

DIE BLANKE BOERE IN OOS-INDIË, ONDER WIE DIE LAASTE AFRIKANERS  
VAN CEYLON, 1903-1962 (5)

JOHAN GERRIT VAN HAM, LEADER OF THE "IRRECONCILABLES"<sup>1)</sup>

by C. de Jong

Johan Gerrit van Ham, 1874-1932, was born at Batavia, capital of the Dutch East Indies, on 30 April 1874 as the son of Petrus Paulus Hermanus van Ham, officer in the Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Leger (KNIL, Royal Netherlands-Indian Army). The father had received his military education in the Military school at Kampen, Netherlands. He and his family moved to Atchin in North Sumatra in 1874, briefly after the birth of his son. In 1873 a longdrawn war with the Atchinese started. Van Ham and his small family lived in the outpost Toengkob, part of the line of fortresses or the cordon which surrounded the capital Kota Radja. So Johan grew up in the shadow of war. Ten years old he was sent to the Netherlands for his school education, as many Dutch parents in the East Indies did with their children. He matriculated in the Hogere Burgerschool (secondary school) at Breda in 1892 and began the study of civil engineer in the technical university at Delft.

Meanwhile his father was promoted and appointed major general and second in command under Major-General J.A. Vetter in the expeditionary force which landed at Lombok in 1894 - not to subdue the Lombokkers, as is sometimes maintained, but to free them after entreaties from the oppressive rule of Balinese princes. The troops of Van Ham incurred heavy losses and he was mortally wounded. He was buried in Lombok.<sup>2)</sup>

Soon after his father's death Johan had to give up his academic studies, not for financial reasons, but because he had been involved in a student brawl in which he severely wounded a policeman. He was dismissed from the academy and emigrated to Transvaal. This was then for many Dutchmen a promised land. He entered the service of the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg-Maatschappij (NZASM) at Johannesburg. It was not known in what capacity - perhaps of a technical nature.

He was one of the NZASM employees who joined the Johannesburg commando when war against Britain broke out on 11 October 1899. He marched to Natal and participated in the battle at Nicholson's Nek close to Ladysmith on 29 October 1899, where the Johannesburgers distinguished themselves, and in other battles around Ladysmith. He moved to the Free State after General P.A. Cronjé surrendered and Bloemfontein was occupied by the British army on 13 March 1900. He distinguished himself by his bravery and was promoted to commandant in June 1900. He acted bravely under General C.R. de Wet in the fights around Bethlehem and retreated with him to the Brandwater Basin around Fouriesburg. There an army of 4500 Free Staters under General Marthinus Prinsloo surrendered on 30 July 1900. De Wet escaped. Van Ham

was one of the Boer officers who ignored the surrender and escaped from the Basin over steep, narrow mountain paths through the Golden Gate valley. Van Ham had 25 men with him. He was well liked by his men because of his bravery and gaiety and continued the guerilla warfare. On 11 November 1900 he was captured at Pienaarsrivier close to Pretoria in unknown circumstances.

The voyage to the prison camp

Commandant J.G. van Ham was sent in the steamship 'Catalonia' to Ceylon, now Sri-Lanka. She arrived at Colombo on 8 January 1901. On board were 19 Boer officers and 607 burghers and foreign volunteers. Most Boers had never seen the ocean and were very afraid of it. Their feelings are reflected in the popular warsong "My Sarie Marais":

"I was afraid that the khakies would capture me and send me far away overseas; Then I fled to the sands (steppe) of Upington, down at the Great River.

"The khakies are truly like a crocodile pest: they drag you always to the great water; They fling you into a ship for a long, long trip, the deuce knows to what place!"

Most Boers had little or no education and considered their transfer to a prison camp overseas as a banishment, the more so as some heartless British soldiers did not tell them what their destination was and told them that they would never return home.

The Boers had reasons to fear the sea voyage. The following tribulations awaited them:

- (1) overcrowded shipholds with lack of fresh air, proper sleeping quarters and sanitation;
- (2) bad and insufficient food and drink and lack of eating utensils.
- (3) dirt and vermin: the shipholds and hangmats were riddled with lice and fleas, a heritage of previous transports of British soldiers, horses and mules to South Africa;
- (4) seasickness, a horrible illness, declining health and morale;
- (5) epidemics of measles and enteric fever, caused by decline of health due to privations while on commando, and worsened by overcrowded holds, indifference of British medical personnel and lack of hospital beds;
- (6) burials at sea, strange and horrible to landlubbers as the Boers were;
- (7) theft by co-prisoners, but also British soldiers and sailors;
- (8) severe punishment of small breaches of discipline.

As a consequence of this treatment the rate of illness and of mortality among the captives was high during and after

the sea voyage. Probably several Boers also suffered from mental shock because of their banishment from the home country and confinement in ships and camps after their free life in the veld. Similar bad conditions caused high losses in transports of horses and mules in British ships to South Africa: also among them the rate of illness and mortality was high.<sup>3)</sup>

Amidst all the misery for most prisoners there was one consolation: their Christian faith. Most of them had grown up as members of a church and were regular churchgoers; many foreign volunteers from other continents were not. Religious services for the prisoners in ships and camps were frequent.

The Boer officers were generally better treated than the burghers. They shared huts, enjoyed more room, better food and more freedom to move around the deck. Certainly this also applied to commandant Van Ham. But burghers wrote very unfavourably about the 'Catalonia', e.g. L.M. Schmidt: "Our treatment on board was very bad, the food was barely good enough for criminals" - Willie Steyn shares this opinion.<sup>4)</sup>

#### The prison camps in Ceylon

The life of the prisoners of war on board was very uncomfortable, monotonous and tedious. Therefore to many their arrival in Ceylon ushered in an improvement in their lot. There they found more room, better amenities and somewhat better food. Like other prisoners of war the Boers found that their transport to the prison camp was miserable, but that circumstances in the camps in Ceylon were markedly better, if the treatment by their guards was humane. This is also valid for the Boer captives.

Mr. R.L. Brohier, a member of the board of the Burgher Society of Ceylon and a diligent historian of his island, has published a very useful series of articles on the Boers in Ceylon. He describes the camps. The first and largest camp was Dyatalawa, situated on a railway line from Colombo to the central highland, 300 kilometres east from Colombo and 1500 metres above sealevel, with a rainy, warm climate but cool nights. The name means water plain or happy valley, because of the agreeable climate and beautiful scenery. The camp was constructed in a record time and received its first batch of 212 prisoners a few days after their arrival in the s/s 'Mohawk' at Colombo on 9 August 1900. Brohier praised its space and amenities, e.g. sportfields, hospital and community hall. The highest number of inhabitants was 5089.<sup>5)</sup>

Most Boer prisoners are described as goodnatured, quiet chaps, but there was a turbulent minority among them. They were a limited number of fanatic diehards, mostly young Boers, and a large contingent of the foreign volunteers. They were recalcitrant and quarrelled with British guards and authorities and among themselves. Several attempted to escape, but nearly all were recaptured, jailed for some days or weeks in the Welikada prison at Colombo and transferred to Ragama camp. The internal

quarrels were between Boers and foreigners, many of whom disliked each other, and between diehards or bittereinders and so-called joiners or loyalists who declared their loyalty to the British Crown with the hope to be soon released.<sup>6)</sup> Overcrowded housing and the warm climate contributed much to irritability among the prisoners.

The presence of turbulents and the rapid growth in the numbers of inmates in Dyatalawa led to the founding of a second camp at Ragama. This decision was hastened by a riot of prisoners in Dyatalawa at the end of 1900. Ragama camp was opened on 10 January 1901. It was situated 14 km northeast from Colombo, only 13 metres above sealevel. The climate was warmer, more humid and less agreeable than in Dyatalawa. Apart from a recreation hall and a swimming pool there were less amenities. It was to a certain extent a penal camp for recalcitrants. Their highest number was 338.

Van Ham arrived in the 'Catalonia' at Colombo on 8 January 1901. If he was brought to Dyatalawa, it was only for a brief period. As a foreign volunteer and fervent Boer republican he was transferred to Ragama. He became the mouthpiece and leader of a small band of other sturdy republicans.

A third camp was Mount Lavinia, built on a headland cooled by the seabreeze. This was opened for convalescent prisoners on 9 December 1900. They enjoyed much liberty and seabathing. Old and feeble Boers joined them. The highest number of the inmates was 150.

A small camp was Hambartota, opened on 19 September 1901 for prisoners who had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and thereby incurred the wrath of co-prisoners in Dyatalawa. Of course they were not found in Ragama, Van Ham's camp. Their number rose to about 400, of whom three were officers. They were free to move out of the camp and the first to be repatriated after the peace of Vereeniging.

Brohier sympathizes with the Boer prisoners and conveys a pleasant picture of cheerful and relaxed men who enjoy their sports, handicraft work intended to earn some money by making coveted curios, school lessons, performances of music, theatre and declamation and regular religious services. Many of them entertained friendly relations with people of Ceylon. But this was only the rosy part of their life. We must also think of the confinement and monotony of their aimless life, waiting for the peace, and of their anxiety and grief regarding their families and friends in South Africa. Every mail brought them sad news about wounded or fallen combatants or people ill or dead in concentration camps.

Van Ham leader of the Irreconcilables

In the peace treaty of Vereeniging, signed 31 May 1902, the British authorities stipulated that the Boer prisoners of war would sign a declaration of loyalty to the British King to be

allowed to return to South Africa. Many prisoners were so homesick that they signed immediately, others signed only after much sad heartsearching, a small group refused obstinately and were banned from returning to South Africa. They were called "the Irreconcilables". Their motives were one or more of the following:

- (1) political and/or religious scruples
- (2) loss of wife, children, other family, farm buildings, animals and crops in South Africa, causing a feeling that returning would be useless.
- (3) a desire to start a new life and career in a foreign, non-British country, felt by young men, born in South Africa, but without strong ties of family and property with that country
- (4) a desire to settle in a non-British country, felt by foreign-born men who had stayed only a few years in South Africa before or during the war and who lacked strong ties with South Africa, such as J.G. van Ham.

Van Ham became the spokesman and leader of 19 other Irreconcilables because of his military rank and his school education in spite of his age - 29 years. They soon became an embarrassment to the authorities in Ceylon, were arrested as vagrants and placed in the Welikada prison at Colombo and set to work. At least four of them had stayed before in that prison because of abortive attempts to escape. Fortunately the Government of the Dutch East Indies permitted Irreconcilables to settle in its territory. 21 of them accepted, among them Van Ham and 19 comrades. He was born in the Indies and perhaps because of his birth he had taken the initiative to ask this permission. He and his group embarked in the French steamer 'La Seyne' at Colombo in March 1903. Shortly before their voyage the oldest of them, H.P. Geldenhuys, aged 76, and thereafter Japie van Straaten died. The Government settled Van Ham and 17 survivors on the abandoned Government quinine plantation close to Lembang in West Java. The soil is fertile there, thanks to the minerals in the ash spread by surrounding volcanoes, rain is abundant: average 1900 mm annually, the altitude is 1500 to 1800 meters above sealevel, the days are warm, 25 to 30 degrees C, but the nights are cool, often about zero C. Domestic animals prosper in this Javanese highland, i.a. Friesland cattle. There was an expanding market for fresh milk, dairy products, potatoes and European vegetables due to the growth of the white population of neighbouring towns such as Lembang, Bandung, Buitenzorg (now Bogor) and Batavia (now Jakarta).

The 18 Afrikaners from Ceylon founded a sort of kibbutz or cooperative, called it "Vrijheidslust" and set to work with a will. They started with dairy farming with a few borrowed milk

cows and one bull, poultry farming, bee keeping and truck farming. They hired a few Javanese dayworkers and received financial assistance from a local pro-Boer committee. At that time there was much sympathy in the East Indies towards the Boers. Van Ham was the leader and maintained labour discipline.

#### Disunity

But soon disunity broke out among the 18 veterans, several of whom were better soldiers than farmers. The main causes were a lack of cooperative spirit and egoism. A group of five declared Van Ham disposed as leader. Three others sided with him, but he was tired of the quarrels, resigned and returned to the Netherlands. The Afrikaners left Vrijheidslust one after the other. Some became small farmers on their own in the vicinity of Lembang, others became employees on the numerous plantations of tropical products in West Java and a few returned to South Africa after a few years.

Van Ham had met and wanted to marry Carolina Anne Henriette de Vries, born at Batavia on 25 May 1882. She was a daughter of H.R. de Vries, later managing director of the Nillmij, a large insurance company. He would allow his daughter only to marry a man with academic qualifications. Therefore Van Ham completed his studies at Delft, qualified as an engineer and married Carolina. He returned with her to Java about 1910.

#### Careers in the East Indies

Back in Java he worked in a large number of different occupations. His checkered career and political activity betray an impetuous and restless character. He must have sorely tried the love of his goodnatured wife who had to move and adapt many times to other surroundings.

He was successively

employee in the sugar factory of Boedoeran in East Java;  
teacher of mathematics in the secondary school at Semarang, the third port in Java, 1910-1911;

participant in a general store with a bakery and butchery at Pengalengan, 30 km south of Bandung, founded in 1911 by one of his Boer officers and Irreconcilables Cornelius Janse Uys, another jack of many trades and several failures;

employee on the rubber plantation Boeroe Lawang at Bandjar, Central Java;

head of the experimental sugar station Kagok at Pekalongan, Central Java, 1914-1918;

head of the workshop of the sugar factory Remboen, Central Java, 1918-1920;

head of the workshop of the Netherlands East Indian Railway Company at Jogjakarta, Central Java, 1920-1922.

About 1922 he leased land in quitrent form the Government in the highland in the vicinity of Pengalengan to start a dairy

farm, to be run by C.J. Uys. He took long leave in 1922 and travelled with his family to the Netherlands. There he received a telegram from the local authorities in West Java. They informed him that the land leased by him was not used and that they would be obliged by the law to cancel the quitrent contract. Apparently Uys had not started farming there because he was too occupied by his numerous other businesses. Van Ham hurriedly returned to Java to undertake the running of the farm, close to the kampong Bodjong Waroe. So he returned to farming, an occupation which he had abandoned at Vrijheidslust 20 years before. He ran the cattle farm until his death on 21 May 1932. Presumably his life as a farmer was not less strenuous than his occupation as an employee.

He also participated in politics, urged by his impetuous character. Soon after his return to Java about 1910 he joined Ernest François Eugène Douwes Dekker, a journalist and politician, also a veteran of the Anglo-Boer War, and anti-imperialist. Douwes Dekker founded the Indische Partij, a movement working to make the East Indies independent from Dutch colonial rule,<sup>7)</sup> and a periodical, "De Express" at Bandoeng, which appeared in 1911-1914 and criticized the Dutch Government sharply. Van Ham served as the secretary of the Indische Partij and as co-editor of "De Express" for some years.<sup>8)</sup> Probably later he was less active in the nationalist movement.

He was a courageous, enterprising, impulsive and restless man. He shared several of these traits with his father, the general.

He and his wife had two daughters and two sons: Annie, born in 1906, married to a Mr. Geertsema; Hetty, born in 1910, married to a Mr. Kramers; Pieter Paul Herman, born in 1912, named after his grandfather; Hendrik Roelof, born at Pengalengan in 1914 in the house of C.J. Uys, partner of his father. Both sons became officers of the Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger (KNIL, Royal Dutch Indian Army), were made prisoner of war by the Japanese in 1942-1945, served some years in the East Indies after World War II and were pensioned in the Netherlands. I owe most data for the biography of Johan Gerrit van Ham to the kind information of Lieutenant-Colonel H.R. van Ham.

#### References

- 1) A summary of J.G. van Ham's life appeared in "Pretoriana" nr. 95, April 1989, p. 58-60, in Afrikaans. After this publication additional facts and photographs have been obtained. Therefore here follows a fuller biography of this brave fighter and leader of the Irreconcilables.
- 2) Lieutenant-Colonel H.R. van Ham, son of J.G. van Ham, visited his grandfather's tomb on Lombok in 1989 and wrote me that Lombokkers keep it in very good order.

- 3) The British were proud of their achievements to transport so many military men, prisoners of war, war materials and animals in ships to and from South Africa. This may be true of the quantity of their transports, but the quality thereof was bad and illness and mortality were substantial among prisoners and animals.
- 4) S.J.P. Oosthuizen, "Die beheer, behandeling en lewe van krygsgevangenes gedurende die Anglo-Boere-oorlog 1899-1902", doktorsale verhandeling Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, Bloemfontein 1975, p.103, 104; this unpublished work is very useful.
- 5) R.L. Brohier, "The Boer prisoners of war in Ceylon, 1900-1902", in "Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon", volume 37, nrs. 1, 2 and 3, vol. 38 nr. 1, Colombo, July 1947 - July 1948, p.5.
- 6) Brohier loc. cit. p. 72; the British called the troublemakers "the incorrigibles".
- 7) Paul van der Veur, "E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, Evangelist for Indonesian political nationalism" in "The Far Eastern Quarterly", University of Hawaii, vol. 17, nr. 4, August 1948, p.551-566; he writes on p.565, note 14: "See also J.G. van Ham 'Het eerste boekjaar der Indische Partij', Bandoeng 1913, esp. pp.105-131."
- 8) E.F.E. Douwes Dekker was the middle one of three brothers from Batavia who were volunteers with the Boers in 1900-1902. They were relatives of Eduard Douwes Dekker, a well-known critic of Dutch rule over the East Indies, author and writer of the famous autobiographical novel "Max Havelaar". Ernest took his uncle as his example, fought with the Boers, was a prisoner of war in Ceylon 1900-1902, became a leader of Indonesian nationalism and a teacher, was interned by the Dutch Government in Surinam 1940-45, returned to the fresh republic of Indonesia in 1946 as a "Grand Old Man", had no influence in that republic but received a state burial in 1950. There are many publications regarding him, inter alia P. v.d. Veur reference 7, and C. de Jong, "Lotgevallen van drie broers Douwes Dekker in de Anglo-Boeren-oorlog 1899-1902", in "Historia", jaargang 24 no. 2 en jaargang 25 no. 1, Pretoria, September 1979 and May 1980.





**Die 20 Onversoenlike oudkrygsgevangenes op Ceylon in 1902**

*Van links na regs staande: F.C. Hefer; M.J. Olivier; W.G. van Zyl; P.L. Smit; kommandant J.G. van Ham; luitenant W.F. Hefer; J.R. Bothma; H.F. Prinsloo; J.F. van Rooyen  
Sittende van links na regs: L. Hirschland; J.D. de Villiers; J.F. Corbitt; H.F. Geldenhuys; luitenant C.J. Uys; H.F. Roos; J.J. Strating  
Liggende van links na regs: A.F. O'Brien; luitenant E.J. Tremlett; C.J. van Zyl; J.F. van Straaten*

*Foto afkomstig van H.R. van Ham*



*Oudkommandant ingenieur Johan Gerrit van Ham en sy eggenote Carolina Anna Henriette van Ham gebore De Vires op hul veeplaas by Pengalengan op Wes-Java omstreeks 1930.  
Foto afkomstig van hul seun H.R. van Ham.*

## EK WONDER OOR FABELS EN FEITE

'n opstel oor een van Pretoria se pioniersgesinne, Farrell  
saamgestel deur Kobus Farrell

Die geskiedenis rondom die ontstaan van Pretoria word gewoonlik terug herlei na die tydperk 1855 en 1856 toe 'n hoofstad vir die Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek aangewys moes word. Die eer het Pretoria te beurt geval. Op 2.5.1857 is A.F. du Toit as eerste landdros ingesweer. Dorpsregulasies is onder sy leiding op 29 Julie van dieselfde jaar opgestel tydens 'n samekoms van die inwoners van die dorp. Onder die lys van persone wat hierdie vergadering bygewoon het, verskyn die naam John Farrell. Oor hierdie pioniersgesin van Pretoria is min bekend.

As kind het ek my dikwels skuldig gemaak aan die destyds ongeoorloofde praktyk om "grootmense se tande te tel". So het brokkies inligting oor vervloë gebeure en vertellings oor ons familiegeskiedenis vroeg reeds in my gedagtes begin vassteek, onder andere dat bovermelde John Farrell, ons stamvader, van Ierland afkomstig was en dat die van Farrell oorspronklik vergesel was van die voorafgaande "O", d.w.s. O'Farrell, maar dat hy om die een of ander rede dit goed geag het om hierdie gebruik te laat verval. Na beweer word, het dit egter later veroorsaak dat 'n groot erfposie grond in Ierland toe nie aan hom oorbemaak kon word nie. Een van sy kleinseuns het hierdie ervaring so ter harte geneem dat hy self Ierland toe is om die moontlikhede van hierdie groot erflating te gaan ondersoek, maar hy het onverrigtersake teruggekeer. 'n Tweede amusante staaltjie wat binne die familiekring in omloop was, is naamlik dat die grond waarop Kerkplein geleë is vroeër die besit van John Farrel was - Pretoria is as 't ware op sy plaas aangelê!

'n Derde interessante bewering wat steeds ewe onbevrage teken as geldig verkondig is, is dat sy vrees en ons stammoeder, Maria Fredericka Carolina Gutjahr, gebore 1827 (in die omgang Lena genoem) die eerste onderwyseres in Pretoria was. Daar word verder vertel dat John Farrell een van die eerste handelaars in die hoofstad was. Dit is duidelik dat feit en fabel redelik vermeng geraak het en moontlik opgebou is uit 'n innerlike behoefte by die nageslag dat die Farrells ook êrens as belangrik geag sal word in soverre dit ons voorsate betref. Dit bly nie-temin 'n werklikheid dat John Farrell een van die pioniers van die stad Pretoria was, en as sodanig verdien sy doen en late dus meer aandag.

Dit is tot hede nie bekend uit watter gebied of dorp in Ierland John Farrell afkomstig is nie. Sy naam verskyn nêrens in bestaende bronne oor die aankoms van Britse Setlaars nie sodat voorlopig aanvaar kan word dat hy as onafhanklike na Suid-Afrika geëmigreer het. Wat ons stammoeder Lena Gutjahr betref, is eweneens nie veel oor haar herkoms bekend nie; wel

dat sy per skip vanaf Hamburg (Duitsland) saam met haar vader Johann Friedrich Gutjahr in Suid-Afrika aangeland het. Sowel John as Lena het hulle aanvanklik iewers in die Kaapkolonie gevestig en hulle is in hierdie provinsie getroud. Hulle oudste kind John Frederick se geboorteplek word op sy sterftekennis as die Kaapkolonie aangegee. Die egpaar het na die Transvaal verhuis en hulle in die omgewing van Potchefstroom gevestig. Lena se vader was in hierdie geweste woonagtig en hy is op 17.1.1856 op 53-jarige leeftyd bevestig in die huwelik met sy tweede vrou Maria Sophia Kleynhans. Hy was 'n timmerman van beroep en het waarskynlik as wewenaar met sy dogter Lena vanaf Duitsland na Suid-Afrika geëmigreer.

John Farrell en Lena Gutjahr het vier seuns gehad: die reeds vermelde John Frederick, gebore 1851 ('n Engelse aanpassing van sy Duitse oupa se name); John, gebore 1853 (later Jan genoem); Louis Edward, gebore 1856, en Joseph Marthinus Wessel, gebore 1858 (waarskynlik is sy laaste twee name ter ere van die Z.A.R. se Staatspresident, M.W. Pretorius, aan hom toegeken). Na 'n verblyf van ongeveer drie jaar in die Potchefstroom-omgewing het John en Lena na Pretoria verhuis waar hulle twee jongste seuns gebore is. Daar kan aanvaar word dat hierdie gesin wel een van die oorspronklike huisies aanliggend aan Kerkplein bewoon het.

Dit is bekend dat J.H.M. Struben kort na die stigting van Pretoria met 'n privaatskool begin het. Dit kan derhalwe wel moontlik wees dat Lena Farrell haar toe as onderwyseres beskikbaar gestel het. Vermoedelik was John Farrell een van die vroeë sogenaamde jaghandelaars wat in Pretoria gevestig was, want tydens 'n jagtog-uitstappie het hy in Augustus 1858 in die omgewing van Hammanskraal in 'n skietongeluk omgekom. John Farrell is in die nabyheid van die huidige Hammanskraal begrawe op die plek waar die treurspel plaasgevind het. Lena het as 31-jarige weduwee met haar drie oudste seuntjies, onderskeidelik 7 jaar, 5 jaar en 2 jaar oud, in Pretoria bly woon. Op daardie stadium was sy drie maande swanger met die egpaar se jongste seun, wat op 9.12.1858 gebore is. Dit is gevolglik aanneemliker dat Lena, wat sonder die finansiële ondersteuning van haar man moes klaarkom, haar toe tot die onderwys as beroep kon gewend het.

Benewens die feit dat John Farrell een van die onderteekenaars van die eerste Dorpsregulasies was wat vir Pretoria opgestel is, het hy ook in 'n ander hoedanigheid tydens sy kort verblyf diens gedoen. Op 26.8.1857 het landdros Du Toit vir veldkornet Van der Walt versoek om saam met twee onpartydige persone die pad oor "Wonderboomspoort" te gaan inspekteer en daarvoor verslag te doen. John Farrell en Henry Austin is as hierdie twee onpartydige persone aangewys. Hulle moes hierdie opdrag bepaald as 'n saak van dringendheid beskou het, want reeds op 29.8.1857 word hulle verslag aan landdros Du Toit voorgelê met die bevinding dat die poort onbegaanbaar vir 'n wa is.

Verder blyk dit dat die koste van die instandhouding van die poort as publieke weg vir die heer Doors Erasmus 'n onmoontlike kwessie was.

Die moontlikheid bestaan dat Lena in een of ander stadium na haar man se dood na die Soutpansberggebied kon verhuis het. Sy is hier in haar tweede huwelik bevestig met die heer Friedrich Ferdinand Gottlieb Jocks, wat soos sy, van Duitse afkoms was. Nog vier seuns is vir Lena uit hierdie huwelik gebore, te wete Hendrik Frederick Wilhelm, Coert, Willem en Carl. In 1879 bevind die gesin hulle weer in Pretoria waar Gottlieb Jocks 'n beroep as grofsmid beoefen het. Volgens familie-vertelling was hierdie Jocks 'n strawwe drinker en deurbringer van die Farrell-seuns se erfgoed van hul vader. Dit mag moontlik waar wees, want op 12.10.1880 word Jocks insolvent verklaar en gesekwestreer. Twee erwe (nommers 4 en 5 in Blok B, Minnaarstraat) wat van William Skinner op 18.9.1879 aangekoop is vir £160 stuk, het ter sprake gekom in 'n interdik-aksie wat Lena verkry het; sy wou verhoed dat Jocks hierdie grond verkoop op grond van haar verklaring dat dit die Farrell-seuns se eiendom was wat oorspronklik met geld uit hul oorlede vader se boedel aangekoop is. In hierdie stadium was die Farrell-seuns al vier reeds mondig, getroud en gevestig. Die oudste seun, John Frederick Farrell, het hom in die Laeveld op Kaapmuiden gevestig waar hy 'n winkelier was. Hy is op 21.8.1894 aan koorssiekte oorlede en op Komatipoort begrawe. Die tweede seun, John, was 'n landbouer en het op die plaas Wilgekraal in die distrik Lydenburg gewoon. Sy dood is ewe tragies as dié van sy vader, want in Januarie 1881 kom hy op Lydenburg voor 'n vuurpeleton te sterwe na aanleiding van gebeure rondom die Eerste Vryheidsoorlog. Die twee jongste seuns van John Farrell, naamlik Louis en Joseph, het albei hul ambagsopleiding as skrynwerkers in Pretoria ontvang. Louis het hom aanvanklik in die Kaapsehoopomgewing gevestig en later op die plaas Nooitgedacht in die distrik Carolina voltyds geboer. Hy het op 3.9.1900 tydens die Boere-oorlog aan 'n koeëlwond beswyk. Joseph is op 27.9.1880 as jongman van Pretoria met Martha Maria Magdalena Venter getroud. Die egpaar het op die Venter-erfplaas Rooipoort in die distrik Bronkhorst-spruit gewoon en later na Middelburg verhuis. Hy is op 15.1.1934 oorlede.

Vir Lena Jocks moes die tydperk 1880/81 baie moeilik ge-wees het. Daar was die sekwestrasie van haar man se boedel en toe weer haar tweede oudste seun se tragiese sterwe voor die vuurpeleton. Uit sy dood het sy finansiëel gebaat met 'n erf-lating van 'n beskeie £20 17 sjielings, wat gegewe hul benarde finansiële posisie seker nie te versmaai was nie. Die Jocks-egpaar het kort hierna in die Laeveld aangesluit by Lena se derde seun Louis, wat toe in die Kaapsehoopomgewing woonagtig was. Op 2.12.1886 is hierdie pioniersvrou van Pretoria in die ouderdom van 59 jaar oorlede en in die Kaapsehoop-kerkhof begrawe.

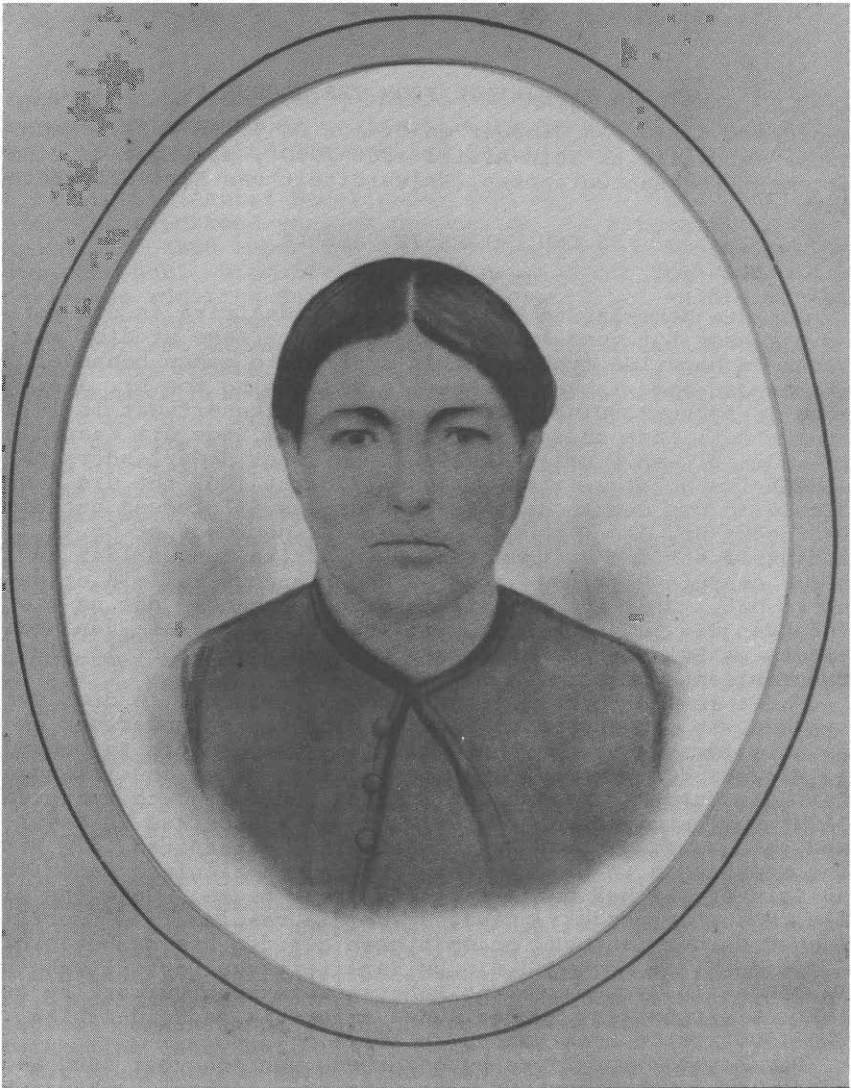
Wie weet watter rol die Farrell-egpaar moontlik in die verdere totstandkoming en gemeenskapslewe van Pretoria gespeel het as dit nie vir die vroeë dood van John was nie? Dan kon fabels miskien ook as feite in ons familiegeskiedenis gefigureer het en kon die pragtige inktekening van Maria Fredericka Carolina Farrell (neë Gutjahr) in sy ewe pragtige raamwerk 'n meer prominente posisie in een van ons stad se bewaarplekke gekry het. Nou hang hierdie portret in my eetkamer en met elke keer se verbystap kan ek maar net wonder ...

Bronne geraadpleeg

1. Heese, J.A., "Die herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867", A.A. Balkema, Kaapstad, 1971.
2. "Pretoria 1855-1955"; uitgegee deur die Stadsraad van Pretoria.
3. Transvaal Argief: Boedellêers en Landdrosargief, Pretoria.

Verwysings van die redakteur

- 1) Mnr. Kobus Farrell deel my mee dat mevrou Lena Farrell gebore Gutjahr by die afwikkeling van haar seun John se boedel in 1881 aan die Weesheer in Pretoria skriftelik berig het dat John voor 'n vuurpeleton gesterf het, en dat hy nie oor besonderhede van hierdie lewenseinde beskik nie. Navorsing is gaande.
- 2) Mnr. T.E. Andrews deel my mee dat die naam Farrell tweemaal in Pretoria gevind word. Op die Ou Begraafplaas in Pretoria-Wes is 'n graf van 'n vierjarige kind met die opskrif "Alice Farrell, the beloved child of John and Alice Farrell, died 27th June 1874 - Suffer little children to come unto Me". Volgens mnr. Kobus Farrell is hierdie gesin Farrell nie aan sy voorgeslag verwant nie. Ook die Farrellstraat in Brooklyn, Pretoria, het geen betrekking op sy voorgeslag nie; volgens mnr. T.E. Andrews is die straatnaam afkomstig van W.J. (H.) Farrell, Under Secretary of the Interior, of wel van 'n werknemer van die firma Niemeyer & Marais.



*Geskilderde portret van Maria Fredericka Carolina Gutjahr, eggenote van John Farrell, laasgenoemde oorlede in 1858  
Foto van Mnr. Kobus Farrell*

## UIT DIE TYDSKRIFTE/FROM THE JOURNALS

Bespreking van: Jan Ploeger en Gideon de V. de Kock, "Nederlandse emigrasie na Suid-Afrika 1800-1900", uitgegee deur Departement Rekenaarwetenskap, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, 1989.

## 'N EEU EMIGRASIE VASGELÊ

deur Dr. C. Pama

Oor die Nederlandse emigrasie na Suid-Afrika in die vorige eeu was daar tot voor kort slegs fragmentariese studies wat alleen 'n bepaalde tydperk of 'n spesifieke groep behandel. Dit was dan ook vir talle mense 'n verrassing toe Dr. J.A. Heese in sy boek "Die herkoms van die Afrikaner" wat in 1972 verskyn het, aantoon dat van 1807 tot 1837, toe die Kaapkolonie onder blywende Britse bestuur was, meer Nederlanders na Suid-Afrika geëmigreer het as van 1778 tot 1807 toe die Kaapkolonie in die meeste jare Nederlands was. Intussen het die Groninger, Dr. Jan Ploeger, in Pretoria gepromoveer op 'n proefskrif oor die emigrasie na Suid-Afrika tussen 1849 en 1862; daaruit blyk toe dat 1500 Nederlanders hulle hier gevestig het. Voor sy promisie is altyd aangeneem dat na die einde van die Bataafse bewind in 1806 die emigrasie van Nederlanders na Suid-Afrika eers weer op gang gekom het in die tyd van president Kruger.

Nadat in 1985 die proefskrif van Dr. Ploeger in druk verskyn het, is aangedring op voortsetting van sy ondersoek om die hele immigrasie gedurende die 19de eeu grondig te behandel. Dr. Ploeger het hiervoor sy latere gegewens ter beskikking gestel, die Zuid-Afrikaanse Stichting Moederland te Amsterdam (ZASM) was bereid om die salaris van 'n historikus in Nederland te betaal, die Van Ewijck-Stigting in Kaapstad, die Stigting Neerlandia in Bloemfontein en die Genealogiese Genootskap van Suid-Afrika het ook finansiële steun gegee. Gegewens uit alle denkbare bronne is nagegaan en die resultaat is deur Dr. Ploeger verder aangevul en op fiches gesit. Hierna het prof. Gideon de V. de Kock van die Universiteit van Port Elizabeth die geheel in sy Departement Rekenaarwetenskap verwerk en gedruk. Die resultaat, "Nederlandse emigrasie na Suid-Afrika 1800-1900", is 'n boek van 257 bladsye.

Dit bevat biografiese besonderhede van ongeveer 4000 Nederlandse immigrante, somtyds baie summier - herkoms, geboortjaar, beroep, rede van vertrek, jaar van aankoms in Suid-Afrika, moontlik eggenote en kinders -, somtyds ietwat uitvoeriger, soos verdere loopbaan en invloed. Wie slegs oppervlakkig deur die lys van name kyk, sal opmerk hoeveel afstammelingen van hierdie immigrante ons gereeld in ons daaglikse lewe ontmoet.

'n Unieke aspek was die emigrasie van kinders na die Kaapkolonie tussen 1857 en 1860 as reaksie op 'n soortgelyke emigrasie uit Brittanje. Ongeveer 335 seuns en dogters is toe deur 'n komitee wat spesiaal hiervoor gestig is, in Nederland

uitgesoek en na Kaapstad gestuur. Hulle is daar deur 'n plaaslike komitee ontvang en hoofsaaklik by boeregesinne ondergebring. In historiese perspektief gesien, was hierdie immigrasie 'n sukses.

Die totale aantal Nederlandse immigrante in die 19de eeu is minder indrukwekkend wanneer ons bedink dat alleen al in die tydperk 1835-1880 amper 100 000 Nederlanders na Noord-Amerika geëmigreer het. Die uittog het selfs sō groot geword dat die Nederlandse regering daarvoor besorgd geword het en die munisipaliteitsbesture opgedra het om noukeurig aantekening te hou van wie vertrek en waarheen, die redes, die welstand van die emigrante ensovoorts. Die registers bestaan nog en is een van die vernaamste bronne van ons kennis van die uittog. Nederland het in 'n soort depressie verkeer<sup>1)</sup> en talle emigrante het dan ook as rede vir vertrek bestaansverbetering aangemeld. Een van die hoofdryfvere - altans vir emigrasie na Noord-Amerika - was egter die godsdienstige onverdraagsaamheid wat na die kerkafskeiding van 1834 oral tot uiting gekom het.<sup>2)</sup> Dit het uiteindelik gelei tot die stigting van die Reformed Church in die Verenigde State van Amerika.

Die 4000 Nederlanders wat na Suid-Afrika getrek het, word ook in die skaduwee gestel deur die ongeveer 30 000 Duitsers wat in dieselfde tydperk hier aangekom het, om maar te swyg oor die Engelse, Skotte en Iere. Hoewel vir hulle geen vergelykbare syfers bestaan nie, het hul aantal vermoedelik die 100 000 ver oorskry.

In die geheel van immigrasie in Suid-Afrika was die Nederlandse immigrasie wat getalsterkte betref dus betreklik klein. Die belangrikheid daarvan lê dan ook nie in getalle nie maar in die invloed wat hierdie Nederlanders op die samelewing in Suid-Afrika uitgeoefen het, veral in die Boererepublieke.

Die Voortrekkers was vir hul geestelike versorging aangewys op een man: die Amsterdammer Erasmus Smit. Hy is gevolg deur Nederlandse predikante wat gesorg het dat die Kerk in stand gehou kon word, hoewel hulle terselfdertyd ook verantwoordelik vir die kerkskeidings in die noorde was. Nog groter was die aantal Nederlandse onderwysers, amptenare, regsgeleerdes, handelaars, ensovoorts wat gesorg het dat die grotendeels agrariese gemeenskappe skole, plaaslike bestuur en ekonomiese ontwikkeling gekry het.

Wat die ekonomie betref, moet in die eerste plek genoem word die stigting van die Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg-Maatschappij (NZASM) in 1887 wat die spoorwegnet in Transvaal aangelê en op die bestaande spoorweë in die Vrystaat en Natal aangesluit het. Die Maatschappij had onder andere 1700 Nederlanders in diens en het ook die Oosterspoorlyn tussen Lourenço Marques en Pretoria aangelê. Dit was 'n heldhaftige prestasie oor ongesonde, moerassige land en talle Nederlanders moes dit met die dood bekoop.

Ook die stigting van die Nederlandsche Bank en Credietvereniging in 1888 was van groot ekonomiese betekenis. As Ned-



bank is hy vandag een van die grootste banke in Suid-Afrika. Rousseau Boekhandel en uitgewery het in dié tyd - en selfs nog lank daarna - grotendeels onder leiding van Nederlanders gestaan. Daarby kom dadelik name soos Suasso de Lima, Juta, HAUM (Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgeversmaatscappij), Höveker en Wormser in gedagte. Die laasgenoemde firma is in 1914 oorgeneem deur J.L. van Schaik; hy het onder dié naam die grootste akademiese boekwinkel van Suid-Afrika geword.

In 'n tyd toe in die Boererepublieke geen onderwysopleiding bestaan het nie, het hoofsaaklik Nederlandse onderwysers gesorg dat Nederlands hom as medium vir onderwys kon handhaaf. Hul invloed het nog verder gerek, want hoofsaaklik hulle het tewens oog gehad vir die Kaapse vorm van Nederlands. Arnold Pannevis word nie ten onregte die vader van die Afrikaanse taal genoem nie, maar naas hom was daar ook manne soos Hoogenhout, Changuion, Brill, Mansvelt en so baie andere. Die vraag kom selfs op of sonder die Hollanders van die vorige eeu vandag wel 'n algemeen aanvaarde, taalkundig gefundeerde Afrikaanse taal sou bestaan wat die aanslag van Engels kan weerstaan.

Danksy Dr. Jan Ploeger, wat van die onderwerp sy lewenswerk gemaak het, is die Nederlanders van dié dae nie meer 'n naamlose massa meer nie, maar ken ons hulle nou elkeen afsonderlik as nie so baie verskillend van ons nie. Nederlanders wat dit aangedurf het om in Suid-Afrika 'n nuwe bestaan te skep, het tewens 'n belangrike bydrae gelewer aan die stoflike en kulturele lewe van hul nuwe tuisland.<sup>3)</sup> Ons is aan Dr. Ploeger en prof. De Kock baie dank verskuldig. "Het einde kroont het werk."

Vertaling uit Nederlands deur C. de Jong van die boekbespreking van Dr. C. Pama in "Nederlandse Post", jaargang 43 no. 8, Kaapstad, Februarie 1990.

Verwysings van C. de Jong

- 1) Nederland had in die hele 19de eeu tot omstreeks 1880 'n ernstige volksarmoefraagstuk weens stadige industrialisasie en omvangryke werkloosheid, openlik en verborge. Die versnelde industriële ontwikkeling van die agterland, Duitsland, vanaf 1870 het Nederland veel gebaat. Maar van omstreeks 1880 tot 1895 het die Nederlandse landbou en daarvan afhanklike bedrywe 'n lang en swaar depressie beleef weens die massale invoer van goedkoop landbouprodukte uit die Verenigde State. Toe het talle boeregesinne geëmigreer, veral na Noord-Amerika. Eers omstreeks 1895 het die konjunktuur in Nederland merkbaar verbeter.
- 2) Die skrywer bedoel hier die Afskeiding deur ds. H. de Cock (1801-1842) van die Nederduits-Hervormde Kerk in Nederland, die vervolging van die Afgeskeidenes deur die owerhede, die emigrasie van Afgeskeidenes onder leiding van ds. Scholte en ds. Van Raalte na die streek van Grand Rapids, Michigan, Verenigde State, vanaf 1845 en die stigting deur hulle van die Reformed Church in die VSA.
- 3) Dr. Pama skryf "hul nuwe vaderland". Ek vertaal vaderland met tuisland, want 'n mens het maar een vaderland, dit is die land van sy ouers en voorouers, maar hy kan verwissel van tuisland, dit is die land waar hy hom tuisvoel.

## DIE AFRIKANERBOERE OP WES-JAVA

Ir. Harry Haryoto Kunto te Bandung op Java het verskeie artikels van C. de Jong oor die Afrikanerboere op Wes-Java - die Onversoenlikes uit Ceylon - ontvang, in Indonesies vertaal en gepubliseer in die koerant "Bandung Menggu" (d.i. Bandung op Sondag) . Hieronder staan 'n afdruk van sy eerste artikel. Die afbeelding is 'n foto van die 20 Onversoenlikes op Ceylon.



Dok HK

GAMBAR atas, 20 orang pemberontak Boer "Si Keras Kepala" asal Afrika Selatan, yang dibuang ke Ceylon dan kemudian terdampar ke Tatar Bandung (1903). Mereka adalah, dari kiri ke kanan, berdiri: FC efer, MJ Oliver, WG van Zyl, PL Smit, Commandant JG van Ham, Lütutenant WJ Hefer, JR Boihma, HF insloo dan JF van Rooyen; duduk: L Hirschland, JD de Villiers, JF Corbiit, HP Geldenhuys, Lütutenant CJ is, HF Roos dan JJ Strating, berbaring: AFO Brien, Lütutenant EJ Tremlett, CJ van Zy! dan JF van Straaten.



V&R DRUKKERY PRETORIA