (Kaye, 1978).

On 22 November 1875 a letter was written by Nellmapius and addressed to P. Joubert. By this time the road was already well advanced, and Nellmapius informed the Acting President that

numerous hunters and travellers had already made use of the completed stations. He also suggested that his rest stations would stimulate immigration to these areas. One of the concerns that Nellmapius had was that should transport riders be allowed to make use of the rest stations, these would turn into gamble dens. The available information is not clear whether transport riders were subsequently prohibited from staying at the rest stations.

The first goods transported along the Nellmapius road reached the gold fields on 12 February 1876 (Liebenberg, 1990).

5.4.1.3 The rest station on Lodwich's Lust

**LORENZO MARQUES AND S. A. REPUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICE**

Give notice that the following Stations on the route from Lorenzo Marques to the Gold-Fields are now established:

Station No. 3. <i>Progresso de Guider</i> ,	81 miles from Lorenzo Marques.	Station Master, R. LENTKE.
" No. 4. <i>Castilopolis</i> ,	47	" " W. BOLD.
" No. 5. <i>Cooperadäal</i> ,	55	" " H. PRASCH.
→ No. 6. <i>Ludwigslust</i> ,	71	" " J. BIRCH.
" No. 7. <i>Joubertshoop</i> ,	88	" " T. HART.
" No. 8. <i>Pratorius Kop</i> ,	104	" " J. FELDCHAN.

At *Cooperadäal* and *Ludwigslust*—Medical Attendance.

Station No. 2: *Campos de Curvo*, 16 miles from Lorenzo Marques } will shortly be  
 " No. 9. *Burgers' Hall*, 117 } established, and  
 some more stations nearer to the Gold-fields in succession.

TRADERS will find a good assortment of Merchandise, suitable for the Retail Trade, at each Station; and TRAVELLERS and HUNTERS will receive a cordial and hospitable reception from the Station Masters.

Hides, Skins, and Produce of every description purchased at the Stations.

A. H. NELLMAPIUS,  
 General Manager,  
 Pilgrim's Rest.

ALBERTO CARLOS DE PAIVA KAPORE,  
 Manager,  
 Lorenzo Marques.

By order,  
 F. G. BALLANTYNE,  
 Station Master.

Head Office, Pilgrim's Rest,  
 October, 1875.

Figure 13 This advertisement of the Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company appeared in De Volksstem of 23 October 1875. What is significant about the advertisement is that it lists all the completed rest stations and station masters. Lodwich's List (station master J. Birch) is marked with an arrow.

The rest station on Lodwich's Lust was established on the southern side of the Crocodile River. The only historic description of the station which could be found was in the letter written by the prospector William Napier to his friend D.M. Dunbar. The letter, which was published in Dunbar's 1881 book *"The Transvaal in 1876"*, describes Napier's journey on foot from the Mac Mac goldfields over Pretorius Kop to Delagoa Bay. This journey took place in the period December 1875 to January 1876, and includes descriptions of the Nellmapius road and its rest stations. Napier's description of the Lodwich's Lust rest station on the evening of 2 January 1876 after travelling from T. Hart's station at Joubertshoop, is especially significant for the present study.

*"On down to the bank of the river, the really pretty and picturesquely placed station of Ludwig's Lust is seen opposite, well up on the slope of the right bank, and with an enclosed road down to the water"* (Dunbar, 1881:60).

Napier hailed the station and a boat was sent across. On reaching the opposite bank he was met by the station master, Dr. James Birch. Pienaar (1990) indicates that Birch's real name seems to have been Louis Julien. In a letter dated 5 March 1877 (SS, 232, R1029/77) and addressed to the president of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, Thomas Francois Burgers, Birch indicated that during his stay at Lodwich's Lust he had successfully treated seven malaria patients. He also asked President Burgers to register him as a Homoeopathic Practitioner.

The description of Napier continues:

*"The station is placed, as I have said, nearly on the top of the right bank of the river, not a hundred yards from it, and probably some fifty feet above its level; the slope of the bank is quite easy for wagons, or at all events, a slight inclination right or left would make it so. Dr. Birch has gradually cleared away the scrub, leaving the best trees, which have been trained where necessary or advantageous. A neat commodious compound has been established, which with the gardens, plantations, fencing, and general dispositions and arrangements, looks altogether more like an old establishment than the creation (out of the wild bush) of a few months – I believe five months. The mealies are looking well grown and fresh, notwithstanding the absence of rain, of which however there was a refreshing shower yesterday, while I was waiting on the bank for the boat. The gardens are on raised beds and well arranged."* (Dunbar, 1881:60-61)



#### **5.4.1.4 Nellmapius Drift**

On the contemporary 2531BC 1:50 000 topographical sheet the name "*Nellmapius Drift*" appears. According to Bulpin (1950) the old drift across the Crocodile River was known as the Nellmapius Drift.

On the northern side of the Crocodile River, within the Kruger National Park and opposite the drift, a commemorative plaque was placed. The inscription on this plaque indicates that the Nellmapius Drift was the place where the old transport road between Delagoa Bay and Lydenburg crossed over the Crocodile River. The inscription also indicates that the drift was in use during the period 1874 to 1892, when the Delagoa Bay railway line was opened (Pienaar, 1990).

#### **5.4.1.5 The end of the "*Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company*"**

During May 1876 the BaPedi under their leader Sekhukhune started posing a threat to the operations of the *Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company*. Although Nellmapius wanted to cease the operations, Present Burgers urged him to at least still transport weapons and ammunition from Delagoa Bay to the interior. Although protection in the form of a commando of 40 men under Field Cornet Van Niekerk was promised, nothing came of it. The result was that the rest stations were attacked and some of the station masters murdered.

In a report dated 11 September 1876 and written by the Pilgrim's Rest bailiff and police inspector W. Barter, the conditions of the rest stations were described. Barter had found the rest station at Joubertshoop deserted and also located the decomposed body of the station master Thomas Hart. Barter found the stations at Pretorius Kop and Lodwich's Lust also deserted.

As mentioned elsewhere, Barter also found some abandoned ammunition and weapons at Ludwich's Lust and placed these in the care of a local headman.

A further blow to the company occurred during the same time when Nellmapius's partner, Albertos Carlos de Paiva Rapoza, who was also the station master at Campos de Corvo, was found murdered.

The attacks on the various stations as well as the killing of Rapoza meant the end of the *Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company*. The financial loss of the company as a result of the Sekhukhune war totalled £33 000 (Liebenberg, 1990).

Although the company had lost a lot of money, Nellmapius managed to arrange that the eight farms received as part of the transport concession, remained his property. This was officially decided upon by the Z.A.R. Executive Council on 14 February 1883 (Liebenberg, 1990).

#### **5.4.2 The Pettigrew Road**

After the discovery of the Kaapsche Hoop and Barberton gold fields in 1882, and the subsequent establishment of Barberton town in 1884, the need for a shorter router between these areas and Delagoa Bay was felt. The existing Nellmapius road over Burger's Hall and Pretorius Kop was just too far.

As a result, a road was made by a person named Pettigrew in 1886, and used until 1892. Although his road was much shorter than the Nellmapius Road, it crossed over some of the worst tsetse fly belts in the region. From Barberton the road first followed the Kaap River and at its confluence with the Crocodile River followed its southern bank in an eastern direction. The road eventually crossed over the farm Lodwich's Lust and linked up with the Nellmapius Road a short distance south-east of Nellmapius Drift.

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick describes in his famous book "Jock of the Bushveld" an occasion when he used the Pettigrew Road. His journey was a disaster in that he reached Barberton with only three remaining oxen, all of which died within a few days.

*"It was Pettigrew's Road that brought home to me, and to others, the wisdom of the old transport rider's maxim: 'Take no risks.' We all knew that there were 'fly' belts on the old main road but we rushed these at night, for we knew enough of the tsetse fly to avoid it; however, the discovery of the new road to Barberton, a short cut with plenty of water and grass, which offered the chance of working an extra trip into the short Delagoa season, tempted me, amongst others, to take the risk."* (Fitzpatrick, 1948:411).

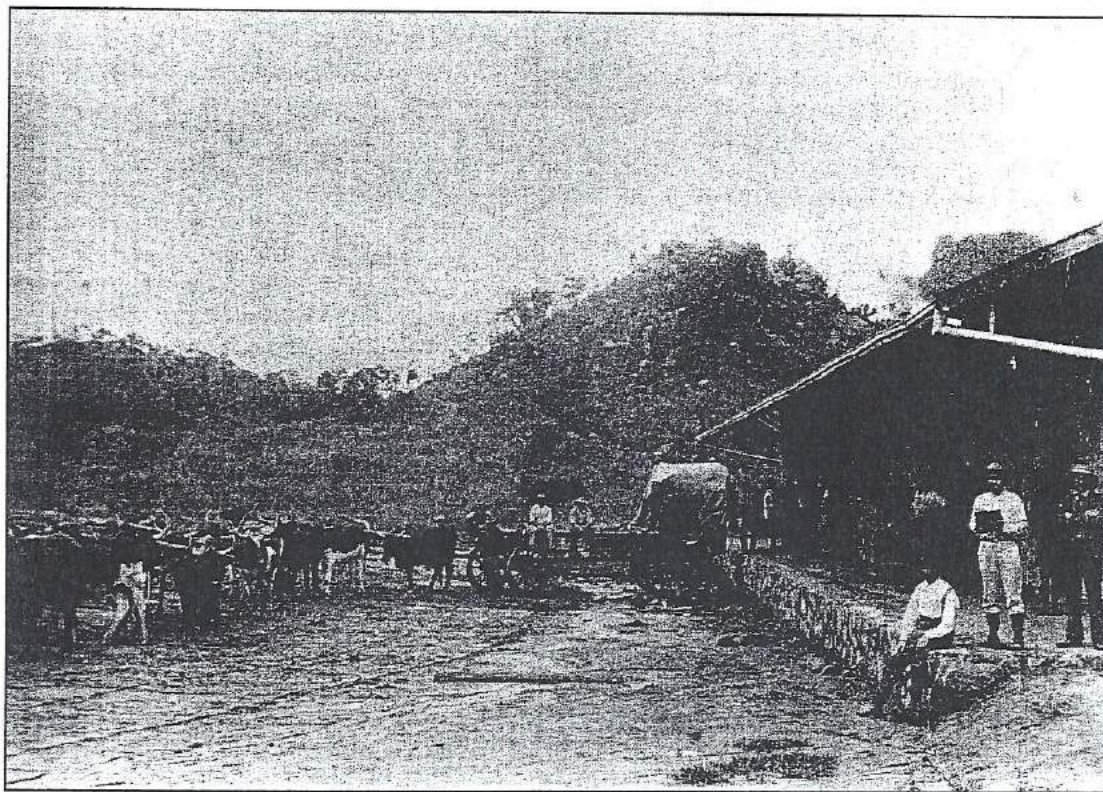


Figure 14 Transport riders and a wagon at Poort City in the Crocodile Poort, 1890 (Pienaar, 1990:267)



Figure 15 A transport wagon in the vicinity of Pilgrim's Rest, ca. 1880s (Pienaar, 1990:268)

## 5.5 The Railway Line to Delagoa Bay

Since the Great Trek the Voortrekkers and their descendants have been interested in obtaining a gateway to the sea as a means of entertaining economic trade and contact with the outside world, free of British restrictions and regulations.

Although a number of initial attempts were made to survey and construct a railway to Lourenço Marques, these were all fraught with financial and political problems.

After becoming State President, Paul Kruger became a strong driving force behind the whole concept of a railway line to Delagoa Bay. One of the big developments toward the construction of the railway line was the establishment on 21 June 1887 of the *Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij* (N.Z.A.S.M.). The survey work for the railway line proved a considerable undertaking, and in 1888 small parties consisting of engineers, supervisors and black assistants travelled into the Lowveld to undertake the work (De Jong, Van der Waal & Heydenrych, 1988).

Although the sub-contractors *Van Hattum & Co* had already started with bush clearing and ground levelling activities along the proposed line, the first real construction job to be undertaken was the building of the bridge over the Komati River. The construction of the bridge was commenced on 27 October 1890, and completed in May 1891. In July 1891 the railway line reached Komatipoort station, after which it was quickly laid to Hectorspruit and beyond (Minnaar & Pienaar, 1990). According to De Jong, Van der Waal & Heydenrych (1988) the railway line to Hectorspruit was completed on 1 October 1891, while the first train to arrive at Malelane station did so on 28 December 1891.

The official opening of the Eastern Line took place during July 1895. At its completion, the railway line had 24 railway stations and three halts between Komatipoort and Pretoria. Although none of these stations or halts is located on the farm Lodwich's Lust itself, the property lies in-between Hectorspruit Station in the west and Oorsprong Halt to the east (De Jong, Van der Waal & Heydenrych, 1988).

Incidentally, it is recorded that the stream from which the Hectorspruit Station got its name, was named after the dog Hector, which was owned by one of the surveyors working on the railway line, Servaas de Kock (Bulpin, 1957; Barnard, 1975).

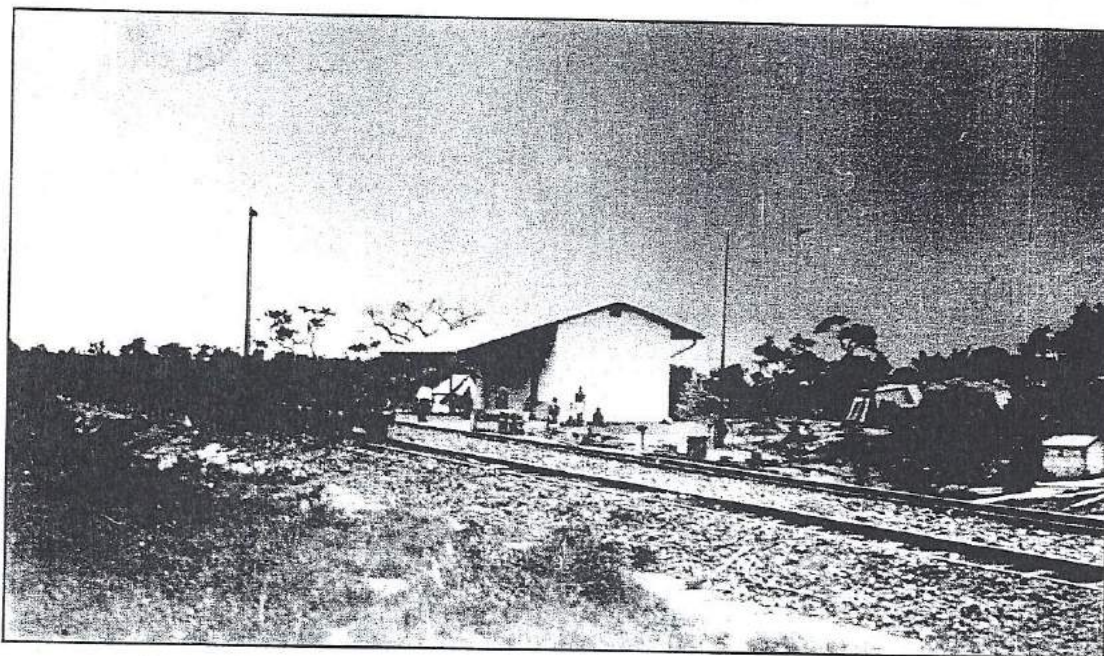


Figure 16 Oorsprong Halt, ca. 1895 (National Archives, TAB, 7407).

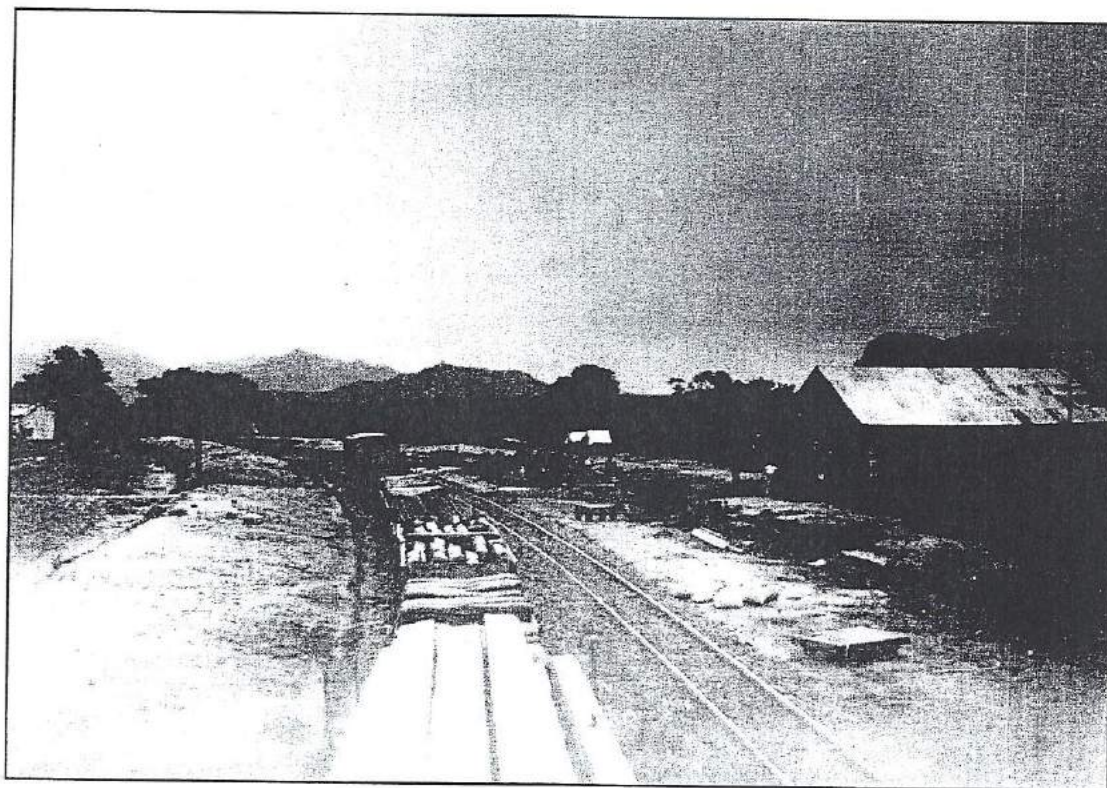


Figure 17 Hectorspruit Station (National Archives, TAB, 7406).

## 5.6 Anglo Boer War (1899-1902)

After the defeat of the Boer Army under General Louis Botha at Bergendal during August 1900, the Boer forces retreated in an easterly direction. Hectorspruit Station, being the last station before Komatipoort and the border with Moçambique, now became a gathering place for various commandos and Boer units. Deneys Reitz estimated that General Louis Botha had approximately five thousand horsemen assembled at Hectorspruit Station at this time (Reitz, 1929).

General Ben Viljoen and his commando were also ordered to assemble at Hectorspruit. He arrived at the station on the same day that Free State Republic President M.T. Steyn left the area after deliberating with Present Paul Kruger about future activities and strategies for the war. Viljoen (1973:129) describes the station as: "...crowded with railway carriages loaded up with all sorts of goods, and innumerable passenger carriages, and the platform and adjoining places filled with agitated people. Some were packing up, others unpacking, and some, again, were looting. The majority were, wandering about aimlessly..."



Figure 18 General Ben Viljoen (Pienaar, 1990:339).

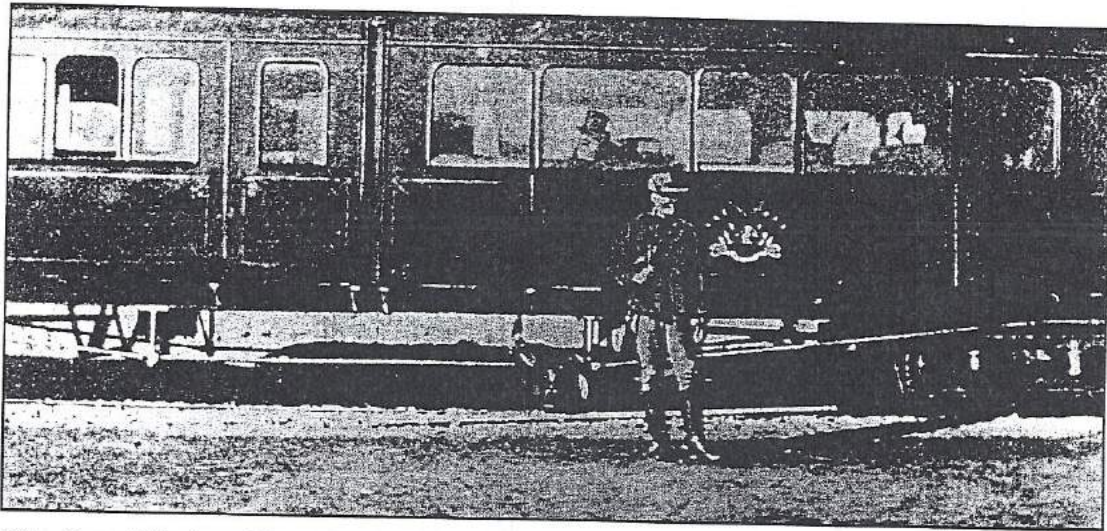


Figure 19 One of the last (if not the last) photograph taken of President Paul Kruger inside the Z.A.R. This photograph shows the president sitting in his compartment at Hectorspruit Station (Pienaar, 1990:338).

General Viljoen was instructed to assemble all the men and inform them that all those burghers who had lost their horses had to join General Jan Coetzer at Komati Poort. Although a force of 1800 armed men was formed at Komati Poort, the subsequent British advance and attack met with no resistance. Many of the boers had retired from their positions at Komati Poort, some crossing into Moçambique, other surrendering to the British and others fleeing into northern and southern directions.

Back at Hectorspruit, and before the advance of the British, preparations continued for the mounted commandos to move away from the railway line in a northern direction to Leydsdorp. As the proposed route followed by the commandos would take them away from the railway line, and due to the fact that the availability of horses was limited, the order was given for approximately ten cannon to be blown up. Viljoen also indicate that apart from the destruction of artillery pieces "*...many things (were) buried which may be found some day by our progeny*" (Viljoen, 1903:131).

Pienaar (1990) indicates that the cannon which were destroyed included Krupp guns. He also describes some of the finds made by Kruger National Park staff along the banks of the Crocodile River. On 29 June 1970, for example, game ranger Jan de Kock found a portion of a cannon's undercarriage in the bed of the Crocodile River some three kilometres to the west of Nellmapius Drift. Another find was made when rangers J. van Graan and E.A. Whitfield found a cannon wheel in the river bed approximately three kilometres to the west of the Lwakahle outpost.

At a point on the tourist route between Malelane and Crocodile Bridge in the Kruger National Park closest to where these events took a place, a commemorative plaque was erected. The plaque's inscription indicates that the cannon were destroyed on the southern bank of the river, which means that it must have been done either within, or directly adjacent to Lodwich's Lust (Pienaar, 1990).



Figure 20 Cannon wheel recovered from the Crocodile River in (or directly opposite to) the study area. The wheel is supposed to have come from either a Krupp or Armstrong cannon (Pienaar, 1990:339).

On 18 September 1900 the commandos at Hectorspruit moved across the Crocodile River into a northern direction. Viljoen (1903) indicates that they followed an old road. This suggests that the Boer forces may have travelled along the erstwhile Nellmapius road.

After a long and arduous journey the force under General Viljoen reached Pietersburg.



## 5.7 Treasure Hunts

The first decade or two of the 1900s saw numerous treasure hunting expeditions undertaken to the Lowveld as well as into what was then known as the Sabi Game Reserve. The hidden treasures searched for during these expeditions were primarily associated with the Anglo Boer War, with the legend of the Kruger Millions featuring strongly.

Stevenson-Hamilton (1974) jokingly refers to this period as the "Great Buried Treasure Quest" and the "Hunt for the Kruger Millions", and describes that numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to locate the treasure in and surrounding the reserve.

### 5.7.1 Search for the Kruger Millions

Although many different stories and theories exist about the Kruger Millions, these are all associated with the period following the occupation of Pretoria by British forces during May 1900 and the subsequent retreat of both Boer armies and government ever closer to the Mozambique border. According to the legend the decision was made that the republic's gold, or at least a portion thereof, had to be buried to stop it from falling into British hands.

One such treasure legend associated with the area of the Kruger National Park directly opposite the study area, relates that a Boer Commando under the command of General Pieter Lemmer and Commandant Gravett had camped some miles north of Hectorspruit, in what is today the Kruger National Park. When the commando moved on, the two Boer leaders and a man by the name of Esterhuizen stayed behind with three wagons containing "...25 cases of Bar-Gold and a zinc bath full of partly completed sovereigns from the Mint..." (HC, 68, 123). The gold was taken from the wagons, after which the drivers were ordered to take the wagons and follow the commando. When they had left, the two Boer officers and Esterhuizen proceeded to bury the gold. The treasure was supposedly covered by corrugated iron sheet before the excavations was back-filled and smoothed over. Certain marks, such as iron pegs and a piece of zinc were left in the vicinity to mark it.

During the end of April 1905 a police force under the command of Lieutenant Stokes was ordered to accompany a number of treasure hunters to the vicinity of Hectorspruit and take charge of any gold found there. The party of treasure hunters consisted of P.S. Rautenbach,

J.H.H. Fourie, S.A.M. Coetzee as well as F.G. Esterhuyzen, who had assisted the Boer officers in the burial of the gold.

After travelling from Hectorspruit station in a north-by-north-eastern direction the party crossed the Crocodile River by boat somewhere on Lodwich's Lust, and quite possibly at Nellmapius Drift. They camped a short distance from the northern bank, and on the following day a search was made for the old Boer camp. The camp was eventually found, and the location of the treasure indicated by Esterhuizen. When the iron sheet supposedly covering the gold was lifted, only stones were observed. The suggestion was made by Esterhuyzen that a certain Roux, who also knew of the treasure, may have been there before.

Although the available information is sketchy; it seems that further visits were undertaken to the area by at least some of the same treasure hunters mentioned before. A reference was also found which seems to suggest that the Roux mentioned before, also took part in these expeditions. At least one of these visits was undertaken during the latter part of May 1905, and photographs of this visit were taken. Although not certain, it appears that Lieutenant Stokes again accompanied the treasure hunters and also took the photographs.



Figure 21 Historic photograph showing treasure hunters crossing over the Crocodile River to the northern bank. The photograph was taken on 22 May 1905, possibly by a police officer who had accompanied the party (HC, 68, 123).

It seems that no gold was found. The treasure hunter named Roux also seems to have excavated some of the gold from one of two burial spots, and had reburied it in the vicinity of an old wagon.

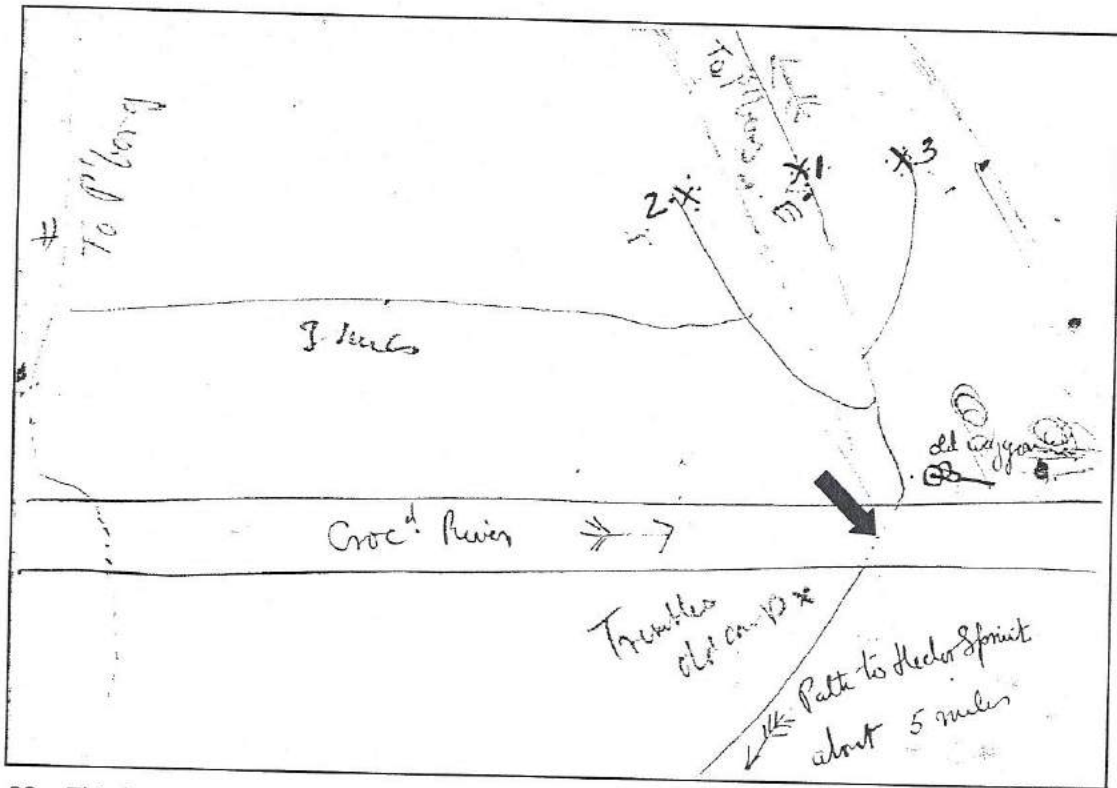


Figure 22 This hand-drawn map shows the operations of the treasure hunters. Nellmapius Drift is believed to be located where the arrow is placed.



Figure 23 Another historic photograph showing the treasure hunters at one of the treasure markings. Roux is on the left, and S.A.M. Coetzee in the middle.

### **5.7.2 Other Treasure Stories**

At least one other treasure story is associated with the general surroundings of Hectorspruit Station. According to this story, a James Bester had removed a "...*considerable quantity of Bar Gold...*" from the Sheba Gold Mine and buried it in the neighbourhood of Hectorspruit.

The only other information which could be found regarding this treasure was that during September 1904 a resident of Hectorspruit by the name of Rabe had asked permission from the government to search for the hidden gold. No further information regarding this treasure legend could be obtained

### **5.8 Establishment of the Kruger National Park**

The first big step in the development history of what we know today as the Kruger National Park was the proclamation on 26 March 1898 of the land falling between the Sabie and Crocodile Rivers as a game reserve. The reserve was named the Sabi Game Reserve (Carruthers & Pienaar, 1990). According to the proclamation, anyone who destroyed, hunted or wounded game within the defined area was subject to punishment (Labuschagne, 1958).

After proclamation, the area falling within the reserve comprised approximately 1800 square miles. As no personnel were appointed, the sergeant in charge of the police station at Komatipoort was made responsible for the game reserve (Labuschagne, 1958).

For the next number of years the entire Southern Africa was engulfed in the Anglo Boer War of 1899-1902. However, during the latter stages of the war a number of conservation orientated individuals such as Henry Glynn, J.C. Ingle, Abel Chapman etc. had asked the British authorities to re-proclaim the Sabi Game Reserve. Lord Milner did exactly this by Administrative Proclamation Nr. 11 of June 1902 (Carruthers & Pienaar, 1990).

A year later, on 28 August 1903, Administrative Proclamation Nr. 38 was issued whereby the original Sabi Game Reserve was enlarged to include land falling between the Sabi and the Olifants Rivers (Carruthers & Pienaar, 1990).

In the years that followed, numerous other acquisitions and changes to the extent and boundaries of the reserve was made. During 1916, for example, the Sabi and Shingwedzi Game Reserves were consolidated as the "Transvaal Game Reserves" (Carruthers & Pienaar, 1990).

After the promulgation of the National Parks Act on 31 May 1926, the so-called "Consolidated Transvaal Reserves" was renamed as the Kruger National Park of South Africa.

Of interest for the present study is the fact that shortly after the establishment of the Kruger National Park, a number of farms was exchanged by government for farms needed for the expansion of the park. The government offered the *Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company* 13 farms (and portions of farms) in the districts of Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton in exchange for 26 farms (and portions of farms). One of the 26 properties obtained by the government and included in the Kruger National Park, was a portion of the farm Lodwich's Lust (URU, 1927, 932). Although not stated, it appears evident that the portion transferred to the Kruger National Park, was that section of the farm located north of the Crocodile River.

## 6. DISCUSSION

The archival and desktop study has revealed some interesting historical facts about the Lodwich's Lust 163-JU, all of which can be used to support and facilitate various aspects of the Heritage Impact Assessment process.

The existence of a number heritage sites and events within the boundaries of the farm has been suggested, and will be summarised and discussed shortly below:

- Numerous Stone Age and Iron Age sites are known for the areas falling within the southern Kruger National Park. Although no sites were observed directly opposite the study area, the existence of such archaeological sites within Lodwich's Lust is likely.
- Two historically significant transport roads used to cross over the study area, namely the Nellmapius (1875) and Pettigrew (1886) roads. These roads formed part of the important transport network before the completion of the Delagoa Bay - Pretoria railway line in July 1895. The roads were also used by various historical travellers, prospectors and transport riders, including Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. Evidence for both these roads should still be visible on the farm. Furthermore, in the cartographic section (refer **Section 4**) various depictions of the layouts of both these roads over Lodwich's Lust are shown.

- The drift over the Crocodile River was known as Nellmapius Drift, and appears to still appear on the modern 1:50 000 topographical maps. The drift was used during 1874 to 1892.
- During the period when the road to Delagoa Bay was managed by the *Lourenço Marques and South African Republic Transport Company*, a rest station was established at Lodwich's Lust. Although the rest station was never found, it is supposed to be located hundred yards or less from the river bank in the vicinity of the Nellmapius Drift and adjacent to the transport road. Features such as rectangular stone foundation structures can be expected, while archaeological material such as glass, porcelain and metal fragments is likely to be located on site.
- The historic railway line linking Pretoria with Delagoa Bay which was completed in 1895, also passes over the farm. Although no stations or halts associated with the railway line were built on Lodwich's Lust, associated features such as culverts, bridges and even blockhouses could potentially be found associated with the railway line.
- On 16 September 1900 the Boer forces under the command of General Ben Viljoen had destroyed a number of cannon along the southern bank of the Crocodile River. Various items were also buried during this time to stop it from falling into enemy hands. Pienaar (1990) indicates that over the years at least two finds associated with these destroyed cannon have been made. While the first of these discoveries took place approximately three kilometres to the west of Nellmapius Drift, the other discovery was made approximately three kilometres west of the Lwakahle outpost. These distances seem to indicate that the cannon were destroyed in the area stretching along the southern bank of the river from the north-western corner of Lodwich's Lust to Nellmapius Drift. Some activities could also have taken place a short distance to the west of the study area's western boundary.

Three aspects were not mentioned in the text, and are shortly discussed herewith.

- On 18 February 1910 the farm Lodwich's Lust was thrown open for the prospecting of precious metals activities in terms of Section 10 of the Precious and Base Metals Act of 1908. This suggests that prospecting excavations may possibly be observed on the farm.
- The southern marker demarcating the corner boundary for Lodwich's Lust has not yet been found in the field. Although the other three markers were located and confirmed by Kruger National Park staff, the southern marker, which is located outside of the park,

must still be located and documented. These markers often consisted of stone concentrations with associated upright stones.

- Although located outside of the study area, it may be worthwhile to note that near the northern bank of the Nellmapius Drift, a shop was situated. Known as "Tengamanzi", the shop and stopover was run by Alf Roberts. During the period 1882 and 1892, when the use of the road between Delagoa Bay and Lydenburg was at its peak, various such shops and stopovers were established along the road.

The enlarged section below is from a map published with Dr. U. de V. Pienaar's monumental study on the history of the Kruger National Park titled "Neem uit die Verlede" (Pienaar, 1990). The map section shows the relative positions of Nellmapius Drift, the Lodwich's Lust rest station as well as the Nellmapius and Pettigrew transport roads. Tengamanzi, on the northern bank of the river, is also shown.

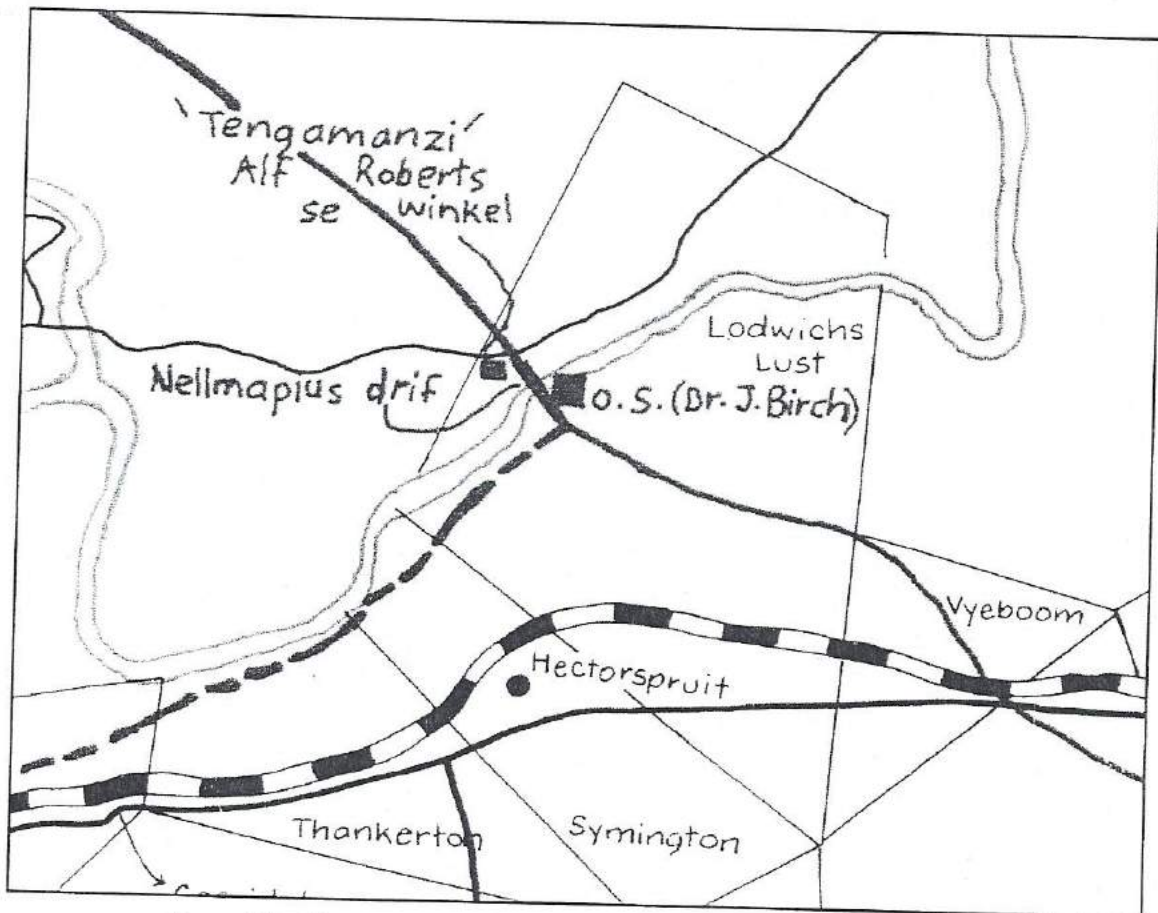


Figure 24 Map published in "Neem uit die Verlede" (Pienaar, 1990).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Published Documents

- Barnard, C., 1975: *Vyf en veertig plekname*, in C. Barnard, *Die Transvaalse Laeveld: Kamee van 'n kontrei*, Tafelberg, Kaapstad.
- Bulpin, T.V., 1957: *Lost Trails of the Transvaal*, H. Timmins, Cape Town.
- Carruthers, E.J., 1990: *Die vroeë evolusie van die Sabie-wildreservaat (1900-1926) en proklamasie van die Nasionale Krugerwildtuin*, in U. de V. Pienaar, *Neem uit die Verlede*, Nasionale Parkeraad van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria.
- De Jong, R.C., Van der Waal, G.M. & D.H. Heydenrych, 1988: *NZASM 100 1887-1899: The Buildings, Steam Engines and Structures of the Netherlands South African Railway Company*, Chris van Rensburg Publications, Pretoria.
- Dunbar, D.M., 1881: *The Transvaal in 1876*, Richards, Slater and Co., Grahamstown.
- Eloff, J.H., 1990: *Die Steentydperk en San-era*, in U. de V. Pienaar, *Neem uit die Verlede*, Nasionale Parkeraad van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria.
- Fitzpatrick, J.P., 1907: *Jock of the Bushveld*, Longmans Green & Co., London.
- Hampson, J., Challis, W., Blundell, G. & C. de Rosner, 2002: *The Rock Art of Bongani Mountain Lodge and its environs, Mpumalanga Province, South Africa: An Introduction to Problems of Southern African Rock-Art Regions*, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 57 (175) pp.15-30.
- Kaye, H., 1978: *The Tycoon & The President: The Life and Times of Alois Hugo Nellmapius 1847-1893*, Macmillan, Johannesburg.
- Labuschagne, R.J., 1958: *Our National Parks: A Guide to the National Parks of South Africa*, National Parks Board of the Union of South Africa.
- Liebenberg, M., 1990: *Alois Hugo Nellmapius se transportroete*, in U. de V. Pienaar, *Neem uit die Verlede*, Nasionale Parkeraad van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria.
- Mathers, E.P., 1970: *The Goldfields Revisited*, State Library, Pretoria.
- Meyer, A., 1986: *'n Kultuurhistoriese Interpretasie van die Ystertydperk in die Nasionale Krugerwildtuin*, PhD in Archaeology, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.
- Myburgh, A.C., 1949: *The Tribes of the Barberton District*, Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications No. 25.
- Pienaar, U.deV., 1990: *Oorlogswolke oor die Laeveld 1899-1902*, in U. de V. Pienaar, *Neem uit die Verlede*, Nasionale Parkeraad van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria.



Reitz, D., 1929: *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War*, Faber & Faber Unlimited, London.

Stevenson-Hamilton, J., 1974: *South African Eden: From Sabi Game Reserve to Kruger National Park*, Collins, London.

Viljoen, B., 1903: *My Reminiscences of the Anglo-Boer War*, C. Struik, Cape Town.

### **Archival Documents**

HC, 68, 123

SS, 232, R1029/77

URU, 1927, 932

### **Archival Newspapers**

*De Volksstem*, 23 October 1875.

### **Archival Maps**

National Archives, Maps, S.2/6

National Archives, Maps, S.2/8

National Archives, Maps, 1/148

National Archives, Maps, 3/512

National Archives, Maps, 2/202

### **Archival Photographs**

National Archives, TAB, 7406

National Archives, TAB, 7407