

**REPORT ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF  
SUBDIVISION 7, REMAINDER AND PORTION OF  
SUBDIVISION 25, OF THE FARM LILYVALE 2313,  
BLOEMFONTEIN**



**ZOË HENDERSON  
NATIONAL MUSEUM  
BLOEMFONTEIN**

## CONTENTS

Executive summary	2
Introduction	3
Methods of survey	3
Results of the survey	3
1. Graveyard	4
2. Stone wall, with possible lookout structure	10
3. Rubbish Dump	12
4. Various kraals	14
5. Other packed stone structures	15
6. Middle Stone Age artefact scatter	17
7. Possible rock engraving	18
8. Gate posts	18
9. Other loose finds on the property	18
Assessment of the cultural remains recorded on the property	19
Summary of the four components	19
Recommendations	20
Acknowledgements	21
References	21

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

An archaeological assessment was carried out of the cultural material visible on subdivision 7, remainder and portion of subdivision 25 of the farm Lilyvale 2313, in response to a request by The Roodt Partnership. The property was surveyed on foot and all cultural remains observed were recorded. The cultural remains can be divided into four categories: prehistoric, Anglo-Boer/South African War, a twentieth century graveyard and structures related to farming activities in the area.

The prehistoric component comprises a Middle Stone Age artefact scatter, and a possible rock engraving. The Anglo-Boer/South African War component consists of a prominent stone wall and a large rubbish dump. There are at least 190 graves in the graveyard, which catered for black labourers living in the area. It dates from at least the 1920s and was in use until the 1960s. Finally, there are structures such as kraals and house foundations which relate to the farming activities which were carried out in the area.

The implications of the findings are that permits will be required for the destruction and/or disturbance of most of the recorded structures and features. It is recommended that the archaeological remains be collected and accessioned at the National Museum. A decision on the military remains will have to be made by the South African Heritage Resources Agency or the Free State Provincial Heritage Resources Agency. If a permit for destruction is granted, there should be some archaeological investigation of the rubbish dump to determine extent, a more specific age, and to sample the material. SAHRA and possibly the Municipality will need to authorise removal of the graveyard. If the graveyard is to remain, a management plan with strict protection measures will need to be put in place BEFORE development commences to ensure that the graveyard is not vandalised, damaged or pillaged during and after development. It should be fenced off at the very least. The remains relating to farming activities on the property have been recorded, and no further action is deemed to be necessary for that component.

## **INTRODUCTION**

An application for the development of a township on subdivision 7, remainder and portion of subdivision 25 of the farm Lilyvale 2313 is being made (for location see Fig. 1). There is a graveyard and a stone wall on the property and it was deemed necessary by the South African Heritage Resources Agency that a survey of cultural remains on the property should be carried out before the application is considered. The National Museum Department of Archaeology was asked to undertake the survey. The following is a report on the findings of the survey.

## **METHODS OF SURVEY**

The whole property was walked by a team of four from the National Museum to locate cultural remains on the property. All structures and sites of cultural remains were recorded by means of a Global positioning System (GPS). The remains were described and photographed, and plans drawn where necessary. The graveyard was also recorded in detail. The cultural historian at the National Museum was consulted where necessary to determine the age of the material.

## **RESULTS OF THE SURVEY**

The following cultural remains were recorded on the property (see Fig. 2 for locational information):

1. Graveyard
2. Stone Wall, with possible lookout structure
3. Rubbish Dump
4. Various kraals (4 locations, 2 with associated ash heaps)
5. Other packed stone structures (10, as follows: 2 brick and dolerite structures, 3 house foundations, 3 indeterminate lines of dolerite boulders, 1 ?memorial marker, 12 indeterminate brick and cement structures at one location)
6. Middle Stone Age artefact scatter
7. Rock engraving
8. Gate posts



## 1. Graveyard (Fig. 3).

190 graves were recorded. The plan of the graveyard is, however, irregular, and the number may be either less or more (Fig. 3). Six of the graves recorded are questionable (nos. 8, 17, 71, 80, 86 and 87), but there are also gaps in the layout of the graveyard where a grave could be expected. Therefore, the number is probably higher than 190. Grave numbers referred to in this report are numbers designated during the survey, and refer to the plan of the graveyard (Fig. 3), but do not appear in official records. Only a general description of the graves and graveyards are given here.

### Form of the graves

The graves are mostly packed with dolerite cobbles, ranging in size from large to small (Fig. 4). A few have bricks packed over the graves (Fig. 5), and three are demarcated by a brick wall around the grave (Fig. 6). 60% of the graves have defined head and foot markers (Fig. 7a & b), 19% have just head markers, and 7% consist of only a head and foot marker, with no other covering of the grave. Table 1 presents a descriptive breakdown of the graves.

Table 1. Summary of grave descriptions

Description	Category	Frequency	Percentage of total no. of graves (190)
Shape	Oval	98	52
	Rectangular	58	30
	Round	8	4
	thin	3	1.5
	other & questionable	10	5
Covering	dolerite cobbles	154	81
	bricks	3	1.5
	dolerite & bricks	8	4
	brick wall around grave	3	1.5
	densely covered	78	41
Markers	centre raised	82	43
	Head & foot markers	114	60
	Head markers only	36	19
	Foot markers only	6	3
	Only head & foot markers (no other covering over grave)	13	7
	Additional head markers (e.g. crosses)	56	29
	Information still visible on head marker	11	6

The head and foot markers usually consist of a dolerite stone which was placed upright at the end of the grave, sometimes slightly off-set. The stone can be a natural rock, either a slab or square or rectangular shaped in cross-section. In 29% of the graves another marker was placed at the head of the grave. This was

often in association with the dolerite headmarker (particularly in the case of the iron crosses, Fig. 8a, b & c). A summary of the head markers is presented in Table 2 (see also Fig. 9).

Table 2: Summary description of head markers on the graves

Marker type	Frequency	Percentage (of 56)	No. with visible inscription
Metal cross	27	48	0
Cement cross	9	16	3
Cement headstone	8	14	6
Shale headstone	1	2	not enough preserved to determine what was inscribed
Dolerite headstone	9	16	0
Marble headstone	1	2	1
Metal plate	1	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11</b>

### The gravestones

Most of the grave markers were hand-made. The marble headstone (and possibly the shale headstone as well) was commercially made (Fig. 10a & b). The cement crosses and headstones where the writing is still visible are covered in plaster, and the words have been scratched into the plaster (Fig. 11). On two of the cement crosses the writing was painted on, but is now no longer legible (Fig. 12). Two of the dolerite headstones (nos. 51 and 52) had crosses scratched onto the western side (i.e. side away from the grave) of the headstones (Fig. 13). The metal crosses were made from various pieces of scrap metal, and also from the lids or top sections of drums (Fig. 14a, b, c, & d). The metal sheet (no. 167) had an inscription painted onto it, but most of it was illegible. The names on the 11 legible gravestones, together with any visible dates, are presented in Table 3.

The text on the gravestones is in English, apart from nos. 47, 117 and 167. No. 47 only has the name and date, so is impossible to determine, but nos. 117 and 167 have inscriptions in Sotho (Fig. 15). An attempt was made to trace any information on the people named, but there was only success in five of the cases. Only the most important details are discussed below.

Table 3: Names and other information recorded on 11 legible gravestones

Grave no. & description	Name	Date	Other information
26 - cement headstone	Sarel Nkoe	10 February 1937	100 years
47 - cement headstone	Andris Nkoe	1938	

117 - cement cross	Paolosi Thopa	3 November 1948	80 years, Roman Catholic Church
119 - cement cross	Augustina Molise	10 May 1948	
121 - cement headstone	Elias Nkoe	1950	
131 - cement headstone	Nicodimo Nkwe	16 January	
143 - cement headstone	Betty Nkoe	13 December 1958	
152 - cement cross	Jonnas Watersouk	20 April	60 years
153 - marble headstone	Clara Meyers	11/7/1925 - 3/8/1951	Rest in peace
162 - cement headstone	Dorah Nkwe	30 December 1957	with the age of 37 years
167 - metal plate	Gladys Ntab...	?1965	

Sarel Nkoe, grave no. 26 (Fig. 16):

According to the cemetery register (SBS 2/1/3/23, entry no. 195) Sarel Nkoe died at the Raytons Dairy Farm on 8 February 1937, and was buried there. His death was reported by Henry Nkoe on 10 February (the date which appears on his gravestone). There is an elaborate iron construction (rather like a fence panel) which probably stood upright on the grave. There were five containers and a porcelain statuette on the grave as well.

Betty Nkoe, grave no. 143 (Fig. 17):

Betty Nkoe left an estate of £1-16-3 in a Post Office savings book (SOB 1/1/1/35, estate no. 178/58). She was unmarried and had lived at Plot 8, Rayton. Her father was Sarel Nkoe, and her brothers were listed as Henry, Fish and Solomon Nkoe. Her brother Henry lived at plot 8, Rayton, and was declared heir of the estate. Graves 26 and 143 would therefore appear to be those of father and daughter.

Augustina Molise, grave no. 119 (Fig. 11a):

Augustina Molise was born Thoopa, and died aged 20 at Tempe (SBS 2/1/3/38, entry no. 615). Her intended place of burial was Tempe.

Jonnas Watersouk, grave no. 152 (Fig. 11b):

In the cemetery records (SBS 2/1/3/40, entry no. 565) his name is spelt Jonas Watersoek, and he is reported as dying on 19 April 1950 at Rayton. His intended place of burial was listed as Rayton. His death was reported by Isaac Watersoek on 20 April.

Clara Meyers, grave no. 153 (Fig. 10a):

Clara Meyers was born Waterboer (SBS 2/1/3/42, entry no. 1138). She died at Rayton, and was to be buried there.

One of the other graves with a legible inscription was that of Paolosi Thopa (Fig. 15). No information could be traced about this person, but it seems possible that there was some family connection between him and Augustina Molise, who was born Thoopa. It is also possible that Jonnas Watersouk and Clara Meyers were related in some way. Meyers' maiden name is listed as Waterboer, but it is possible that it was supposed to be written Watersoek. One of the deaths listed in the cemetery records is that of Katie Letube (SBS 2/1/3/24, entry no 39). Her maiden name was Watersoek. She was murdered (it appears to have been domestic violence) on 20 October 1937 and had lived at "Rayton Dairy, Tempe". Her grave was not found, but it appears that the Watersoek family was a local one, as were the Nkoe/Nkwe (Fig. 18a, b, c & d) and Thopa/Thoopa families. A Thoopha infant, Paulus, aged 1 month and 7 days, is recorded as dying at Rayton on 11 August 1951, and being buried there (SBS 2/1/3/42, entry no. 1188).

#### Dating of the graveyard

The graveyard was in use for a period of at least 21 years, and possibly as much as 28 years, if the date of 1965 is correctly deciphered on grave no. 167. The dates of 1937 and 1965 appear on graves on the most westerly and easterly (respectively) rows on the graveyard, which could possibly bracket the age of the use of the burial ground effectively.

Almost half of the graves had containers on them, which were presumably used to hold flowers, or to decorate the grave, along with statuettes and other items (Table 4, Fig 19a, b & c).

Most of the containers were glass jars (Fig. 20a & b) and cups (Fig. 21). Many of the graves had a selection of containers. Some of these containers provide dates, such as the *Peck's* anchovette bottles (Fig. 22) which date to 1926, or the *Allenburys Feeder* (for babies) dating to between 1920 and 1930. An Art Deco scent bottle dates to the 1930s, and spongewear fragments indicate a first half of the 20th century date. These ceramics were made up until the 1940s (Trehaven 1989). The containers found on the graves support a timespan from about the 1920s until the 1960s.

A commemorative container of 1938, issued for the centenary of the Great Trek (Fig. 23) fits with the dates on the gravestones, as does a cup from grave 136 marked *made in occupied Japan*. This would appear to relate to post World War II.

Table 4: summary of containers found on the graves

Material	Container type	Frequency (no. of graves with that particular category)
Glass	Bottles or jars	46
	(Peck's anchovette)	8
	Tumblers or wine glasses	13

	Dishes	13
	Containers	3
	Unidentifiable fragments	5
	Small bowls	4
Ceramics	Cups	28
	Bowls	7
	Plates	6
	Statuettes	3
	Unidentifiable fragments	10
Glass or ceramic	Vases	10
Earthenware	Jars/containers	3
	Tea pots / coffee pot	8 / 1
Metal	Containers	2
	Tins	7
Enamel	Bowl	1
	Mug	3
Other decoration on graves	Clock	1
	Perlemoen shell	1
	Irises (which had been planted)	1

### Interpretation of the graveyard

The graveyard would appear to be that of local black people. Several other factors support the designation of an informal graveyard. First of all the layout of the graveyard is irregular (Fig. 3), which suggests that it was not controlled by officials or regulations. Although the dates on the graves are fairly consistent with a growth of the graveyard from west to east, there are several graves which are “out of phase” (see for instance nos. 143 and 162). This could suggest that certain areas might have been reserved for family members. Support for this supposition comes from the locations of the Thopa (no. 117) and Molise (no. 119) graves which are only separated by a single (unidentified) grave, and the Watersouk (no. 152) and Meyers (no. 153) graves which are next to each other.

Another feature of the graveyard is the construction of the graves themselves. Most of the graves have simple markers at the head and foot of dolerite rocks placed upright. These rock had obviously been collected from the area. The crosses and headstones are also largely home-made. The only gravestone which was definitely commercially made was the marble headstone of Clara Meyers. Only graves 117, 119 and 120 were surrounded by formal brick outlines (two bricks high), whereas the rest of the graves were packed with dolerite cobbles and boulders (in 8 cases also combined with bricks, and in 3 cases of bricks alone) from the local area.

The packing of the graves with dolerite boulders is similar to older graves, and is a continuation of a particular style of grave making. It is possible that the graveyard was initially started during the Anglo-

Boer War, and related to the 'native location' nearby (see below for discussion of this). This 'location' was still present in 1913, and it happened in several cases that initial black locations or concentration camps became places of settlement after the war, as the people did not move away (J. Wolfaardt, pers comm.). It could be that the settlement continued for some time after the war, possibly up until the time that people were required to live in certain areas, or when Hillsboro was developed. The tradition of burial near to where one came from could explain the late dates on some of the graves, and also the fact that some of the gravestones with late dates are seemingly 'out of phase' with the 'growth' of the graveyard. People might have been living elsewhere, but were still brought 'home' to be buried. The presence of a settlement (even a small one) which endured over a fairly long period would also help to explain the number of graves, which is quite large to be merely the result of farm labourers in the area.

No official (municipal) records of the graveyard have yet been traced. However, the graveyard is marked on a 1951 1:50 000 map of Bloemfontein (no. 2926AA, Fig. 24). It would have been in use at the time. The 1999 edition of the map (fourth edition) does not mark the graveyard (Fig. 1).

#### Implications for development

All graves are covered by either the Human Tissues Act or the National Heritage Resources Act. Graves older than 60 years may not be moved without a permit from the South African Heritage Resources Agency. While some of the graves are older than 60 years, most undoubtedly are not. If the graves are to be moved, however, a process of consultation with the descendants of the people buried at Lilyvale will have to be entered into. If people were buried at Lilyvale as late as 1965, there will be members of the community who still have strong family connections with the deceased.

If the graves are not going to be moved, it will be necessary to protect the graveyard from curious members of the public, not only during the development of the property, but also afterwards. Many of the graves have containers (some have old bottles) which people might collect or move away. The metal crosses could become the target of scrap metal collectors. It is also quite likely that vandalism will take place. Such places are often best protected by not being known, but this will not be the case once development starts. The suggestion would be that the graveyard is completely fenced off (preferably with a high wall with a locked gate) BEFORE any building, clearing of the land or earth moving takes place. It might also be a consideration to take any special objects from the graveyard into storage until the development is complete, and then replace them afterwards.

#### **2. Stone wall with possible lookout structure (Fig. 25).**

Although this stone wall is an extensive structure, and it is marked on the 1999 1:50 000 map, it has been impossible to find information directly about the wall. Aerial photographs were examined, and together with the map it was calculated that the wall extends some 2 kms at least (Fig. 26). The wall is practically straight (Fig. 27a & b) and does not follow the natural topography of the area. The height of the wall varies between less than 0.5 m to about 1 m. It does not appear to have been very much higher as there are not very many boulders lying around the wall which may have come from it.

The wall is built of natural dolerite boulders and cobbles. Large boulders are packed on the outside with smaller stones on the inside (Fig. 28). At present there is an opening in the wall where the track runs through it (at about point 14 in Fig. 2), but it is impossible to determine whether this opening is original and widened, or broken through later.

#### Structure 14

These are two small structures of large dolerite boulders up against the wall. The two structures are located on a rise, against the eastern side of the wall. The first structure (moving south from the track) is square, and the second, about 2.5 m further south, is rectangular (about 5 m x 3 m). Some of the boulders have fallen down, so it is possible that the walls of the structure were originally higher (possibly over a metre). A general service military button (with a Queen's crown, ie related to the 1899-1901 War) was found in the square structure, and another, similar, button about 50 m away.

#### Dating and interpretation of the wall

The style, size and nature of construction of the wall suggest a military construction (independently confirmed by E. Wessels, pers. comm.). There is further confirmation of an Anglo-Boer/South-African War date from the rubbish dump against the wall, which will be discussed in the next section. The wall is marked, although not labeled as such, on a 1913 British Military map of Bloemfontein (Fig. 29a, wall redrawn in purple).

The wall stretches from the border of the houses in Hillsboro in the south (it extended further south but was destroyed when the houses were built), and extends to join the boundary of the old Hillandale farm (no. 249) in the north (Figs 29a & b, compare with Figs 1 and 24). It appears to have commenced at the water tanks on the edge of the Tempe camp. A wagon road runs parallel to the wall from the Tempe camp to the rifle range (on the edge of Hillandale Farm). Between the road and the wall there appears to have been a settlement of some kind for black people – indicated on the map by a little hut (on a level with the top of the word “wall”). This settlement is now covered by the township of Hillsboro. Hillandale Farm was expropriated by the British military along with the Tempe farms (of which Lilyvale was still a part) after

the British occupation of Bloemfontein in 1900 (FS Archives, CO 78 2194/02, CO 43 4044/01 & AKT 1/5/102 46/16). Hillandale was known as Fischer's Farm (it had belonged to Abraham Fischer) and was used as a remount camp (FS Archives, CO 78 2194/02, CO 76 1990/0, Fig. 30).

The Royal Engineers were responsible for extensive building works in Bloemfontein. The camp was housed at Tempe (see Fig 29a, at base of wall drawn onto map) and (?later) made extensive use of black labour (FS Archives, CO 126 6124/02). In a letter dated 10 January 1903 it appears that this labour came from the "Sand River Native Refugee Camp" and had been sent to Bloemfontein to work at the Royal Engineers Park Labour Depot.

The wall is too low to be an additional boundary for the remount camp, and it is unlikely that it was a defensive wall. There is a lookout on the hill across the dip to the north of Lilyvale subdivision 7, and there are also numerous lookouts on the hill on Bloemendal, across the N1. These lookouts all face towards Bloemfontein (particularly the camp at Tempe) and over the area surveyed, so the area could be kept under observation.

If the wall had been built to keep small stock one would expect further walls to form a kraal. These walls *may* have existed, and since been demolished. The Tempe farm (the original name of the farm on which the wall was) was requisitioned by the South African Constabulary to graze their horses in August 1901 (FS Archives CO 43 4044/01). The farm owner, William Olds, applied for compensation in November 1901, stating that sometimes up to 800 horses were grazed on the farm at a time (*ibid*). Tempe was bought from Olds in 1904 (FS Archives, AKT 1/5/102 46/16, CO 269 1930/04) by the War Office of Great Britain. It is possible, but unlikely, that small stock was kept on the Tempe farm.

The purpose of the wall is difficult to determine. It connects the Tempe water tanks with the remount depot. The indication is that it was probably a Royal Engineers project, and was part of the British military stamp on the landscape.

#### Implications for development

The wall is older than 60 years. It is part of a larger structure and can be related directly to the presence of the British troops in Bloemfontein from 1900. It therefore falls under the protection of the National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999, and as such would require a permit to be issued for its destruction.

### **3. Rubbish Dump (Fig. 31a & b)**



The rubbish dump is located towards the north-eastern corner of the property. It is currently covered in bushes and dead trees, and shows up as a dark patch on the aerial photograph (Fig. 26). The dump is up against the wall, and therefore post-dates it, as it does not continue under or on the other side of the wall.

The dump has been looted by bottle collectors, and there were people digging there on some of the days during which the survey was taking place. The dump consists of grey soil and ash and contains broken bottles, ceramics, horse-shoes, other military objects, rusted metal pieces, and various other objects (Fig. 32). On the eastern side of the dump there is an area which is covered by metal strips which have obviously been dumped in large quantities, sometime in the more recent past.

#### Dating the dump

Many broken bottles were noted. Some of these bottles could be related to certain companies operating in Bloemfontein at the beginning of the last century (Table 5, Fig. 33). It was also possible to date some of the ceramics as well as buttons, cartridges and other items (Table 5).

Most of the items date to the turn of the last century, or could fall within that particular time-frame. This time frame would relate well to the presence of British soldiers in Bloemfontein during 1900-1903. A military association is attested directly by the dome ventilator, military buttons and SLI collar dog. The military association would not contradict the interpretation of the wall as part of the military building works at the time. The dump clearly post-dates the wall, in that it stretches up to the wall but not beyond it. The implication of the dump is that there must have been a settlement nearby, which would have produced enough rubbish to create a dump over 150 m long and nearly as wide, and probably over 1 m deep. The Tempe cantonments were within a few kilometres of the dump (Fig. 30). A rubbish dump at Tempe was bulldozed when the officer's mess was erected (E. Wessels, pers. comm.), and it seems likely that this one on the grounds was (?one of) the rubbish dump/s associated with Tempe. There was also a "native location" at the Tempe cantonments (FS Archives, AKT 1/5/102 46/16), possibly it was the one noted above. If the dump was used by the people living in the "native location" it was also used by the military. The fact that the road to the rifle range passes near the dump means that it was convenient to cart the rubbish there from the military camp.

Table 5: Dates of items from the dump (see also Figs 32 & 33, information from Lastovica & Lastovica 1982, Lastovica 2000)

Item	Inscription or description	Date	Additional information
Codd bottle	REIDS BLOEMFONTEIN	1892-1910	Factory operating since 1883 making ginger beer
Codd bottle	J.H. Levy & Co.	1903-1910	Bloemfontein Mineral Water Works
Codd bottle	H. Goldberg & Co.	operating 1907	Grocer & general dealer

Codd bottle	S.A.G.I./M.W.F.	1900/1915	South African Garrison Institute, set up by Lord Roberts during Anglo-Boer War
Brown glass beer bottles	THIS BOTTLE IS THE PROPERTY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BREWERIES	from 1902	SA Breweries set up operations in Bloemfontein in 1902, but had been operating since 1895
Chisel head stopper	Rileys patent, South African Breweries Ltd	from 1902	made from ebonite, SA Breweries set up operations in Bloemfontein in 1902
Tea cup fragment	W.T. Copeland & Sons Stoke on Trent, England	1867-1970	
Plate fragment	Bishop & Stonier, England	1899-1936	
Collar dog	metal brooch in shape of a horn	1900-1902	Insignia of Somerset Light Infantry (SLI)
Trouser or shirt button		1900-1902	
Buttons	Queen's crown	1900-1902	General service buttons from British military uniforms
Clay pipe stem		present during 1900-1902 war	
.303 cartridges	Royal Laboratories	used during 1900-1902 war	Lee Enfield shells - British issue
Dome ventilator		from 1900-1902 war	part of a pith helmet such as used by British soldiers

#### Implications for development

The dump is most certainly over 60 years old, and probably in the region of 100 years old. It therefore falls under the protection of the National Heritage Resources Act no 25 of 1999. It would consequently be necessary to obtain a permit to destroy the dump. If the dump is to be removed an archaeologist should investigate it first. Although it has been heavily disturbed by bottle collectors there will still be valuable information which can be recovered from the dump. This is particularly the case if it does have a military association. Few of these dumps have been investigated properly, and it would throw light on the living conditions prevailing at the time, and also the "domestic" side of the military.

#### 4. Various kraals (Fig, 2 nos. 3, 4, 5 & K1/K2)

Various kraals were noted over the property. A short description will be given of each kraal, and their value then assessed as a whole. The numbers allocated to the kraals indicate their position on the map (Fig. 2).

Kraal no. 3 (Figs 34 & 35)

Two square structures adjoining each other, about 4 m<sup>2</sup>. The structure on the southern side is made from a couple of rows of piled dolerite cobbles. The northern square is built of loosely packed bricks. There is a line of a few dolerite boulders stretching in a northerly direction from the north-eastern corner of this square.

#### Kraal no. 4 (Figs 35 & 36)

This is a small oval kraal, about 3 m by 2.5 m. The kraal is built against a rocky outcrop on the southern side. The walls are of large packed dolerite rocks, and reach a height of about 0.6 m on the northern side. There is also a small opening in the northern side.

There is an ash heap (midden) 3.5 m north of the kraal on the rock plate lower than the kraal. The glass and porcelain fragments indicate a date in the earlier part of the 20th century, about the same time as the objects from the graveyard.

#### Kraal no. 5 (Figs 34 & 38)

This structure is built of large dolerite boulders piled up to make a rectangular kraal of about 10 m by 4 m. The large upper rectangle is upslope to the south, with the two smaller subdivisions forming two terraces below. The top structure is currently filled to the brim with scrap metal. There is a small ash heap about 9 m away from the south east corner of the kraal.

#### Kraals K1/ K2 (Figs 39, 40, 41 & 42)

This complex of kraals is built up against the wall, but not into it (Fig. 43). It was therefore built later than the wall, but it is not possible to determine how much later. The complex consists of a large rectangular kraal, a smaller semi-rectangular kraal to the west of it, and seven smaller kraals, arranged as indicated in Fig. 39. The kraals are built of piled dolerite boulders and cobbles. In most cases it was not possible to determine where the entrances were to the kraals. The kraals walls were generally less than 0.5 m in height. The indications are that these walls were not much higher in the past.

#### Assessment of kraals

Some of the kraals are fairly substantial (eg Kraal no. 5 and K1/K2). However, they are impossible to date, although they probably were constructed in the first half of the 20th century. Their distribution over the area is of interest in that it gives an indication of the activities being undertaken on the property. The kraals are mostly found in the south western portion of the property. It is likely that they were associated with the house foundation at no. 6 (possibly a worker's cottage).

#### **5. Other packed stone structures (Figs 34, 44a & b)**

There are 10 structures which will be discussed in this section, which is a general category.

##### **Foundations no. 6**

These foundations are indistinct, but lines of bricks are visible in the ground, which suggest some sort of structure. The bricks are scattered over an area of 18 m by 10 m.

##### **Foundations no. 7 (Figs 34 & 45)**

These are the foundations of two small houses, The foundations are cement slabs, and the houses were obviously built of brick. Although the foundations fall outside the limits of the property, they will possibly be affected if the road (Nicolai street) is extended. The two houses are at right angles to each other. The shape and size suggest labourers cottages.

About 14 m away to the north west of the houses is a depression, which could have been either a pit or a kraal. There are a few dolerite boulders around the depression, but the shape is defined by the depression itself.

##### **Brick and dolerite structure no. 1 (Figs 34, 46 & 47)**

This rectangular structure (nearly 9 m in length) is demarcated by lines of bricks. A 3 m wall of packed dolerite cobbles divides the structure into two unequal parts. On the southern end of the structure towards the western corner, there is a small square-shaped structure of packed dolerite cobbles. On the eastern side, extending south from the end of the structure is a worn dolerite threshold stone. It is possible that this structure may relate to the shed indicated on older maps, but which is no longer extant.

##### **Brick and dolerite structure no. 2**

This is a very indeterminate structure of bricks and dolerite cobbles. It is probably square, but is much disturbed, and also covered in grass and bushes. It is not possible to make any assessment of the structure.

Lines of dolerite boulders, no. 8 (Figs 44a, 48 & 49)

Two lines of dolerite boulders are packed more-or-less parallel to each other over a distance of nearly 9 m. No boulders are packed across the north and south ends. The east side has a possible opening.

Lines of dolerite boulders, no. 12 (Fig. 44a)

These are two L-shaped lines of dolerite cobbles, with a lower line of dolerite boulders making a terrace.

Lines of dolerite boulders, no. 13 (Fig. 44b)

Nearly 14 m away from no. 12, is another set of dolerite boulders forming lines in the ground. The southern line of boulders curves round for about 4.5 m, before straightening out in an east-west direction to form a terrace about 9 m long. About 13.5 m away in a north westerly direction there is another L-shaped line of dolerite boulders. A pile of dolerite boulders marks the north-easterly end of the L-shape. It is difficult to assess exactly what this, and indeed nos. 8 and 12 as well, was used for.

A marker or memorial, no. 11 (Fig. 50a & b)

This consists of a small ring of small dolerite cobbles surrounding a larger boulder which has been placed upright. The view from this marker is across the valley towards the north. The upright stone has been chosen well, and it looks like a small seat. The tentative interpretation of this marker is that a family pet had been buried there, and this was one way of demarcating the grave.

Indeterminate brick and cement structures, no. 10 (Fig. 51a & b)

These are cement or mortar 'strips' with attached brick and cement. There are 13 rows of these 'strips' laid out parallel to each other. They suggest a larger structure which was broken down, or otherwise the remains of recycled building material which had been used to build a temporary structure. It is impossible to determine what they were used for.

Assessment of the structures

As with the kraals, the layout of the structures over the property is of more interest than the structures themselves. The function of most of the structures, as well as their age, are for the most part not possible to determine. The distribution and individual description of each occurrence has been recorded. No further mitigation is deemed necessary.

#### **6. Middle Stone Age artefact scatter (Fig. 52)**

This artefact scatter occurs over a large area. The artefacts have eroded out of the ground, and are lying on the surface. There are clusters where the artefacts are more dense, and areas where they are relatively scarce. The main cluster covers an area of about 8 m by 5 m, with outlying clusters up to 16 m away. It seems likely that the site has been heavily disturbed, and the trackway running through the site has exacerbated the problem, both in terms of disturbing the site, and causing damage to the artefacts. This means that any attempt to record exact locations of artefacts will not produce coherent information.

The artefacts are made from hornfels, and are Middle Stone Age in date. Almost all of the stone age archaeological sites which would have occurred in Bloemfontein have disappeared. This site is therefore quite interesting, as it will be possible to obtain an artefact sample from the material.

My recommendation is that an archaeologist be allowed to collect a sample of the material before it is further disturbed, or destroyed. This sample can serve as a comparative sample of the Middle Stone Age archaeology of Bloemfontein.

#### **7. Possible rock engraving (Fig. 53)**

A rock with a possible engraving was found near to kraal no. 3. The engraving is difficult to make out, and is not very well preserved. It would however be important for the rock to be removed before any development takes place. The rock can either be stored in the collection of the National Museum, or at a suitable *in situ* exhibition spot on Lilyvale, although the former is recommended.

#### **8. Gate posts (Figs 54 & 55)**

Three gate posts occur in a line running east-west across the northern side of the subdivision. They were probably constructed sometime during the first half of the 20th century. The road connecting the posts is no longer visible, but can be seen where part of the wall was broken down for it to pass through. It was also difficult to determine where the road led to after passing the eastern gate post.

The gate posts were well-constructed of shaped dolerite blocks set in cement. On the central gate post (shaped in a v) wire has been set into the cement at intervals, presumably for the attachment of fencing wire. The stone constructions have been carefully made and are quite elaborate for simple farm gates. The gate onto Bloemendal road is a statement about an entrance. The gate posts document previous use of the land, and, although interesting from that point of view, are not vital in themselves.

## **9. Other loose finds on the property**

These finds were found during the course of the walking survey of the property. The identifiable items are mentioned here as an indication of the human presence on the property.

- 1909 Penny
- Tin soldier, dating back to beginning of 20th century
- Military buttons: Anglo-Boer/South African War with Queen's crown, and World War I buttons, general service, with the King's crown
- Various .303 Lee Enfield shells from Anglo-Boer/South African War
- Butter dish, marked *Grandly England* dating to between 1936 and 1954 (Godden 1964)
- Plate fragments, marked *Bishop & Stonier, England* dating to between 1899 and 1936 (Godden 1964)

## **ASSESSMENT OF THE CULTURAL REMAINS RECORDED ON THE PROPERTY**

There are four phases of land use recorded on the property surveyed. These are a prehistoric/archaeological component, an Anglo-Boer/South African War component, the graveyard and the use of the area for farming purposes.

Most of the remains are protected by law, being either older than 60 years (structures and historical remains) or 100 (archaeological sites), or they are graves, and most will require a permit for their destruction or removal. However, the cultural remains are not all of equal importance or equally conservation or mitigation-worthy.

### **Summary of the four components**

#### **1. Prehistoric/archaeological component**

This consists of two parts: a dense scatter of Middle Stone Age artefacts over an area of over 40 m<sup>2</sup>. The scatter is eroded and many of the artefacts have edge damage. The second part is a possible rock engraving. This rock is not *in situ*, and the engraving is not very evident.

## 2. Anglo-Boer or South African War component

This component also has two parts. The first consists of a large stone wall stretching the width of the property from south to north, with a possible lookout against the eastern side of the wall. The second part is a large rubbish dump located on the northern side of the property. It post-dates the wall, but contains bottles and military artefacts, which date it to the turn of the last century.

## 3. The graveyard

This graveyard consists of at least 190 graves. The earliest date still visible on a gravestone is 1937, and the latest date is 1958. The 11 graves with names indicate that this is a graveyard of black labourers who lived in the vicinity.

## 4. Structures related to farming activities

These structures include kraals, and the foundations of houses or sheds. Most of the structures are no longer intact, and it is difficult to ascribe a direct age to them.

# Recommendations

Permits will have to be issued for the destruction and/or removal of most of the cultural remains on the property, as they fall under the National Heritage Resources Act and the Human Tissues Act. The following recommendations are made:

## 1. Prehistoric/archaeological component

A sample of the Middle Stone Age artefacts is collected (by an archaeologist) for reference on the archaeology of the Bloemfontein area, and stored at the National Museum

The rock with the possible engraving is also removed and taken up in the collection at the National Museum

## 2. Anglo-Boer or South African War component

A decision will have to be taken by SAHRA/FS PRHA about the future of the wall and the rubbish dump. If the decision is to allow destruction of the rubbish dump, an archaeologist MUST be appointed to carry



out a limited excavation to determine the depth of the dump, its earliest date of use, and to collect a sample of material, which will relate to the 'domestic' side of military occupation in Bloemfontein.

### 3. The graveyard

A decision on the graveyard will have to take into consideration that if the graveyard is to be moved, proper consultation will have to take place with communities associated with the people buried there. In some cases descendants will probably be identified, but the recent use of the graveyard means that there will be people who know of relatives buried there even if the graves are no longer marked.

If the graveyard is to be left, a management plan will have to be in place BEFORE ANY development takes place. This plan will have to ensure that the graveyard is securely fenced off so that no pillaging of the graves will take place during development of the area. The plan will also have to make provision for the security of the graveyard once development has ceased, so that it can be maintained and not vandalised. The implementation of the plan will have to be monitored.

### 4. Structures related to farming activities

These structures have been recorded, and probably do not merit any further mitigation.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Additional information was supplied by the following:

S. Havenga (National Museum) provided most of the information on the glass bottles and ceramics  
E. Wessels & J. Wolfaardt (War museum) helped with military information, identified military items, shared ideas and most importantly found the key map!

N. Fourie (Military Museum) also helped with military information

They are all thanked very much for their time and effort

S. Holt drew the maps and collated the figures for which many thanks are due, as well as participating in the survey along with K. Mphafi & G. Tlhapi. G. Tlhapi deciphered the gravestones. My grateful thanks are due to 'the team'.

## REFERENCES

Godden, G.A. 1964. *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and porcelain marks*. London: Barrie & Jenkins

Lastovica, E. 2000. *Ginger Beer Bottles: an illustrated guide for South African collectors*. Cape Town: Gaffer Press.

Lastovica, E & A. 1982. *Bottles and Bygones*. Cape Town: Don Nelson.

Trehaven, R. 1996. The pretty dabs of spongeware. *Vuka* May 1996:30-34.

Archival

Free State Archives, sources: CO, AKT, SBS and SOB

The War Museum: 1913 British Military map of Bloemfontein

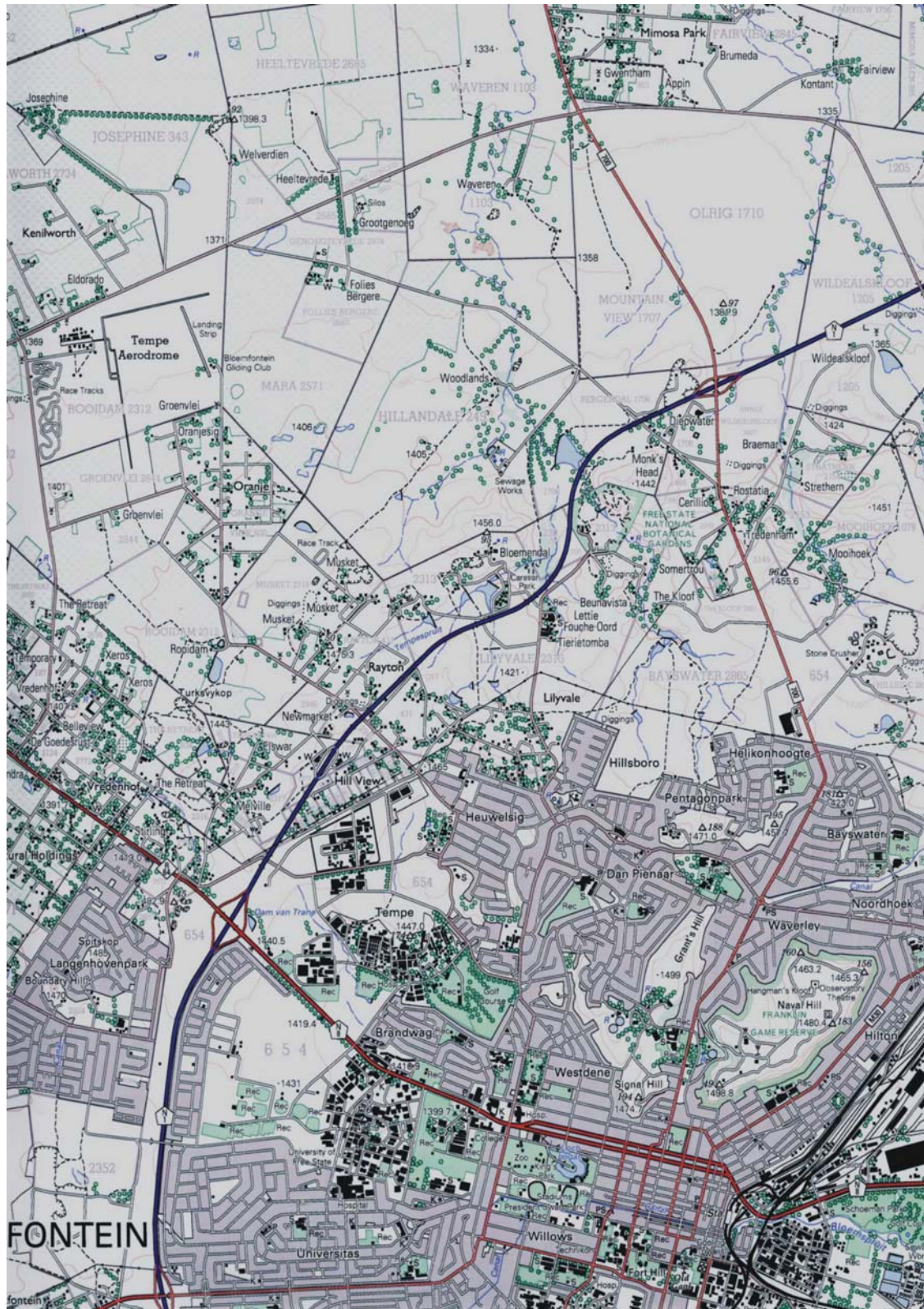


Figure 1: Location of on subdivision 7, remainder and portion of subdivision 25 of the farm Lilyvale 2313, from 1:50 000 map 2926AA, of 1999.

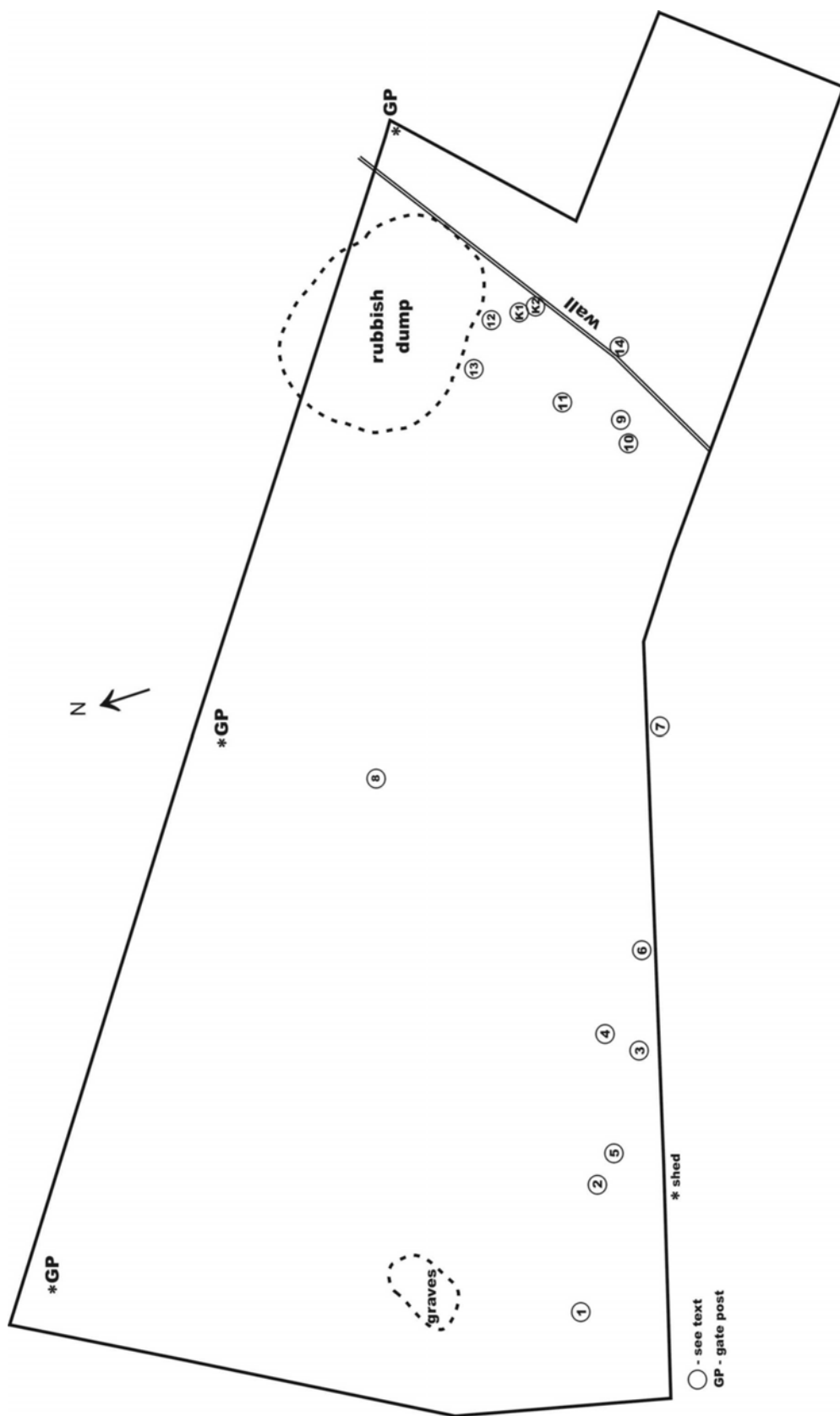


Figure 2: Location on the property of cultural remains discussed in the text

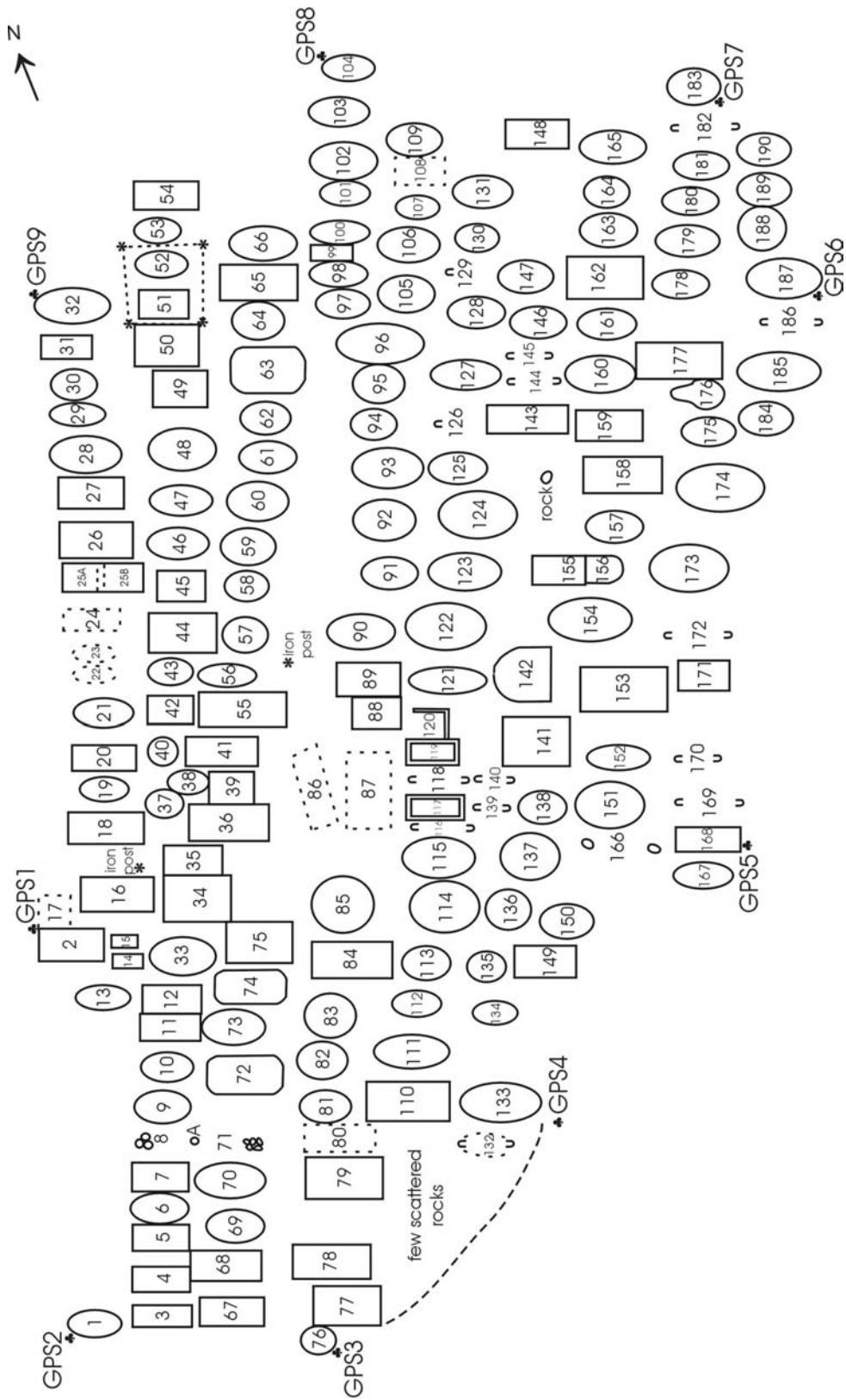


Figure 3: Plan of the informal graveyard





Figure 4: view of graves 167 and 168 covered with dolerite cobbles



Figure 5: Grave (no. 155) packed with bricks





Figure 6: Graves (nos 120, 119 & 117) demarcated by brick walls



Figure 7a: Defined head and foot marker, grave no. 136





Figure 7b: Grave 68, combination of bricks and dolerite boulders, with defined head and foot markers



Figure 8a: Iron cross with dolerite headmarker, grave no. 64





Figure 8b: Iron cross with dolerite headmarker, grave no. 173



Figure 8c: Iron cross with dolerite headmarker, grave no. 36

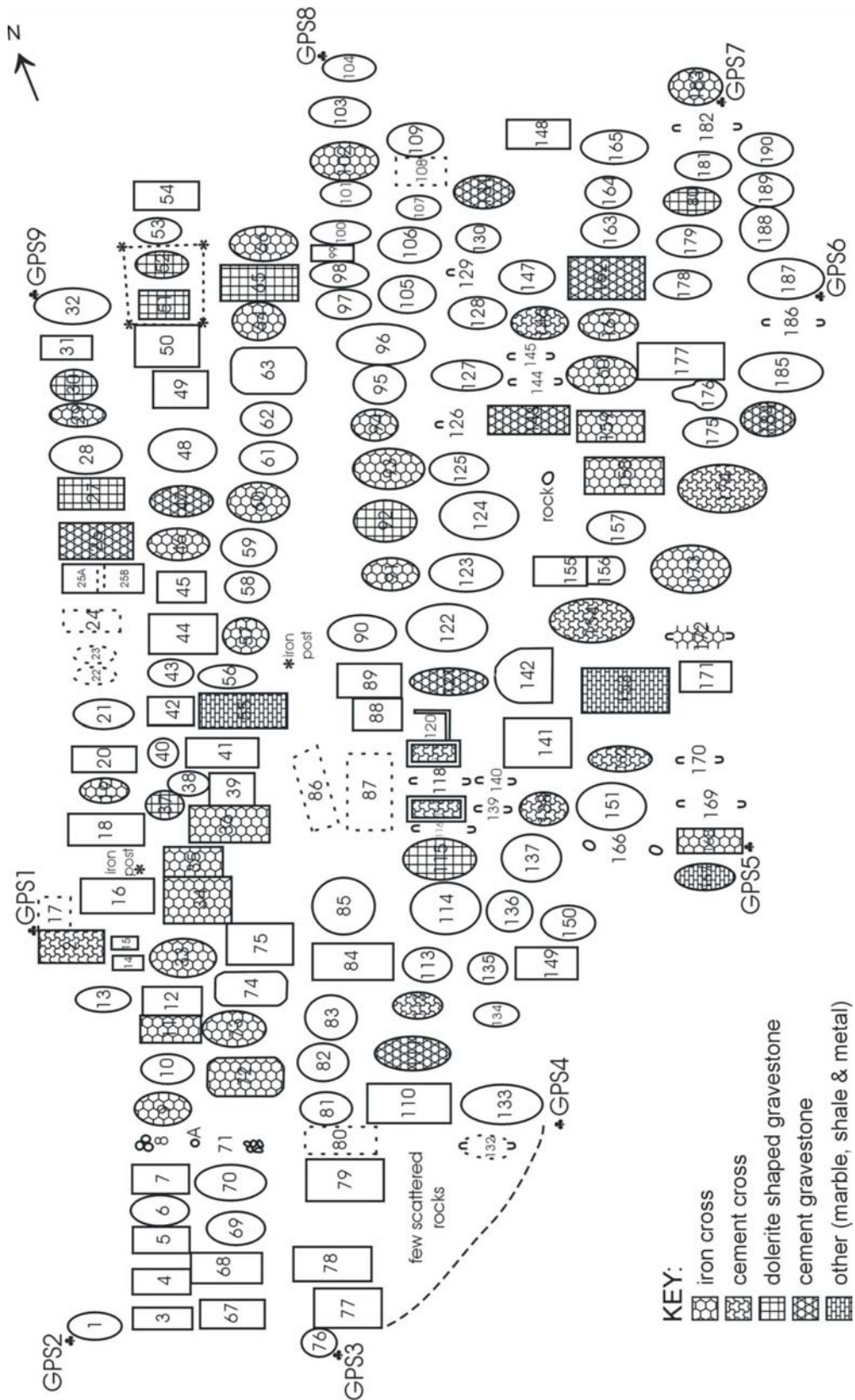


Figure 9: Plan of graveyard showing distribution of crosses and gravestones.





Figure 10a: Marble headstone of Clara Meyers, grave no. 153



Figure 10b: Shale headstone, grave no. 55





Figure 11a: Cement cross of Augustina Molise, grave no. 119, note writing scratched into plaster



Figure 11b: Cement cross of Jonnas Watersouk, grave no. 152





Figure 12: Cement cross with inscription painted on, and cross decorated with broken glass, grave no. 174



Figure 13: Dolerite headstone with cross scratched onto western side, grave no. 51





Figure 14a: Metal cross, made from a ?drum lid, grave no. 183



Figure 14b: Metal cross, grave no. 94





Figure 14c: Metal cross, grave no. 158



Figure 14d: Metal cross, grave no. 161





Figure 15: Inscription in Sotho, grave no. 117



Figure 16: Gravestone of Sarel Nkoe, grave no. 26





Figure 17: Gravestone of Betty Nkoe, grave no. 143



Figure 18a: Gravestone of Dorah Nkwe, grave no. 162



Figure 18b: Gravestone of Nicodimo Nkwe, grave no. 131





Figure 18c: Gravestone of Elias Nkoe, grave no. 121

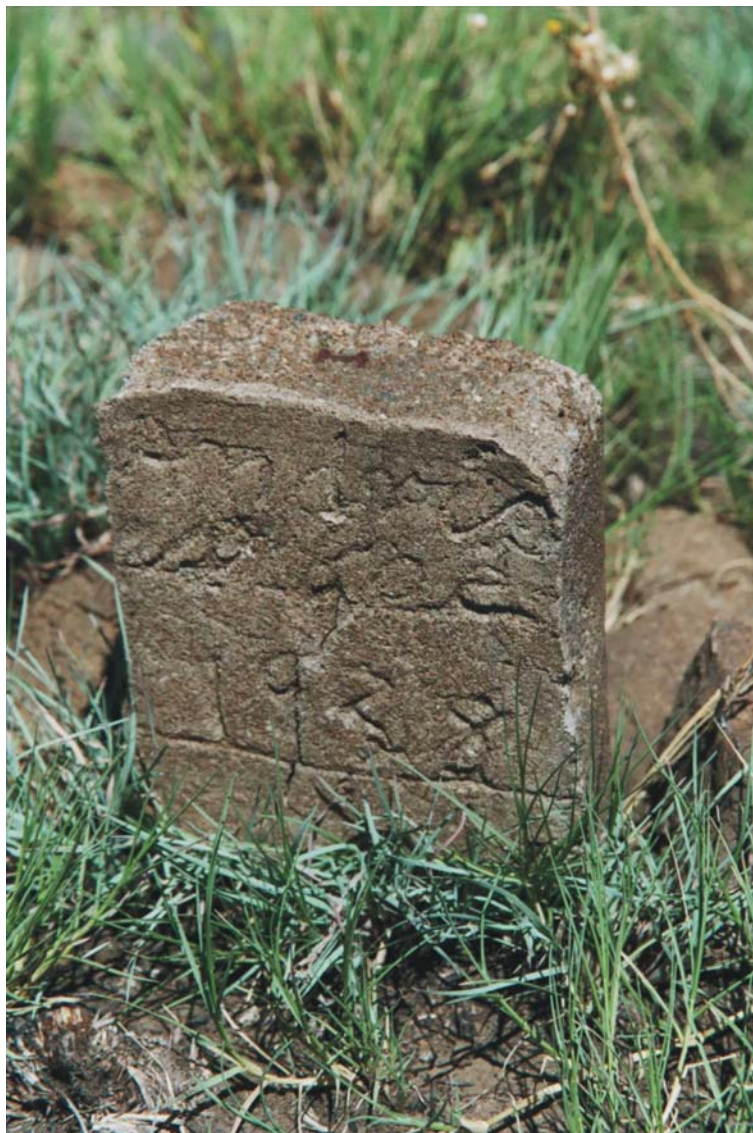


Figure 18d: Gravestone of Andris Nkoe, grave no. 47





Figure 19a: Vases and other containers from the graves



Figure 19b: Elaborate glass lid from grave no. 170



Figure 19c: Grave decoration of metal, cement and broken glass



Figure 20a: Glass bottles and containers from the graveyard



Figure 20b: Container from the graveyard



Figure 21: Cups and statuettes from the graveyard



Figure 22: Pecks anchovette jars on left and an SAR & H sick Fund bottle on right from grave 59



Figure 23: Souvenir issued to commemorate the Great Trek centenary in 1938, from grave 131





Figure 24: 1951 1:50 000 map of the Lilyvale area showing graveyard





Figure 25: Stone wall



Figure 26: Aerial photograph of the stone wall





Figure 27a: Views of the stone wall



Figure 27b: Views of the stone wall





Figure 28: Construction of the wall showing large boulders on the outside with smaller rocks on the inside

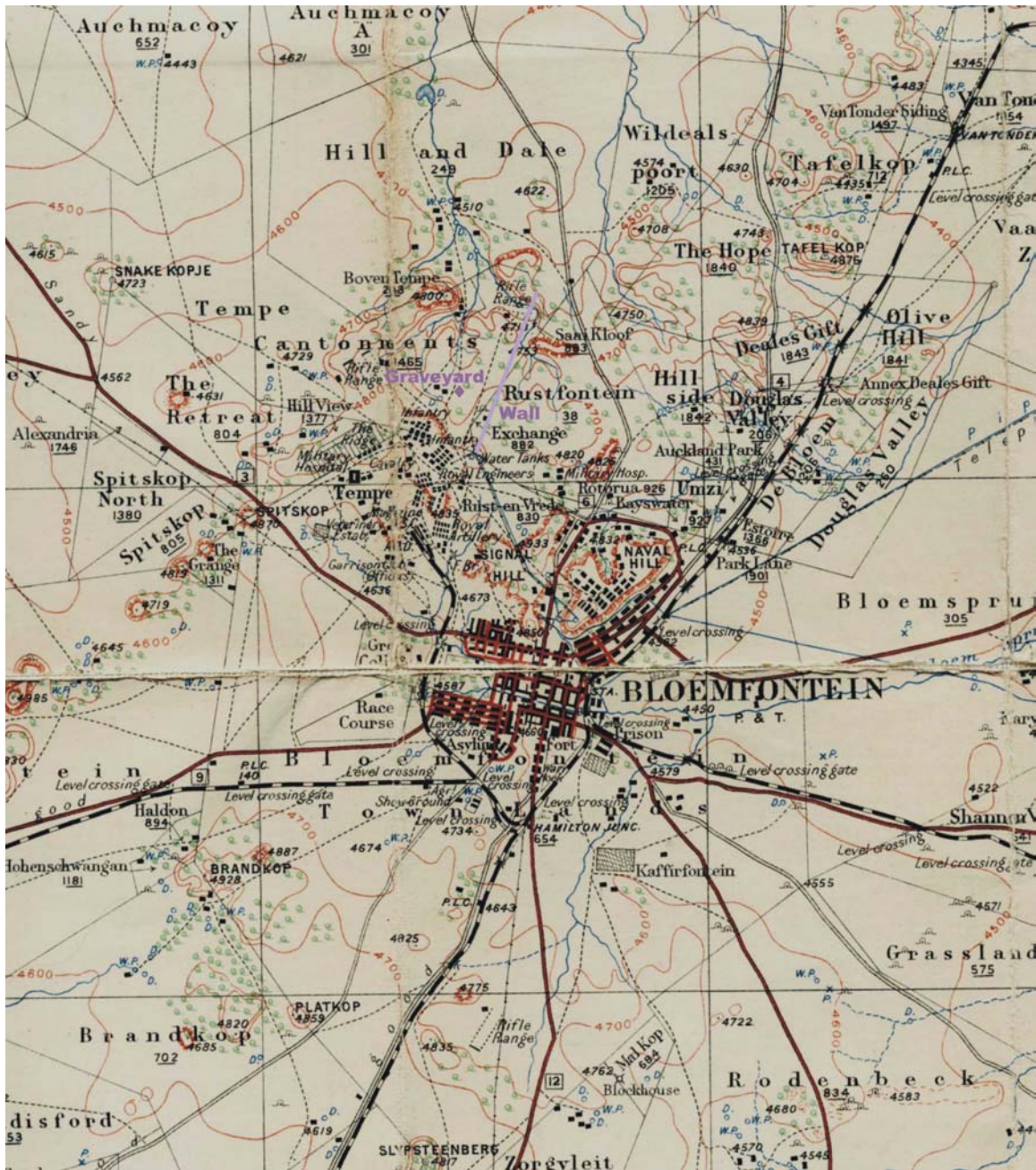


Figure 29a: 1913 British Military map of Bloemfontein, location of graveyard and wall superimposed

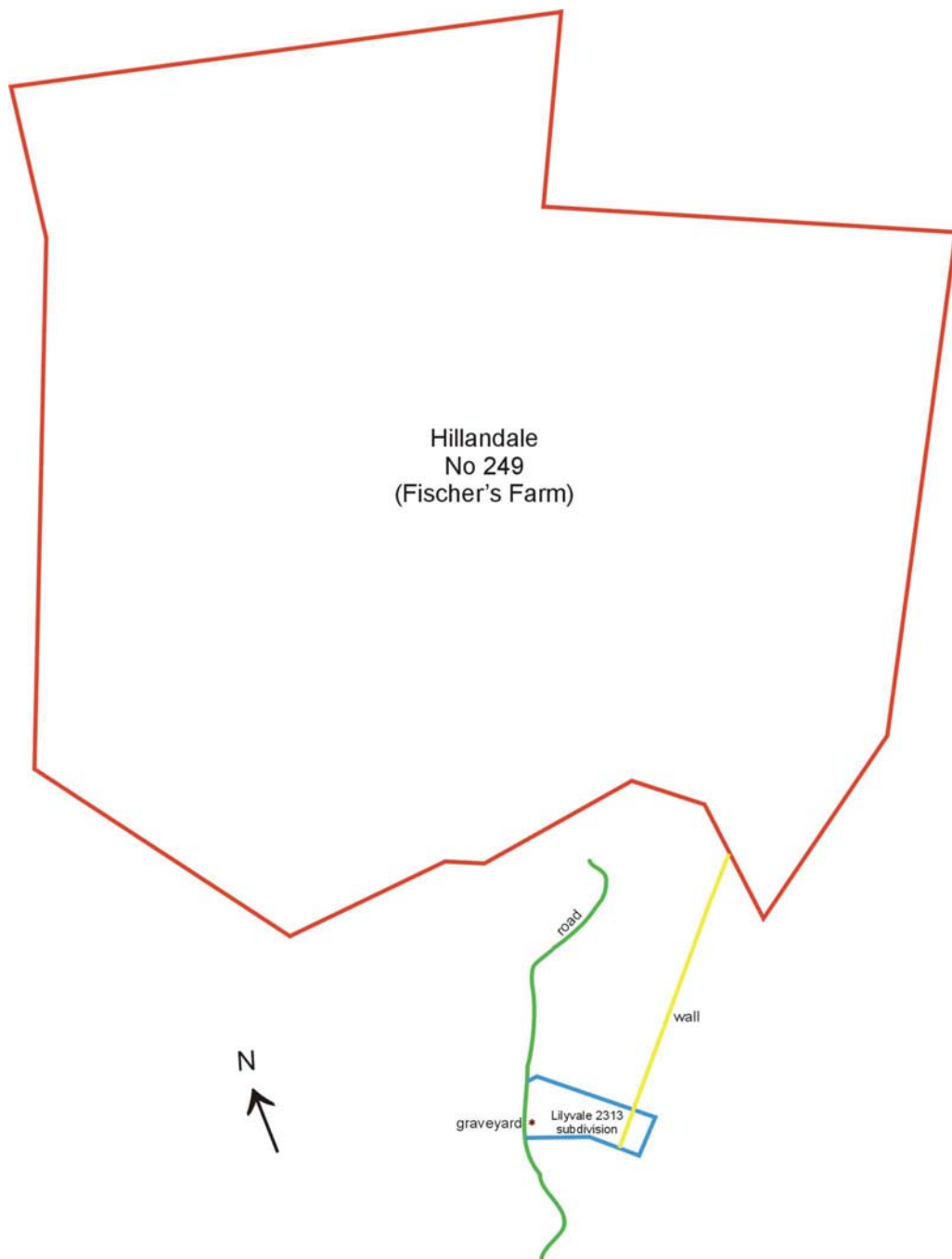


Figure 29b: Map indicating boundaries of Hillandale, and the connection with the wall



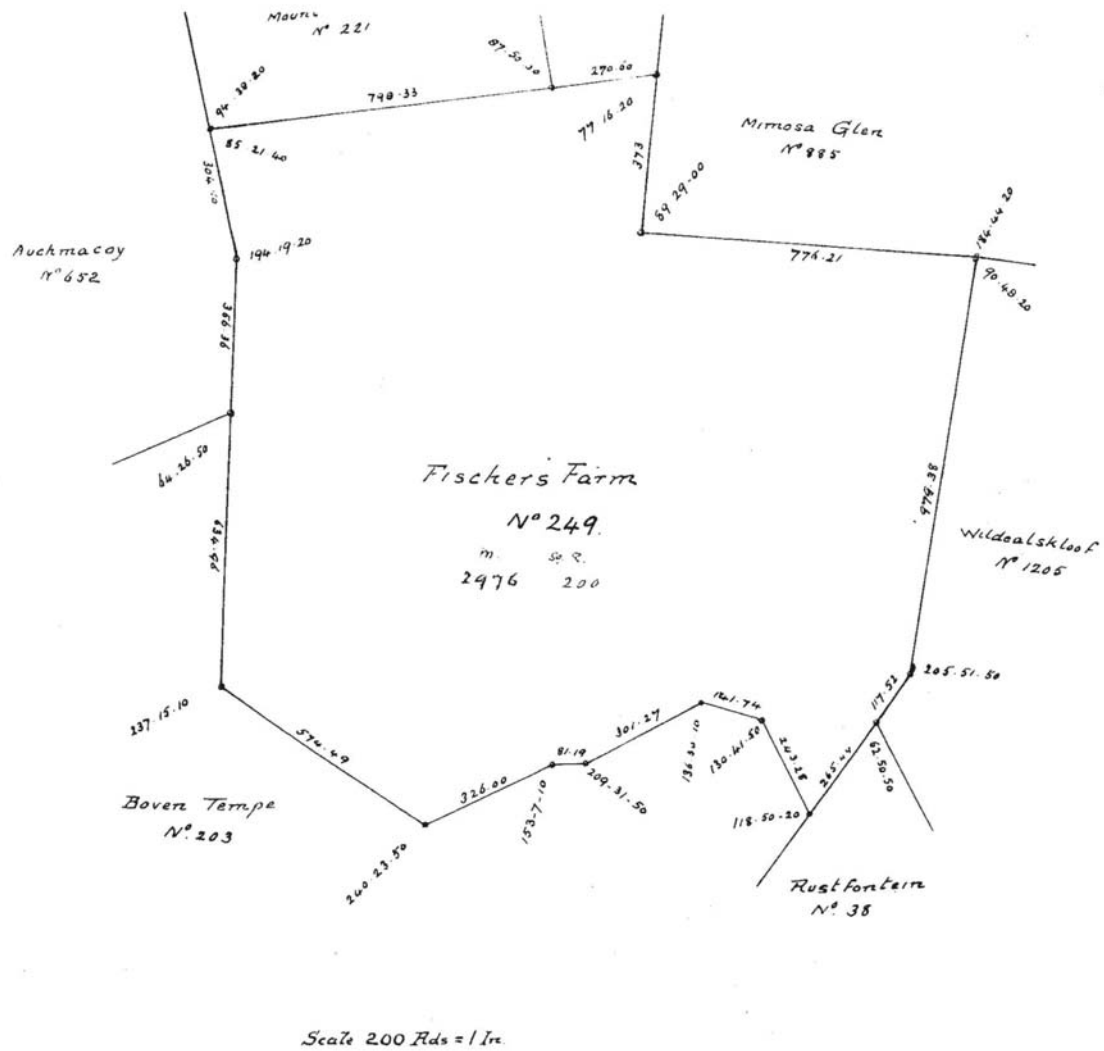


Figure 30: Copy of a 1902 map (FS Archives CO 76 1990/02) indicating Fischer's Farm



Figure 31a: Views of the rubbish dump



Figure 31b: Views of the rubbish dump



Figure 32: Items from the rubbish dump. Note the Somerset Light Infantry collar dog (middle bottom), a Riley's stopper (middle above), a clay pipe stem (to right of stopper), military buttons (to left of stopper), .303 cartridge (on left) and a Copeland cup fragment (on right)



Figure 33: Glass bottles from the dump



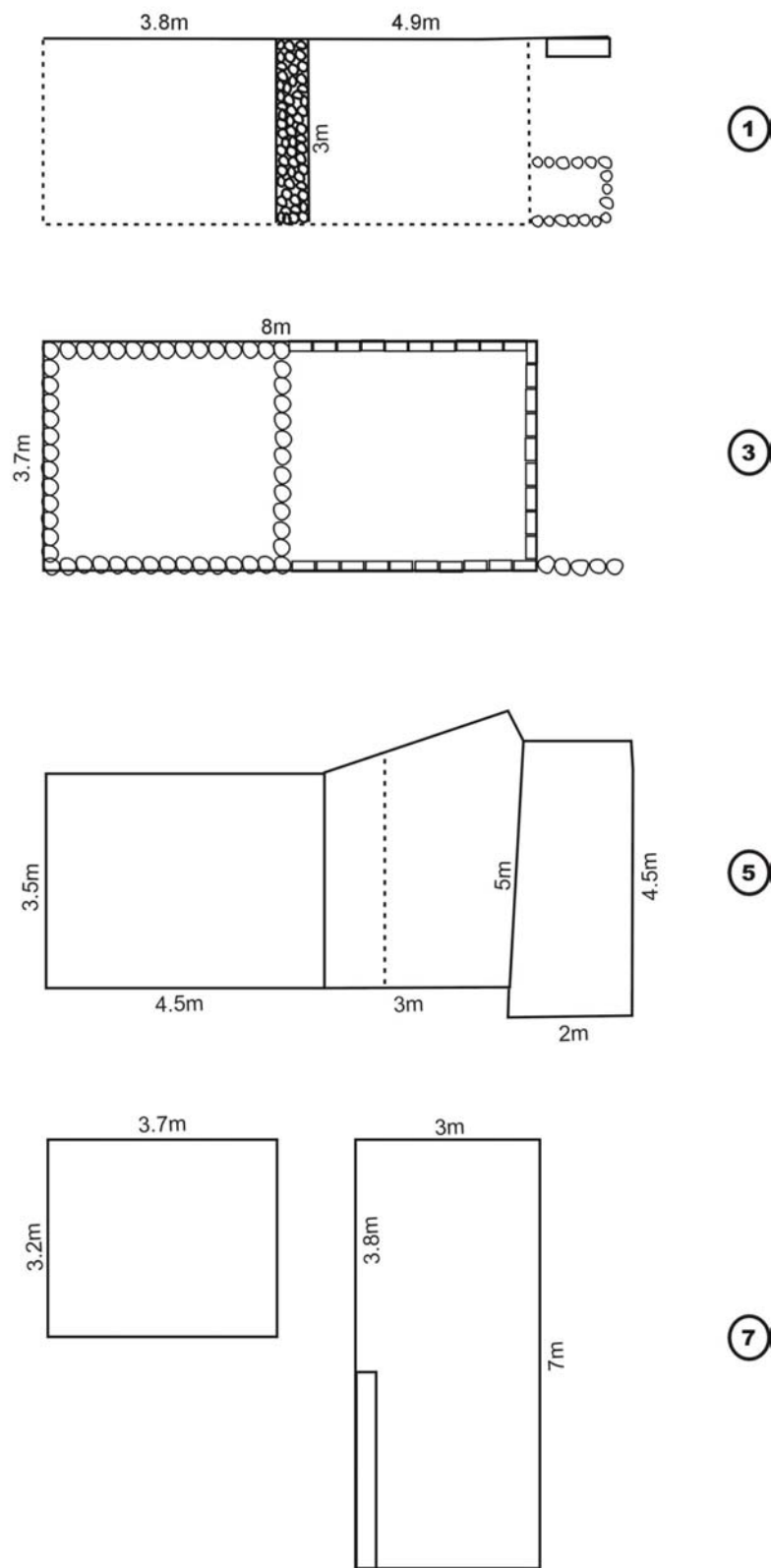


Figure 34: Diagrammes of some of the kraals and foundations recorded on the property, numbers refer to the text, and Fig. 2



Figure 35: View of southern structure of no. 3



Figure 36: View of kraal no. 4, opening is on left, which faces north





Figure 37: View of kraal no. 4 and associated ash heap. Figure on left is at kraal, figure at right is at ash heap



Figure 38: View of packed stone wall of kraal no. 5.

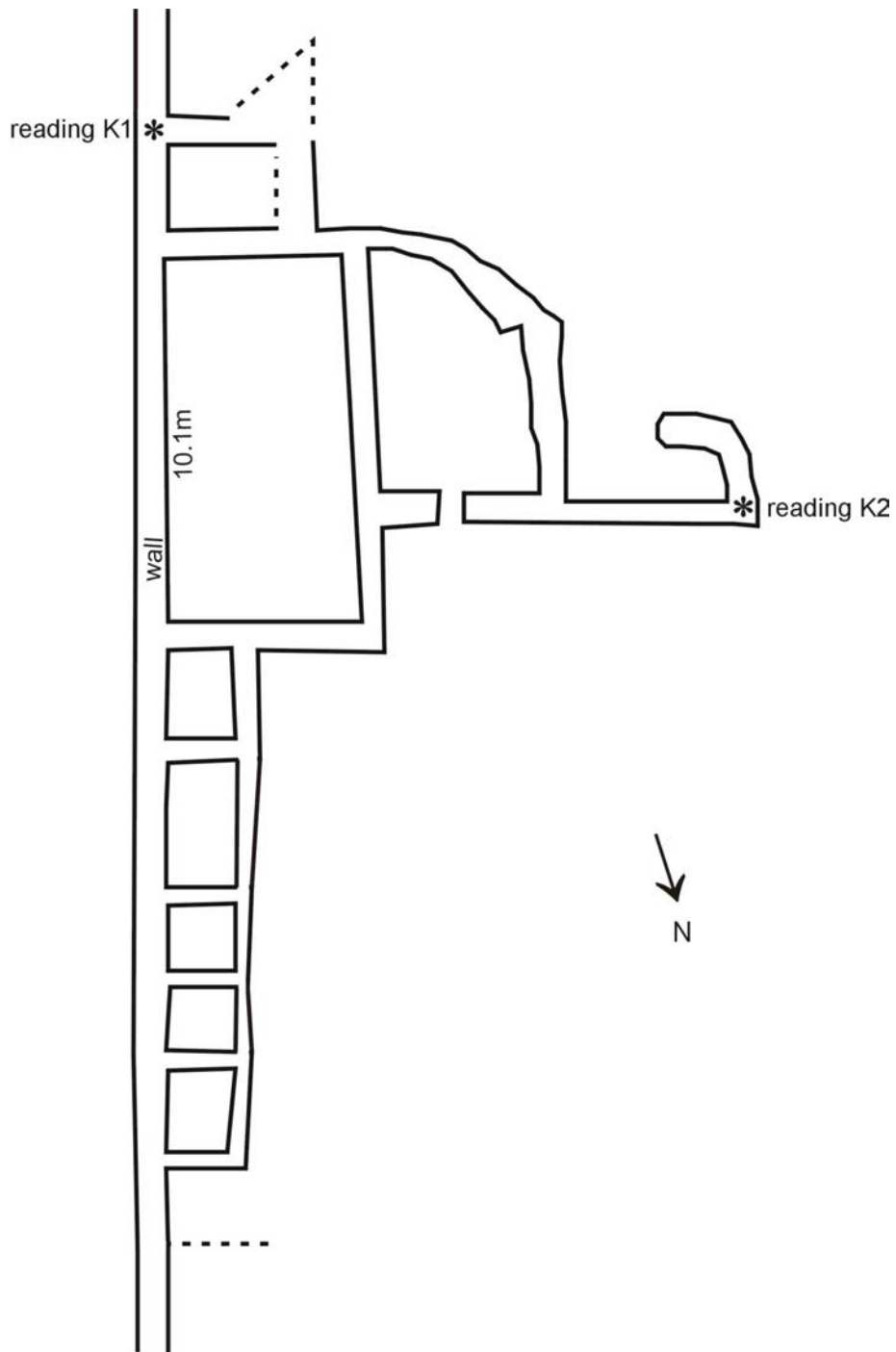


Figure 39: Diagramme of structures at K1/K2





Figure 40: View over K1/K2 looking north (large kraals in foreground), stone wall is to right



Figure 41: View over large kraals of K1/K2, looking east towards wall



Figure 42: Looking south with small kraals of K1/K2 in foreground





Figure 43: Corner of wall and large kraal at K1/K2 showing that kraals built later up against wall, and not as a part of it

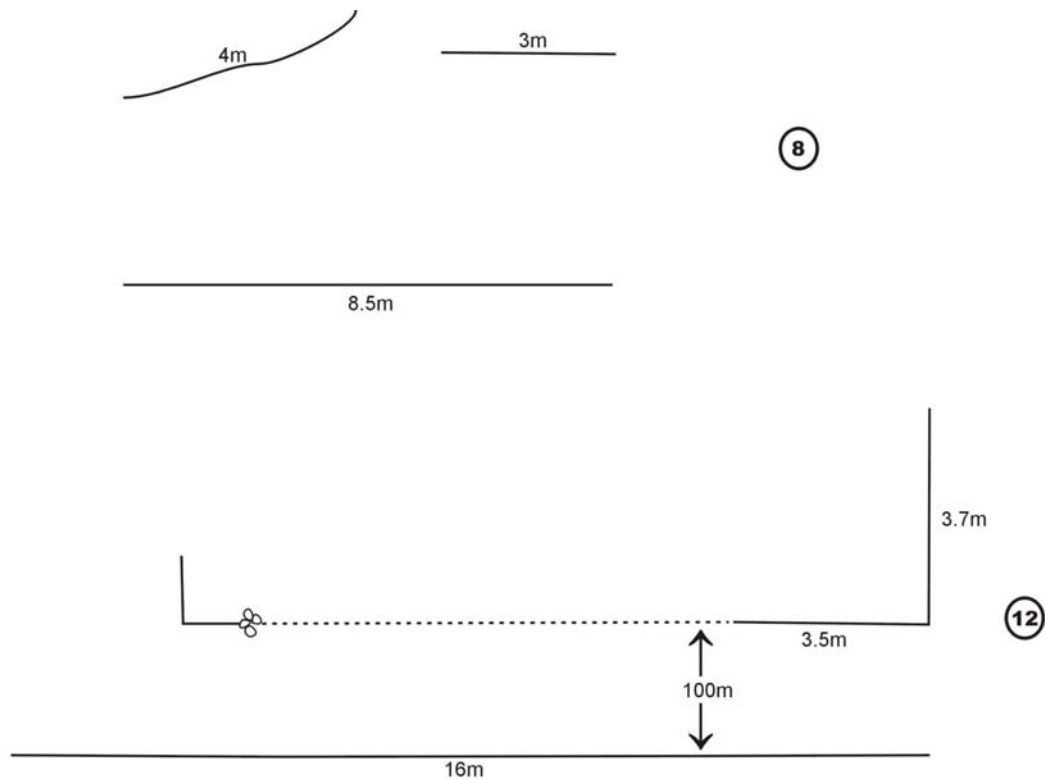


Figure 44a: Diagrammes of other packed stone structures



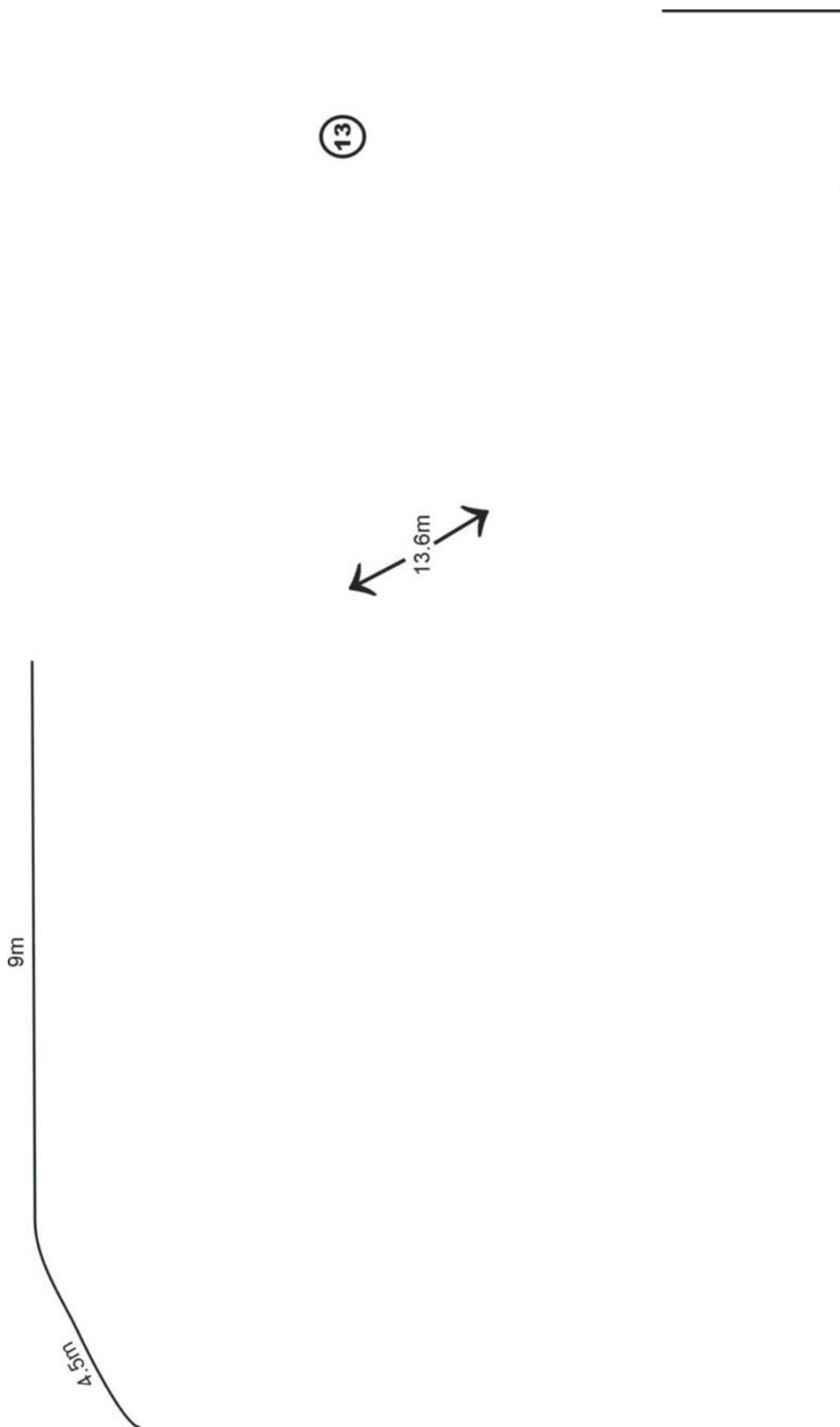


Figure 44b: Diagrammes of other packed stone structures



Figure 45: View looking south east over house foundations, no. 7



Figure 46: Central packed dolerite wall of no. 1





Figure 47: Worn dolerite threshold of no. 1



Figure 48: Lines of dolerite boulders (no. 8), figures on ends of lines





Figure 49: Western line of boulders of no. 8





Figure 50a: Ring of dolerite cobbles surrounding larger boulder, no 11



Figure 50b: Ring of dolerite cobbles surrounding larger boulder, no 11





Figure 51a: Indeterminate brick and cement structures of no. 10



Figure 51b: Indeterminate brick and cement structures of no. 10





Figure 52: Middle Stone Age artefact scatter, no. 6, showing disturbance by trackway (on right of photograph)



Figure 53: Possible rock engraving





Figure 54: Middle Gate Post



Figure 55: Gate Post on Bloemendal Road



## **APPENDIX A**

**REPORT ON THE BURIAL SITE AND ASSOCIATED TERRAIN**

**LILYVALE, BLOEMFONTEIN**

**SUBMITTED BY:**

**GARTH BENNEYWORTH**

**29 SEPTEMBER 2004**

## **Introduction**

I was invited by Dr Zoë Henderson of the National Museum Bloemfontein to undertake a survey of a burial site, rubbish dump and the general terrain in the vicinity of these two features, which included a rock wall and other such structures. The exercise was undertaken on 16 September 2002 and conducted on foot.

At the outset, the area and physical evidence surveyed and any history associated with the site was unknown to me and it was the first occasion that I surveyed the terrain. I had no knowledge of any associated site-specific history, and the terrain was viewed without prior information that could have premeditated a conclusion. I was also unaware of any potential implications associated with this site and therefore submit this report as an independent specialist.

My area of expertise is that of a military historian, with particular reference to the Anglo Boer War (1899 – 1902). Of particular focus are the concentration camps and labour camps established by the British military and which incarcerated black civilians between 1900 -1903. Since 1999 I have located and surveyed several such sites in South Africa, formerly unidentified, and have familiarised myself with the historic terrain of some thirty other black concentration camp sites. Concentration Camps that I have located include Dry Harts, Vryburg, Springs, Kimberley, Taaibosch, and Klip River Station. Black labour camps located to date include Brandfort and Witkop.

During the last fifteen years I have surveyed some one hundred and fifty sites pertaining to various historical conflicts in South Africa, primarily sites associated with the Anglo Boer War. These include battlefields, military campsites, concentration camps and associated terrains. I have visited numerous military sites in Western Europe and the Far East and hold an MA degree in Heritage Studies for a research report titled “Reinterpreting Military Landscape. I am currently embarking upon a PHD which examines the incarceration sites for black civilians during the Anglo Boer War. I operate a consultancy which provides specialist services and products to the heritage and tourism sectors on a national basis and was appointed in 2003 by the National Minister of Arts and Culture to the Council of the Nelson Mandela National Museum. I was directly involved in numerous heritage and commemorative interventions, developed by National, Provincial and Local authorities during the centenary commemorations of the conflict during 1999 -2002.

## **Historical Military Overview**

During the Anglo Boer War the protagonists made extensive use of local labour to sustain their fighting formations and operational capacities, supplied mainly by the black population. As the site in question, Lilyvale, is located within the British defensive perimeter thrown up by the British army around Bloemfontein after its occupation of the city on 13 March 1900, this report does not concern itself with the involvement of black civilians serving with the Boer forces.

When the British army launched its offensive operations from Orange River Station on 21 November 1899 records reflect that extensive numbers of black men were employed by the forces in a logistical capacity as transport drivers, grooms, cooks and labourers. This initial force of some 12 000 troops was extensively reinforced to around some 30 000 Imperial combat troops by February 1900 and consequently labour supply would have increased proportionately by the time this force occupied Bloemfontein in March 1900. Bloemfontein remained garrisoned by the British military throughout the duration of the conflict and labour requirements were met by black civilians, either with the forces, or recruited into the forces. Labourers received payment and military rations.

With the onset of the Boer guerrilla war campaign from June 1900 until the cessation of hostilities in 1902, the British forces applied scorched earth tactics to undermine the capacity of the Boer forces to conduct operations. This involved the destruction of civilian homesteads and kraals along with foodstuffs and livestock in the rural areas, while some towns were also destroyed. The rural infrastructure in the former Orange Free State was particularly affected by this counter guerrilla campaign and laid to waste.

Black and Boer civilians were incarcerated into internment centres, which were situated near major towns or military garrisons. These centres became known as concentration camps where high numbers of inmates perished for a number of reasons; cause of death included infectious diseases, malnutrition, inadequate shelter and medical neglect. Estimates vary, but it is likely that at least 50 000 – 60 000 black and white civilians, held captive by British military force, died in the camps.

From the beginning of 1901, when the concentration camp system was being established, no formalised military or civilian management structure existed for black civilians affected by the scorched earth tactics or who had been displaced by combat operations; they were either dropped by the military columns or left to fend for themselves in ‘satellite’ areas, linked to the Boer camps, or they sought shelter on the periphery of established black living areas near the towns and urban centres. In July and August 1901, the Department of Native Refugees was established by the British military and some 66 formalised black concentration camps were established in the former Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Bechuanaland. Camps were also established in Natal, but the extent of these remains unknown. The inmates, mainly



women children and elderly men, were compelled by the military to harvest crops for the army. The proportionate lower numbers of men in the concentration camps was mainly because they were employed by the military forces during this guerrilla phase of the war.

Records reflect that many of the Boer concentration camps set up by British forces retained black labour force to provide labour in the running of these camps and they were incarcerated usually within the defensive cordon around these places. As for the British garrisons, the same would have been true. Living areas for black labourers, accommodated in the labour camps would have been established within the defensive cordon and the men compelled to remain within the cordon, due to martial law and a state of war. Consequently burial areas and discarded ration tins and living areas would be within close proximity to each other, considering that inmates faced the possibility of being shot on sight, if they strayed beyond the defensive cordon for whatever reason.

The black inmates were not supplied with tents or bungalow type accommodation for shelter, as in the Boer camps and erected shelters with whatever materials were available: organic building materials, crates and boxes, clods of soil, tarpaulins, Hessian sacking, corrugated iron etc. Consequently when one views the physical terrain of such places very little remains on the surface to denote a formerly occupied area. Locating such sites can be difficult but other clues exist to denote such places, such as surface scatters of glass shards and military ration tins, upper and lower grinding stones, strapping from crates and impacted ground. Impacted ground can be observed both on the terrain and in aerial photographs and vegetation growth disparities, such as areas of shorter growing grass where shelters were once erected or areas cleared of rocks and stones, are obvious to the naked eye.

Burial sites and rubbish dumps are always found in close proximity to previous locations of concentration or labour camps. Grave ornaments such as cans, bottles, glassware etc have not been observed at any of the sites listed in the introduction. Such ornamentation is observed on graves that postdate the war. At certain black concentration camp sites, such as at Dry Harts, some thirty hand engraved stones bearing the casualty's name and date of death have been located in a burial area containing approximately 2000 – 3000 graves. The Taaibosch black concentration camp burial site, which contains some 640 graves, has only one stone listing the casualty's details. The labour camp at Brandfort has only one stone carrying engraved details from some 67 burials. One therefore finds no established pattern with respect to engraving headstones from the period.

The physical structure of individual graves from the period from various sites all bear the same characteristic, be they British or civilian in origin: individual or mass graves were covered over with a cairn built from local rock, gathered and packed into a mound, usually elliptical in appearance. With respect to British burial practices of their own casualties at the time of the conflict, the soldiers erected

headstones of local rock, engraved with the casualty's details at the head of the grave. British burial sites reflect a sense of demarcated order - graves are located in lanes or rows and the same is true for black casualties that were buried within the control mechanisms of the British authorities.

At black concentration camps such as Dry Harts and Taaibosch the graves are situated within ordered rows and lanes, while at Kimberley they reflect a more haphazard arrangement, due to camp being more remote and removed from the British garrison. At these sites it is observed that the Black civilians erected at least a headstone and in most cases included a footstone or built up the burial mound with gravel and small stones or mounds of sand if large rocks were not locally available. However, it has been observed that sometimes this practice of building cairns did not always occur. At the burial site from the Dry Harts black concentration camp there are areas between recognisable graves that do include individual burial sites but with no surface mound; the casualty was simply buried in a hole and covered over with sand. Some 103 years later environmental activity has resulted in a fairly level surface. At the site in Kimberley it was established that the graves of male casualties were marked with larger and more prominent cairns than that of women or children, possibly due to a cultural practice at the time of denoting status.

A few years after the war a Guild of Loyal Women was formed and raised funds to provide for and erect a standardised iron grave marker above the graves of British troops who died in the conflict. These markers carried the soldier's details, stamped into the marker or on an attached disc. These markers are generally known as Guild Crosses and variances do exist in the design between the various provinces in South Africa. Nevertheless they are similar in that they contain a vertical cross, framed with a circular disc. Cemeteries for the British dead were 'tidied up', formalised with fencing and memorials and denoted with pepper trees, planted to provide shade and to serve as markers on the landscape. Consequently British cemeteries or individual graves situated within municipal burial sites are easily located and the practice seems to have continued until the British army withdrew its garrisons from South Africa with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Black casualties during the war would appear without exception, to have received no official formalisation such as to markers or stones. Prior to 1994 no effort was made by the authorities to plot and record black burial areas associated with the war resulting in their virtual 'disappearance' from maps and plans, recorded histories and broader knowledge and consciousness.



**British Graves, Phillipolis Cemetery.**  
**Visible are two differing designs of**  
**Guild Crosses**



**British grave, Rhenoster River,**  
**Reflecting the standard Guild Cross**



## **The Dump Site, Lilyvale**

This dump bears all the characteristics of been generated by a British military garrison during the Anglo Boer War and probably for some few years after the conflict. During a visual inspection of the dump the author located a number of artefacts confirming this: ammunition, one half of a brass military belt buckle and some general service buttons, all of which are items that can be found at such dumps sites linked to British garrisons from the period. Which garrison in particular is impossible to determine; Bloemfontein had a number of fortified positions, presumably this dump originates from the garrison or outposts closets to where it is currently situated.

Although unauthorised persons have undertaken excavations it would appear that original sections of the dump remain intact. Consequently the dump presents an opportunity for a targeted excavation that could identify aspects of social and military history from the period, as well as determining its base and thus its first origins. Of particular interest are a few sections of very aged corrugated iron sections lying on the surface of the dump. As it is known that black refugees used this as building material, it is suggested that these be retrieved from the dump for safekeeping by the National Museum.

## **The Living Area, Lilyvale**

Immediately adjacent to the dump a low rise stretches up to a footpath, located adjacent to the formal housing area. This 'rise' constitutes an open section of ground along the slope, and which is linked to a section of stonewalling. This ground has all the characteristics of having once functioned as a living area for persons who received British military rations. A surface scatter of bully beef, Norwegian sardine and milk ration tins, together with glass fragments, strapping from crates and a large rusted lock were observed. These tins date from the Anglo Boer War and are always found at British military linked sites throughout South Africa and constituted the standard military ration. They lie on open ground which in turn bears the characteristics of once having been occupied by a number of people. The area is clear of large boulders, while the surface vegetation growth and general appearance in relation to height, density, and lack of growth in certain places are all suggestive of impact of human settlement. What was not observed during a very extensive surface examination was ammunition, buttons and other artefacts that are almost always found on ground once occupied by British troops. Nor were any stone circles in evidence; which would have demarcated formalised tent lines, an overriding characteristic of a British garrison position.

It asks the question: who was occupying this ground at the time of the Anglo Boer War and why were these persons receiving military rations.

The occupants might have been British troops, camped there temporarily, but then the dump site would not have existed at the time of occupation, given the health hazard posed to soldiers positioned in the vicinity

of what would have been a fly infested site and related disease risk. Military positions from the period were not positioned at such places, more so when one considers the plague of Bloemfontein which struck the British forces during 1900. As for temporary camping grounds by British troops, these were also positioned with health considerations in mind.

Typically at other sites in the country, dumps sites were located towards the outer edge of the defensive perimeter and from all appearances this dumpsite at Lilyvale was started during the British occupation of the area, commencing sometime in 1900. Therefore it is considered unlikely that the living area was occupied by British troops, given the proximity of the dump.

The possibility that the persons living in this area during the war were Boer civilians seems unlikely. If they were Boer refugees they would have been accommodated in the Bloemfontein concentration camp, which is known not to have been located on this site. Again the proximity to the rubbish dump would rule this out as a temporary Boer living area under British military supervision. As for the possibility that this site was once a black concentration camp, this is highly unlikely. There is no evidence of arable ground in the immediate proximity to plant crops, and no extensive burial site has been located in the area, which would have been the case, given the high mortality rates in these camps. Records confirm that the black camp in Bloemfontein suffered losses running into the hundreds.

Records reflect that the scenario was very different when it came to management of black civilians by the British forces; particularly before the establishment of the Department of Native Refugees in August 1901. Black civilians, driven from the rural areas by scorched earth tactics or the fighting forces clustered themselves on the periphery of military garrisons and established settlement areas located around the towns and cities, such as Bloemfontein. Consequently in the case of this particular site it is very possible that black civilians were living here sometime between the middle of 1900 and 1902, given the proximity of a British garrison – a source of employment and rations, the likelihood exists that this ground was once occupied by black civilians employed by the British military. Employment by the military resulted in the receipt of military rations, often a motivating factor in seeking work; hence the surface scatter of ration tins located on the site. Military employees were exposed to the same diseases, such as typhoid fever, which afflicted the British forces, particularly in stationary garrisons such as Bloemfontein. Consequently the inmates of labour camps suffered casualties which were buried in close proximity to their living areas, given the overall defensive cordon and the practice of burying the dead as soon as possible which ruled out transporting corpses to areas far removed from their place of death.

It is also known that black settlement areas that developed during the war often remained at the site of settlement after the conflict and formed the nucleus for later townships which continued developing into the twentieth century. Examples are Brandfort, where former inmates of the labour camp remained behind

as farm labourers on the site after the war. At Taaibosch at least fifteen families remained after the camp was closed in 1903 and occupied the ground until the 1960's when they were moved elsewhere. Graves from the post war period found at Taaibosch are directly adjacent to the burial site from the concentration camp. These post war graves lie in non-regulated rows, all carry decorations and ornaments, similar to those observed at Lilyale burial site, while the concentration camp graves lie in regulated rows without ornaments.



**Taaibosch Black Concentration Camp, Note the regulated rows of graves and their construction  
Located by author, 2003**

It should further be remembered that, like the Taaibosh post war settlement area, many other black townships were destroyed and relocated by the apartheid authorities during the period 1948-1990, so it is highly possible that in certain cases, the Anglo Boer War and post war townships no longer exist where they were once situated. This is probably true for Lilyvale. A 1913 map of the area reflects a 'native location' in the immediate vicinity; one that probably had its roots in the Anglo Boer War but which no longer exists.

Therefore the burial site, located in the immediate vicinity of the living area was for the purposes of this report closely examined for possible characteristics that might reflect a relationship with a black military



settlement that later developed into a permanent township and which was removed by the apartheid government.

### **The Graves, Lilyvale**

The area was heavily overgrown during the survey but it was possible to examine each of the burial cairns and markers and to view the site in its totality. At first glance, the site displays various characteristics that lead one to conclude that it constitutes a post Anglo Boer War burial site of black South Africans. Grave ornaments and decorations can be immediately dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as can a number of the engraved headstones.

However it was the unique characteristics of certain grave markers and the cairn types that require further comment, as these indicate a stronger link with the not so recent past than the rest of the burial site. Of particular interest were grave markers that through their manufacture had the appearance of Guild Crosses, although they clearly were not, along with certain sections of the site which appeared to predate some of the more recent graves. Although the entire area appears to have been laid out in a non-regulated manner there is a section of the burial site that reflects conformity and regulation, suggestive of Eurocentric influence during the time of burial.

This section comprises the following graves:

#### **Row 1**

Grave 1

#### **Row 2**

Graves 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

#### **Row 3**

Graves 67, 68, 69, 70, 71

These graves constitute cairns, similar in appearance and packed up with weathered rocks gathered from the vicinity. The cairn on grave 68 includes an unidentified brick type and further research would be necessary to determine if this type was in existence during the war or shortly thereafter. None of the graves had any visible markers such as engraved headstones or other forms of ornamentation that might identify the persons buried there or suggest a date period of the burials.

What they do reflect is a similar type of construction to graves of black civilians from the Anglo Boer War period, found on battlefields, other concentration camps or at the burial sites of labour camps; consequently this possibility cannot be ruled out. The same applies to a few other graves located elsewhere in the burial site, most notably grave 136, which comprises of a stone cairn with a head and footstone. This grave is identical in appearance to graves located at other such sites.



**Taaibosch Burial site:**

**Note the appearance of the cairns, similar to grave 136, Lilyvale**

The conclusion drawn is that this area constitutes the starting date of the burial site, which was regulated by the British authorities; hence the demarcated rows. The persons buried here were employees of the British army who may have succumbed to diseases inflicting static military garrisons and that they resided in the immediate vicinity. Assuming an average of a ten percent fatality rate amongst inmates, which is consistent with other sites then the thirteen graves in the three rows represent a labour camp population of 130. Given the area covered by the surface scatter, this appears plausible with respect to the amount of space that this number of people would have occupied, versus the impacted area that was examined.

Families and descendants of these fatalities who remained in this area after the war continued burying at the site until the township was removed elsewhere and hence the burials stopped in the 1960's. This is supported by the fact that the engraved headstones from the post war period appear similar in style to other identified headstones from black casualty's from the conflict. Particularly so given that the person buried in grave 26 was 100 years old in 1937 and the person buried in grave 117 was 80 years old in 1948; both these people experienced the war as adults and presumably originated from farms or traditional strongholds in the rural districts.

As indicated certain graves have a similar marker to that of crosses erected by the Guild of Loyal Women throughout South Africa after the war. These markers, made from steel, comprise of a vertical upright cross structure, framed with a circle and are found on graves 36, 94, 158, 173 and 183. Grave marker 183 appears to have been constructed during the more recent timeline of the burial site, as the circular section is constructed from what appears to be the lid of a paint drum. However the remaining markers appear in every way to resemble a Guild Cross and appear to be a lot older than that of grave marker 183.

There could be many explanations for this but a reason could be that of an imbibed cultural practice by persons who witnessed and experienced the war and its aftermath. The post war period saw extensive memorialisation of the graves of combatants but excluded the graves of black men who fought with the British army and could have created a feeling of non-recognition of their services by the authorities amongst black communities. Consequently the families of deceased labourers and black combatants might have on their own initiative copied the marker style chosen by the Guild and replicated this onto the graves of family members who either died during the war or afterwards, as their own expression of recognition of wartime service.

Imbibed cultural practices are not unusual from this period. If one examines the engravings on grave markers of black casualties in other concentration camps, these in certain instances are similar in



**Grave of Sani Dami,**

**Dry Harts**

**Note the similar style of  
engraving to stones at  
Lilyvale**

Located by author, 2001

appearanc  
e to the  
style of  
headstone



s found on Boer graves from the same period, leading one to a conclusion that farm labourers had adopted certain Eurocentric practices with relation to burials.

This is further likely when one considers that a black community living nearby probably had its origins to the area as a result of a wartime settlement. Consequently persons related by blood or marriage to wartime burials and those who died in the post war period would have been buried by their community, immediately adjacent to the original graves dating from the war. Hence these types of markers together with the other named and dated headstones postdating the war are located beyond the commencement point of the wartime burial site.

## **Recommendations**

It would appear that a relationship exists between the burial site and the Anglo Boer War and that some of the graves originated from a black labour camp, linked to a British garrison positioned in the immediate vicinity. It is also likely that rubbish generated by the labour camp may have formed the nucleus of the nearby rubbish dump and that the original living area for this camp terrain has survived in the area of the ration tin surface scatter. The survivors from this camp in turn formed a nucleus for a post war black settlement in the immediate vicinity, as reflected on the 1913 map. People living in this settlement buried their dead, some of whom were adults in the war, throughout the later course of the twentieth century, ending in the 1960's when the settlement was removed under the apartheid administration. During the course of these post war burials, it is possible that certain cultural practices associated with the war dead were imbibed by this community and practiced after the war.

The site is considered as holding significant value; both with respect to a further understanding of the military and social history and the experience of black communities in the Bloemfontein area, covering the period of the Anglo Boer War, through to the present era. It also holds significance as being associated with a key conflict in South Africa's history, recognised by the Heritage Resources Act, and the various dialogues to be unpacked by the intended developments at the Freedom Park, Pretoria.

Therefore it is recommended that the burial site be preserved, not only from respect for notions of observing memory to the past, but also for the potential value that could be unlocked for future generations. It is strongly recommended that the dumpsite and living area, be surveyed before any further obliteration might occur. It is recommended that the living area be surveyed in its entirety, with each and every ration tin, stone formation, debris and the impacted area being accurately plotted as currently very little, if anything, is presently understood about such sites. Places such as these form intrinsic assets of the National Heritage Estate. Of the 66 black concentration camps known to have existed during the war and this excludes sites dating before the formation of the Department of Native Refugees, only some 7 such sites have been identified and surveying work is still in progress. As for the labour camps, which have generally escaped most historians' attention to date, very little, if anything is understood about their functioning and histories at present.