Africans in the South African War (1899-1902): An Archaeological research study of an African concentration camp

by

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Domonique-Marie Verkerk 04/12/2016

D-M Verkerk **Date**

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Abstract

The South African War (1899-1902) was ostensibly a "White man's war" between the British Empire and the two Boer Republics, the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek and the Orange Free State, but both sides involved Africans in the war. Africans were active participants in the war and some were interned in concentration camps, like Boer civilians. Many died there of diseases, exposure to the elements and conditions in the overcrowded camps.

Many books and articles have been written on Boer concentration camps and the war, but most literature on African concentration camps only began to appear after 1994. There are still many gaps in knowledge of these camps, because British records of African camps are incomplete. This study drew on archaeological methods (pedestrian surveys and the excavation of test pits) to help identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. The farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR at Greylingstad was selected as a case study to clarify the exact location of the African camp in that area. The farm was chosen because there are a number of African graves, a dry stream, and ruins of an old house. The area investigated is also near a railway and old station, and the remains of a Scottish Rifles fort. The artefacts found in the test pits and during the pedestrian surveys included metal objects, European ceramics and pottery pieces, glass pieces and even plastic. The features identified included stone walls (circular and rectangular) and a stone circle. Based on the findings, it was concluded that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was indeed where the African concentration camp was located.

Keywords: South African War (1899-1902), African participation, African concentration camps, African graves, Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, Greylingstad, test pits and pedestrian surveys.

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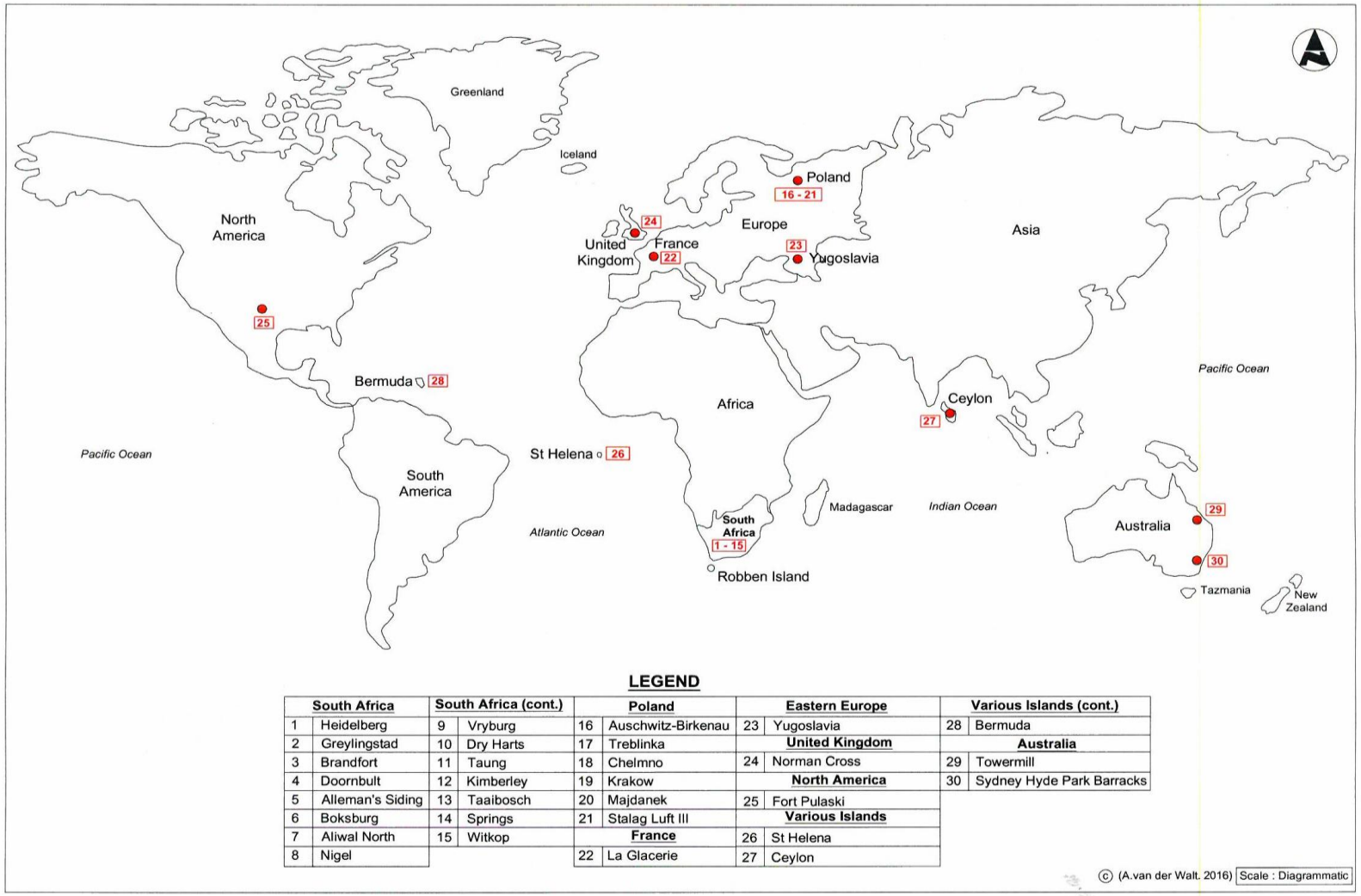

Courtesy of A. van der Walt

Chapter 1:
Introduction

1.1 Background

The South African War (1899-1902), which is also sometimes referred to as the Anglo-Boer War or the Boer War, was the costliest, bloodiest, and most humiliating conflict for Britain between 1815 and 1914 (Pakenham 1979:xv; Porter 2000:635; Warwick 1983:1).[1] It claimed the lives of 22 000 British soldiers and 7 000 Boer commandos (Porter 2000:635).[2] The British war strategy included the implementation of concentration camps where thousands of non-combatants died. It is estimated that about 28 000 Boer internees perished in these camps, of which 22 074 were children under the age of 16 (Pretorius 2001a:21; Warwick 1983:1). The war cost British taxpayers about £217 million, which far exceeded the cost of previous wars in which Britain engaged (Porter 2000:635).[3] The war was expected to be over by Christmas 1899, but instead it lasted two and a half years longer (Pakenham 1979:xv; Porter 2000:635; Wessels 2011:27). The war left few buildings standing in the then Transvaal and Orange Free State after it ended in 1902: 30 000 farms and 40 small towns were destroyed during the war in the course of Britain's scorched earth policy (Grundlingh 2013:34). All these deaths and the destruction of the war were the price for access to the vast gold deposits of the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal[4] (Warwick 1983:1).

For almost a century, history books have depicted the South African War as a "White man's war", a war waged by Britain against the Boer (Changuion 1999:105; Nasson 1999b:iv). However, this claim was inaccurate: it was impossible not to involve other race groups, such as Africans (Hall, Pretorius & Torlage 1999:205).[5] Today, there is a renewed

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[1] Many historians now prefer the term "South African War", because it acknowledges that several race groups, including Africans, were active participants and were affected by the war (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:223). Hence, the researcher opted for the term "South African War" in this study.
[2] These figures are only an approximation – as Pretorius (2001a:21) points out, sources contradict each other.
[3] For instance, the Zulu War of 1879 only cost Britain about one million pounds (Porter 2000:635).
[4] For a fuller discussion, see Section 2.2.
[5] For the sake of clarity, in this study, the following terms are used to distinguish between the various groups of combatants and non-combatants (there is no intention to offend any of the groups or to attach any criticism to any of these groups): the term "African" refers to Black people in South Africa, the term "Boer", unless otherwise indicated, refers to White South Africans of Dutch/French descent (the term "Afrikaner" only came into use after the war), and "British" refers to the British forces, including regiments from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and from the British colonies (e.g. Canada, Australia and New Zealand).

interest among historians in the war and in the role that the various race groups played in it (Wessels 1998a:1). However, there are several gaps in the history that need to be filled. Firstly, the number of Africans who died on the battlefields was not well documented (Schoeman 1998:90), so vital information has been lost forever and may never be retrieved. Secondly, scholars do not know exactly how many internees died in African concentration camps. The surviving British records show that at least 14 154 internees perished in African concentration camps, but this number is inaccurate, and many scholars believe that there were far more deaths in these camps (Schoeman 1998:90, Warwick 1983:145). According to Pretorius (2001a:21), as many as 20 000 Africans may have died in these camps. Nobody will ever know the true numbers, because the British did not keep proper death records for the camps, especially regarding the deaths of Africans (Pretorius 2001a:21; Wiid 2011:22).

The remainder of this chapter discusses the world's first concentration camps and the origins of the concept. Next, the significance of the topic is considered, to see why it is important to study concentration camps. Then, some of the problems faced by the researcher and other archaeologists dealing with concentration camps are considered. The research questions, aims and objectives of the study are presented, along with a discussion of the ethical considerations that the researcher needed to keep in mind during this dissertation so as not to offend or hurt people who attach certain feelings to these sites. An outline of the study is provided before concluding the chapter.

1.2 The origins of concentration camps

People have been interned since ancient times (Mytum & Carr 2013:4) – the first internment camps were probably used to capture and hold prisoners of war (POWs) (Young 2013:3). Such prisoners included the gladiators in ancient Rome (Young 2013:3). However, according to Smith and Stucki (2011:417), the real beginnings of concentration camps "lie in the colonial arenas of imperial powers at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", even though Young (2013:3) argues that people were interned long before colonial times.

Many historians have traced the first concentration camps back to the Cuban War (1895-1898), so the British were not the first to use concentration camps, as some historians have claimed (Smith & Stucki 2011:417). The first concentration camps to be termed

"concentration camps" and to be used as instruments of war were implemented by Spanish General Valeriano Weyler (*1838 †1930) in the Cuban War from 1895 to 1898 (Hyslop 2011:258). Weyler's *reconcentrados* are believed to be the first concentration camps used during a war (Van Heyningen 2013:ix). They are also the first recorded camps to imprison rural communities (Meiring 2009:45). General Weyler introduced *reconcentrados* (concentration camps) in Cuba to end the guerrilla war (Marais 1999:85; Pretorius 2001b:42). The *reconcentrados* were used to separate *pacificos* (non-combatants) from the rebels (Grundlingh 2013:26; Kessler 2012:25; Marais 1999:85; Myers 2013:4; Wessels & Raath 2012:10; Young 2013:10). Weyler also burned homes and farms, as the British did during the South African War (Pretorius 2001b:42). Nearly a million Cuban citizens were sent to *reconcentrados*, where many died of disease (Hyslop 2011:258; Pretorius 2001b:43).

The methods Weyler used were so cruel that that he became known as "a butcher, brute, exterminator of men and disgrace to civilisation" in America, Britain, and even in South Africa (Marais 1999:85; Wessels & Raath 2012:10). His response to such criticism was simply to say "war is war" (Wessels & Raath 2012:10). Ironically, several nations criticised his methods, but used them in their own countries and abroad when they were at war (Moshenska & Myers 2011:3). The number of deaths in the Cuban *reconcentrados* reached between 100 000 to 125 000, compared to the approximately 28 000 Boer women and children who died in British concentration camps during the South African War (Pretorius 2001b:42; Warwick 1983:1).

Weyler's practices soon expanded to other countries (Young 2013:10). Other colonial concentration camps that followed Weyler's included the British concentration camps used in the South African War (1899-1902), the American camps in the war against the Filipinos (1899-1902) and the camps used in the German suppression of the Herero and Nama revolts (1904-1907) in German South West Africa (today Namibia) (Hyslop 2011:253).

The use of concentration camps continued into the 20th century. Many of the concentration camps used in the Second World War (1939-1945) were more accurately called extermination camps, and were responsible for the loss of millions of innocent lives. According to Myers (2009:8), the 21st century appears set to follow this trend – in

Yugoslavia in South-Eastern Europe, concentration camps were used until the 1990s (Moshenska & Myers 2011:1).

1.3 Significance of the topic

This study considers the African concentration camps used in the South African War, and focuses on the possible location of one of these camps. An archaeological study was conducted to confirm the location of this camp at Greylingstad.

The topic is significant because there are still a several gaps in the literature on African concentration camps (De Reuck 1999:70; Kessler 2012:285). Some of these gaps are a result of the myths created about the war. The most famous of these myths is that the war was known as a "White man's war". Hence, many historians have failed to consider or focus on how African internees experienced the British concentration camps (Van Heyningen 2009:32). However, it is not only historians who have ignored this topic. Because of this myth, students at all levels, including African learners, have ignored the topic, as they were misinformed, and were misled by the focus on the two main groups of participants in the war, namely the Boers and the British (Denoon 1972:109), ignoring the contributions of other races. Most historians and students still proclaim the myth that Africans were in the background to White histories (Maylam 1986:vii; Mohlamme 1985:8).

This topic is also significant because there are still people, such the survivors' descendants, who commemorate the South African War and concentration camps (Stanley 2006:3). However, all these descendants tend to commemorate and remember the South African War differently (Theron 2001:124), because people remember the past in different ways (Burström 2009:160). This implies that they choose what they think is important to remember and what not (Burström 2009:160). Many Africans regard the war as only one experience of intense suffering in three and a half centuries of being wronged (Porter 2000:641; Smith 1999).

Africans have been suppressed for political purposes for centuries (De Reuck 1999:71). Today, historians and other scholars have realised that the war was a time of shared and/or mutual suffering and not only a White man's war, as was previously claimed (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:7). However, as Scott (2007:2) points out, this shift only took place about a hundred years after the war. This means that it took almost a hundred years for people to

start commemorating African suffering (Van Heyningen 2009:23). If only Africans had prior opportunities to express their views and memories of the war, things might have been different for them (Theron 2001:134).

Lastly, this topic deserves to be researched to fill some of the gaps in the archaeological record of the concentration camps (Moshenska & Myers 2011:14). According to Moshenska and Myers (2011:14), there is almost no archaeological information on colonial concentration camps, such as the African camps used during the South African War. One of the reasons for this is the fact that these sites are extremely sensitive sites, because they evoke strong reactions and emotions for people such as (formerly) survivors and (today) their descendants. Not much evidence of these sites is left, as they have been destroyed and/or forgotten, as is discussed in more detail later in this study (see Section 3.1). Nevertheless, some evidence of African concentration camps has been found, for example, of the camps at Aliwal North in the Northern Cape, Allemans Siding and Brandfort in the (Orange) Free State, and Boksburg in Gauteng (Westby-Nunn 1988:173) (see Figure 1). However, limited archaeological research has been done on such sites, and relatively few archaeological findings have been published, compared to the large body of publications on the South African War in general.

1.4 Problem statement

There is a growing interest in concentration camps in South Africa, Poland, France, Eastern Europe, the United Kingdom and North America, and prisoner of war (POW) camps, such as those in St Helena, Bermuda and Ceylon (see Figure 1). This is because some momentous events relate to these camps. Such events include the Cuban War (1895-1898), the South African War (1899-1902), the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945) (Myers 2013:4-5). Some of the concentration camps are famous, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau (in Poland) and other camps, mentioned in Figure 1 and Section 3.5.2.1, Section 3.5.3, Section 3.5.3.1 and Section 3.6.

The study of concentration camps is relatively new among scholars, especially archaeologists. Thus, there are many gaps that may pose limitations to historians, but also offer opportunities for study (see Section 1.3). Those who study concentration camps must bear in mind that academics such as archaeologists should take care in using destructive methods to study sensitive sites, such as Holocaust sites and other concentration camps,

because the outcomes and effects of the research can distress or traumatise some individuals, such as survivors and their descendants (Moshenska 2010:45).

A second problem relevant to the current study is that records of African concentration camps and the participation of African people in the war either do not exist, or are missing or incomplete. Van Heyningen (2010:2) claims that many records are missing as they have been destroyed, but Nasson (2013:182) blames poor recordkeeping by the British for the incompleteness of the accounts. It seems that the British paid little attention to the African concentration camps (Pretorius & Pretorius 2011:48; Pakenham 1979:573). As a result of the incompleteness of the records, historians tend to draw on the same material again and again when they write about African concentration camps (Van Heyningen 2013:xiii). The incomplete records make it extremely difficult to obtain information on these camps to reconstruct the history of the African concentration camps (Nault 2013:7). Both Scott (2007:8) and Van Heyningen (2009:32) point out that there are still some oral histories that can be used to reconstruct African concentration camps. Many Africans could not read nor write, so they passed on their stories orally (Scott 2007:8). However, oral histories only provide a few details on the African experience of the South African War and of the concentration camps, as is shown in Chapter 2 (Van Heyningen 2009:32).

A third problem is the fact that there is not always clear evidence of the former presence of a concentration camp, and its location, or any signs of those who inhabited it. The main reason for this is the fact that researchers are dealing with concentration camps to which internees were usually not allowed to bring many (if any) of their personal belongings – in the case of the concentration camps in the South African War, the British soldiers gave those who were interned little to no time to remove any of their valuables before their homes were destroyed (Westby-Nunn 1988:174) as part of the British scorched earth policy. Africans were sometimes allowed to take a few of their belongings with them to keep the costs of supplies as low as possible (Nasson 2013:179). Similarly, archaeologists studying concentration camps in Poland also face the problem that they may not always find artefacts and or recognizable features even of a known site. In Poland, many concentration camps were deliberately destroyed by the Nazis at the end of the Second World War, to leave no evidence behind (Theune 2010:1,5) (see Figure 1).

The last problem, which the researcher in the current study attempted to address, was that the exact location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad, Mpumalanga, South

Africa, which was used as a case study in this dissertation (see Figure 1), was unknown. Historical sources mention the existence of an African concentration camp at Greylingstad, but do not say exactly where it was located. However, in 1999, a group of African graves that were believed to be graves of internees from the concentration camp were found on the farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, near Greylingstad (Marx 1999:4).

The researcher knew from the outset that she would face a number of challenges to prove that the graves were those of internees, by means of corroborating evidence in the form of artefacts showing that the camp was indeed situated on the farm. Many camps like these have disappeared entirely, leaving few visible traces on the surface (Moshenska & Myers 2011:5). Many concentration camps, especially African ones, are unmarked, and others have been forgotten (Sturdy Colls 2012:70). As already explained above, this is a problem not only for South African archaeologists, but also for those who study the Second World War concentration camps. In Chelmno, in Poland, for example, the Nazis demolished the camp at the end of the Second World War. However, when archaeologists excavated at Chelmno, they uncovered some of the camp facilities and personal items (Gilead, Haimi & Mazurek 2010:6-10; Golden 2003:50,53) (see Figure 1).[6]

It is thus often difficult for South African and other archaeologists to find evidence of concentration camps. However, sometimes, there is enough visible surface evidence for archaeologists to identify the location of camps. For example, there was surface evidence of the African camp 30 km out of Kimberley (Benneyworth & Morris 2014), and of Klippiespan, for which there were no archival records (Benneyworth & Morris 2014). Surface artefacts at these sites included clay pot pieces used to catch rainwater, cultural material artefacts associated with women, such as jewellery pieces (for example, earrings), condensed milk tins, standard army ration tins, mutton bones and ostrich egg shells, and various military objects such as regimental buttons from the British armies who would have been in the area. Another example was the Dry Harts African concentration camp, where archaeologists used archival documents and surface archaeological findings to find the location of the camp and its graves. They also found stone tools used as talismans on children's graves (Benneyworth & Morris 2014).

[6] The Chelmno extermination camp was opened in 1941 (Sheehan 2002:62). Chelmno may be the first camp where people were executed. As many as 300 000 Polish Jews were executed in Chelmno (Golden 2003:50).

1.5 Research questions

The research questions are based on the research problems and are in line with the significance of this topic, mentioned above. By answering the questions below, the researcher hoped to fill some of the gaps in the archaeological and historical literature on African concentration camps in South Africa. The study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- Was the African concentration camp at Greylingstad situated on the farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR?

  The reason for this question was that numerous graves were found on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, as mentioned above. These graves are believed to be those of African internees who died in the camp, because many of the dates on the gravestones date back to the South African War. There is also a dry stream (camps were often located near streams), and there is an old abandoned structure on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR that African internees might have used, and that needed further investigation. Based on the research conducted to complete this study, the researcher believed that the old abandoned structure, graves and stream are all signs that could indicate the former presence of a concentration camp. This is the main question of this dissertation, as discussed in Chapter 4.
- Can archaeological field methods help the researcher to find the African concentration camp on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR?

  This question was linked to the main question. The question was asked because there are no clear signs, and there is no evidence in the literature, regarding the precise whereabouts of the former African concentration camp at Greylingstad. Appropriate archaeological field methods had to be chosen, because one cannot always rely on the literature to help identify the location of such a site. In a personal interview with Mr B.H. van Schalkwyk, the retired principal of Laerskool Greylingstad, on 1 October 2015, he indicated that this study would be the first archaeological research done on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR and on the graves.
- What can the artefacts and features that are found tell scholars about the African internees and the Scottish Rifles soldiers who occupied Greylingstad during the South African War?

  The reason for investigating this question was that there was not much prior academic work on the African concentration camp at Greylingstad and the Scottish Rifles

regiment, as shown in Chapter 4. Any information on the Scottish Rifles regiment is important because they may have guarded the African concentration camp and its internees. The information obtained from the artefacts and features filled in some gaps on the camp, its internees and the presence of the Scottish Rifles regiment. Therefore, any artefacts found played a vital role in this study.

- What can the artefacts and features tell scholars about any Iron Age communities that also lived in the area?

  This question may at first seem irrelevant to this study, but some such communities may have occupied the area when the South African War broke out. Also, some Iron Age artefacts may have been used by African internees during the war. Thus far, little if anything is known about Iron communities in the Greylingstad area. Therefore, the researcher hoped that any artefacts and features found might fill in this gap on the Iron Age in the Greylingstad area. However, Iron Age artefacts and features are not discussed in detail in the study, as they are not the main focus of this study.
- What is the significance of the graves in this study?

  The graves are one of the most important aspects of this study and were the reason why this topic was chosen in the first place. Such graves have also become part of "places with memory" because they are the only evidence left of the treatment of Africans during the war (Pretorius 2007:332; Van Heyningen 2013:307). They reinforced the researcher's realization that the memory of many South Africans has been silenced and excluded Africans and their memory.
- Should these camps be defined as internment camps or as concentration camps?

  This question is asked because in many sources in the literature, concentration camps are referred to as internment camps, and vice versa. This is also the case with the British concentration camps used during the South African War. Some even argue that there is a difference between the two terms.

1.6 Aim and objectives

This study had five aims:

- The main aim of this study was to answer the research questions set out above.
- This is related to the second aim, namely to find the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad.

- The third aim was to fill in some of the gaps in the written record and archaeological sources about the South African War and concentration camps, which tend to exclude a major component of the South African population, namely Africans, by not acknowledging them as active participants in the war, and as victims of the war.
- The fourth aim was to find gravestones with initials, dates or any features that can help the researcher to see whether the people buried there were, in fact, African internees from the camp.
- The last aim was to find archaeological material (artefacts) and features indicative of the former presence of an African concentration camp in order to reconstruct life in such camps.

In order to achieve these aims, a number of objectives were pursued. These were the following:

- The first objective was to conduct a desktop study using mainly written sources. The written sources were used in the hope of understanding the South African War and concentration camps for both Boers and Africans.
- The second objective was to use written sources to identify what the following terms mean: "concentration camp" and "internment camp".
- The third objective was to conduct an archaeological case study to identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. The archaeological methods used for this study were pedestrian surveys and the excavation of test pits. These methods were chosen because they are some of the best techniques to use when archaeologists want to find and/or identify sites.
- The fourth objective was to map and analyse the findings of the pedestrian surveys and from the test pits in order to reconstruct the lives of any Iron Age communities, African internees and Scottish Rifles regiment who were in the area, as not much has been written on this.

1.7 Ethical considerations

People did not want to go to concentration camps, because they knew that people died there. Such deaths left bitter memories for internees who experienced losses first-hand, even if they themselves survived (Schoeman 1998:90). Their bitterness towards the concentration camps led them to create myths about the war which depicted the suffering of especially the Boer women and children but excluded African suffering (Stanley

2006:14). Internees remembered the war long beyond its end in 1902 (Stanley 2006:3). Schofield, Johnson and Beck (2002:4) note that places of war tend to provoke emotional memories and can be traumatic to some individuals. Therefore, a researcher needs to be careful and sensitive in studying British (or other) concentration camps, because the residual bitterness can result in emotions such as anger and sorrow in some people (Scott 2007:2). For these reasons it is the duty of a researcher to prevent emotional harm by conducting the research responsibly and conscientiously (Moshenska 2010:45) – Moshenska (2006:3) notes that an excavation of such a place makes it a *lieu de mémoire*, "a site of memory encounter". Therefore, some archaeological excavations can only happen at certain times and in certain contexts in different places around the world (Buchli & Lucas 2001:15).

1.8 Outline of the study

This study was divided into six chapters, including this one.

Chapter 2 discusses the historical context of this study and presents the literature review. The chapter introduction is followed by a section on the South African War, which considers the two main reasons that Britain and the Boer Republics declared war on each other. This section contains a literature review of some of the studies and other works written about the war. The review includes some earlier works, which focus only on the White combatants and non-combatants, but also more recent studies, which are more inclusive and acknowledge participants of all races in the war. The third section looks at the concentration camps that were established in terms of the scorched earth policy adopted by the British. The discussion starts with the Boer camps, because more has been written about them. This section also looks at some of the reasons for the high death rates among Boer internees. A detailed literature review on Boer concentration camps has been conducted, including contemporary accounts in Emily Hobhouse's books and some diaries, memoirs and reminiscences of Boer women. The next section focuses specifically on African concentration camps, which were established due to military reasons, including the need for cheap labour and to force internees to grow food for the British army. These camps are the main focus of this study. This section is underpinned by a detailed literature review, supplementing earlier works which excluded African participation and suffering with modern studies, which acknowledge the contributions of Africans as active participants in the war. Then the fourth section briefly discusses the role of other groups

who participated in the South African War, starting with other race groups who participated in the war, namely Khoi/San people, Indians and Cape Coloured people. Then the participation of foreigners (people from countries other than the Boer Republics and the British Isles) is briefly considered, even though it was not as important as the role played by the other role players mentioned above. The role of the Scottish Rifles is also briefly considered, as they were stationed at Greylingstad for fourteen weeks and may have played a role in the camp that is the focus of this study, as mentioned in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 presents the theory that underpins this study. The chapter investigates in more detail the origins of the terms "internment camps" and "concentration camps" and attempts to define these terms. In conducting this study, the researcher realised that some historians prefer the term "internment camp(s)", while others prefer to use the word "concentration camp(s)" to describe the British camps in the South African War. The researcher therefore set out to clarify whether the South African War camps were seen as internment or concentration camps. Next, rulers', governments' and societies' reasons for establishing concentration camps to intern captured prisoners of war and non-combatants are considered. The last section discusses the different types of camps that can also be studied by historians and archaeologists to argue that different camp types were used in South Africa.

Chapter 4 focuses on the case study and the methods used in this study. This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the case study, namely the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. Thus far, not much has been written about this camp. Therefore, only a general history can be provided on Greylingstad from the Iron Age to the South African War, which includes the camp and the Scottish Rifles fort. This section also provides information on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, the farm where this study was conducted. It explains the three main reasons why the researcher chose Bakkiesfontein 568 IR for her case study. Greylingstad was chosen mainly because of the African graves that were found in that area, but also because of the presence of the ruins of an old homestead and a dry stream, which could have been associated with the African camp. The second section discusses the archaeological field methods used to help identify the location of the camp used for this case study and to answer the research questions. A few examples of methods other archaeologists have used to study concentration camps are given, showing why the researcher chose pedestrian surveys and the excavation of test pits as the most suitable methods for this study.

Chapter 5 focuses on the findings and discussions. This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first lists and analyses artefacts and features found during the pedestrian survey and in the excavated test pits. It comments on unexpected finds, which include some artefacts and features located by means of the chosen field methods. Next, the allocation of the artefacts to the two main periods that were relevant is considered, namely, the Iron Age and the Historical Age (which includes the South African War and the concentration camps). The last section explores the graves on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR in more detail and considers how they fit into memory. The silence in the memories of many people, especially Africans, is briefly discussed. Possible uses of the stone walls found on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR are posited, relating them to the three groups that were probably present in the area around BCE 200 to 1902 CE,[7] namely Iron Age communities, British soldiers and African internees.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusion of the study. In this chapter, the researcher revisits the objectives and the aims of the study, reflecting how the research questions (see Section 1.5) have been answered. This includes discussing the findings set out in the previous chapters. The final chapter also considers whether the chosen archaeological methods did help to identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. Chapter 6 also reconsiders some of the gaps in the literature. In that chapter, the researcher acknowledges the limitations faced in conducting this study and makes recommendations to help future archaeologists. The chapter also briefly looks at the future of archaeological studies on African concentration camps in South Africa.

1.9 Conclusion

None of the previous wars fought in South Africa were as costly or led to such high losses of life and livelihood as the South African War (Wessels 2011:27), arising from Britain's desire to gain access to gold (Weiss 2011:26) and the Boer Republics' need to defend their sovereignty against Britain's demand of such access. According to Nasson (2010:13), this war was "the most absorbing military drama on the world stage" at that time. It was "the last of the colonial and first of the modern wars" (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:3).

[7] BCE stands for Before the Common Era (previously BC, Before Christ); CE stands for Current Era or Common Era (previously usually marked as AD, Anno Domini, the year of our Lord).

The South African War has been remembered, inaccurately, as a "White man's war", a war between the Boers and the British Empire. Both nations involved other race groups, such as Africans, but neither nation wanted to acknowledge the role of these groups in the war. Many Africans died in this war, which was not even theirs (Devitt 1941:21). To this day, nobody can say with certainty how many Africans died, given the incompleteness of the surviving records. This causes many problems for and imposes several limitations on researchers such as archaeologists interested in this period. The many gaps in the history of Africans' involvement in the South African War provide ample opportunities for research such as this study to fill in some of the gaps. This implies that the focus of the current study is significant, because it can add to the little that scholars already know about African concentration camps.

Concentration camps in their modern form arose in Cuba from one man's determination to win a war, namely Spanish General Valeriano Weyler. His application of such camps was adopted in wars by other countries in colonial times. These countries include Britain, America and Germany. Regrettably, the use of concentration camps did not end in the nineteenth century – in fact, their use increased. Their most infamous and extreme form was the extermination camps in Nazi Germany, where millions of people were killed.

Many of these sites have since disappeared, which may be a source of relief to survivors of such camps. However, the deliberate destruction or natural decay of such sites, leaving little or no evidence, makes it difficult for archaeologists and historians to understand how these camps worked. Moreover, some survivors and their descendants call on us to remember the concentration camps. Archaeologists need to be careful not to traumatise or distress people when excavating such sites.

Chapter 2:
Literature review on the historical background on the South African War (1899-1902)

2.1 Introduction

The South African War (1899-1902) is a popular topic among historians (Scholtz 1999:6; Smith 1996:x) – since the 1950s more than 2 000 academic books have been published on the war itself (Pretorius 2007:3; Scott 2007:4; Wessels 2011:187). Each study reflects different views and opinions on the war (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:257). Despite the large number of publications, the role that Africans played, either in the war or in the concentration camps, remains under-researched. This began to change between 1940s and 1960s when historians started to shift away from the politics of the war (Devitt 1941:20; Kessler 2012:8; Pretorius 2007:5; Smith 1996:x) to the war's effects on civilians and other issues. Today, many historians are looking more closely into the participation of Africans in the war and the effects of the war on African populations (Pretorius 2007:5; Wessels 2011:99).

This study drew on both primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources were in the National Archives in Pretoria.[8] The documents in the Archive came from the *Transvaalse Argiefbewaarplek* [Transvaal Archives Depot], British Blue Books, which included some of the records of the Fawcett Committee,[9] and visual sources, such as photographs. These documents contained a lot of information on the concentration camps. However, other than a few photographs of armed Africans and reports of Boers mistreating Africans, there were few data on African participation in the war, and there was little on the African concentration camps.[10]

[8] The researcher also wanted to visit the Free State Archives, but distance and a lack of time prevented this. The materials in these archives have not been digitised, and can only be accessed in person.
[9]The Fawcett Committee was a commission of ladies led by Mrs Millicent Fawcett (*1847 †1929). Their aim was to investigate the conditions in Boer concentration camps and to improve them (Pretorius 2001b:49).
[10] Not all the sources mentioned in this chapter were consulted. Those that could be accessed were examined.

2.2 The South African War

Since the 1950s, the South African War has attracted the attention of both British and South African historians (Pretorius 2007:3; Scott 2007:4). Numerous books have been published on the war (Warwick 1983:4). While Wessels (2011:80) agrees that a lot of research has been done about the war, he also points out that there are still a number of areas that remain open for research. As research continues, more questions and more answers are unearthed about the war, for example, historians have realised that Africans also played a crucial role in the war (Pretorius 1991:15).

The South African War was primarily a conflict between two nations, namely the British Empire and the two Boer Republics, namely the Transvaal or Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and the Orange Free State (Jackson 1999:6; Stanley 2006:5; Warwick 1983:3).[11] As already indicated, this war was the bloodiest and most costly on South African soil (Hall *et al*. 1999:217; Warwick; 1983:1; Wessels 2011:19). The South African War was declared on 11 October 1899 for a number of reasons (Scholtz 1999:11), and it lasted for three years, much longer than Britain expected it would (Knight 1997:7).

The first reason for the war was ongoing tension between the Boer Republics on the one hand, and the British Empire on the other. The first signs of tension arose in 1867, when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley, and open conflict ensued when Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877 (Jackson 1999:11, 13-14; Opperman 1981:10). In response to this annexation, the Boers declared the First War of Independence (1880-1881) against Britain (Assonville 1996:1).[12] The Boers won the First War of Independence on Majuba Hill in 1881, gaining partial freedom and independence from Britain (Assonville 1996:56; Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:30). However, in 1886, prospectors located gold in the Witwatersrand [Ridge of White Waters] which soon became known as the "richest spot in the world" (Jackson 1999:14, 17). This find attracted many *uitlanders* [foreigners], to the mines (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:32). To control the goldfields, Britain needed to oust Paul Kruger (*1825 †1904), then president of the ZAR. Britain therefore supported the Jameson Raid

[11] The Transvaal covered what are now the four northernmost provinces of South Africa, namely Limpopo, North West, Mpumalanga and Gauteng. The Orange Free State is known today as the Free State.
[12] The term *boer* is a Dutch (later Afrikaans) word for farmer (Mohlamme 1985:xiii; Scott 2007:2). In the South African context, the term (when written with a capital letter) now mostly refers to White farmers (Scott 2007:2) of Dutch descent (Meintjes 1976:9). In 1905 they adopted a new term and identity, and today this group calls itself Afrikaners (Meintjes 1976:9).

on 31 December 1895 (Jackson 1999:18; Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:38). The plan was that Dr Leander Starr Jameson (1853-1917) would call up an armed force of *uitlanders* to overthrow Kruger (Meintjes 1976:15), but the plan failed, because Jameson and his men were defeated and captured on 2 January 1896 by General Piet Cronjé (*1836 †1911) at Doornkop near Krugersdorp (Pakenham 1979:192; Pretorius 1998:9, 2009:195). After the Raid, the relationship between the British Empire and Boers Republics would never be the same again (Smith 1996:97). Moreover, the failed Raid made the Transvaal government realise that the Boers were not prepared for war (Jackson 1999:21; Knight 1997:7).

The second reason was the issue of voting rights for the *uitlanders* (Jackson 1999:12). *Uitlanders* were not allowed to vote and had to pay heavy taxes (Knight 1997:4). Sir Alfred Milner (1854-1925), then the British High Commissioner for South Africa, attempted to use the lack of rights of the *uitlanders* to gain control over the Transvaal. Kruger knew that this was a potential source of trouble, so he set the number of years required to gain voting rights at seven years (Pretorius 1998:13). On 31 May 1899, Kruger and Milner met in Bloemfontein to discuss the issue of the *uitlanders* (Pretorius 1998:13). At this meeting, Kruger put two conditions to Milner, namely that Swaziland become part of the ZAR and that Britain pay for the damages caused by Jameson and his men during the raid (Pretorius 1998:13). Milner rejected both conditions (Pretorius 1998:13). Milner also set conditions during the meeting, including that voting rights for the *uitlanders* be decreased to five years. Kruger refused (Pretorius 1998:13). The stalemate meant that war was the only option that remained for Britain to gain control over the ZAR (Pretorius 1998:13). On 9 October 1899, the Boers issued an ultimatum to Britain, demanding that Britain send home the soldiers already on their way to South Africa (Nasson 1999a:16; Scott 2007:31). Britain decided to ignore the ultimatum and war was declared (Pretorius 1998:13; Scott 2007:31; Wessels 2011:21). The war only ended on 31 May 1902, when the Vereeniging Peace Treaty was signed at Melrose House, in Pretoria, by members of the two former Boer Republics, Milner and Kitchener (Pretorius 2001a:35, 2009:li; Wessels 2001:82).

As already indicated in Chapter 1, most of the early works on the war focus on one side of the war only, namely that of Britain, according to *The A to Z of the Anglo Boer War* (Pretorius 2009:511). Many of these works did not consider the Boers' point of view. Moreover, these studies were usually limited to the military operations of the war, such as the battles, sieges, commanders and famous leaders (Porter 2000:633,639; Pretorius

1991:15). Only in the 1960s did historians begin to move away from the military operations of the war to consider people's fate and experiences during the war (Pretorius 2007:1; Pretorius 2009:512). Nevertheless, even in 2000, in his article "The South African War and the historians", Porter (2000:639) notes that there were still historians who focused only on the battles and sieges.

The names used for the war suggest the bias of the authors. The British referred to the war as the Boer War (Smith 1996:6). According to Changuion (1999:107), the name Boer War points out who the enemy was, namely the Boers.[13] The Boers on the other hand, knew the war as the *Tweede Vryheidsoorlog* [the Second War of Independence] (Smith 1996:6). The name *Tweede Vryheidsoorlog* refers to the cause of the war from the Boer perspective, namely the need to retain their liberty or sovereignty (Changuion 1999:104). As Smith (1996:6) rightly points out, these names, and a later permutation, the Anglo-Boer War, acknowledge only the two main protagonists, namely, the Boer Republics and Britain. However, perceptions of the war have changed over the years (Porter 2000:633). Historians have come to realise that other race groups also participated in the war (Porter 2000:640). Hence, the war has been renamed the "South African War". Smith (1996:9) and Wessels (2011:19) both argue that the new name is more appropriate, because it acknowledges the role of groups whose participation is less well-known, such as Africans, Indians, Cape Coloured people and the San. Changuion (1999:105) notes that the new name also points out where the war took place, namely, in South Africa. According to Porter (2000:639), the first author to use the new name was Peter Warwick (1980, cited in Porter 2000:639) in his book *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*, where he began to use the terms as synonyms.

The first books about the South African War appeared soon after 1900, according to Pakenham (1979:xvi). The first book about the war was issued in seven volumes – *The Times history of the war in South Africa* by Leo Amery, published from 1900 to 1909, (cited in Pakenham 1979:i; Smith 1996:xi). The second was also comprised of several volumes – the *Official history of the war in South Africa*, edited by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice and Captain Maurice Harold Grant, and published from 1906 to 1910 (cited in Pakenham 1979:i, Pretorius 2009:513). Both of these sets of British books focus

[13] This is in line with the British naming of other wars after the enemy (e.g. the Zulu War, the Napoleonic Wars) or the place where a war was fought (e.g. the Crimean War, the Peninsular War, the Falklands War).

on the history of the war and key events that took place during the war, such as Black Week,[14] the Sieges of Mafikeng (today Mahikeng), Ladysmith and Kimberley, and the march to Pretoria. Modern historians have criticised these histories. Notably, Pakenham (1979:xvi), Pretorius (2009:511), Scott (2007:187) and Wessels (1998b:6) point out that these earlier books on the war were written from the British perspective and therefore foreground the British viewpoint, lamenting British losses, celebrating British successes and justifying Britain's actions, largely ignoring the perspectives of South Africans, White or non-White, involved in the war.

Scott (2007:4) argues that Amery's early work, begun in 1900, during the war itself, and only completed in 1909, "read as if Britain and her soldiers were on a great crusade in South Africa". Pakenham (1979:xvi) notes that Amery's work "says too much" as a narrative of the war. By contrast, Pakenham (1979:xvi) believes that the *Official history of the war in South Africa*, published from 1906 to 1910, "says too little". According to Pakenham (1979:xvi), much of the original draft was censored by Alfred Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary, because he was afraid that the book would offend the Boers, Britain's "new" friends, as South Africa moved towards becoming the Union of South Africa (1910). For example, the *Official history of the war in South Africa* does not mention the concentration camps or the treatment of Africans (Scott 2007:4). However, despite such criticism, historians still use these two seminal histories of the war, especially because both these books incorporate original material from the war (Pakenham 1979:xvi; Scholtz 1999:6; Scott 2007:4).

Afrikaans-speaking historians only started to write about the war in 1925 (Pretorius 2009:512). Whereas the early British historians focused on Britain's version of events, the Afrikaans-speaking historians focused strongly on the Boer concentration camps and Boer heroism (Pretorius 2009:512). Pretorius (2009:512) argues that this one-sided perspective was intended, in many cases, to promote Afrikaner nationalism.

Books written about the war began to incorporate new material from the 1950s, when the archives both in South Africa and in Britain opened more government records, such as the War Office records, to which historians did not previously have access (Scholtz 1999:6;

[14] The week of 10 to 17 December 1899, when Britain lost the battles at Stormberg (in the Eastern Cape), Colenso (in the Natal Colony, today KwaZulu-Natal) and Magersfontein (near Kimberley in the Northern Cape) (see Pakenham 1979:246; Saunders 1992:249; Warwick 1983:3).

Smith 1996:xi). At this time, a new generation of modern historians also began to use new approaches, resulting in a shift in histories of the war (Scholtz 1999:6). These historians include Breytenbach, whose work was published from 1969 to 1996,[15] Spies (1977), Pakenham (1979) and Pretorius (1991, 1988, 2001 and 2009).

An example of an Afrikaans-speaking historian is J.H. Breytenbach, a State historian, whose *Die geskiedenis van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog in Suid-Afrika, 1899-1902* [*The history of the Second War of Independence in South Africa, 1899-1902*] was published in six volumes. Scholtz (1999:6) argues that Breytenbach's work was a starting point for many historians. Wessels (1998b:16) rates it as the official South African history of the war. According to Wessels (1998b:16), Breytenbach's work was the most detailed record in Afrikaans covering ten months of the conflict. However, some more recent historians are critical of Breytenbach's work – for example, Pretorius (2009:513) argues that Breytenbach's work is pro-Boer, and not really balanced. Changuion (1999:104-105) argues that historians have criticised Breytenbach's work "because he conducted the work under government commission".

The historian Fransjohan Pretorius is an expert on the South African War. He has written numerous books on the subject. Some of his books include *Kommandolewe tydens die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902* [*Commando life during the Anglo Boer War 1899-1902*] (1991), *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog* [*The Anglo Boer War*] (1998), *Scorched Earth* (2001), and *The A to Z of the Anglo Boer War* (2009). He provides an overview of the war, life on commando and life as a British soldier, life in the concentration camps for both the Boers and Africans, and the involvement of Africans in the war.

Historians have used a number of diaries, memoirs and reminiscences written by survivors of the war, including some leaders, former soldiers and women (Pretorius 2009:516). Deneys Reitz's *Commando: A journal of the Boer War* (1929) is popular among historians writing about the war (cited in Pretorius 2009:514). It was originally written in Dutch and was translated into English in 1929 (Pretorius 2009:514). Other books frequently cited include Rayne Kruger's *Good-bye Dolly Gray* (1959) and Byron Farwell's *The Great Boer War* (1977) (cited in Pretorius 2009:516; Scott 2007:5). There are some problems

[15] Breytenbach's detailed work was issued in six volumes (Wessels 1998b:52). Volume 1 appeared in 1969, Volume 2 in 1971, Volume 3 in 1973, Volume 4 in 1977, Volume 5 in 1983, and Volume 6 in 1996. The last volume was published posthumously – Breytenbach died on 3 January 1994 (Visser 1997:158).

historians must overcome when using diaries, memoirs, reminiscences, letters or fictionalised texts for their research. One of the problems is that some of these texts are in Afrikaans (Kessler 2012:16; Scott 2007:4). Scott (2007:4) argues that this can be an obstacle to balanced research because British, Canadian, Australian and American historians may ignore these sources and/or the topic itself because they do not understand the language, making reading the diaries, memoirs, reminiscences and personal letters representing the Boer perspective a "major hurdle" for them. Another problem is that most of these texts were published long after the war (Kessler 2012:17; Stanley 2006:101). Thus, they do not show historians the real story of the war. Most of the published diaries, memoirs and reminiscences also do not mention Africans, a topic discussed later on in this chapter (Scott 2007:5).

Historians have now begun to write about the Peace of Vereeniging (Pretorius 2009:516). They focus on the reasons why the Boers and British finally decided to sign the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging (Pretorius 2009:516). There are also historians who write about the aftermath of the war (Pretorius 2009:517). Their works mostly focus on how people had to rebuild their country after the war and how the war affected them (Pretorius 2009:517). Authors who wrote about the Peace and aftermath of the war include Brink and Krige (1999) with their article "Remapping and remembering the South African War in Johannesburg and Pretoria", David Omissi and Andrew Thompson (2002) with their book *Impact of the South African War*, Cuthbertson and Jeeves (1999) with their article "The many-sided struggle for Southern Africa, 1899-1902" and Du Preez (1986) with her doctoral dissertation *Die Vrede van Vereeniging* [*The Vereeniging Peace Treaty*] (Pretorius 2009:517, 576).

2.3 Concentration camps

2.3.1 Boer/Afrikaner camps

2.3.1.1 The history of the Boer concentration camps

During the war, the British instituted a number of camps initially known as refugee camps (Scott 2007:63; 67). The first camp in South Africa was established in Mafikeng in the Western Transvaal in July 1900 (Ploeger 1990:41:4). On 22 September 1900, a government notice published in the *Gazette* announced that refugee camps were being established in Pretoria and Bloemfontein for the *hensoppers* [hands-uppers], referring to

Boers who laid down arms (Devitt 1941:15; Meiring 2009:45; Pretorius 1998:67). They were intended by Lord Roberts to house Boers who had laid down their arms and signed the oath of neutrality, to protect them from Boer commandos and to prevent them being re-commandeered (Pretorius 1998:56; 2009:104).

Later in the war, after Boer homes had been destroyed by the British during the scorched earth policy, many other Boer families were taken to the camps too. They did not enter the camps voluntarily (Pretorius 1998:56; 2009:104). These internments were the result of the scorched earth policy adopted by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts (*1832 †1914), and his then Chief-of-Staff, Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener (*1850 †1916), later Commander-in-Chief (Evans 2000:68; Pretorius 2009:104; Spies 1977:215) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Lord Kitchener (left) and Lord Roberts (right)

Source: Lee (1985:13)

The scorched earth strategy included the destruction of Boer farms, towns, livestock, trains and bridges (Grundlingh 2013:34).[16] This left many Boer women and children homeless (Scott 2007:62, 64). It also affected elderly non-combatant men and many Africans. In response to this humanitarian crisis, Britain sent Boer women, children, elderly men and Africans, including Africans employed by Boer families, to what it called “refugee camps” (Scott 2007:63; 67). The families of combatants who were interned were known as

[16] A scorched earth policy is against Article 23 of the Hague Convention, which prohibits burning or destroying an enemy civilian’s home, unless absolutely necessary. The Hague Convention was signed on 10 July 1899, two months before the war, by 24 countries, including Britain. It regulated how a war was to be conducted, according to international law. However, Britain did not sign all the documents, and the Boer Republics were not at the convention. Therefore, this convention could not be enforced in the South African War, as all the parties involved had not signed all the documents (Grundlingh 2013:38).

"undesirables". As these internees became the majority in the camps and numbers continued to increase, the camps became known as "concentration camps" (Pretorius 2009:104). There were 33 camps for the Boers, at least 51 camps for Africans, and 13 that were used for both Boers and Africans

Roberts and Kitchener hoped that instituting a scorched earth policy and the incarceration of women and children in the camps would force the Boers to surrender, but instead it inspired them to continue fighting (Spies 1977:224-225; Pretorius 2009:105). Raath and Louw (1993a:52) note that well before the end of the war, conditions in the camps were inhumane. Many of the internees died of diseases, tents were overcrowded due to a shortage of tents, and the quality of food supplies was poor (Pretorius 2001b:45, 2009:105; Raath & Louw 1993b:213; Stanley 2006:8; Van Heyningen 2013:123; 141). The position of camps often added to the suffering of the internees, as they were laid out on open ground which afforded no shelter. Figure 3 shows the Standerton Boer Concentration Camp, on the eastern Highveld in the south-eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga), where internees were exposed to the blazing heat in summer and freezing temperatures in winter.

Figure 3: Standerton concentration camp, in Mpumalanga

Source: Wessels and Raath (2012:73)

The conditions in Boer concentration camps began to improve somewhat after Emily Hobhouse (*1860 †1926), a British humanitarian and activist, made public her findings, and the Fawcett Committee submitted its report (Kessler 2012:94; Marais 1999:132; Meiring 2009:105; Pretorius 2009:106).

2.3.1.2 Literature review on the Boer/Afrikaner concentration camps

One of the first to publish on the concentration camps was Emily Hobhouse (*1860 †1926) (see Figure 4), who wrote many reports and two books about the conditions in Boer concentration camps, *The brunt of the war and where it fell* (1902) and *War without glamour, or women's war experience, written by themselves 1899-1902* (1924). Her books are about her experiences of Boer concentration camps (Pretorius 2009:185). Copies of her reports can be found in the British Blue Books series in the National Archives in Pretoria. Scott (2007:5) argues that Hobhouse's reports and books saved many lives in Boer concentration camps and after the war. Her reports brought the conditions in Boer concentration camps to the attention of the British public during the war (Scott 2007:4), and her books continued that endeavour after the war. She used her books to gain public support and to raise funds to help Boer women in concentration camps (Stanley 2006:102). She drew on personal testimonies by women in the Boer concentration camps (Stanley 2006:11). Devitt (1941:26) argues that Hobhouse's books provide scholars with a woman's point of view of the war and concentration camps, and contain "the fullest account and most reliable record of facts relating to the camps". Even though Hobhouse was prevented by the British authorities from visiting an African concentration camp, she mentions African women a few times in her reports and books (Krebs 1992:49; Scott 2007:5). According to Van Heyningen (2013:1), Hobhouse's work has helped scholars to understand how Boer concentration camps worked.

Figure 4: Miss Emily Hobhouse

Source: Wessels (2011:96)

The history of the Boer concentration camps was neglected from 1902 (Van Heyningen 2013:1) until the 1930s. The first history books about Boer concentration camps appeared between the 1930s and 1960s (Pretorius 2009:515). Since then, concentration camps have become a popular topic among historians (Marais 1999:10). Fransjohan Pretorius (2009:499) notes that the Boer concentration camps were among the best recorded events in South African history because of the high mortality rates in these camps. Nevertheless, W.D. Pretorius (2007:3) notes that there are gaps in the literature about the concentration camps, for a number of reasons.

In his unpublished PhD, W.D. Pretorius (2007:3) argues that early writings about Boer concentration camps were too general, because historians mostly wrote about all the concentration camps in general, rather than about the specifics of one camp in particular. Historians only began to investigate the details of one concentration camp at a time in 1966 (Pretorius 2007:3). J.L. Hattingh (1967) was the first historian to focus on one specific concentration camp in his research (Pretorius 2007:3), in Hattingh's (1967) study on the Irene concentration camp near Pretoria, which he published in his extensive chapter, "Die Irenekonsentrasiekamp" [The Irene Concentration Camp].

S. Kessler (2012:16) points out that most of the earlier works on Boer concentration camps were not based on historical research, as early authors did not use the archives or other primary sources to find information about Boer concentration camps (Kessler 2012:16). The first author to do a scholarly historical investigation on Boer concentration camps was J.C. Otto (1954), for his doctoral thesis *Die konsentrasiekampe* [*The concentration camps*]. Otto's thesis provides a brief history of Boer concentration camps, and looks at the food rations that internees received, sanitation facilities, and reasons for the many deaths in the camps. Otto used British command papers and the limited archival documents he had access to in order to complete his research (Kessler 2012:17). Van Heyningen (2013:1) claims that Otto's work "remains the *only* general history of the camps" (Van Heyningen's emphasis). Kessler (2012:17) refers to Otto's work as "the first attempt at a scientific study of the white camps".

Kessler (2012:17) argues that early writings about Boer concentration camps focused mainly on political views. For example, British authors wrote apologist books and papers about the camps to defend the role of Britain in the war (Kessler 2012:17). This was intended to counter the pro-Boers who blamed Britain for the high death rates in the camps

(Kessler 2012:17). Van Heyningen (2010:1) also notes that earlier pro-Boer works about the Boer concentration camps highlight the "suffering and mortality of the Boer women and children". Kessler (2012:17) suggests that such approaches, from the British or pro-Boer perspectives, explain why "there has been no full-length comprehensive study of the white concentration camps".

This picture changed when a number of authors, discussed below, published their works. *Methods of Barbarism* by S.B. Spies (1977) comments on housing, food, medical help and sanitation in the Boer concentration camps (Kessler 2012:17). According to Kessler (2012:17), Spies's book helped historians to understand how Boer women were treated in the Boer concentration camps.

Some historians use the diaries, memoirs and reminiscences of women who survived the concentration camps to fill gaps in other written sources and provide insight into the conditions in the concentration camps (Casella 2011:285; Stanley & Dampier 2005:99). An example of a collection of women's reminiscences is Elizabeth Neethling's *Mag ons vergeet?* (1938). She published an earlier version called *Should we forget?* (1902). She drew on word-of-mouth reports of the camps, reporting stories that Boer women told her in while she worked for a Dutch Relief Committee (Stanley 2006:102). Her book, *Vergeten* (1917) was first written on the camps in Dutch (Stanley 2006:104). The book was translated into Afrikaans in 1938, when Afrikaner nationalism was reaching its height (Stanley 2006:104). The book details the humiliation the women suffered in the concentration camps (Stanley 2006:109). Wessels and Raath (2012:8) argue that Neethling's book is one of the best Dutch/Afrikaans books about the fate of Boer women in the concentration camps. Stanley (2006:112) points out that she provides death records of all the children in Boer concentration camps. Unfortunately, many diaries, memoirs, reminiscences and personal papers were only published long after the war (Scott 2007:5), leaving many notable gaps in the history of Boer concentration camps (Scott 2007:5). Stanley (2006:113) also argues that most of these sources show what scholars already know, namely that the conditions in concentration camps were inhumane. She also claims that many of the texts were written by women who did not "experience family deaths themselves" in the concentration camps. However, most of the women who wrote about such deaths did witness a neighbour's death (Stanley 2006:113).

Not all Boer women found themselves in concentration camps. Some formed laagers and travelled the veld, to avoid conscription into concentration camps (Scott 2007:72).[17] During the war, there were about 2 540 families that trekked (migrated) around the veld, in the then Transvaal and Orange Free State (Pretorius 2001b:54; Scott 2007:72). Life in the veld was not always easy. Many women become victims of African violence, the British army and diseases (Scott 2007:72; Changuion, Jacobs & Alberts 2003:23). A well-known example of such a woman who wandered the veld was Jacoba Elizabeth (Nonnie) de la Rey (*1856 †1923), wife of General Jacobus Herculaas (Koos) de la Rey (*1847 †1914) (Pretorius 2001b:53). She travelled with one laden wagon and a spider carriage, her children, servants, cows, chickens and sheep (Marais 1999:181; Pretorius 2001b:54). She traversed the western Transvaal for 19 months, and wrote a memoir on her wanderings and experiences in the veld, translated as *A woman's wanderings and trials during the Anglo-Boer War* (1903) by Lucy Hotz (cited in Pretorius 2001b:54; De Reuck 1999:79).[18]

2.3.2 African concentration camps

2.3.2.1 The history of African concentration camps

Africans played an important part in the South African War, by helping either the British or the Boers (Wessels 1998a:37), but sometimes they just got caught between these warring factions. During the war, the British and the Boers tacitly agreed that Africans were not to be armed (Siwundhla 1977:i), because both sides erroneously assumed that the war would be over soon, and they did not feel that it was necessary to involve Africans for such a short period (Mohlamme 1985:2). However, as the war dragged on, when the British or the Boers needed help, "the gentlemen's agreement" was ignored (Siwundhla 1977:i). Soon, many Africans were armed (see Figure 5, overleaf). Many Africans supported the British during the war, in the hope that the British would provide them with voting rights (Pretorius 2009:42). They also preferred to assist the British because they had lived under Boer control for about 70 years (Pretorius 1998:75), but their hopes were dashed soon after the war ended, as they never received voting rights from Britain (Maylam 1986:138). The main reason for this was that Clause 8 of the Treaty stated that

[17] A laager was a Boer camp consisting of wagons, usually drawn into a circle. Its purpose was to protect the Boers inside the circle. It evolved as a defensive strategy in the Great Trek (1836-1849) (Pretorius 2009:230).
[18] Pretorius (2009:472) defines the veld (also spelled veldt in English) as open grasslands. Scott (2007:ix, 2) defines it as a wide open plain or prairie.

"no decision would be taken on the question of extending political rights to black people until self-government had been restored to the former republics" (Warwick 1983:164). According to Combrinck (2014:13), "the loss of land through the Native Land Act of 1913 entrenched this dispossession".[19] This meant that life for Africans continued as it was before the war (Hall *et al*. 1999:224).

Figure 5: Armed Africans

Source: Wessels (2011:88)

Boer families were not the only ones who suffered in concentration camps. In 1990, Ploeger (1990:43) stated that it was unknown when exactly the first concentration camp was established for African civilians, as the relevant documents had not yet been found (Ploeger 1990:43:4). However, Kessler (2012:289) argues that the first African camp was established in Kanye, located in present-day Botswana. The camp was established in early 1900 for African refugees from the Siege of Mafikeng by Major-General Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden Powell (*1857 †1941), special commanding officer (Kessler 2012:289). Non-combatant Africans were sent to concentration camps to prevent them from providing assistance to the Boers, and to provide cheap labour for the British army (Jacobs 2003:21; Kessler 2012:77). African concentration camps were not supplied with

[19] The *Native Land Act of 1913* was an act that made it illegal for Africans living on Boer farms to give some of their produce to their employers in exchange for permission to farm on the land. This Act, however, converted Africans from peasants to farm labourers (Pretorius 2009:332).

facilities or provisions, and had to be self-sufficient (Kessler 2012:79). When Africans entered concentration camps, they had to find their own material to build tents or other forms of shelter (Kessler 2012:113; Ploeger 1990:43:26). In 1900, Kitchener allowed Africans to plant their own crops at the camps (Pretorius 2009:103). The British built African concentration camps on, or moved them to, abandoned or deserted Boer farms to grow food for the British military (Stanley 2006:6). The British saw it as an inexpensive way to take care of African needs (Van Heyningen 2013:164). African concentration camps were also often located near railway lines to protect these lines from Boer commandos (Dreyer 2001:131).

Historians are not sure of the exact causes of deaths in the African concentration camps, because scholars have not found accurate records of what the inmates of these camps died of (Saunders 1992:256). Scholars have generally assumed that many Africans died of similar causes as the Boers (Saunders 1992:256) – mainly malnutrition, unhygienic conditions, exposure to the elements, and epidemics. The conditions in African concentration camps only improved in 1902, for a number of reasons. The first reason was that larger African camps were divided into smaller camps (Marais 1999:231; Nasson 2013:184). The split allowed for better sanitation and more ground for planting crops (Nasson 2013:184). The second reason for the improvement was that camp superintendents started to pay more attention to the standard of the food that Africans received (Pretorius 2009:103) – more care was given to African needs, which included free rations (Jacobs 2003:22). The third reason for the improvement was that Africans were allowed to cultivate their own crops, which provided them with fresh vegetables (Warwick 1983:153). The fourth reason for the improvement was that Africans were also allowed to buy "luxury items" (Nasson 2013:185).[20] Pretorius (2009:104) notes that such improvements came too late, because many Africans had already died.

The superintendents of the Boer concentration camps were also the administrators of the African concentration camps, until the first half of 1901, when the Native Refugee Department took over the administration of African concentration camps in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony (Warwick 1983:149; Saunders 1992:256).[21] The aim of the

[20] "Luxury items" included coffee, tobacco, sugar, candles, blankets and clothes (Nasson 2013:185).
[21] When Britain annexed the Orange Free State in 1900, it was renamed the Orange River Colony (Van Heyningen 2010:2).

Native Refugee Department was to improve conditions in African concentration camps and to gain African labour to work in the mines on the goldfields (Marais 1999:230).

Emily Hobhouse and the Fawcett Committee did not visit any of the African concentration camps, thus valuable information on these camps was not recorded (Scott 2007:5). Hobhouse, also known as the "Florence Nightingale of the South African War", was aware of the conditions in African concentration camps, but could not visit them, because of her poor health and a lack of time (Marais 1999:216; Mbenga 2007:233; Mohlamme 2001:121; Warwick 1983:146). Hence, Hobhouse did not publish a book specifically about the inhumane conditions in the African concentration camps (Marais 1999:216). However, she did mention them in her speech, read at the unveiling of the Women's Monument, Bloemfontein, in 1913:

> Does not justice bid us remember today how many thousands of the dark race [*sic*] perished also in the concentration camps in a quarrel that was not theirs [Africans and other groups]? (De Reuck 1999:72, emphasis and insertions added)

The Fawcett Committee does not mention anything about African concentration camps in its reports, although it shows a few photographs in the reports (Krebs 1992:52).[22] Emily Hobhouse was aware that the Fawcett Committee had not visited any of the African concentration camps, and she informed Mr H.R. Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, that the Fawcett Committee had not investigated any of these camps (Marais 1999:217; Mohlamme 2001:121). In response, Mr Fox Bourne wrote to Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, requesting that Africans in concentration camps should also be treated with the same humanity as internees in the Boer concentration camps, but Chamberlain ignored this letter, as he considered it "undesirable to trouble Lord Milner…merely to satisfy this busybody" (South African History Online, 2011:n.p.).

It is conservatively estimated that 14 154 Africans died in African concentration camps (Warwick 1978:269, 1983:145). However, Kessler estimated that at least 17 182 Africans died in African concentration camps, an increase of 3 028 (21%) over the earlier estimate of 14 154 (Kessler 1999b:135). Both Pretorius (2009:103) and Kessler (2001) argue that the mortality rates are higher than 20 000, based on Kessler's research in 1996 and 2001.

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[22] There was a request to create a committee similar to the Ladies Committee to visit African concentration camps. However, the request was never granted (Jacobs 2003:23).

Africans were also interned in Boer concentration camps, often with the Boer families who employed them before they came to the camps (see Figure 6). There are archival documents that provide evidence for this (Kessler 2012:92). Emily Hobhouse also noted this shared incarceration during her visits to the Bloemfontein and Barberton concentration camps:

> [There] appears to be undue familiarity; some natives sleeping, eating and drinking in the same tents as the whites. (Nasson 2013:171, Nasson's insertion)

Emily Hobhouse saw many of these cases, which she noted in her letters and reports (Marais 1999:215). Scholars estimate that there were about 1 064 Africans in Boer concentration camps (Van Heyningen 2013:158). Africans were responsible for cleaning the latrines and serving their Boer employers (Westby-Nunn 1988:172). Younger African girls were used as nannies (Marais 1999:215).

Figure 6: An African servant called Tobi with her Boer employers

Source: Nasson (2013:147)

Internees in African concentration camps were treated differently from those who lived in the Boer concentration camps (Spies 1977:227). For example, African concentration camps did not have camp schools (Marais 1999:231; Ploeger 1990:43:41; Spies 1977:230). Boer camps on the other hand did have schools. When proposals were made to open schools in the African concentration camps, Captain De Lotbinière, who headed the Native Refugee Department, [23] refused, stating that African concentration camps would only be temporary

[23] The Native Refugee Department was under the command of Major (later Colonel) G.F. de Lotbinière (1868-1960), an officer who served in the Royal Engineers (Saunders 1992:256; Warwick 1983:149). After

(Marais 1999:231; Ploeger 1990:43:41; Spies 1977:230). African concentration camps also did not have any proper medical staff to help internees (Kessler 1999a:26).

2.3.2.2 Literature on African concentration camps

For more than half a century after the war, most authors focused on the South African War as a White man's war, and authors did not concern themselves with African concentration camps (Scott 2007:5), because it was usually claimed that Africans only had non-combatant roles (Nasson 1999b:iv). However, already in the early 1940s, Devitt (1941:21) pointed out that even after considerable research on the concentration camps, there was still a "silence in South Africa over the deaths of thousands of native and coloureds in the camps". This changed in the 1960s, when historians finally dismissed the myth of a "White man's war" (Kessler 2012:8; Wessels 1998a:v), acknowledging more openly that Africans also participated in the war (Scott 2007:5), in various capacities.

There are several reasons for the early silence on the African concentration camps. The first reason is that early historians paid little attention to Africans in the South African War and Africans in concentration camps (Maylam 1986:137), because these historians focused more on the military operations of the war and they saw Africans only as spectators in the war (Mongalo & Du Pisani 1999:148; Scott 2007:5). A second reason for historians' uncertainty about how many Africans died in the Boer concentration camps (Van Heyningen 2013:158), was that the deaths of Africans interned in the Boer concentration camps were not registered (Kessler 1999a:25). Kessler (1999a:26) suggests that camp superintendents did not receive enough money to bother to keep records of Africans who died in Boer concentration camps. A third reason was that some earlier writers believed that African concentration camps never existed (Kessler 1999a:14; Westby-Nunn 1988:172), and they claimed to have few written sources to draw on – Africans did not keep journals or diaries, as many were non-literate (Scott 2007:8). However, Kessler (1999a:14) and Cuthbertson and Jeeves (1999:7) point out that there is substantial evidence pointing to the existence of such camps, including the diary of Sol Plaatje, a number of memorials and concentration camp cemeteries. A fourth reason was that most of the records on African concentration camps have either disappeared or are incomplete (Kessler 1999a:24; Pretorius 2009:103). The Native Refugee Department did not keep good records

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serving in the South African War, he also served in the British army during the First World War (Van Heyningen 2013:163).

of the deaths in their camps (Kessler 1999a:24). Many of the records have been destroyed (Smith & Stucki 2011:427). Pretorius (2007:5) points out that this makes it difficult to find information on African concentration camps. However, these gaps in the scholarly literature have been challenged by a number of authors, as discussed below.

In his book *Methods of barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and civilians in the Boer Republics, January 1900-May 1902*, S.B. Spies (1977) focuses on the methods Roberts and Kitchener used on the Boers and other civilians in the war. Mohlamme (1985:7) argues that Spies's work "is the first to highlight black participation in the war". Pretorius (2007:4) assesses Spies's work as balanced and credible. Hence, many historians continue to cite his work in their research. Spies's publication on the war and Africans was followed by those of other authors, such as Warwick (1983) and Kessler (1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003, 2012). Spies's book also inspired research on African concentration camps, for example, by Dreyer and Loock (2001), who have conducted surface surveys at African concentration camps in Allemans Siding and Brandfort, both in the Free State (Pretorius & Pretorius 2011:48). Excavations of such sites have been done by Benneyworth and Voigt at Kimberley and Dry Harts (Benneyworth, 2016: pers. comm.).

In *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*, Peter Warwick (1983) highlights the effects that the war had on Africans and their losses in African concentration camps (also cited in Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:7; Mohlamme 2001:110; Pretorius 2007:5; Scott 2007:6, 73). However, Mohlamme (1985:3) argues that Warwick's scope is too wide, as he focuses on Africans in the whole of South Africa. Cuthbertson and Jeeves (1999:7) acknowledge that Warwick's book shows the influence the British Empire had on Africans.

In *The Boer War*, Thomas Pakenham (1979) fills some of the gaps left by Maurice in his series of works published from 1906 to 1910, and Amery, in his volumes, published from 1900 to 1906 (cited in Scott 2007:6). What makes Pakenham different from other authors is that he interviewed Boers who actually fought in the war (Scott 2007:6). He is also one of the few authors who focus on African participation and African concentration camps – Pakenham (1979:xvii) suggests that Africans played a very significant role throughout the war. Wessels (1998b:17), writing at the end of a century of research on the war, believes that Pakenham's work was "the best work to date on the war".

In *The Black concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)*, Stowell Kessler (2012) focuses specifically on African concentration camps. His earlier works include one chapter, "The Black and Coloured concentration camps" (Kessler 2001), and two articles "Myths, lies and distortions about the Black and Coloured concentration camps of the South African War" (Kessler 1999a) and "The black concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: Shifting the paradigm from sole martyrdom to mutual suffering" (Kessler 1999b). Kessler (2003) also did his doctoral research on African concentration camps, *The Black concentration camps of the South African War*. Both Pretorius (2007:5) and Scott (2007:7) agree that Kessler's work gives new and more accurate figures on African concentration camps that were never revealed before.

H.J. Botha's (1969:3098) extensive article "Die moord op Derdepoort, 25 November 1899: Nie-Blankes in oorlogdiens [The murder on Derdepoort, 25 November 1899: Non-Whites in war service]", in *Militaria* 1(2), was the first in-depth historical investigation on African participation during the South African War. The article looks at a group of Kgatla people who were told by the British to kill the Boers on Derdepoort (Saunders 1992:246; Pretorius 1991:15). The event took place on 25 November 1899. Pretorius (1991:15) notes that Botha's research opened a wider discussion of the relationship between Africans, Boers and the British during the South African War. This research is seminal for historians who want to research African participation in the war (Pretorius 2007:5).

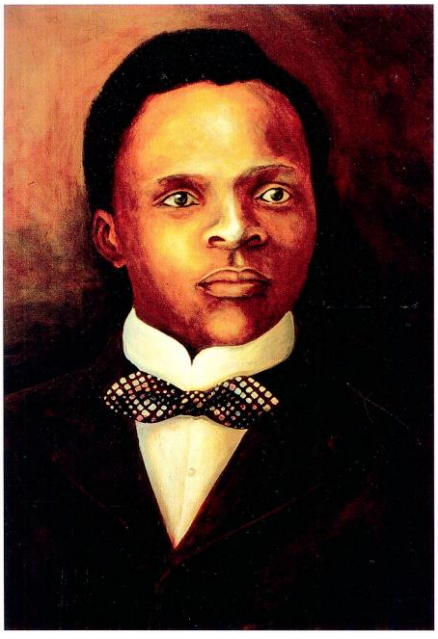
African historians also published a few books and articles on the South African War, African participation and African concentration camps. African historians include J.S Mohlamme, B.E. Mongalo, H.T. Siwundhla and S.J. Maphalala. For his doctoral study, entitled *Black people in the Boer Republics during and in the aftermath of the South African War of 1899-1902*, Mohlamme (1985) studied African concentration camps and African participation in the war. Mohlamme (2001) also published a chapter called "African refugee camps in the Boer Republics", in which he looked at the issue of schooling, medical help and the commissions relating to Africans after the war. In their article "Victims of a White man's war: Blacks in concentration camps during the South African War (1899-1902)", Mongalo and Du Pisani[24] (1999) also considered African concentration camps. In his Master's thesis, *The participation of Zulus in the Anglo-Boer*

[24] This article is listed here because B.E. Mongolo is an African author, although his co-author, K. du Pisani, is not. They were then both associated with the Potchefstroom University (now North West University).

War, 1899-1902, S.J. Maphalala (1979) focused only on the participation of the Zulu people in the war, and the effects the war had on them. In his doctoral thesis, *The participation of non-Europeans in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*, Siwundhla (1977) discussed African roles in the war, but highlighted only the military side of the war, similar to Wessels (1998b) in his *The phases of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*.

Mohlamme and others were not the only Africans to write about the South African War. Solomon (Sol) Tshekisho Plaatje (1873-1932) kept a diary about the involvement of Africans during the Siege of Mafikeng (see Figure 7), which was, however, only published in 1973. Plaatje was employed as an African journalist and court interpreter to the Resident Magistrate's Court in Mafikeng during the war (Siwundhla 1977:ix). Pretorius (2009:331) notes that Plaatje's diary "remains the only diary kept by an African during the war that has been discovered". Seventy years after it was written, it was edited by Johann Comaroff and was published in 1973 as *The Boer War diary of Sol Plaatje, an African at Mafeking* (Pretorius 2009:331). It sheds light on African involvement in the war largely unknown prior to the publication of the diary (Warwick 1983:ix).

Figure 7: A painting of Plaatje by Andries Selekone



Source: Van Zÿl, Constantine and Pretorius (2012:44)

Pretorius (2009:331) argues that it is Plaatje's diary "that links Plaatje so closely with the Anglo-Boer War". Comaroff (1973, cited in Siwundhla 1977:ix) calls Plaatje's diary "an important piece of Africana". Pretorius (2009:331) argues that it "gives remarkable insight

into his experiences and thoughts as an educated African of the time as well as those of the ordinary black people about whom he wrote".[25]

Other authors who also explore the participation of Africans in the South African War include Philip Bonner (1967), with his MA thesis *African participation in the Anglo Boer War of 1899-1902*, B.G. Hankey with his MA thesis *Black pawns in a White man's game: A study of non-Whites in the Anglo-Boer War* (1969), and Donald Denoon (1972) with his chapter "Participation in the Boer war: People's war, people's non-war, non-people's war". In his article "Black people and the camps" (2013), Nasson discusses the origins of the African concentration camps, Africans in Boer concentration camps and the conditions in African camps. In his book *Uyadela wen'osulapho: Black participation in the Anglo-Boer War*, Nasson (1999b) discusses the role Africans played, but does not discuss the African concentration camps in much detail.

2.4 The participation of other groups in the South African War

2.4.1 The participation of Indians, Cape Coloured people and San people

Africans were not the only "Others" who took part in the South African War. The British and Boers also employed Indians, San people and Cape Coloured people but there is little information on their contribution to the war. For the sake of completeness, a brief overview of their participation in the war is given below, although they are not the main focus of this study.

Indians supported the British during the South Africa War because they wanted freedom from the Boers (Pretorius 2009:192).[26] Indians established a volunteering ambulance known as the Indian Ambulance Corps to transport injured British soldiers (Pretorius 2009:193). The members of this corps used stretchers to carry the wounded from the battlefield to the nearest field hospital for medical help (Brian 1999:188). Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948) was a member of the Indian Ambulance Corps (Pretorius 2009:193).

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[25] Plaatje published *Native life in South Africa before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion* (1914), lamenting the fact that Africans still did not have their own land (Pretorius 2009:332). Plaatje is famous as a founder member and first General Secretary of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which later became the African National Congress. He was also a novelist and translated two Shakespeare plays, *Julius Caesar* and *Comedy of Errors*, into Setswana (Pretorius 2009:332).

[26] Indians first came to South Africa in the 1860s to work in the sugar plantations (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:84).

The roles Indians played during the war were not as considerable as those of Africans or Cape Coloureds (Wessels 2011:118). Indians were also employed by the British as servants, labourers and *syces* (grooms) (Hall *et al*. 1999:209; Wessels 2011:118). Indians received no payment for their services and were also overlooked when the British soldiers received gifts from Queen Victoria (Brian 1999:186; Van Zÿl *et al*. 2012:190). Gandhi argued that Indians should also receive the same gifts as the British soldiers, but he was refused (Van Zÿl *et al*. 2012:190). Scholars and historians are not sure how many Indians died during the war (Wessels 2011:118). One memorial dedicated to the Indians who died during the war still stands at the Observatory in Johannesburg (Wessels 2011:118).[27]

Cape Coloureds also supported the British during the war because of their hatred of the Boers (Wessels 2011:121).[28] Cape Coloureds fought only in the Cape (Hall *et al*. 1999:212), where the British armed them during the war (Wessels 2011:119). Cape Coloureds did the same work as Africans (Pretorius 2009:94). They also helped the British to destroy Boer farms (Wessels 2011:119). Pretorius (2009:94) notes that Cape Coloureds were treated differently from Africans, for example, Cape Coloureds did not need to carry passes with them. A famous Coloured participant in the war was Abraham Esau (1855-1901). In Nasson's book, *Abraham Esau's War: A Black South African War* (1991), he discusses the role Esau played during the war. Esau was a Cape Coloured from Calvinia in the Cape Colony (Pretorius 2009:143). He was a British supporter, but when he needed the British, they refused to help him (Hall *et al*. 1999:212). When the Boers entered the Cape, they captured and executed him (Hall *et al*. 1999:212), because he was part of a Coloured resistance movement against the Republics' war effort (Pretorius 2009:143). He was sentenced 25 lashes because he spoke out against the Boers and attempted to arm non-Whites (Pretorius 2009:143). His legacy still remains alive in the Coloured communities (Pretorius 2009:143).

San people (or Bushmen) were also involved in the South African War, but not many authors mention their participation (Mbenga 2007:229). However, a few authors have started to fill in this gap (Mbenga 2007:229). The information scholars have of the participation of San comes from oral histories, which indicate that the participation of San

[27] The Observatory monument is the earliest monument erected after the war ended in 1902. The monument was unveiled on 31 October 1903 (Brink & Krige 1999:406).
[28] Pretorius (2009:93) defines Cape Coloureds as the "offspring ... of miscegenation between whites, slaves, and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) people."

began during the guerrilla phase of the war and during the scorched earth policies (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:219; Mbenga 2007:229). Many San accompanied their Boer employers as auxialiaries called *agterryers* [lit. ones who ride behind] [29] (Mbenga 2007:205, 230). Unlike Africans, Cape Coloureds and Indians, San were never armed (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:219). However, not all San accompanied their masters to the front; some stayed on the farms (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:219). Those that stayed on the farms spied on British troops and then reported to Boer families (Mbenga 2007:229). This helped many Boer families to escape being taken to concentration camps (Mbenga 2007:229). While Boer families were in hiding, the San servants took care of these Boer families (Mbenga 2007:229). San also helped their Boer employers by taking livestock to Swaziland during the scorched earth policy, which prevented the death of many animals (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:219). San were a boon to Boer commandos because they were excellent trackers and they knew the terrain (Van Zÿl *et al*. 2012:222).

2.4.2 The participation of foreigners[30] in the South African War

The British, including regiments such as the Scottish Rifles (Cameronians) discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, were not the only people from abroad to participate in the South African War. People from many other countries also fought as volunteers among the Boers and British. They are only briefly discussed here, as they are not the focus of the study.

The British side included recruits from various regions in the British Empire, including Canada and Australia (Pakenham 1979:249). Some of these groups used the war to promote individual national identities (Theron 2001:132). Canadians, for example, used it to show that they were courageous and ready to control their destiny (Theron 2001:132).

Many of the foreigners who fought on the Boer side came from Europe and North America (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:247). It has been estimated that about 2 000 foreigners fought on the Boer side in the war (Scott 2007:44). They include Dutch, Germans, French,

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[29] *Agterryers* were servants riding behind the Boer combatants (Pretorius 2009:5). Most *agterryers* were Africans (Pretorius 2009:5). *Agterryers* were also used in other events in history, such as the Great Trek (1834-1838) and the First War of Independence (1880-1881) (Mbenga 2007:205). Their jobs included cooking meals, tending the horses, collecting wood and water, driving transport wagons and digging trenches (Mbenga 2007:205). *Agterryers* also took military roles when necessary (Mbenga 2007:205). A statue commemorating the contribution of *agterryers* was unveiled at the Anglo-Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein in September 2013 (Fockema 2013).

[30] For the purposes of the study, foreigners refer to people who came from other countries to fight in the war, on either side.

Americans, Russians, Italians, Irish and Scandinavians (Davidson & Filatova 1998:45; Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:248). These foreigners mostly lived in urban areas of Johannesburg and Pretoria, although many of these foreigners fled to Mozambique when the British had overrun the Boer Republics (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:249,250).

2.5 Conclusion

The South African War was declared on October 1899, ostensibly due to tensions between the British and Boers over the issue of voting rights, but the main reason for the war was control of the gold resources of the Witwatersrand. The gold attracted many foreigners, including many British nationals, who posed a threat to the Transvaal government. Some of these foreigners also participated in the war by supporting either the British or the Boers. However, their numbers were so small that it made no difference to the outcome of the war (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:250).

Gold did not attract just *uitlanders* [foreigners], it also attracted the British. The only hurdle between them and the gold was the Transvaal government, so they hoped to overthrow the Transvaal government with the Jameson Raid. After the failure of the Raid in 1896, Presidents Steyn and Kruger met Milner in Bloemfontein in 1899 to discuss voting rights for *uitlanders* on the Witwatersrand. Negotiations ended in failure on 5 June 1899 (Pakenham 1979:68). War was now inevitable. This costly war lasted longer than anyone thought, and only ended on 31 May 1902.

The concentration camps for both Africans and Boers, were the result of Britain's scorched earth policy to win the war. Conditions in African and Boer concentration camps were inhumane – conditions in Boer camps improved in 1901, after Emily Hobhouse had visited the camps and informed the British public of the conditions there, but conditions in African concentration camps only improved in 1902.

The literature review in this chapter shows that there is no shortage of literature on the South African War – more than 2 000 academic books have been published on the war. Unfortunately, most of those works are limited in some form. Many of the earlier historians over-emphasised the military operations of the war or solely discussed one perspective of the war, such as the British side. Modern historians have changed the way the war is viewed, as they include all the role players involved in the war. This became possible as archives opened up more government records to public scrutiny, allowing

access to documents not previously available to scholars. Afrikaans-speaking and African historians also started to write about the war and especially the concentration camps for both Africans and Boers. Diaries, memoirs and reminiscences are also a very good source to use when doing research on the war or Boer concentration camps. However, one must keep in mind that many such texts were published only long after the war, and that there are few diaries or other records on their experiences of the war written by Africans, as many were not literate. The exception is Sol Plaatje.

There may be many studies of the war, but there are still some areas that require further research. Historians are now exploring these new research areas.

The first area researchers are focusing on is the role that Africans played, which was ignored in earlier studies. This is the reason historians renamed the war the "South African War", to show that more people participated in it than just the British and the Boers. Nasson (2010:14) argues that it is now time to acknowledge the role Africans played in the war, including their incarceration in concentration camps. However, research on African concentration camps is not easy, because many records have disappeared or are incomplete. Nevertheless, a few authors have already published books and articles about African concentration camps.

A second area researchers are now focusing on is gender. Many authors are now discussing the role women played in the war. If it were not for the women, many men would have surrendered, because it was the women who took care of the farms and families during the war. Towards the end of the war, the suffering of women in the concentration camps was one of the reasons the Boers agreed to sign the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging.

Authors are now looking into the role of non-White people in the war. As mentioned above, Africans were not the only "Others" to participate in the war: Indians helped wounded British troops by transporting them to hospitals, Cape Coloured people helped the British Colony in the Cape when Boer commandos tried to obtain help from Boers there, and San people helped the Boers by spying on advancing British troops. Little is known on these people's contribution to the war, as their role has been largely overlooked.

The next chapter considers what concentration camps are, and whether camps should be classified as concentration camps or internment camps. Chapter 3 also discusses other types of concentration camps to enable a better understanding of how such camps work.

Chapter 3:
Were these camps internment camps or concentration camps?

3.1 Introduction

From their inception, concentration or internment camps have been places of unspeakable suffering, and they were responsible for the deaths of thousands – and in some places, millions – of people. In some ways, they have shaped the history of the world. Today, these camps are a popular topic among various researchers, including historians and archaeologists (Moshenska & Myers 2011:2). According to Casella (2011:285), this interest has been fuelled even further by the numerous written sources published on these camps. Film directors have also started to produce films on internment camps and concentration camps. Examples of books and films that use internment camps and concentration camps as backdrops include *If this is a man* (1947) by Primo Levi, *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956* (1973) by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and *The Great Escape* (1963) (cited in Myers 2013:263; Moshenska & Myers 2011:2). The infamous Second World War concentration camps made the terms "internment camp" and "concentration camp" household words.

Many different types of concentration camp have been used throughout history, including those used in South Africa. These camps range from prisoner of war (POW) camps to death or extermination camps. Confinement camps can also be described as internment camps or concentration camps, which housed many prisoners. Some camps were results or instruments of scorched earth policies practised in war, while others were established to kill large numbers of people, or even to commit genocide, such as the notorious Nazi death camps used during the Second World War.

Initially, only historians studied such camps (Mytum 2013a:4007). However, the remains of internment and concentration camps now also attract archaeologists, who analyse the remains of these camps, as discussed in Chapter 4 (Myers 2008:238). The remains of some internment camps have been preserved to serve as a grim reminder of crimes against

humanity and have been opened to tourists (Mytum 2013a:4010), for example, the Nazi death camp Auschwitz in Poland (Moshenska & Myers 2011:2).[31]

However, traces of many of them have now disappeared (Moshenska & Myers 2011:5); some were destroyed by those who built them, for example, Treblinka in Poland,[32] which the Nazis destroyed to obliterate evidence of their atrocities; others were dismantled when survivors wanted to forget them and return to everyday life (Mytum 2013b:327). Some camps have become derelict or overgrown with grass, or were "reclaimed by forests", for example, North Camp Hood in Texas (Myers 2009:8; Thomas 2011:147). North Camp Hood was either abandoned or neglected to keep the wretched past "out of sight, out of mind" (Casella & Fredericksen 2004:108). Myers (2009:8) points out that this shows how fragile these buildings really are, despite the fact that they might play such important roles in history.

Not all internment camps were destroyed (Casella & Fredericksen 2004:110). Some internment camps were reused for municipal functions, such as Tower Mill and Sydney's Hyde Park Barracks in Australia (Casella & Fredericksen 2004:110; Mytum 2013b:327). Others have become museums, for example, the Auschwitz extermination camp in Poland, and some are now protected and managed by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as memorials. This is true for places of genocide, such as Auschwitz, as well as for other places of incarceration, such as the prison on Robben Island in South Africa (Moshenska & Myers 2011:5; Pantzou 2011:191) (see Figure 1).

This chapter considers whether the camps in South Africa should be considered as internment camps or concentration camps in terms of various definitions of these terms. A subsection discusses whether the British concentration camps in South Africa were regarded as internment camps or concentration camps. The next section answers Casella's (2011:293) question "why does confinement exist?" Then other types of camps are

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[31] The prison on Robben Island, off the South African coast at Cape Town, where many political prisoners were imprisoned, is a place of internment visited because it housed some of recent South African history's most famous individuals, such as the former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) (Moshenska & Myers 2011:2).

[32] Treblinka, located in Poland, was built by the Nazis in 1942 (Gilead *et al.* 2010:4). Treblinka was designed as a complex of gas chambers, barracks and mass graves (Sturdy Colls 2012:90). Treblinka was known as an extermination camp because an estimated 800 000 Jews, Poles and gypsies (Romani) lost their lives in the gas chambers (Sturdy-Colls 2012:90). Today, however, there is no surface evidence of Treblinka, because the site was destroyed and covered over by a farm at the end of 1943, as has happened to other extermination camps (Gilead *et al.* 2010:4,5; Sturdy Colls 2012:91).

examined, showing that in the South African War, Britain also used other types of camps. International examples are also provided to give a better idea of how such camps work.

3.2 Origins of the terms "concentration camp" and "internment camp"

Smith and Stucki (2011:417) argue that the term "concentration camp" can be traced back to the Cuban War (1895-1898) where *reconcentrados* were used, as mentioned in Chapter 1. However, they note that the term "concentration camp" is seldom referred to in the literature on the Cuban situation, as the population was confined in the towns and villages, rather than in isolated or specially constructed camps, unlike with the British concentration camps (Smith & Stucki 2011:417). Smith and Stucki (2011:417) claim that the term "concentration camp" was first used in English only in 1938 to describe the British concentration camps, but in an interview on 18 April 2016 with Benneyworth, he argued that Smith and Stucki (2011:417) were wrong, and that the British did in fact use the term concentration camps during the South African War. It has been argued that Nazi associations exploited and altered the term "concentration camp" as used in the South African and Cuban contexts (Smith & Stucki 2011:418). According to Smith and Stucki (2011:417), scholars began to define camps as concentration camps instead of using the more precise terms "extermination camps" and "labour camps", as used between 1939 and 1945 in Europe.

3.3 Internment camps or concentration camps?

In the contexts of the German suppression of the Nama and Herero people in German South West Africa (now Namibia) and of the Nazi camps of the Second World War, the term "concentration camps" evokes particular horror and abhorrence.

What about the term "internment camps"? The more neutral term "internment camps" has been mentioned a few times in this study. Should these camps not be classified as internment camps instead? What about the British concentration camps? Or are the British camps internment camps? The answers to these questions are discussed below, providing reasons for the answers suggested. But first, a few definitions of the terms "internment camp" and "concentration camps" are provided to enable a better understanding of how to classify these camps.

3.3.1 Definitions of the terms "concentration camp" and "internment camp" and related terms

The term "concentration camp" has many meanings. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015) defines the noun "concentration" as "the action of bringing to or towards a common centre or focus; *the state of being so brought or massed together*" (*Oxford English Dictionary's* emphasis). The term "concentration camp" is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015) as "a camp where non-combatants of a district are accommodated". Examples of concentration camps given include the British concentration camps used during the South African War, and Nazi concentration camps used during the Second World War (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2015). The *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* adopts a similar but more nuanced definition to that in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015) when it defines the term "concentration camp" as a camp where prisoners, who are usually seen as undesirables, are separated from other citizens (*HAT* 2009:606).[33] Sofsky (1997:11) argues that concentration camps can be defined as "the locus of organized terror and extermination".

The term "internment camp" also has many meanings. Young (2013:3) argues that the verb "to intern" means "to confine or impound, especially during wartime". Branton (2009:58) states that the term "literally refers to detaining enemy aliens". The *HAT* (2009:478) defines the noun "internment" as the action of locking someone, usually a political prisoner, in an "internment camp" (or another place of internment). The term "internment camp" is defined as a safe place or camp to which enemies, POWs and political prisoners are sent (*HAT* 2009:478). Moshenska and Myers (2011:2) argue that the term "internment" means "the practice of organizing material culture and space to control and restrict the movement of a person or a group of people", for example, in an "internment camp" built for that purpose. For Myers and Moshenska (2013:1624), "internment camp archaeology" may be "any study where archaeological approaches are used to interpret the material remains of confinement". Internment sites are defined by archaeologists as sites with "physically bounded spaces", either with human-made borders, which include fences and walls, or natural boundaries, which include rivers (Moshenska & Myers 2011:3).

[33] *HAT* stands for *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal*. It is an Afrikaans dictionary. Thus, its definitions were paraphrased in English.

3.3.2 Were the British concentration camps seen as internment camps or concentration camps?

Based on what Smith and Stucki (2011:417) write about *reconcentrados* (see Chapter 1), the researcher is of the opinion that the British camps can be regarded as both concentration camps and internment camps, because internees were interned in fenced camps and housed in bell tents or self-made shelters, and could not leave the camps.

Both terms have similar definitions, and both elicit fear, anger and sometimes hatred and bitterness among survivors and their descendants. Both kinds of camps were used to separate those classified as enemies (in South Africa, enemies of Britain) from citizens and to control the movement of people. Both kinds of camp were usually surrounded by barbed wire and had armed guards, and internees were usually not allowed to leave the camps or boundaries, and internees were kept "under conditions which regularly resulted in high mortality" (Branton 2009:58; Smith & Stucki 2011:417). Sofsky (1997:14) argues that such boundaries made the camps a closed universe, as internees were locked into a world of terror.

According to Smith and Stucki (2011:427), the British concentration camps were known as "concentration camps", although several authors have also used other words to denote what "were essentially internment camps for civilians" (Smith & Stucki 2011:427). These terms included "refugee camps" and "burgher camps" (Smith & Stucki 2011:427).

The term "internment camp" was also used to describe the British concentration camps. Both Stanley (2006:3) and Myers and Moshenska (2013:1623) classify the British camps as "internment camps", noting the high mortality rates among the internees. The Germans deliberately used the term concentration camps in "clear reference to the British camps in South Africa" (Van Heyningen 2009:22) to describe their extermination camps, and therefore historians prefer to use the term "internment" to emphasise that there was no distinction between the British concentration camps used in the South African War and Nazi concentration camps in the Second World War (Van Heyningen 2009:22; Wessels 2011:78).

Wessels (2011:137) notes that the term "concentration camp" is an emotionally charged term for some people. Moreover, the *HAT* (2009:478) argues that the term "internment camp" should not be confused with the term "concentration camp". In some cases,

historians prefer to use the term "internment camps" to describe these camps, while others prefer to use the term "concentration camps". The term "internment camp" has fewer resonances in the South African context and is thus more neutral in this context (Van Heyningen 2009:22). Hence, many historians prefer to use term "internment camp" because they want to try to fix the past, or for emotional reasons.

The British themselves used the term "refugee camps" to describe the camps (Wessels 2011:137). The term "refugee camp" was misleading, because in reality these camps were a form of imprisonment, and camps were surrounded by barbed wire with locked gates, and punishments were meted out for bad behaviour (Meiring 2009:106). As discussed above, the British camps can thus be classified as internment camps and as concentration camps, and both of these kinds of camp were responsible for the deaths of thousands of civilians.

3.4 Why do internment and concentration camps exist?

Hyslop (2011:273) answers the question by noting that some concentration camps were established in response to guerrilla tactics used by the opponents of those who built the camps.[34] Britain's scorched earth policy and the concentration camps were used during the South African War as a response to the guerrilla tactics adopted by Boer commandos.[35] However, Smith and Stucki (2011:418) argue that not all concentration camps were established in response to guerrilla warfare. Concentration camps in the then South West Africa were used to pacify and punish Herero and Nama people as an "enemy who had already been defeated" by the Germans between 1904 and 1908 (Smith & Stucki 2011:418). The camps were used to end a rebellion by the Herero and Nama people (Smith & Stucki 2011:418).[36]

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[34] According to Smith and Stucki (2011:419), a guerrilla phase arises when occupying armies separate soldiers from civilians who provide the soldiers with food. The outcome usually includes sending civilians to concentration camps to prevent contact and communication (Smith & Stucki 2011:419).

[35] During the guerrilla phase of the South African War, Boer commandos were split into small mobile groups to make it easier for them to fight the British (Pretorius 2001a:24).

[36] The tactics used to end the rebellion in the then South West Africa were brutal from the beginning (Hyslop 2011:261). Before the camps were even established, the German commander, General Lothar von Trotha chased the Nama and Herero people into the Omaheke Desert, where many died of thirst and starvation (Hyslop 2011:261). According to Hyslop (2011:261), the camps used by the Germans were more brutal than those used during the South African War. The estimated death rate was 45% higher than the reported death rates in the British concentration camps (Hyslop 2011:261-262).

Smith and Stucki (2011:427) argue that the British concentration camps, on the other hand, were not used to punish Boer internees in the way concentration camps were used to punish the Nama and Herero. The reason for this was that Lord Roberts regarded the Boers as British subjects, and he hoped they would someday become part of the British Empire (Forth 2013:55; Smith & Stucki 2011:427). However, there can be many arguments on whether this is true or not. On the one hand, the British established concentration camps to "protect" what they called "refugees" from abuse and interference by the "rebels" (Smith & Stucki 2011:432). On the other hand, the British concentration camps were responsible for the deaths of thousands of African and Boer people whose only "crime" was that they supplied Boer commandos with food and information. Forth (2013:57) notes that the other reason claimed for establishing concentration camps was to prevent famine from spreading. According to Forth (2013:57), "during plague operations in the 1890s, barbed-wire enclosures served to control and classify the unwashed colonial poor" in other British dominions. Lastly, concentration camps were said to be established to protect citizens from harm and to prevent espionage and subversion (Mytum & Carr 2013:4).

3.5 Different types of camps

Concentration camps are not the only methods used by leaders and governments to punish citizens and combatants, and to confine their movements. Various kinds of camps that have also been used aside from civilian internment camps include POW camps, labour camps, death camps, transit camps, confinement camps and relocation centres (Myers 2009:8; Young 2013:3). Some of these types of camps have been used throughout the history of South Africa, especially during the South African War. In order to enhance understanding of how these different camps worked, this section discusses a few examples of camps used around the world and in South Africa, namely POW camps, labour camps and death camps, connecting them to the history of South Africa and the South African War.

3.5.1 Prisoner of War (POW) camps

During the 18th century, many nations started to send prisoners who surrendered and were captured during a war to prison camps (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). These prisoners were known as prisoners of war (POWs). A prisoner of war is defined by Davis (1977:623) "as a member or potential member of an armed force captured by enemy forces during a time of recognized warfare". In Europe and America, prison camps were built to house such

prisoners (Mytum & Hall 2013:76).[37] However, not all prisoners were interned in prison camps. Some were interned in churches, caves and military barracks (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). According to Banks (2011:112), the concept of POW camps has become part of our everyday lives due to Hollywood films such as *The Great Escape* (1963), *The Deerhunter* (1978) and *Rambo* (2008). This section discusses two examples of POW camps, namely the Norman Cross POW camp in Britain, and St Helena, in the Atlantic Ocean, to which some Boer POWs were sent, to show how these camps worked and what they were used for.

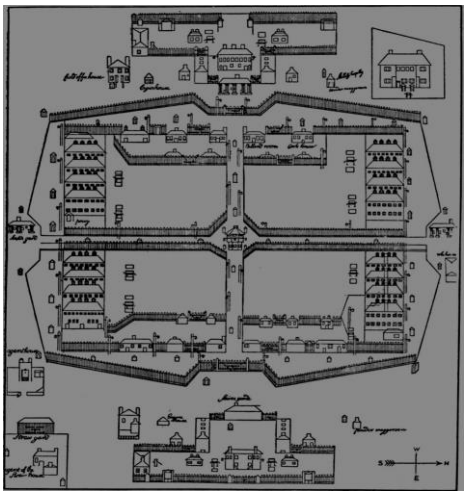
3.5.1.1 Norman Cross POW camp, Peterborough, England

Norman Cross is classified as a POW camp and is one of the earliest POW camps (Young 2013:4) (see Figure 8). It is the second oldest internment prison camp in England (Mytum & Hall 2013:75) – the first internment prison camp in England was at Stapleton, in Gloucestershire (Mytum & Hall 2013:75).

Norman Cross was built in three months, starting in December 1796, to house the high numbers of POWs (Mytum & Hall 2013:76) captured by the British during the French Revolutionary War. The French had refused to exchange prisoners, requiring the British to find a solution (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). In 1793, a decision was made to ship these prisoners to Britain, to hold them in military places that were specially built to house them (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). Unfortunately, these places became too full (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). It was then decided to use ships to hold these prisoners, but soon there were not enough ships available (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). Hence, in 1793 it was decided to raise funds to build a new camp to house all these prisoners (Mytum & Hall 2013:76). The new camp was called Norman Cross POW camp. Norman Cross was used from 1797 until 1802 and again from 1803 until 1814 (Mytum & Hall 2013:90).

[37] These camps were *ad hoc* arrangements, which meant that they were thought to be short-term and they were not meant to house large numbers of prisoners (Mytum & Hall 2013:76).

Figure 8: Plan of Norman Cross from 1797 to 1803



Source: Mytum and Hall (2013:79)

3.5.1.2 St Helena POW camp

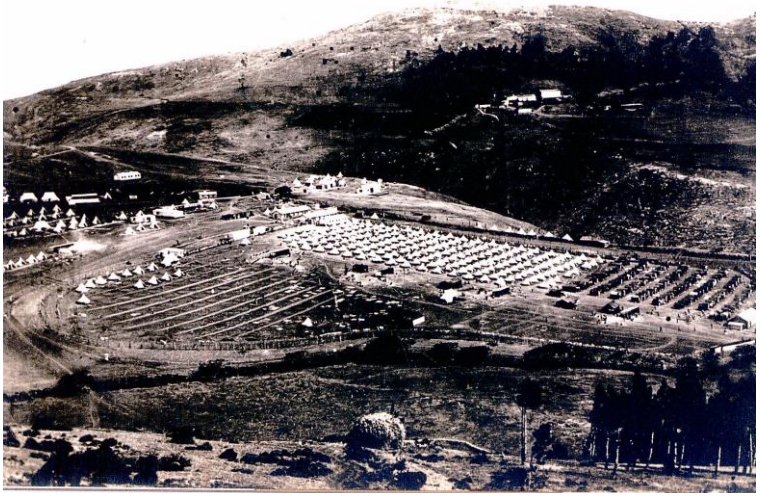
Boer and African civilians were not the only ones who were interned in camps during the South African War (Mytum & Carr 2013:4). Captured Boer combatants were sent to POW camps and ships in Cape Town and Simonstown (Royle 1998:55).[38] However, there were some problems with this decision. The first was that the British feared that Boer prisoners would escape and re-join Boer commandos (Royle 1998:55). The second was that all the military camps housing Boer prisoners soon became too full (Jacobs 2003:26). Therefore, Britain decided to use overseas British-controlled territories, such as St Helena, Bermuda and Ceylon (today Sri Lanka) (Jacobs 2003:26; Royle 1998:55).[39] These places were perceived to have the advantage of relatively good weather, the conditions and languages spoken in those regions were foreign to the Boers, and most importantly, these were all islands controlled by Britain (Jacobs 2003:26).

St Helena was the first island to which Boer prisoners were sent to (Royle 1998:55) (see Figure 9). According to Royle (1998:57), St Helena "is a remote, volcanic south Atlantic island of 122 square kilometres".[40] Among the Boer prisoners on St Helena were General Piet Cronjé (183-1911), who was defeated and surrendered at Paardeberg in 1900, and his

[38] Adult Boer males were not the only ones who were sent to POW camps. There were also Africans and young boys in these POW camps (Van Zÿl *et al.* 2012:224).
[39] Only St Helena is discussed as an example, as it falls beyond the scope of the dissertation to explore these POW camps further.
[40] When explorers found St Helena in 1502, it was uninhabited (Royle 1998:57). In 1659, the British East India Company annexed St Helena and in 1834 it became part of the British Crown Colony (Royle 1998:57).

wife (Royle 1998:57).[41] Life on St Helena was difficult, as it was in concentration camps in South Africa (Royle 1998:61). To keep themselves busy and to avoid boredom and depression, Boer prisoners usually participated in activities such as sports and amateur theatre (Royle 1998:63). The POWs lived in huts made of sheets of corrugated iron, and of old biscuit boxes (Grobler 2004:112). There were so many corrugated iron huts that the camp became known as *Blikkiesdorp* (Tin Town) (Grobler 2004:112). After the war, the prisoners were forced to sign an oath of allegiance to the British monarch (Van Zÿl *et al.* 2012:224). Most of the prisoners signed the oath under duress and were allowed to return to South Africa (Van Zÿl *et al.* 2012:224). However, a handful of prisoners refused to sign the oath and continued to live on St Helena, never seeing their homes and families again (Van Zÿl *et al.* 2012:190).

Figure 9: St Helena POW camp



Source: Van Zÿl *et al.* (2012:228)

3.5.2 Labour camps

Labour camps were established where there was a need for labourers, and internees were often seen as an answer to this problem. Internees were often forced to work for long hours, causing many to die of sheer exhaustion (Young 2013:13). Internees also died of malnutrition and disease (Sheehan 2002:36). Labour camps were usually isolated, but

[41] Royle (1998:57) rightly points out that General Cronjé was not the only famous prisoner on St Helena. Napoleon was also held prisoner on the island after his defeat in 1815 at Waterloo and lived there in exile until his death in 1821. Napoleon's remains were moved to Paris in 1840 (Grobler 2004:112).

located near workplaces, whether these were rural and/or agricultural, urban or industrial (Moshenska & Myers 2011:4). This section discusses two examples of labour camps, namely labour camps used during the Second World War and African concentration camps, to show how these camps worked and what they were used for.

3.5.2.1 Labour camps used during the Second World War

The first camps established by the Nazis during the Second World War were concentration camps to which many gypsies, Jews and homosexuals were sent (Sheehan 2002:5).[42] It did not take long for these camps to become successful (Sheehan 2002:5). As a result, the Nazis decided to extend these camps into labour camps (Sheehan 2002:5). The Nazis used internees from these camps as forced labourers (Buggeln 2009:607). Internees were forced to work for long hours, which caused many of them to die of exhaustion (Theune 2013:245). Conditions in the camps were inhumane in the extreme (Buggeln 2009:617). Many such labour camps were situated in Poland (Sturdy Colls 2012:75), for example, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Krakow and Majdanek (Gilead *et al.* 2010:24), which functioned as labour camps for some or all of their operation.

3.5.2.2 African concentration/labour camps

Labour camps were established during the South African War (Young 2013:4). When gold and diamonds were found in 1867 and 1886, Britain realised that it would need cheap labour to extract these minerals (Weiss 2011:22). Therefore, a compound system and African camps were developed, for example, at Kimberley, because Africans were seen as cheap labour (Dreyer & Loock 2001:163). It seems that similar camps were used during the South African War.

Weiss (2011:21) claims that African camps in the war were not refugee camps, but instead labour camps, similar to the compounds used during the diamond rush in South Africa. However, Kessler (2012:88) argues that African concentration camps were established by Kitchener as part of his strategy to end the guerrilla warfare. The British needed unskilled labourers to work in the mines and railways. Therefore they established the Army Depot and the Imperial Military railway, which provided mining and railway companies with cheap African labour (Kessler 2012:131-133). According to Kessler (2012:108), the British

[42] According to Sheehan (2002:4), "Nazis were members of the National German Socialist Workers' Party developed and led by Adolf Hitler".

also established a private African concentration camp in Johannesburg, near the mines, to obtain African labour to work in the mines and other companies in the mining district (Kessler 2012:108). Not all Africans were forced to enter the camps; some of them entered the camps voluntarily because of the British scorched earth policy and because Boer commandos destroyed their property (Kessler 2012:89). Scholars will never know the exact number of Africans who entered British camps, because the archival records on this are very incomplete. However, it is certain that the British removed both the Boers and African civilians from farms and into concentration camps (Kessler 2012:90).

According to Kessler (2012:88), the history of African concentration camps can be divided into two periods. The first period was from September 1900 to September 1901, when African camps fell under administrators of Boer origin who were on the British side. The second period was from June 1901 to February 1903, when the Native Refugee Department took over from the local administrators (Kessler 2012:88) – this period overlaps by four months. Kessler (2012:130) notes that the Native Refugee Department was only partly established to obtain cheap labour. It also needed to find inexpensive ways to accommodate and feed Africans who were crowded into these camps for military reasons. Therefore, the British established an agriculture scheme to help improve conditions in these camps and to make the camps self-supporting, which was not the case in Boer camps (Evans 2000:67; Kessler 2012:130). Another way to keep the cost of African concentration camps as low as possible was to relocate them to abandoned Boer farms, which saved the British £10 000 (Kessler 2012:131). However, this move also resulted in many deaths, as these farms often lacked the basic essentials required for people in large numbers to survive (Kessler 2012:131).

Ankiewicz (2013b:45) claims that Africans entered the camps willingly, not like Boers and any African servants accompanying them who were forced to enter the camps. Africans would arguably enter concentration camps voluntarily because they wanted protection for themselves and their livestock (Mbenga 2007:231). However, not all Africans entered camps voluntarily; some were forced to do so (Devitt 1941:21).

There are various reasons why African camps are often not classified as concentration camps. Firstly, Young (2013:13) argues that in the concentration camps, not all internees were forced to work, as they were in labour camps. However, if Africans did not work, they would not receive any rations (Marais 1999:217). Secondly, according to Warwick

(1983:149) and Weiss (2011:25), African internees were seen as a "source of labour" for the British army. This may be why there were more African camps (at least 51 camps) than Boer concentration camps (33 camps) (Van Heyningen 2009:32). Thirdly, African camps were situated near railways and main roads to make it easier to provide protection to internees, and to secure cheap labour, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (Ankiewicz 2013b:44; Dreyer & Loock 2001:155). This implies that African camps were situated near the Africans' workplaces, such as railways, as mentioned above. Fourthly, the main aim of African camps was to attract more labour, with the help of the agricultural scheme, and to prevent Africans from assisting Boer commandos (Pretorius 2009:103).

Examples of African "labour camps" where research has been done so far include Heidelberg in the southern Transvaal (now Gauteng), Allemans Siding and Brandfort in the (Orange) Free State, as discussed in Section 4.4.1 (see also Figure 1). In a discussion on 18 April 2016 with Benneyworth, he provided more examples of African "labour camps" where research has been done. Excavations have been done at Kimberley and Dry Harts. Further camps have been identified at Vryburg, Taung, Taaibosch, Witkop and Springs (see Figure 1).

With this in mind, it can be argued that at least some African camps were not concentration camps, but labour camps, as internees had to work to obtain food. However, for the remainder of this study, for the sake of simplicity, the term "concentration camp" is used to describe African camps. It is also the term most widely used by South African and other historians.

3.5.3 Death or extermination camps

Death camps are also often known as extermination camps (Sheehan 2002:62). The purpose of death camps was usually to torture and kill large numbers of interned people. However, not all camps referred to as death camps were purposefully built to kill people. The *aims* of British concentration camps were not to kill Boer and/or African internees, even though many claimed that this was the case, as mentioned in Section 3.5.3.2 below.

Extermination camps became notorious as places of organised killing during the Second World War (Sheehan 2002:4). It is estimated that about six million Jews died in such death camps situated all over Europe (Sheehan 2002:7). Death camps were established to prevent Jews from emigrating to other countries (Sheehan 2002:8). Nazis went to great lengths in

establishing death camps (Sheehan 2002:9). They consulted well-known German firms regarding the "design and building of the crematoria" that were used to dispose of thousands of people (Sheehan 2002:9). This section discusses two examples of death camps, namely the Auschwitz-Birkenau Nazi extermination camp and the British concentration camps, to show how these camps worked and what they were used for.

3.5.3.1 Auschwitz-Birkenau Nazi concentration and death camp (1940-1945), Oswiecim, Poland

In 1940, a decision was made to build a new death camp now known as Auschwitz (Sheehan 2002:16). Auschwitz later became known as a place where mass murder was committed (UNESCO n.d.). According to historical records, more than 1.5 million people, mostly Jews, lost their lives in Auschwitz (UNESCO n.d.), predominantly in gas chambers (Myers 2011:76). Not many people know that Auschwitz was first a labour camp, with 30 German prisoners and 200 Jews, before it become a death camp (Sheehan 2002:16, 19). These internees were used to build the camp (Sheehan 2002:16). Auschwitz was to become the largest death camp during the Third Reich (UNESCO n.d.). There were three sub-camps in Auschwitz, namely Auschwitz I (opened in 1940), Auschwitz II (opened in 1941) and Auschwitz III (opened in 1942). Sheehan (2002:19) argues that the slogan on Auschwitz entrance – *Arbeit Macht Frei* (Work sets you free) – is ironic because this was not the case, as seen in labour camps (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: The entrance at Auschwitz

Source: Sheehan (2002:19)

According to Moshenska and Myers (2011:12), internees' bodies and possessions "were harvested on an industrial scale to feed the war economy and ideological bloodlust of the Nazi regime". What this statement means is that the Nazis took prisoners' clothes, glasses, and valuables, such as gold, diamonds, money, and even gold fillings from teeth, from those who died in the chambers to pay for the war. Today, many tourists still visit the town Oswiecim to see the remains of the Auschwitz concentration camp (Myers 2011:75).

3.5.3.2 Claims that the British concentration camps in South Africa were death camps

Some descendants of Boers interned in British concentration camps in the South African War still refer to them as murder camps (Wessels 2011:137). Stanley (2006:118) argues that this was because many of the Boer testimonies claimed that the main aim of the British concentration and hospitals was to punish and kill people. Many Boer women also claimed that everybody who entered those hospitals died or was refused food (Stanley 2006:118). Boer women complained that they found blue vitriol in their flour and hooks in their tins, indicating that the British intended to kill them (Stanley & Dampier 2005:96). This was a myth – Evans (2000:69) notes that internees in the British concentration camps were not put to death deliberately. The "blue vitriol" in the flour was not vitriol, but an additive to prevent the flour from becoming hard in high humidity (Stanley & Dampier 2005:96).[43] The tinned meat did not come from Britain, but from American companies, such as Eastman's Roast Beef and Gotham (Stanley & Dampier 2005:96-7; Wessels 2001:69), and the British soldiers received the same food tins as Boer internees (Wessels 2001:69).

Other authors also agree that the British did not establish these camps to kill the internees. For example, Judd and Surridge (2002, 2003:194) state that the British did not have any murderous motivations when they established concentration camps, regardless of all the emotional connotations of the term. They maintain that the camps were established as a pragmatic response to certain problems (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:194). Scott (2007:184) claims that the British concentration camps may even have been responsible for saving the lives of thousands, as many were homeless due to the scorched earth policies. However, whether the stated purpose of the camps was to kill inmates or not, they definitely were responsible for the deaths of 40 000 women and children (Grundlingh 2013:25).

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[43] Blue vitriol is a name for copper sulphate $CuSO_4$. It is only mildly toxic if ingested, and it was used for medical purposes.

3.6 Conclusion

Concentration camps are a popular topic for many historians, archaeologists, film directors and authors, but many survivors and their descendants see them differently – they still attach traumatic memories to these places. The term "concentration camp" originates from the 19th century; however, it was the genocide perpetrated in Nazi concentration camps that made these camps universally notorious, and made people attach negative connotations to the term. The reason for this is that more people died in those camps than in any others.

Strictly speaking, the British concentration camps in South Africa were not death camps because they were not established with the purpose of killing internees. However, it has to be acknowledged that the camps did result in many deaths among internees. The African camps can be classified as labour camps, because the internees were forced to work to receive food rations. The Boers were not necessarily forced to work and received free rations, although these rations were not equitably distributed, and were often meagre.

Concentration camps were sometimes established to prevent guerrilla fighters from accessing information and supplies. However, not all such camps were established because of guerrilla wars. Some were established to punish citizens, as in German South West Africa. Concentration camps were not the only methods used to punish citizens, other camps were also used. These camps ranged from POW camps to death camps.

Concentration camps have changed the history of many nations and societies. In South Africa, concentration camps have played a very important role, especially during the South African War. These camps also were used to control cheap labour, as in the case of the African concentration camps. Concentration camps in South Africa have also changed the history of the country; it caused anger among people, including Africans. Concentration camps have led to destruction, as many families were wiped out in them, as in Auschwitz, where more than one million people died in gas chambers, and in British concentration camps where many Boer families died – surviving combatants sometimes had no family members left to collect after the war.

The next chapter presents the methodical approaches relevant to the current study. The history of Greylingstad is discussed, as well as the methods used to locate the African camp there and to analyse the findings.

Chapter 4:
Methodological approaches

4.1 Introduction

Today, there is a global interest in the study of concentration camp sites (Myers 2013:4; Young 2013:2). This is in part due to the fact that little or no evidence survives of many of these camps, leaving many voids for historians and researchers to fill, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Moreover, it is not only historians who analyse concentration camps, but also researchers from other disciplines, such as archaeologists and geologists, and even amateurs (Dreyer 2001:131). According to Dreyer (2001:131), the study of concentration camps "allows opportunity for participation by researchers from disciplines other than history, […], who are not normally associated with historical research of this nature".

Archaeologists studying concentration camps are particularly important because they focus on historical material culture to establish how internees survived the inhumane and hostile conditions in the camp environment (Valentino 2011:34). This information provides historians with a better perspective on how people lived in particular concentration camps and how internees coped in these environments. Archaeologists have begun to excavate concentration camps and other types of camps (Young 2013:4), as discussed in Chapter 3. Archaeologists use various methods, such as mapping, pedestrian surveys, metal detector surveys, the excavation of test pits, the analysis of core drilling samples, geophysical surveys and block excavations (Young 2013:22).

This study used historical sources and archaeological field methods to understand how concentration camps worked and to help identify the location of the African camp at Greylingstad. The use of historical sources has already been discussed in Chapter 2, and the archaeological field methods are discussed in this chapter. Archaeological fieldwork in this study consisted of two methods, namely pedestrian surveys and the excavation of test pits. The first is a non-destructive method, while the second is destructive. The reasons for choosing these methods are explained later in the chapter. Combining a review of historical sources with archaeological fieldwork helped to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1. This project did not involve excavations or the digging of test pits near or in the African cemetery, for religious, political and ethical reasons, as described by Sturdy Colls (2012:70). Places associated with wars tend to evoke emotional memories and trauma in

some survivors of the conflict and their descendants, hence the need for sensitivity (Schofield *et al*. 2002:4).

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the area where the case study was conducted, namely Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, near Greylingstad, Mpumalanga, South Africa.[44] There is not much archaeological or historical information on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR or the African concentration camp at Greylingstad, as mentioned earlier, so this section provides a brief overview of Greylingstad and how the South African War affected its residents. The second section discusses the archaeological field methods in more detail, considering international and local examples of archaeological methods used on concentration camps to enhance understanding of how these camps worked and how such methods have helped archaeologists reach their conclusions.

4.2 Historical background on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR

This dissertation reports on a case study, namely research on the farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR (formerly called Bakjesfontein), near Greylingstad, in Mpumalanga, South Africa (see Figure 11, overleaf).[45]

Two other sites were considered (but rejected) as options for case studies for this project: the Heidelberg concentration camp in Gauteng, and the Doornbult concentration camp near Hopetown in the Northern Cape. At the Heidelberg concentration camp, there are only a few African graves (Pretorius 2007:285),[46] so this site was not likely to yield important evidence. The Doornbult concentration camp site is nine hours' drive from the researcher's home base in Pretoria. Some archaeological studies have also already been done at the Doornbult concentration camp, as discussed later in this chapter (see Section 4.4.1.5).

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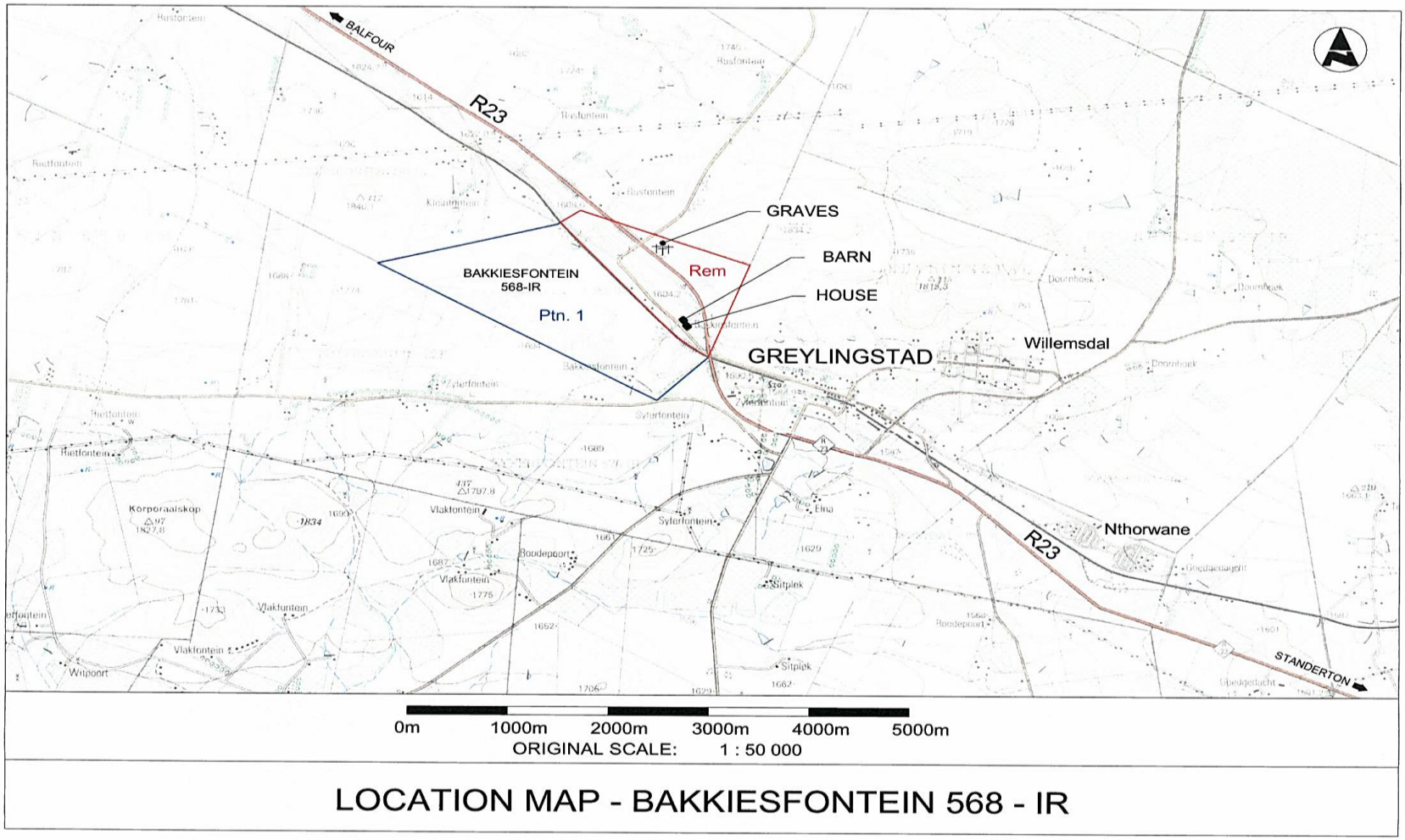
[44] The farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was once a large farm, later divided into two separate farms known as Portion 1, and the remainder. The reasons for this division are unclear. The remainder of the farm which does not belong to Portion 1 is where this study was conducted (see the red borders in Figure 11). This part of the farm is also sub-divided into two areas by the R23 (the road from Pretoria to Standerton). In the first of these two areas, there are a house, a barn, a possible midden, an unknown structure and some sandstone. In the second area, there are the African graves, a stone circle, stone walls and a hill (see Chapter 5).
[45] Bakkiesfontein 568 IR first belonged to Marthinus Johannes Bekker. After his death, ownership passed to his wife Willemina Johana Catharina Bekker. When she died, the farm was sold to the government, which sold it to Roadgrass, current owners of the small part of the farm (Office of the Registrar of Deeds: 568/1).
[46] The African graves at Heidelberg were found by E. van den Berg and J. Strauss (Pretorius 2007:285).

Figure 11: Location map of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR



Courtesy of A. van der Walt

Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was chosen for a number of reasons. There are several pointers or signs that suggest that the African concentration camp at Greylingstad could have been situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR or near this farm. These signs include an old house, African graves and a (now dry) stream, as shown in Figure 11, above. According to historical sources, as mentioned in Chapter 2, these may be interpreted as possible indications of the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. These signs are discussed in more detail later on (see Section 4.3).

Information on the African concentration camp at Greylingstad and its location is very difficult to find. In 1990, a fire destroyed most of the archival documents in the Municipal building in Greylingstad (Louw 1991:5; Stirling 2010:2). However, the researcher located four books and one archival source on Greylingstad.

The books are the following:

- The book *Van die ou na die nuwe Greylingstad* [*From the old to the new Greylingstad*] by Gerhard Louw (1991). In this book, Louw (1991) focuses on the general history of Greylingstad. The book is very detailed and well-researched. However, it does not discuss the history of the African concentration camp or where it was situated. The book only provides a general overview of African concentration camps, as already discussed in Chapter 2.
- Another book that contains a brief discussion on Greylingstad and other places in South Africa is the *Dictionary of southern African place names* (1987), by P.E. Raper.
- Ankiewicz (2013a, 2013b) also provides a history of Greylingstad. However, he does not say much about the African concentration camp or about Bakkiesfontein 568 IR.
- Gert van der Westhuizen and Erika van der Westhuizen (2013) present the most detailed report on the African graves and concentration camp. However, they do not give the precise location of the camp. These authors only mention that the concentration camp was situated on the southern side of the hill facing the town, close to the railway, which they deduced from a photograph (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:170).[47]

[47]The researcher tried to contact the authors to find out more about this photograph of the camp, but they did not respond. She has since heard that Gert van der Westhuizen passed away in April 2015, which explains this lack of response.

The National Archives in Pretoria house one pamphlet (TAB 1909-1952:69) on the history of Greylingstad itself. It does not mention the African concentration camp. There is some fragmentary information on the African concentration camps in other books, such as those by Hall *et al*. (1999), Kessler (2012), Pretorius (2007) and Pretorius and Pretorius (2011).

Greylingstad is situated about 100km to the south-east of Johannesburg, 58km to the north-west of Standerton and 50km to the south-east of Heidelberg (Raper 1987:131). Greylingstad was named after Pieter Gerhardus Greyling (1830-1922), the stepson of Piet Retief (1780-1838), a famous Voortrekker leader (Louw 1991:6; Raper 1987:131).[48] The town was originally called Willemsdal, named after W.W.J.J. Bezuidenhout, the owner of the farm where the new town which became Greylingstad was situated (Raper 1987:131; Stirling 2010:1; TAB 1909-1952:69). The train station in Willemsdal was named after Greyling (TAB 1909-1952:69).[49] The town was renamed Greylingstad in 1914 because many citizens preferred the name Greyling (Raper 1987:131; (TAB 1909-1952:69).

The first group of people to live in the area where Greylingstad is today were Stone Age communities, the San (also known as Bushmen) and/or Khoisan or "the first people" (Louw 1991:12; Maggs 1976:306; Makhuru 2007:97; Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:36). The next groups to enter the region were African communities from the Iron Age. Louw (1991:12) raises the question of which Iron Age community first occupied the Greylingstad area before the Voortrekkers came. This question is still unanswered, because sources contradict each other and researchers tend to disagree when it comes to Iron Age communities. Thus, not much is known about the Greylingstad area before the Voortrekkers founded the town. Therefore, in this dissertation, it was decided to include only those Iron Age communities believed or known to have lived in the areas of the towns closest to Greylingstad, namely Heidelberg and Standerton, or if there is any evidence of these communities in Mpumalanga. These groups are only mentioned to provide a better understanding of who could have occupied Greylingstad during the Iron Age.[50]

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[48] Greyling was a well-known farmer in the district, because he was a Field Cornet and a lid of the *Volksraad* [People's Council] in the Heidelberg district (Ankiewicz 2013a:42).
[49] Today, nothing is left of this train station. In an interview with Mr W. Botha, a farmer in Greylingstad and the brother of Bekker, the previous owner of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, on 28 August 2015, he noted that the station was situated across the street from the old post office. According to Van der Westhuizen and Van der Westhuizen (2013:170), this post office was destroyed during the war.
[50] A fuller history of these people and periods falls beyond the scope of this dissertation – for more detailed information please consult the references mentioned in this section.

According to Louw (1991:12), Sotho-Tswana people may have lived in the Greylingstad area.[51] His view is based on the shape of pottery pieces found by archaeologists in the area (Louw 1991:12). The Tswana were sub-divided into four groups, namely the Hurutshe, the Kgatla, the Rolong and the Fokeng (Huffman 2002:7, 2007:429). Of these four Tswana groups and clusters, it is most likely that one or more of the following groups lived in the Greylingstad area: the Fokeng, the Hurutshe, the Kwena (a Hurutshe cluster), the Makholokoe (a Kwena cluster), and/or the Ghoya (a Rolong and Hurutshe cluster) (Breutz 1956:168; Ellenberger 1912:37, 52; Huffman 2002:7).

According to the literature and archaeological evidence, the Fokeng came from Ntsuanatsatsi Hill, near what is today Frankfort in the Free State, before they crossed the Lekoa (today the Vaal River) some time between 1550 and 1650 CE (Huffman 2002:8; Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:36; Mbenga & Manson 2010:4).[52] According to Maggs (1976:142), the Fokeng lived in this area from the 15th century. The Fokeng are believed to have been the first Sotho-speakers who arrived in the Highveld. They are also regarded as the most ancient of the Sotho peoples (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:31).

According to Smit (1958:9), the Hurutshe entered what is today South Africa between 1300 and 1550 CE. The Hurutshe were descended from Malope and his father Masilo, who lived at Groot Marico between 1440 and 1560 CE (Huffman 2002:7). The Hurutshe were known as the "senior tribe of the Bechuana" (Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:36). The Hurutshe cluster also includes the Kwena, Ngwaketse, Ngwato and Tawana (Huffman 2002:7). However, due to a drought, the Hurutshe were forced to split into smaller groups and live in the areas around what are today Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Vereeniging and Parys (Smit 1958:9). After the split from the Kwena in 1450 to 1550 CE, the Hurutshe settled near the Toelanie river (today known as the Tholwane river) (Breutz 1956:168). However, the Kwena and Hurutshe often clashed because of conflict over land and trade, especially during the 18th century (Maylam 1986:45).

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[51] The Tswana were a Sotho-Tswana cluster, also known as the Western Sotho. The other groups include the northern Sotho and Southern Sotho (Breutz 1956:167).

[52] Ntsuanatsatsi Hill was important to many Iron Age communities, especially Sotho-Tswana people, because it is regarded as the birthplace of many of these groups (Ellenberger 1912:18). Ntsuanatsatsi is a Sotho-Tswana word for Mpumalanga, or a place where the sun rises. The term connotes a place of origin of humankind, and it assumed to be somewhere at the centre of the Highveld (Ellenberger 1912:18; Makhuru 2007:128-129).

The Kwena (or Koena) were part of the Hurutshe cluster. Before 1450, when the Kwena and Hurutshe still lived as one group, they settled in the Rustenburg-Brits area at Manyanamatshwaana (what is today Zwartkoppies) (Breutz 1956:168). The Kwena, who later sub-divided into the Ngewaketse and Ngwato lineages, crossed the Vaal after a rift between them and the Hurutshe, due to famine and drought (Breutz 1956:168; Mbenga & Giliomee 2007:36). When they crossed the Vaal during the mid-17th century, they merged with the Fokeng, who were already settled at Ntsuanatsatsi, as mentioned above (Huffman 2002:20; Maggs 1976:308; Mbenga & Manson 2010:4). The Kwena then lived with the Fokeng for two generations before friction arose between these two groups (Maggs 1976:142). These frictions were partly due to shortages of resources, but it was mostly caused by the fact that the Fokeng and Kwena were ruled by a chief who was of San descent. Some Fokeng and Kwena did not want to be ruled by a person with San blood (Ellenberger 1912:18; Maggs 1976:142). Therefore, a new group formed, and this group of Kwena crossed the Vaal (Mbenga & Manson 2010:4). According to Breutz (1956:168), Ellenberger (1912:20), Leggassick (1972:102) and Maggs (1976:309), the group migrated north of the Vaal to the Heidelberg district, known to them as Tebang, where they settled until they spilt for unknown reasons.

The Makholokoe might also have occupied the Greylingstad area during the Iron Age. According to Maggs (1976:309), the Makholokoe were part of the Kwena cluster. There is not much information on them (Ellenberger 1912:37). According to Ellenberger (1912:37), the Makholokoe occupied Thaba Kholokhoe, a mountain named after them. This mountain is situated where Standerton (Seratoe) is situated in Mpumalanga today (Ellenberger 1912:37). They lived on this mountain for eight to nine generations. As time went on, their numbers started to increase, and many people believe that the mountain was the birthplace of this ethnic group (Ellenberger 1912:37).

Lastly, the area could also have been inhabited by the Ghoya (also known as the Legoya, Lighoya, Digoja, or Hoja), because scholars and archaeologists have also found corbelled homesteads typical of this group in Mpumalanga (Esterhuysen & Smith 2007:63; Louw 1991:12). The Ghoya were one of the first groups of people to cross the Vaal (Walton 1965:1). Out of respect for their chief Sehoya, they called themselves Legoya (Ellenberger 1912:52). According to Maggs (1976:310), it was common for Sotho-Tswana people to adopt the name of famous leaders. The Ghoya were offshoots of the Rolong and Hurutshe cluster (Breutz 1956:168; Ellenberger 1912:52). Little is known about them. Their

offshoots were the Taung, Kubang and Phiring (Breutz 1956:168). The most interesting aspect of the Ghoya was their corbelled homesteads, which looked like beehives and were built from dolerite or sandstone rocks (Walton 1965:5). The entrances to the huts were small to protect the people inside the homesteads from dangerous animals (Walton 1965:5). The Ghoya people lived in Likhato, the first capital of Thlapling (Ellenberger 1912:52). However, to escape the incursions of the Rolong and Thlaping, the Ghoya crossed the Vaal and were then forced to settle on the Matsaripe River (also called the Doorn River) and eastwards as far as the Tikoane (the Sand River) (Ellenberger 1912:52). In 1810 or 1812, the Ghoya were conquered by the Taung (Ellenberger 1912:53; Walton 1965:5).

The Voortrekkers [those who trek/travel in front/advance] who first arrived in the Greylingstad area in 1845 reported no Sotho-Tswana people resident in the area (Ankiewicz 2013b:17; Delius 2007:11; Shillington 2005:223; Stirling 2010:1). The reason for this may be that the former inhabitants had scattered and/or had been forced to move to other places due to the *Difaqane* (1821-1828) (Makhuru 2007:127).[53]

When the Greylings arrived in 1849, they chose the farm Roodepoort 165, where Greylingstad is now situated (Louw 1991:13). A year after gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, prospectors also found gold on the farm Roodepoort 165 (Louw 1991:6). In 1887, Greyling requested the government to declare his farm a Public Digging, and his request was approved during the same year (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:169).[54] Soon after that, Greyling declared his farm open for public mining (Ankiewicz 2013b:24). The gold attracted many prospectors to Roodepoort 165 (Louw 1991:29). With all these prospectors, Greyling hoped that his farm would one day become a city, similar to Johannesburg (Louw 1991:31). This was the reason the word *stad* [city]

[53] Detailed comment on the *Difaqane* is beyond the scope of this study, but for the sake of completeness, a brief summary is given here. Some Africans call this event the *Difaqane* [the scattering], while to others it is known as the *Mfecane* [the crushing] (Shillington 2005:256). The *Difaqane* arose because of tension between various African communities due to the scarcity of resources caused by a drought (Shillington 2005:223). Survival depended on control of the limited resources (Shillington 2005:223). Weak chiefdoms became subjugated to more powerful ones, either voluntarily or by force (Shillington 2005:256). To avoid subjugation, many African communities scattered, leaving areas empty. The *Difaqane* was a source of such terror that when White settlers entered the interior, they were convinced that the land was vacant (Lye 1972:191). However, not all African communities fled during the *Difaqane*. Some African communities still lived in the then eastern Transvaal (today Mpumalanga) when the Voortrekkers arrived in the area (Delius, Maggs & Schoeman 2014:126).

[54] Being declared a Public Digging means that Roodepoort 165 was opened for prospectors to mine gold on the farm (Ankiewicz 2013b:24).

was added to the name Greyling (Louw 1991:31). However, Greylingstad never become a city, because of complex underlying geological formations (Louw 1991:6). Ankiewicz (2013b:25) also notes that Greylingstad is not situated near the main gold reefs, making it more expensive to mine the mineral in that area. The old settlement of Greylingstad was proclaimed a town in 1911 (Louw 1991:7). Soon afterwards the town was moved a few kilometres from the old town (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:169).

People in Mpumalanga were deeply aware of the effects that the South African War and concentration camps had on communities and towns, as can be seen from the war memorials situated all over Mpumalanga (Delius 2007:11). The war also affected the citizens of Greylingstad. Many prospectors left the mines due to the war (Louw 1991:50), and as a result of this, the mines had to close (Ankiewicz 2013b:26). Boer men from Greylingstad joined the Heidelberg and Standerton commandos (Louw 1991:50). Most Boer women and children were left behind to take care of the farms.

After the British took over the area, they fortified the old station in Greylingstad to use it as a blockhouse (Louw 1991:52; Stirling 2010:2) (see Figure 12). Situated on the western side of the hill overlooking Greylingstad, one can still see a fort and the letters “SR” (Scottish Rifles), many metres long, laid out in whitewashed stones on the slope (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:170) (see Figure 13). The fort was built by the Scottish Rifles Regiment, better known as the Cameronians, during the war (Stirling 2010:2; TAB 1909-1952:69; Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:170), and it is the biggest one built by the British during the South African War (Ankiewicz 2013a:43). The British used the fort to spy on Boer commandos (TAB 1909-1952:69). The fort also allowed the British to defend the station and railway against Boer attacks (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:169).

Many farms were burned and livestock was destroyed as part of the British scorched earth tactics (Louw 1991:53). This left many Boer families out in the veld. Those who were captured were sent to concentration camps. Local Boer families were sent to the concentration camps in Heidelberg and Standerton (Louw 1991:53). Local Africans were sent to the African concentration camps in the Heidelberg district, namely Heidelberg, Nigel, Klipoortjie and Greylingstad (Pretorius 2007:286, Pretorius & Pretorius 2011:49).

Figure 12: The old railway station in Greylingstad

Source: Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen (2013:170)

Figure 13: Scottish Rifles sign near the town of Greylingstad

Source: Google Earth (2016)

The African concentration camp at Greylingstad was one of the first camps to be administrated by the Native Refugee Department (Marx 1999:4). The camp was opened in 1901 (Louw 1991:54).[55] Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other African camps situated all over South Africa – Africans in this concentration camp also died of diseases, unhygienic conditions and exposure due to inadequate housing (Louw 1991:55).

[55] The largest African concentration camp is believed to have been the camp at Klerksdorp, with 4 909 internees. The second largest camp was at Heidelberg, with 2 476 internees. The third largest camp was at Vereeniging, with 2 305 internees. The concentration camp at Greylingstad was the fourth largest, with 1 171 internees (Lekota 1999:8). Note that figures vary, as Louw's (1991:54) total for Greylingstad is 1910 people.

The camp records (probably incomplete) show that the camp housed 253 men, 586 women and 1 071 children (Louw 1991:54). Not all deaths were recorded, but 176 deaths were recorded (Hall *et al*. 1999:224). Many of those who died were young children (Marx 1999:4). Africans who died in the African concentration camp were reportedly "buried at the north-western foot of the Scottish Rifle Hill" (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:171). The closest farm to the hill where the Scottish Rifles fort was situated was Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, as mentioned below. The concentration camp only closed on 30 October 1902 (Louw 1991:55; Pretorius 2007:337; Pretorius & Pretorius 2011:69), although the war officially ended on 31 May 1902.

There are no records that show exactly where the African concentration camp at Greylingstad was located. Not many buildings in the area survived the war (Stirling 2010:2). However, there is still some evidence of the war in Greylingstad, such as some African graves and the fort, mentioned above. In 2014, Professor Emeritus Fransjohan Pretorius, a historian on the South African War, told the researcher about an African cemetery at Greylingstad, Mpumalanga. The researcher followed up on this information in old newspapers, books and journals. The researcher visited the site twice, and located the cemetery and an old house on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. She then decided to embark on this study, hoping to prove that the African camp was once situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, using pedestrian surveys, three test pits and other locational clues, as discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

4.3 The case for the farm Bakkiesfontein 568 IR as the location of the African concentration camp

Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was chosen mainly because of the African cemetery situated on the farm.[56] The cemetery was found by B.H. van Schalkwyk, former headmaster of the primary school Laerskool Greylingstad, and G. and E. van der Westhuizen, while they were looking for South African War sites in 1999 (Marx 1999:4). In the cemetery they found about 100 African graves (Marx 1999:4) (see Figure 14). The graves are thought to be those of Africans who died in the African concentration camp, because some of the gravestones are inscribed with initials of Africans who may have died in the concentration

[56] The researcher was fortunate when it came to the graves found on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, because not all farm owners want to acknowledge that there are African graves on their farm, fearing that the farm could be taken away from them for public use (Nault 2013:24).

camp, and because many headstones are dated 1902, the year when the war ended (Marx 1999:4; Sapa 1999:14). According to Van der Westhuizen and Van der Westhuizen (2013:172), more than one person could be buried per grave, given the size of the graves. What makes this cemetery remarkable is the fact that it is the first Native Refugee Department cemetery to be found in the Transvaal. Interestingly, for an African camp cemetery, the gravestones were marked with initials (Marx 1999:4). Gravestones play an important role in this study because they contain historical, social and cultural information that cannot often be found anywhere else (Orser 2002b:256). This includes personal information, such as the name or initials of a person and the year when he/she died, as discussed later on (Orser 2002b:256). This cemetery can also point towards whether the African camp was situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR – according to Dreyer (2001:135), cemeteries would not be situated far from concentration camps, but would normally be within walking distance of such camps.

Figure 14: Photographs of some of the graves found at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR

Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was also chosen because of the old homestead on it, which could be the remains of an abandoned Boer farm. The researcher therefore looked for artefacts from the concentration camp during the pedestrian surveys and the excavation of the test pits to prove that this was the case. If the old homestead could be associated with Boer occupation prior to the war, it would strengthen the argument that an African concentration camp was situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR – as mentioned in Chapter 2, many Africans were moved to abandoned Boer farms to grow food for the British military (Stanley 2006:6). This might have been the case with Bakkiesfontein 568 IR.

There is also a stream on the farm, which was taken into consideration during the survey (Dreyer 2001:132). This is relevant because many concentration camps were situated near rivers, springs and dams for drinking and sanitation purposes. Moreover, African concentration camps were often situated near rivers for agricultural reasons.[57] As mentioned above, Africans in such camps had to plant their own crops to feed themselves and provide some supplies for the British army. However, the water supply was often contaminated and polluted (Van Heyningen 2010:7), causing diseases such as typhoid and enteric fever due to a lack of proper hygiene (Pretorius 2009:103; Scott 2007:39,41,157; Warwick 1983:152).

The next section discusses the field methods used in this project. These methods were a pedestrian survey and mapping of the graves and features, and the excavation of three test pits. Before presenting the specific field methods used in this study, a few examples are given of the methods archaeologists have used to study concentration camps across the world and in South Africa.

4.4 Archaeological field methods

There have been archaeological excavations on large concentration camps since the late 1980s (Theune 2010:2), as archaeologists have started to focus more on concentration camps and other types of camps used in a war (Young 2013:i). However, the archaeology of concentration camps is still relatively new in the Americas and Britain (Banks 2011:112; Young 2013:8). One reason González-Ruibal (2011:71) offers for this is that internment sites are scarce, because many of them were dismantled and/or deliberately

[57] Esterhuysen and Smith (2007:64) note that, even before the war, many Later Iron Age people also lived near rivers or streams for drinking water and agricultural reasons.

destroyed. In Austria, archaeological studies on concentration camps started relatively late, in 2000, because of cultural memory regarding the Holocaust (Theune 2010:2-3). Cultural memory can hinder comparisons and interpretations of concentration camp sites (De Cunzo 2006:169). This section provides a few examples of methods archaeologists have used across the world.

4.4.1 Examples of archaeological methods used by archaeologists

4.4.1.1 Fort Pulaski, an American Civil War POW camp, Georgia, North America

Fort Pulaski was used during the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865 (Jameson 2013:23) (see Figures 1 and 15). The fort is famous because it is the place where the "Immortal 600" officers were buried (Jameson 2013:24).[58] However, for more than a century, nobody knew the exact location of the cemetery where these Confederate officers were buried (Jameson 2013:25). This changed in the 1990s, when archaeologists located the cemetery with the help of remote sensing and archival research (Jameson 2013:25, 35)

Figure 15: Aerial view of Fort Pulaski

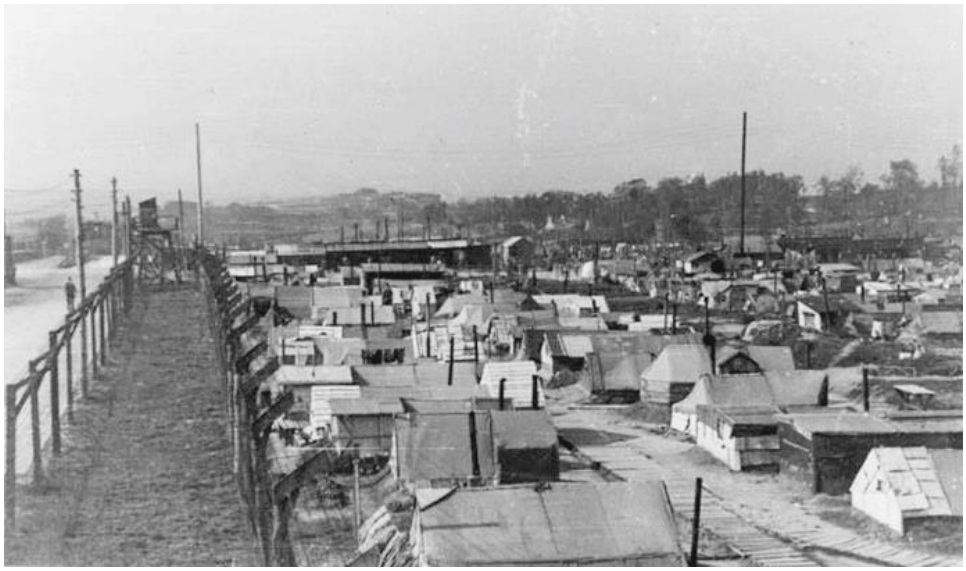
Source: Jameson (2013:35)

[58] The Immortal 600 were a group of 520 Confederate officers held in Fort Pulaski in the cold winter of 1864 to 1865 (Jameson 2013:35).

4.4.1.2 La Glacerie, Cherbourg, Normandy, France

La Glacerie was established by the Americans in 1944 as a transit camp to register new POWs to be relocated to the United States of America (Early 2013:95, 107) (see Figures 1 and 16). In 2009, Oxford Archaeology conducted a study of La Glacerie (Early 2013:95). La Glacerie is the first internment camp to be excavated in France (Young 2013:7). However, Oxford Archaeology went beyond conventional archaeology to find information about the camp. They also used photographs, documentary sources and oral histories (Early 2013:95). There were four aerial photographs of the relevant sites dating from 1944 to 1947 (Early 2013:96). The earlier aerial photographs showed unused land, but later aerial photographs showed the layout of the camp (Early 2013:96). With the help of the aerial photographs, archaeologists excavated 98 of the 180 structures shown on the photographs (Early 2013:101). During their excavations, they found more than 4 000 artefacts from the site (Early 2013:104). These artefacts included pieces of fabric, metal artefacts and grooming tools used by prisoners (Early 2013:104-105). Archaeologists also spoke to locals, who confirmed that the site had indeed been used as a POW camp (Early 2013:95). Many of those who volunteered information mentioned the kitchen, tents, barbed wire, workshops and toilets (Early 2013:112).

Figure 16: A photograph of La Glacerie taken by the Red Cross in 1945



Source: Early (2013:109)

4.4.1.3 Stalag Luft III in Poland

Stalag Luft III (see Figure 1) is a Second World War POW camp (Moshenska & Myers 2011:6) that became famous because of the film *The Great Escape*, directed by John Sturges (1963) (Doyle, Pringle & Babits 2013:129). The site is also famous for a real-life escape in May 1944 – three escape tunnels, "Tom", "Dick" and "Harry" were dug (Doyle *et al*. 2013:129; Valentino 2011:34; Young 2013:7). Escape tunnels "Tom" and "Harry" were discovered by the Germans, who destroyed them (Doyle *et al*. 2013:136; Young 2013:7). However, escape tunnel "Dick" was never found by the Germans (Doyle *et al*. 2013:137; Young 2013:7).

In 2004 archaeologists excavated the site for the first time (Doyle *et al*. 2013:129). The aim of the project was to locate tunnel "Dick" (Doyle *et a*l. 2013:130). The methods archaeologists employed to help them find the location of escape tunnel "Dick" were general surveys, geophysical and geological surveys, surface collections, excavations, and the use of magnetometer and ground-penetrating radar (GPR) (Doyle *et al*. 2013:130; Young 2013:7). With the help of survey and geophysical investigations, the location of escape tunnel "Dick" and its entrance were found (Doyle *et al*. 2013:137-138) (see Figure 17).

Figure 17: Entrance to escape tunnel "Dick"

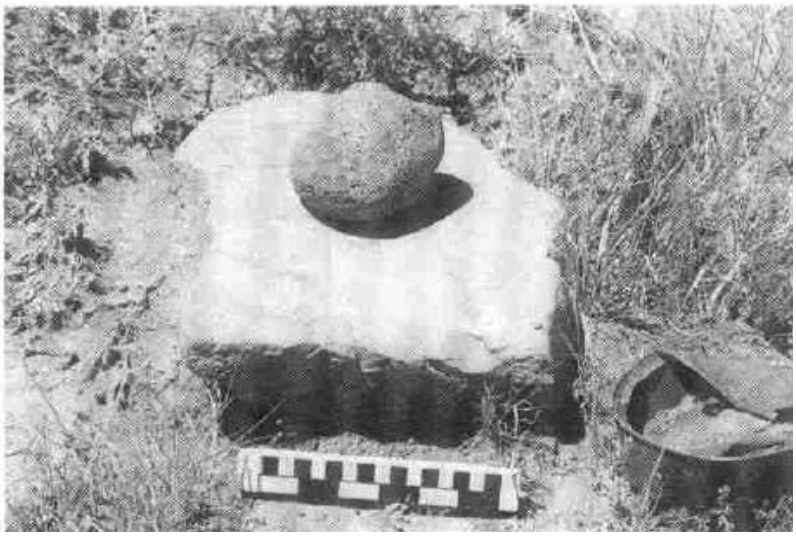
Source: Doyle *et al*. (2013:134)

Archaeologists believed that escape tunnel "Dick" was used to store escape tools (Doyle *et al*. 2013:139). However, they could not excavate the tunnel because of safety considerations (Doyle *et al*. 2013:139). They found some artefacts, such as escape kits, which contained clothes, toothbrushes and a book in German, a Royal Air Force boot heel and a stamp with the Nazi logo on it (Valentino 2011:34; Moshenska & Myers 2011:6). According to Valentino (2011:34), such stamps were used to create false documents. Archaeologists also found milk tins, which they believe were used for ventilation (Valentino 2011:34; Moshenska & Myers 2011:6).

4.4.1.4 Brandfort African concentration camp in the Free State, South Africa

South African researchers have also begun to look for African concentration camps. One of the camps that have been found is the Brandfort African concentration camp (see Figure 1). The methods used by J. Dreyer, an archaeologist, and J.C. Loock, a geologist, included a review of archival documents and other written sources, and a pedestrian survey. Dreyer (2001:131; Dreyer & Loock 2001:154) mostly used the Free State Archives to obtain the relevant information, because these archives contain records and documents of the South African War, African concentration camps and a map showing African concentration camps. Dreyer also used aerial photographs and oral history to help him find the location of the Brandfort African concentration camp (Dreyer 2001:132). According to a report, the African concentration camp in question was situated a mile away from the Boer concentration camp (Dreyer 2001:134). However, the location of the Boer concentration camp in Brandfort was unknown, because the British disposed of the site rubbish in line with their strict hygiene regulations and policies, leaving no artefacts behind on the surface (Dreyer 2001:133). Fortunately, Dreyer and Loock found some artefacts and Boer graves which led them to the location of the Boer camps (Dreyer 2001:133-134). This helped them to find the location of the African concentration camp. They also noted surface scatters (for example, animal bones), upper and lower grinding stones, and between 50 and 60 African gravestones (Dreyer 2001:132,135; Dreyer & Loock 2001:161) (see Figure 18). This also helped them to find the location of the African camp.

Figure 18: Upper and lower grinding stones found by the archaeologists



Source: Dreyer (2001:134)

4.4.1.5 Doornbult concentration camp, Hopetown, Northern Cape

Another example is the Doornbult concentration camp, South Africa. Doornbult is situated 7 km to the east of Hopetown (Wiid & West 2002:7,14). Doornbult is the only concentration camp in South Africa preserved almost in its original form. This is due to a hot and dry climate (Wiid & West 2002:7, 14). Both Africans and Boer families were transported to Doornbult concentration camp during the South African War (Wiid & West 2002:20). In 2005, an archaeological survey was done at the Doornbult concentration camp (Boshoff 2006:1). The aim of the survey was to assess whether Doornbult could be recommended as a National Heritage Site (Boshoff 2006:1). The methods included a GPS and a Nikon total station (Boshoff 2006:1).

4.4.2 Assessment of methods used in the examples

Archaeologists who analysed the camps at Fort Pulaski, La Glacerie, Stalag Luft III, Brandfort and Doornbult used various methods, as mentioned above. Some of these methods were applicable for this project. These methods were examining archival documents and other written sources, using photographs, pedestrian surveys, and mapping. Many archaeologists in these examples also conducted large-scale excavations. However, the researcher replaced such excavations with small test pits, as discussed later on. By using these methods the researcher hoped to identify and verify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. The main reason for adopting these methods was that these methods helped archaeologists to identify the locations of camps such as La Glacerie

and the Brandfort concentration camp and an escape tunnel at Stalag Luft III. They also helped archaeologists to assess the Doornbult concentration camp site. The need to adopt such methods was confirmed by the example of La Glacerie (see Early 2013:9), about which little was known. Similarly, not much is known about African concentration camps and choosing the most appropriate archaeological methods may help fill in some these gaps.

4.4.3 Archaeological survey and mapping

To ascertain whether there was an African concentration camp on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, the following methods were used: three pedestrian surveys and the excavation of three test pits. Initially, the researcher also wanted to use a magnetometer and metal detector, but lacked the necessary skill, and the specialist whom she approached did not respond, so the researcher decided against using these instruments.

4.4.3.1 Pedestrian survey

Many community members have criticised archaeologists for some of the methods that they use to make their interpretations (Sturdy Colls 2012:71, 89). This criticism has made archaeologists more aware of the fact that they are actually destroying archaeological sites when they adopt destructive methods (Weymouth 1986:311). Therefore, many archaeologists now use non-invasive methods, such as remote sensing and pedestrian surveys (Carver 1999:157; Conner & Scott 1998:76; Weymouth 1986:311,112).

This study also made use of a non-invasive method, namely pedestrian surveys. During three pedestrian surveys at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, some of the features of the terrain were mapped with a GPS (Geographical Positioning System). It was decided to conduct pedestrian surveys because they could help to identify and verify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad, as mentioned in the examples.

Orser (2002c:536) explains that archaeologists can use pedestrian surveys to find sites. A pedestrian survey is also known as visual inspection, field walking or surface collection (Carver 1999:138-139; Orser 2004:159). According to Carver (1999:138-139), these terms refer to the "mapping of artefacts which have been disturbed from buried settlements and cemeteries". During pedestrian surveys, archaeologists walk in transects (lines or corridors) across the site, while looking for artefacts (Burke, Smith & Zimmerman 2004:70; Orser 2002c:536, 2004:159). Burke *et al*. (2004:70) state that the lines of

transects can be straight; the size of the survey depends on the time available and the size of the site. A pedestrian survey can also be done using a car, depending on the size of the site, but it is not recommended, as archaeologists can overlook sites more easily (Burke *et al*. 2004:70). Orser (2002c:536) notes that a pedestrian survey works best when the ground has been disturbed.

One thing that needs to be taken into consideration during a pedestrian survey is the "site formation process" (Orser 2002c:536). According to Orser (2002c:536), the "site formation process" consists of all the natural and cultural processes that can affect an archaeological site, for example, animals can carry and displace artefacts, or the general public can pick up artefacts, thus destroying vital information. This happened at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, when the African graves were first found in 1999.

There are also some disadvantages to doing pedestrian surveys. Firstly, a pedestrian survey does not provide stratigraphic information (Carver 1999:157). Secondly, some artefacts may be buried, making it difficult to find them (Campana & Piro 2009:13-14). Lastly, a pedestrian survey (surface collection) cannot determine the nature and extent "of buried archaeological sites" (Orser 2002c:536). However, Myers (2009:8) argues that a pedestrian survey is important because it can provide archaeologists with information about the distribution of artefacts, which can lead them to make conclusions or hypotheses "about spatiality and power relations". This can also provide them with insights into internees' daily lives, emotional states, social relationships, and economic interactions (Myers 2009:8). Pedestrian surveys are effective in many ways. Both Burke *et al*. (2004:70) and Orser and Fagan (1995:129) agree that pedestrian surveys are the most effective way to find more information about a site and human occupation. According to Orser and Fagan (1995:129), the reason for this is that people leave their objects behind when they die or leave the site. In many cases, these artefacts become surface scatters, such as potsherds and piles of stones (Orser & Fagan 1995:129). Pedestrian surveys are also the quickest and easiest approach in locating sites (Campana & Piro 2009:13-14). This is the reason many Cultural Resource Management archaeologists prefer this non-invasive method (Orser 2002c:536).

The pedestrian surveys used for this study were a judgemental survey, meaning that the sites which were surveyed were chosen by the researcher (Burke *et al*. 2004:73). The sites chosen for the survey were the old homestead, the area along the stream and the known

cemetery. A judgemental survey was chosen, as it was impossible to survey the whole area within the time available (see also Orser & Fagan 1995:130). However, there are disadvantages and advantages to using a judgemental survey. The disadvantage of a judgemental survey is that it is biased in the sense that all the sites do not have an equal chance of being chosen (Burke *et al*. 2004:73). The advantage of a judgemental survey is the fact that archaeologists can cancel sites out where there are not likely to be many artefacts (Burke *et al*. 2004:73).

Fellow archaeological students were used to help to conduct the pedestrian surveys in this study. A team of six, including the researcher, undertook the pedestrian survey. Burke *et al*. (2004:70) argue that the more surveyors there are to survey a site, the more reliable the information is likely to be. Pedestrian surveys were also conducted during the excavation of the test pits to ensure better results. All these surveys were done on foot. During the pedestrian surveys, a lookout was kept for special features mentioned in the literature and above, as recommended by Dreyer (2001:132).

4.4.3.2 Test pits

A pedestrian survey is not always adequate on its own, but combining it with other archaeological methods may provide more reliable results. For this reason, it was decided to dig test pits in this study. Test pits are also known as “shovel tests” or “shovel probes” (Nance & Ball 1986:458; Orser 2002a:191). Test pits are defined as small excavations which are part of a larger survey (Nance & Ball 1986:457). They can also be defined as “a method of searching for archaeological materials that would otherwise go undiscovered” (Nance & Ball 1986:457). Kintigh (1988:686) defines a test pit as “small holes excavated with a shovel to a specified depth”. According to Orser (2002a:191), test pits “consist of a shovel-sized excavation used to sample a site’s deposits in a systematic manner”. Test pits have been used since 1974 (Nance & Ball 1986:458). Since then they have become “the most common site-discovery technique”, as can be seen in many examples (Nance & Ball 1986:458; O’ Neil 1993:524; Shott 1989:396). Test pits are used for different reasons: some archaeologists use them to locate sub-surface sites, while others use them to explore the utility of data (Nance & Ball 1986:458). Test pits are mostly conducted when the surface is covered by plant growth and when artefacts are not visible above ground (Shott 1989:400).

In order to conduct test pits for this study, a permit was needed from the South African Heritage and Resource Agency (SAHRA) because, as Orser and Fagan (1995:133) note, any excavations are destructive.

The test pits excavated in this study were not very deep – they were only 100cm long by 50cm wide and 5cm deep, as recommended by Nance and Ball (1986:458). The reason for this is that artefacts are often buried near the surface (Kintigh 1988:686). For this study, only three test pits were dug, due to resource constraints (see also, for example, O'Neil 1993:523; Orser 2002a:191). The first test pit was dug in front of the barn, as there is a possible midden with a burnt area in the middle, and it was thought that a concentration camp would be situated on level ground. The second test pit was dug among the stone walls (as discussed in the next chapter), because they are in a level area, which is a good place to establish a concentration camp. The last test pit was dug on a slope where many artefacts were found during the pedestrian survey. The test pits for this study were dug using hand tools. However, archaeologists can also use machinery to conduct test pits, depending on the size of the site they want to excavate (Orser 2002a:192).

There are some disadvantages to using test pits. Firstly, test pits are subject to limitations "in site discovery" (Nance & Ball 1986:458). Secondly, test pits are "biased towards [the] discovery of large sites" (Nance & Ball 1986:458, 479; researcher's insertion) if sites have small surface exposure or if there is a "clustering" of artefacts. Thirdly, at least one artefact has to be found for a test pit to be considered successful (Shott 1989:396). Fourthly, digging test pits is labour-intensive and expensive (Shott 1989:401-402). Fifthly, test pits do not always yield artefacts (Shott 1989:402). Nance and Ball (1986:489) note that these limitations can be overcome with the help of screening. However, they also note that not all archaeologists have the funds to include screening with test pits (Nance & Ball 1986:489). Test pits can also be very effective, but only if sufficient data can be found to address the research question (O'Neil 1993:524).

One advantage of using test pits is that they leave untouched other areas which can be analysed, studied or excavated by future generations (O'Neil 1993:523). Test pits are also the quickest way to find artefacts. These are the reasons the researcher chose to dig three test pits (see also Orser 2002a:191).

4.4.4 Data analysis

All the information gathered during the pedestrian survey and from the test pits was catalogued and documented on recording forms which included GPS coordinates, photographs and descriptions of the artefacts. The recording forms from the test pits were scanned and saved to a CD to create a digital copy for future use. The study also made use of digital photographs taken with tablets and cameras.

4.5 Conclusion

Archaeologists use different types of methods when they work with concentration camp sites. Some methods are non-destructive, which is especially important when dealing with sensitive sites, such as the Holocaust sites. Others are more destructive, such as the excavations conducted at Stalag Luft III. Whatever methods archaeologists prefer to use, they need to take into consideration that these methods have disadvantages and advantages, which can either help or hinder their research. It is the same with the methods used for this study. For example, pedestrian surveys are not always helpful, as they do not necessarily yield any artefacts. On the other hand, they are the simplest and best method to locate sites. While test pits are destructive, they can yield some artefacts that can help answer the research question(s). All this needs to be taken into consideration in doing this kind of research.

Two methods discussed in this chapter, namely pedestrian surveys and the excavation of test pits, were chosen because they were the best way to prove that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR was the location for the African concentration camp at Greylingstad, within the time and financial constraints that apply to a Master's study. Bakkiesfontein 568 IR yielded potential evidence or signs that the African concentration camp was indeed situated on the farm. These signs included the remains of an old house, a known African cemetery, and the proximity of the railway and a (now dry) stream. The cemetery was the most important sign, because there are names and initials of Africans who lived and died in the African concentration camp. The remains of the old house and the location of the stream were critical in the choice of the site. The stream was important, as many concentration camps were situated near sources of water for domestic or agricultural use. The structure was thought to be an old abandoned Boer farmhouse. The next chapter looks in detail at the results of the pedestrian surveys and the excavation of the test pits.

Chapter 5:
Findings, analysis, results and discussion

5.1 Introduction

As the literature review has shown, there was an African concentration camp at Greylingstad, and the fact that a number of African graves had been found on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR made it likely that this camp was situated close by. However, its exact location is unknown for three reasons. Firstly, there was a fire in 1990 at the municipal building in Greylingstad that destroyed what records on the African concentration camp there were, as already mentioned in Chapter 4 (Louw 1991:5; Stirling 2010:2). Secondly, the African internees from this camp left no written sources, as many were not literate, as mentioned earlier (Scott 2007:8), and there is no clear or reliable oral record. Lastly, the British did not keep accurate records on the African camps, and did not document these camps and their internees properly (Scott 2007:102). Therefore, the key aim of this study was to find any artefacts and features that could assist in identifying and verifying the location of the concentration camp.

The research reported in this dissertation employed more than one method in order to find evidence about the location of this camp and to answer the research questions mentioned in Chapter 1. These methods were visiting the archives (see Chapter 2), consulting with some town residents, pedestrian surveys and the excavation of three test pits.

This investigation and its findings are valuable, because as mentioned in Section 1.5, it was the first archaeological study done at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR on the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. This implies that the results of this dissertation will fill some of the gaps in the literature and in the archaeological record on African concentration camps and the South African War. Therefore, these results are important for further research.

5.2 Section 1: Methods

The methods used are discussed in the order in which the methods were applied.

5.2.1 Consultation with town residents

The use of oral histories is a growing methodology in archaeology, especially in historical archaeology, and can produce useful information on a topic (Dreyer 2001:132; Moshenska 2006:2, 2007:91), but oral histories can be vague and lack detail (Early 2013:112/113). For this reason, the use of oral histories was not the main method for this study.

The researcher consulted with a local farmer, an elderly retired farmer, a church archivist and one farm worker about the location of the African concentration camp in the area. All the people consulted, except the farm worker, indicated that the African concentration camp and graves were situated on the other side of the hill from the farmhouse where these people were consulted[59] (see Figure 19, overleaf). This information led the research team to the stone walls and also suggested the best location to dig the second test pit. The farm worker, on the other hand, pointed towards the stone walls on the hill, which are better preserved than another set of stone walls at the bottom of the hill, as discussed in Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2.

5.2.2 Pedestrian surveys

Initially, a judgemental survey was conducted of the areas mentioned in Section 4.4.3.1, namely the old house structure, the graves, and the stream (which was dry during the study period) (see Figure 19, overleaf). However, the researcher soon decided to include a new survey method, namely a random survey on the hill, because she was afraid that she might miss sites that could be valuable for this study. As result of this change, the research team located the stone walls, as discussed in Section 5.2.2.2, which would have been missed if the research team had only depended on a judgemental survey, as the hill was not part of the area to be covered by the previously chosen survey method, as seen in Section 4.4.3.1.[60] The research team conducted three pedestrian surveys during September 2015 on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, to help find the location of the concentration camp at Greylingstad. Given the time restrictions, not all of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR could be surveyed.

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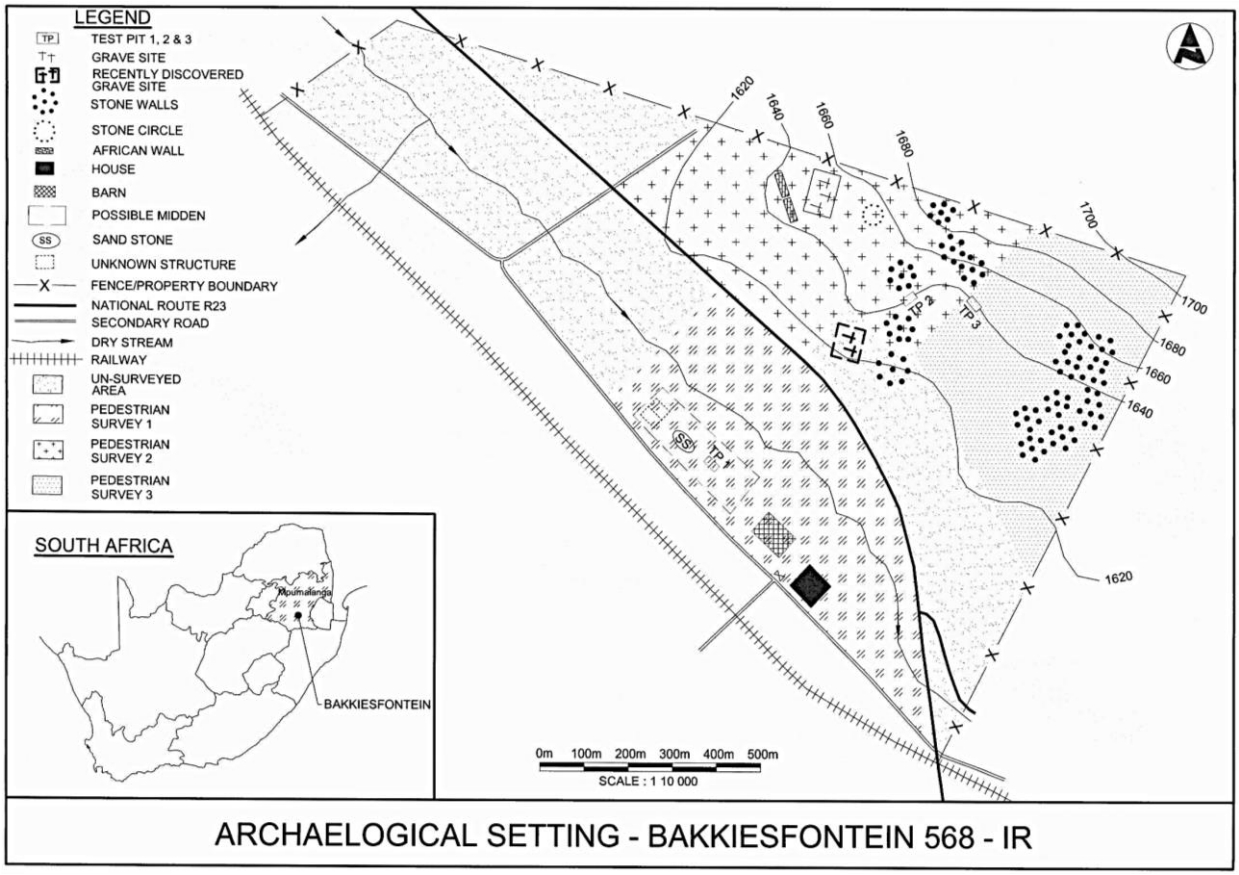
[59]The researcher did not plan to consult with the residents; therefore, it was not mentioned in the previous chapter.

[60] Random sampling refers to sampling in which sites are chosen by chance and not design (Burke *et al*. 2004:74). The advantage is that all sites have an equal chance of being chosen (Burke *et al*. 2004:74). Random sampling also takes into account the geography of the site. A disadvantage is that sites may be missed entirely (Burke *et al*. 2004:72). Pedestrian Surveys 2 and 3 involved random surveying.

Figure 19: Site map of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR



Source: Adapted from a 1902 map lodged with the Registrar of Deeds, Pretoria, by A. van der Walt

5.2.2.1 The first pedestrian survey

The first pedestrian survey was conducted in September 2015 on the second portion of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR where the old house structure was situated (see Figure 19, and Footnote 44, Section 4.1). Since this portion of the farm covers an area of 112.9ha and time was a constraint, only a small part was surveyed. The first aim of the survey was to determine whether the house was an old abandoned structure from the South African War, by inspecting it from the inside and outside and by walking around the structure looking for artefacts associated with it and the war. The second aim was to find artefacts which could assist in finding the African concentration camp.

Two surveyors walked in transects in a south-easterly direction. They started from the perimeter fence of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, near the house, and walked to the end of the section of the farm which in this dissertation is referred to as "the remainder", close to the R 23 road. They walked 10 metres apart from each other, looking for surface artefacts, and

using a hand-held Garmin GPS. Any artefacts found were bagged and recorded on archaeological data forms. Table 1 shows the results of the first pedestrian survey.[61]

Table 1: Artefacts found during the first pedestrian survey

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
Ceramics	20	Various	70g	White and reddish-brown	Late 20th C
Glass	3	ca 4cm	36g	Light brown to transparent	Late 20th C
Plastic	2	3-5cm	8g	White with blue markings	Late 20th C
Unknown metal piece	1	5cm	5g	Rusted	Unknown

This first pedestrian survey did not yield any surface artefacts that might have belonged to African internees from the camp. All the items found were pieces from relatively modern household objects that one might still find in any home today (see Figure 24, on p. 85). This assessment was based on the literature and consultation with specialists in the field.[62] During the survey, the structure of a dilapidated house was examined. It was painted white and was built with stones from the hill nearby and bricks. The structure had once had a roof and windows. Many of the walls had fallen in over time, due to weathering or human intervention. The house was overgrown by trees and surrounded by weeds (see Figure 20). To the right, facing the house from the east, there were remains of a possible driveway. The structure was assumed to be an abandoned Boer farmhouse (see Chapter 4).

Approximately two metres away from the house, looking towards the west, there was a more modern structure. At first, the researcher thought that the more modern building next to the old structure was a house. However, the pedestrian survey showed that it was a kind of barn (see Figure 21).[63] The barn is modern (ca 1902-1980), since it was built with bricks. The barn no longer had its roof or windows. It had three rooms. In the first room, there is evidence that animals were kept there, as animal feeders can still be seen inside. The second room was possibly a storage room. It is impossible to indicate the purpose(s) of the third room, as only two full walls remain.

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[61] The researcher consulted two archaeologists and one metallurgist on the purpose of some of these artefacts.
[62]The period column in all the tables shows the date when these artefacts could have been used. These dates include BCE 200-CE 1840, known as the Iron Age, 1899-1902, known as the South African War, Late 20th century (modern day) and unknown, when the researcher and specialists are not sure of the date.
[63] The researcher tried to contact an architectural specialist to collect more information on the structures, but received no response.

The research team also found an area in front of the barn where the ground changed colour from light brown to dark brown soft sand (see Figure 22). In this area, there was a small portion that was burned. This was where the first test pit was dug. The researcher wanted to determine whether this was a midden.

Other features were found in the possible midden, namely an unknown structure and sandstone blocks (see Figure 23). Both of these features were surveyed. The unknown structure is not large and consists of two small rooms. The structure was built with sandstone blocks, as some of them were found close to the structure. Modern bricks were also found near this structure. However, it is difficult to identify the purpose of the structure, due to its size and level of dilapidation.

Figure 20: Back view of the old house (seen from the east)

Figure 21: Left side of the barn, including the two rooms (seen from the south)

Figure 22: Possible midden, front of barn and burnt ground

Figure 23: Unknown structure and sandstone blocks (seen from the south)

Figure 24: Artefacts from the first pedestrian survey

Based on the archaeological evidence, such as the artefacts and interviews, it can be argued that the house, barn and possible midden probably belonged to Bekker, a previous owner of the farm who lived on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR until his death in 1980. In an interview on 4 August 2015, Mr B.H. van Schalkwyk, a farmer, indicated that the farm previously belonged to Bekker. In an interview on 2 September 2015, Mr M. Erasmus, a retired farmer, stated that the house had belonged to Bekker. Therefore, the artefacts and features are not relevant to this study, as they do not relate to the African concentration camp. Hence, they are not discussed any further.

The graves were also surveyed and mapped during the first pedestrian survey. It became obvious that the gravestones were too weathered to read any inscriptions on them. Many of the gravestones had nothing on them; while others have a cross, initials and dates on them (see Figures 25 to 28). Archaeologically, these graves did not yield any artefacts, because no excavations took place. Some graves had headstones, others none. All the gravestones face west (Westhuizen & Westhuizen 2013:172). Scholars have been consulted about this, but they are uncertain about the reason. Some of the dates on the gravestones are between January and February 1902 (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:171-172).

According to Pretorius (2007:329), the death tolls in the African concentration camp at Greylingstad were the highest of all the African concentration camps in the Heidelberg district during December 1901, with about 80 deaths in that month alone.[64] An interesting gravestone marking is the letters “TWO” (see Figure 25). According to Westhuizen and Van der Westhuizen (2013:172), this could signify that two people are buried in this grave. During the researcher’s last visit to Bakkiesfontein 568 IR on 29 April 2016, Benneyworth also noted that it was possible that more than one African internee could have been buried in a grave. Given the death tolls, it is highly likely that more than one internee was buried per grave. The stones used as gravestones probably came from the hill nearby. A wall surrounds some of the graves, but it does not continue around the whole site. The cemetery is also in a bad condition due to the overgrowth of trees and weeds.

[64] Nigel had the second highest death toll with 41 deaths in that month. Klipoortjie had a death toll of 30, and Heidelberg had a death toll of 31 during December 1901 (Pretorius 2007:329).

Figure 25: Gravestone marked TWO

Photograph courtesy of G. Benneyworth

Figure 26: Gravestone with initials D.J., a cross and the date 1902

Figure 27: Gravestone with letters SALMI and two dates

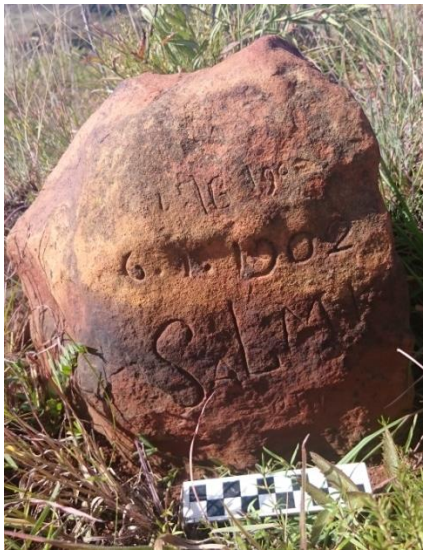

Photo courtesy of G. Benneyworth

Figure 28: An African grave with a headstone

5.2.2.2 Second pedestrian survey

The second pedestrian survey was conducted in early September 2015 on the larger portion of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, where the graves are situated (see Figure 19). This portion measures 311 ha, so only a small part could be surveyed. The aim was to find anything that could point to the African concentration camp. The survey lasted a whole day. Two surveyors traversed the farm in a south-easterly direction, starting from the perimeter fence of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, near the graves. They walked to the end of Portion 1, near the hills, 10 metres apart from each other, looking for surface artefacts, and using a hand-held Garmin GPS. The surveyors faced a number of challenges while doing the pedestrian survey. These included the long grass and numerous thorn bushes. Unlike the previous survey, this pedestrian survey yielded unexpected artefacts, such as Iron Age pottery pieces and features, including stone walls. The Iron Age artefacts and structures were unexpected because the researcher thought that the site was mainly a historical site due to the Scottish Rifles fort and African graves, and therefore expected to find only artefacts associated with the war and not the Iron Age. All these materials and features were recorded (see Figure 29). Table 2 (overleaf) shows the artefacts found during the second pedestrian survey. Both the first and second pedestrian surveys were followed by the excavation of test pits.

Table 2: Artefacts found during the second pedestrian survey

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
European ceramics	2	6-9cm	348g	Brown	1899-1902
African pottery	1	2cm	8g	Red, undecorated	BCE 200-CE1840/1899-1902
Jawbone	1	9cm	26g	White lower jaw with four teeth	Unknown
Seed	1	2cm	4g	Broken into pieces	Unknown
Glass	26	Various	152g	Dark blue to transparent	1899-1902
Unknown metal artefact	1	7cm	477g	Rusted with manufacturers' mark	1899-1902
Handle	1	30cm	210g	Rusted and broken	1899-1902
Flat pieces	4	8-16cm	64g	Rusted and bent	1899-1902
Bullet casing	1	5cm	10g	Greyish	1899-1902
Cast-iron pot lid	1	19cm	221g	Rusted and broken	1899-1960

Figure 29: Artefacts from the second pedestrian survey

As mentioned in Section 5.2.2, the research team found numerous stone walls by accident because a new survey method was added to the judgemental survey, namely a random survey. Two examples of stone walls are shown in Figures 30 and 31, overleaf.

Figure 30: Circular stone wall on the hill on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR

Figure 31: Rectangular stone wall on the hill on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR

The circular sets of stone walls range between 3m and 5m in diameter (see Figure 30). The rectangular ones range between 50cm to 80cm in width and 2m to 8m in length (see Figure 31). One of the walls is approximately 20m in length, indicating a possible division line between the stone walls. The stone walls are scattered and are in no particular pattern, which suggests that the walls may date back to pre-colonial southern Africa, when straight lines and angles, in a drawing-board rigidness, were not part of people's concept of how to arrange the spaces they lived in (Delius *et al*. 2014:10). Many of the stone walls are well preserved, even after what may be centuries of abandonment, while other walls have

collapsed over time due to weathering, erosion and neglect (Delius *et al*. 2014:89; Delius & Hay 2009:36). All the stone walls have trees growing inside the enclosures that they form, as also described of pre-colonial stone walls elsewhere (Walton 1965:21).

The stone walls are believed to have been used as Iron Age homesteads and may later have been reused by the African internees as make-shift shelters, as discussed below. The researcher also considered the possibility that they may have been reused as the basis for blockhouses, but Benneyworth (2016: pers. comm.) is of view that these stone walls were not used as blockhouses. However, they could still have been reused for other purposes. It could be speculated that the kind of circular stone walled structures found (see Figure 30) date back to the late 18th or early 19th centuries (Huffman 2007:xi). The stone walls in rectangular patterns (see Figure 31), on the other hand, could possibly date back to the South African War, as explained later in this chapter. It has been established in prior research that Iron Age communities started building rectangular stone walled structures only in a later period. According to Maggs (1976:24), square and rectangular stone walled structures were influenced by European civilisation. Unfortunately, no previous archaeological studies have been conducted in the Cosmos area of Mpumalanga, where Greylingstad is situated. The researcher also could not take any aerial photographs of this area, as it is expensive to do so. Therefore, it was difficult to determine the amount of stone walling or identify its purpose. For this reason, the researcher decided to excavate a second test pit nearby to find more information about the stone walls and those who built them.

5.2.2.3 The third pedestrian survey

The third pedestrian survey was conducted in late September 2015 on the larger portion of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR (see Figure 19). Only a small part was surveyed of the 311ha, namely the hills. The first aim, subsequent to the second pedestrian survey and its findings, was to find more stone walls in order to determine how many there were. The second aim was to find artefacts used by African internees. The third pedestrian survey was also followed by the digging of a test pit.

Four surveyors walked in transects in a south-easterly direction, starting from the perimeter fence of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, near the graves. They walked to the fence on top of the hill on Portion 1, 5 metres to 8 metres apart, looking for surface artefacts, and using a hand-held Garmin GPS. The survey lasted a whole day. There were several challenges, including long grass, thorn bushes and intense heat. Iron Age and other artefacts were also

identified during the third pedestrian survey (see Figure 32). Table 3 shows the artefacts found during the third pedestrian survey. All these artefacts were recorded, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Artefacts found during the third pedestrian survey

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
Glass	30	Various	304g	Dark and light green, dark and light blue, purple and transparent	1899-1902
African pottery	1	1cm	4g	Red, undecorated	BCE 200-CE1840/ 1899-1902
Ceramics	18	1-5.5cm	323g	Whitish brown	1899-1902
Two metal circular objects	2	28cm	125g	Rusted	1899-1902
Flat pieces	3	48cm	217g	Rusted and broken	1899-1902
Metal Tent peg	1	6cm	26g	Rusted	1899-1902
Possible metal tent peg	1	5cm	46g	Rusted	Unknown
Bullet casing	1	3cm	10g	Greyish	1899-1902
Metal piece with ZASM	1	9cm	38g	Greyish and rusted	1899-1902

Figure 32: Artefacts from the second pedestrian survey

The stone walls located during the third pedestrian survey are similar to those found in the second survey. Therefore, they are not discussed in more detail here.

5.2.3 Test pits

Three test pits were dug in September 2015 at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR (see Figure 19). All the test pits were only 5 cm deep, as they did not yield many artefacts. The aims of digging the test pits were similar to the aims of the pedestrian surveys. The test pits were excavated in square grids. The researcher excavated these pits in full compliance with the *National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999*. None of the test pits yielded any features, in terms of the criteria mentioned by Van Vollenhoven (2014:41). At the end of the excavation of each test pit, the researcher mapped the pit with a Garmin GPS hand-held device, completed a recording form for future reference, and back-filled the pit. The researcher did not take any soil samples, as it was not necessary for this study.

5.2.3.1 Test Pit 1

The first test pit was dug in front of the barn (see Figure 19). The aim of this test pit was to examine whether the structure found there was an abandoned Boer house from the war, as suggested before. Another aim was to determine whether this might be the site of the concentration camp, as it was assumed that it was likely to have been situated on level ground. Two people dug the test pit. The research team cleaned, recorded, photographed, mapped and documented the test pit before, during and after the excavation.

Artefacts found on the surface were also removed and labelled as “surface collections”, as described in a similar study by Van Vollenhoven (2014:41). The test pit was measured out in a south-easterly direction from the barn, with sides 50 cm wide, 100 cm long and 5 cm deep. The size of the test pit was small, since it did not yield any artefacts relevant to the study, except for some barbed wire and slag pieces. The reason for excavating one layer only was that hard soil was reached. Each layer was recorded, photographed and documented. The soil type on the surface was a very fine powdery brownish ash colour, which indicates a cooking area. Stratum 1 had grey reddish brown sand (see Figure 33). Each soil layer was screened through a sieve in order to find smaller artefacts that might have been missed during excavation. Any such artefacts were also recorded. The first test pit yielded ten artefacts (see Figure 34). These artefacts were recorded, photographed and mapped. Table 4 shows the artefacts found in Test Pit 1.

Figure 33: Strata of Test Pit 1

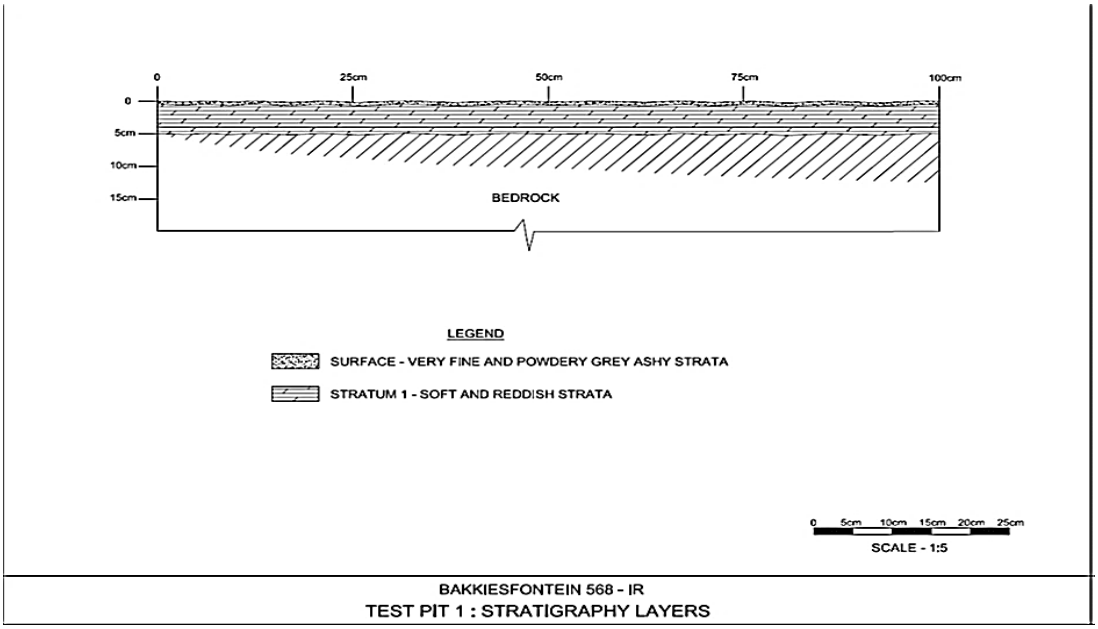

Table 4: Artefacts found in Test Pit 1

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
Surface collections					
Seed	1	1cm	2g	Burned and broken	Unknown
Barbed wire	1	28cm	38g	Rusted and twisted	1899-1902
Layer 1					
Barbed wire	2	6-9cm	10g	Rusted and twisted	Unknown
Seed	1	2cm	4g	Whole brown seed	Unknown
Slag pieces	4	Very small	115g	Silver greyish	BCE 200-1840 CE
Glass	2	1-2cm	2g	Brown to transparent	1899-1902

Figure 34: Artefacts from Test Pit 1

5.2.3.2 Test Pit 2

A second test pit was dug between some of the stone walls located on the larger portion of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, as some artefacts were found on the surface, namely, glass pieces (see Figure 19). The area also looked like a suitable place where an African concentration camp could have been established, as it was level and surrounded by the hills. The first aim was to prove that this was the case. The second aim was similar to the goal of the pedestrian surveys. Two people participated in this excavation.

As with the first test pit, the research team also recorded, mapped, cleaned, photographed and documented the excavation before, during and after the excavation. The test pit was also measured out in a south-easterly direction from a tree, with sides 50 cm wide, 100 cm long and 5 cm deep, and excavated in a square grid. The soil colour of the surface and Stratum 1 was light brown. This indicates that there was no change in the soil colour and therefore it yielded no valuable information on the site (see Figure 35). Each soil layer was screened through a sieve in order to find small artefacts that might have been missed during the excavation. The artefacts found in the sieve were also recorded. The second test pit yielded 13 artefacts (see Figure 36). Table 5 shows all the artefacts found in Test Pit 2. The findings indicate that there was not much human occupation in the area. There were also no unexpected findings such as Iron Age artefacts in this test pit, as most of the artefacts that were found were associated with the war, which was expected, as mentioned in Section 5.2.2.2. However, the material remains were recorded, photographed and mapped.

Figure 35: Strata of Test Pit 2

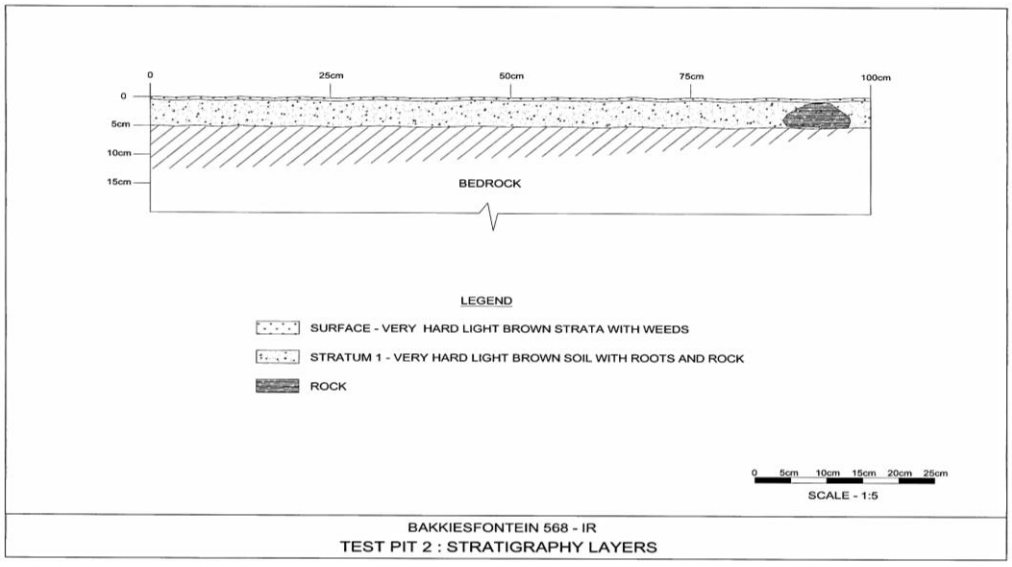

Table 5: Artefacts found in Test Pit 2

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
Surface					
Glass	11	1-2cm	30g	Ranging from dark blue to light green	1899-1902
Ceramics	2	5cm	23g	White	1899-1902

Figure 36: Artefacts from Test Pit 2

5.2.3.3 Test Pit 3

Test Pit 3 was dug on the slope of a hill on the larger portion of the farm (see Figure 19), because the surveyors found European ceramic pieces on the surface. Many of these pieces probably landed there because rain washed them down from the hill. Another reason for digging the test pit on the slope was proximity to a stone wall. The aim of the third test pit was to determine whether the stone walls were used as a make-shift shelter or as the base of a blockhouse. The second aim was to find anything that can be linked to the African concentration camp.

As with the other two test pits, this one was also cleaned, mapped, recorded, photographed and documented before, during and after the excavation. The test pit was measured out in a south-easterly direction from the stone wall, with sides 50 cm wide, 100 cm long and 5 cm deep, at which point hard soil was reached. The surface layer was reddish hard soil, and contained weeds. No changes were observed in Stratum 1's soil colour, as it was also red, hard soil, with rocks and weeds (see Figure 37). Each soil layer was screened through a

sieve in order to find small artefacts that might have been missed. The artefacts found in the sieve were also recorded. The third test pit yielded 16 artefacts (see Figure 38). Table 6 shows the artefacts found in Test Pit 3. There were no unexpected findings in this test pit. However, the material remains were recorded, photographed and mapped.

Figure 37: Strata of Test Pit 3

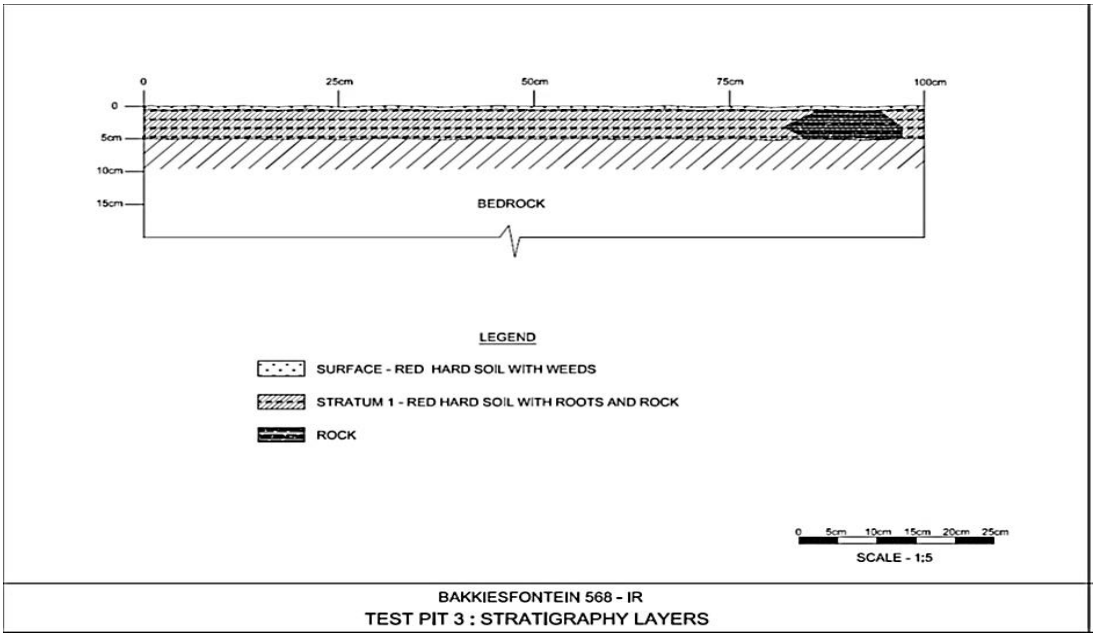

Table 6: Artefacts found in Test Pit 3

Artefact	Quantity	Size (cm)	Weight (g)	Colour	Period
Surface					
Ceramics	16	Various sizes	10g	White and thick	1899-1902
Layer 1					
Ceramics	3	2.5cm	11g	White and thick	1899-1902

Figure 38: Artefacts from Test Pit 3

5.3 Section 2: Artefact analysis

The artefacts found included European ceramics, glass pieces and metal fragments from the Iron Age, the South African War period and the modern period. These artefacts are analysed below.

5.3.1 Iron Age (BCE 200-1840 CE)

Even though there may have been no Iron Age communities living at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR during the South African War due to the *Difaqane*, which destroyed many of these communities, one can still find evidence of their activities on the farm. However, the research team did not find many artefacts relating to the Iron Age, as the majority of sites were destroyed by Mzilikazi and his followers in their flight from King Shaka (Louw 1991:12).

Artefacts found include two African pottery pieces, mentioned above (see Figure 39). Both these African pottery pieces are small and undecorated, which makes it difficult to link them to a specific Iron Age community, as mentioned above (see also Van Vollenhoven 2014:71). Such pieces were made from earthenware and come from pots used to carry water, or for cooking and storage (Delius *et al*. 2014:19).

Figure 39: African pottery piece from the second pedestrian survey

Other Iron Age pieces are the three slag pieces found in Test Pit 1 (see Figure 40, overleaf). According to Evers (1974:viii), slag can be defined as "a vitreous substance, composed of earthly or refuse matter, which is separated from metals in the process of smelting". Iron Age communities are characterised by the mining and smelting iron (Delius & Hay 2009:33). According to Delius *et al*. (2014:22), Iron Age communities

introduced metal working in South Africa. Iron played such an important role during the Iron Age that it was one of the main materials used to make tools, weapons, medicine, ornaments and agricultural equipment (Delius *et al*. 2014:34; Marker & Evers 1976:162). The location of slag pieces shows that Iron Age communities did not live far from iron ore supplies (Delius *et al*. 2014:24).

Figure 40: The three slag pieces

5.3.2 Scottish Rifles fort and artefacts

As already noted, the Scottish Rifles regiment occupied Greylingstad during the war. They built a fort on one of the hills behind Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. On that hill, one can still find the remains of the fortifications, stone walls, cattle pens, entrenchments and gun positions used by the soldiers (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:169).

This is not the only evidence of the British occupation in the area. It also appears to be supported by the artefacts found in the test pits and during the pedestrian surveys in this study. Arguably some of the artefacts mentioned below could also have been used by African internees, as discussed later on. Artefacts that were probably used by the soldiers are discussed below. Van Vollenhoven was consulted and cited due to the fact that he is an expert on the South African War, and because of his experience in conducting archaeological studies on sites related with the war, such as his excavations associated with the Steinaecker's Horse unit, in what is today the Kruger National Park, South Africa.[65] The researcher also consulted Benneyworth, who was busy with his doctorate on African concentration camps, and who had previously done archaeological studies on such camps.

[65] "Steinaecker's Horse was a voluntary unit who fought on the side of the British during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)" (Van Vollenhoven 2014:3).

The first set of artefacts is the European ceramic pieces found in the test pits and throughout the pedestrian surveys. These ceramic artefacts were brown and made from stoneware, and they could have been parts of gin bottles.[66] Gin was a popular beverage among the working class, as it was cheap (Hedges 1975:8). According to Van Vollenhoven (2015b), the thicker ceramic pieces could have been part of a ginger beer bottle (see Figure 41).[67] If these pieces do come from such containers, these pieces suggest that the soldiers preferred to drink ginger beer and gin. There was also a small piece of a cream-coloured lotion bottle among the pieces used by the soldiers (Van Vollenhoven 2015b) (see Figure 42). This piece indicates that some soldiers may have carried lotion for some skin condition or another unknown reason. Based on Van Vollenhoven's previous experience on sites dating back to the South African War, he argued that the European ceramic pieces found at this site date back to the war, or can at least be associated with the late 19th to early 20th century (see Van Vollenhoven 2015a:5).

Figure 41: Ginger beer bottle pieces

[66] The correct term for gin is geneva. It is a word derived from the French word *genièvre* [juniper], a berry used to flavour the drink. Many gins were made in Schiedam, in Nederland (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982:36). The British also have an equivalent for geneva known as gin (Van Vollenhoven 2012:9). Gin bottles were manufactured from stoneware (Hedges 1975:19). Gin was a very popular drink until the Second World War (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982:29). A reason for its popularity, aside from its intoxicating effects, was that it was believed to ward off illnesses such as malaria (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:78).

[67] According to Lastovica and Lastovica (1982:29), many ginger beer bottles were made from stoneware. The manufacture of ginger beer bottles goes back as far as the 1840s (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982:29).

Figure 42: Piece of a cream-coloured bottle and shard from a ceramic plate

The second set of artefacts was glass pieces found throughout the pedestrian surveys and in the test pits. According to Van Vollenhoven (2015b), these glass pieces date back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There were light glass pieces which Van Vollenhoven (2015b) believes were from soda bottles or bottles used for food products, such as tomato sauce bottles, while the darker glass pieces that were found could be from alcohol bottles, such as beer and wine bottles (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). Pretorius (2009:7) notes that alcohol abuse in the British armies was a problem lamented by many officials during the South African War. Among the glass pieces, there is a perfect green bottle rim with tool-markings, as would result, for example, if someone opened the bottle. The British soldiers also drank soda water, as can be seen in a purple glass piece found in the second pedestrian survey (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). There were blue glass pieces which could be from medicine bottles (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). Medicine bottles are classified as flats, rounds or ovals, depending on their shape (Hedges 1975:19). The presence of the medicine bottle pieces can indicate that at some point during the Scottish Rifles occupation there was an illness among the officials and soldiers (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:82). The transparent glass pieces from the second test pit could be the remains of a sauce bottle, for example, for Worcestershire sauce (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). Many of the glass pieces are admittedly difficult to identify, as many pieces are very small (see Figure 43).

Figure 43: Glass pieces from the second pedestrian survey

A number of metal fragments were recovered. It was difficult to identify most of these metal artefacts (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). More metal artefacts were found during the second pedestrian survey, which was conducted closer to the Scottish Rifles fort. In the metal collection, there is a piece from a handle that could have been part of a wooden trunk or bucket (Van Vollenhoven 2015b).

Two .303 calibre bullet shells were found during the second and third pedestrian surveys. Such shells were probably used in Lee-Metford and Lee Enfield MK I rifles, which were the rifles used by the British (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:75).[68] These rifles were used during the South African War and in the First World War (Winterbach 2015).

There is also an unknown metal piece with inscriptions of a manufacturer on it in the collection. However, this piece is broken in such a way that the researcher and the scholars consulted could not identify who the manufacturer was or what the purpose of the item was. Van Vollenhoven (2015b) believes that this piece could have been an opener for a Jerrycan, but Winterbach (2015) thinks that it could have been part of a tractor, where one would connect a plough.

[68] Not all the British soldiers were equipped with Lee Enfield MK I rifles. It was only the Yeomanry and 2 000 reservists who used these rifles (Pretorius 2001a:17). The Lee Enfield rifles were first introduced in 1895, making them newer than the Lee-Metford rifles (Lee 1985:28). The British started using .303 calibre Lee-Metford rifles in 1888, because they were good weapons and could be used anywhere the army was needed (Judd & Surridge 2002, 2003:61; Pretorius 2001a:17). Both these rifles had a range of approximately 2 000 metres (Pretorius 2001a:17).

Among the flat metal pieces found during the third pedestrian survey, there is a piece from a tin can used by Scottish Rifles soldiers. According to Wessels (2001:69), British soldiers received food tins as part of their rations. Empty tin cans were often used as an alarm system – the soldiers would attach them to the barbed wire between blockhouses (Stephens 2003:281). Barbed wire pieces were also found in the first test pit – these pieces could be modern or could have been used by the Scottish Rifles soldiers. The British usually surrounded their blockhouses with barbed wire to protect them from attacks (Todd & Fordham 1980:182). The house and graves are also surrounded by the barbed wire (see Figure 44).

A metal tent peg was found during the second pedestrian survey, indicating that there were tents – there were so many bell tents in the concentration camps that they became known as bell tent towns (Changuion *et al*. 2003:123).

A metal plate with the letters ZASM (Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij) can be linked to the railway (Van Vollenhoven 2015b). Winterbach (2015) thinks that this plate may have been a stamp used by a railway clerk at the old Greylingstad station. The Greylingstad station was within walking distance of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. The piece was found between two rocks on the hill.

Figure 44: Tin can piece, ZASM plate, tent peg, bullet shell and unknown object

5.3.3 African concentration camp

The location of the sites surveyed, the presence of the graves, the dry stream, and the artefacts and features found suggest that the African concentration camp was indeed situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. However, the research team did not find many artefacts that were definitely used by internees of the concentration camp. This is plausible, because the supplies given to Africans were kept to a minimum to keep costs down (Nasson 2013:179).

The most relevant artefacts include two African pottery pieces, a piece of a cast iron pot lid, a tin can piece, medicine bottle pieces and a piece of thick barbed wire. According to Van Vollenhoven (2014:71), the two African pottery pieces mentioned above could have belonged to African workers and internees who brought items with them when they entered the camp. African workers were probably employed by the Scottish Rifles soldiers to drive wagons, dig trenches, mind livestock and unload supplies from trains (Pretorius 2009:43; Van Vollenhoven 2014:71). In an interview with Benneyworth (2016: pers.comm.), a lecturer at Sol Plaatje University in Kimberley, on 18 April 2016, he noted that he also found African pottery pieces at the Kimberley African concentration camp during an excavation, which suggests that these pieces could have also belonged to African internees.

One of the duties of African servants was to cook for the soldiers (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:83).[69] The piece of the cast iron pot lid indicates this activity (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:83) (see Figure 45). African internees also cooked their own food, as discussed in the historical literature. Therefore, African internees could also have used a cast iron pot with a lid. The fact that it was found in a stone wall indicates that the wall could have belonged to a makeshift shelter, as mentioned later on.

[69] Some *agterryers* also cooked food for Boer commandos (Pretorius 2009:5).

Figure 45: Cast iron pot lid

Fresh meat was scarce in African concentration camps. In an interview with Benneyworth (2016:pers.comm.) on 18 April 2016, he noted that in theory the people in the camps received fresh meat, but this was not always the case. In the Heidelberg African concentration camp, for example, internees have been reported to have eaten carcasses of animals that died of lung sickness (Scott 2007:103). According to Benneyworth (2016: pers.comm), his survey at the African concentration camp in Kimberley revealed that the camp internees also received British army tinned rations. Researchers do not know much about the food Africans received, because not much has been written about it (Marais 1999:233). Therefore, it could be argued that the tin of which a piece was found was also used by internees (see Figure 46).

Figure 46: Metal tin can piece

The medicine glass bottle pieces mentioned above could also have belonged to African internees. Medical care for African internees was even worse than that for the Boer internees (Kessler 2001:148). Medical inspections did not always take place, because there were not enough doctors available for all the African internees (Mongalo & Du Pisani 1999:165). However, if they received medicine, it was free of charge (Mongalo & Du Pisani 1999:165). In an interview with Benneyworth on 18 April 2016, he mentioned that some records do recount that Africans were allowed to buy medical products such as medicine. He indicated that during his excavation at the African concentration camp at Kimberley he found some medicine bottle pieces.

The thick barbed wire found on the surface of the first test pit could have been used as a fence for the African concentration camp (see Figure 47). According to Branton (2009:58) and Moshenska and Myers (2011:4), many concentration camps were surrounded by barbed wire, a 19th century American innovation, and armed guards, to prevent any escapes. However, Pretorius (2007:361) states that the British concentration camps were only surrounded by barbed wire by late 1901. He also argues that barbed wire was not used to keep the inmates in, but to keep Boer commandos and British soldiers from entering the camps (Pretorius 2007:361). By contrast, Ankiewicz (2013a:44) argues against the authors mentioned above, claiming that this was not the case with African concentration camps, which, according to him, were not surrounded by armed guards or barbed wire. In an interview on 18 April 2016, Benneyworth explained that it is difficult to prove a connection between the barbed wire found on the surface of the first test pit and the African camp, as there was no evidence that African camps were surrounded by barbed wire. This is part of the silence created by the 20th century, as explained later on in Section 5.4.1.3 (see also Van Heyningen 2010:2).

Figure 47: Metal barbed wire

5.4 Section 3: Discussion

This section discusses the graves found at Bakkiesfontein 568 IR as places with memory. It reflects on how the presence of these graves points to a silence in the remembrance of the South African War, as not all the people who were involved in the conflict, directly or indirectly, for example, Africans, are commemorated. There are not many monuments for Africans. Lastly, it speculates on the purposes that the Iron Age communities, British soldiers and African internees might have assigned to the stone walls that were found.

5.4.1 African graves

Not much is known about the internees in the African concentration camp on the basis of these graves, but the graves are still important, as they are the only clear evidence scholars have of this camp and of African suffering, and the forgotten role that Africans played during the war (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:12; McGreal 1999; Pretorius 2007:332; Van Heyningen 2013:307; Young 2013:17). These graves have also become "places with memory" because they are the only evidence left of the treatment of Africans at Greylingstad during the war (Pretorius 2007:329).

5.4.1.1 What is memory?

To understand the construct "places with memory", one needs to know more about the concept "memory". There are several definitions of the term "memory". Each person has his/her own definition of what memory is.

According to Halbwachs ([1950] 1992, cited in Stanley 2006:245, Stanley's emphasis), memory is "remembering, *an activity*, located *in time and space*, always from a *particular point of view* and *usually contested*". For Locke ([1690] 1997:147-148, cited in Jones 2007:7), "memory" is thoughts or perceptions that the mind changes into memories. What Locke means is that memory becomes a gateway between perceptions and the forming of ideas. However, for Buchli and Lucas (2001:79), it is the mind that forms memories. According to Moshenska (2010:34), none of the definitions mentioned above show what memory really is. Moshenska (2010:36) argues that memory can be best understood as an active process of remembrance.

There are three types of memory, according to Halbwachs ([1950] 1992, cited in Cattell & Climo 2002:4). They are historical memory (the memory of the dead past through known

historical records), autobiographical memory (memories of personal experiences) and collective memory (memories from the past that inform our identities). Rowlands (1993, cited in Van Dyke & Alcock 2003:4) distinguishes between archaeological memories in the form of inscribed memory (where memory is inscribed by visible commemorative activities, such as the construction of memorials) and incorporated memory (where there are no traces of a site or event).

5.4.1.2 Places with memory

Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:5) deduce that "places with memory" are places and memories linked to each other through emotional attachments, which create a "sense of place". "Places of memory" include memorials, museums, gardens of remembrance and cemeteries (Stanley 2006:221; Theune 2010:10). The African graveyard found at Greylingstad is not the only "place with memory" that commemorates the suffering of concentration camps in South Africa. Other places include the Turffontein garden of remembrance in Johannesburg, the Heidelberg cemetery and the National Women's Monument in Bloemfontein (Stanley 2006:11, 245). The Turffontein concentration camp garden of remembrance commemorates Boer women and children who died in the Johannesburg camp (Stanley 2006:230). The Heidelberg cemetery recalls all Boer and African families who died in the Heidelberg concentration camp (Stanley 2006:228). The National Women's Monument commemorates Boer women and children who died in concentration camps all over South Africa (see Figure 48)[70], but there are few memorials for African deaths in this war. This is part of the silence of the South African War, as discussed below. People commemorate these places because memory can be located at them (Theune 2010:1). For them, these places "have been inscribed with meaning, usually as result of some past event or attachment" (Van Dyke & Alcock 2003:5). For this reason, these places have become part of remembrance and collective memory (Theune 2013:242).

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[70] The National Women's Monument or *Vrouemonument* was built by Medlin and Leham (Van Zyl 2013:216). It was unveiled on 16 December 1913, previously known as Dingaan's Day or as the Day of the Vow (today it is known as the Day of Reconciliation) (Van Zyl 2013:216, 220). The statue of a Boer woman with her two children in front of the monument was inspired by what Emily Hobhouse described as seeing during her visit at the Springfontein station in Free State. All the statues were designed by the famous sculptor Anton van Wouw (Van Zyl 2013:217). Five people are buried in the monument. They are the former President of the Orange Free State, Marthinus Steyn, and his wife Tibbie Steyn, General Christiaan De Wet, Emily Hobhouse and Reverend Kestell (Van Zyl 2013:223). Hobhouse was invited to the unveiling of the monument on 16 December 1913, but was unable to attend because of poor health (Marais 1999:216; Mohlamme 2001:121; Warwick 1983:146). Her speech was read out on her behalf.

Figure 48: National Women's Monument in Bloemfontein

Photograph courtesy of V. Verkerk

5.4.1.3 The silence of the South African War in the memories of South Africans

Not only are the African graves at Greylingstad "places with memory", they also highlight a silence in the commemoration of the South African War, as not all the contributions and losses by all the race groups involved are remembered equally. This is because the Boers and British did not trouble themselves to care for African needs (Nault 2013:1) in terms of maintaining places of memory relating to African memories of the war. When the African graves in Greylingstad were found, it was a breakthrough in the study of African concentration camps, as so little is known about them. The media even did a broadcast on the findings in 1999 (Van der Westhuizen & Van der Westhuizen 2013:173). It is then surprising that no further study was undertaken on the site.

What were the reasons for the silence? According to Van Dyke and Alcock (2003:4-5) and Funari, Hall and Jones (1999:5), one of the reasons for the silence is that history was written by an elite of well-educated people, and not by non-literate and marginalized people. Facts that did not fit into the frame of reference of those who wrote history were either forgotten or ignored (Stanley & Dampier 2005:99). The Dutch Reformed Church, for example, erased the names of Africans and Coloureds, foreigners with English surnames or other foreign names and unbaptised children when they compiled a list of the names of those who died in concentration camps (Stanley & Dampier 2005:102). This

means that the church decided who could be remembered among the dead and who must be forgotten (Stanley & Dampier 2005:102).

Another reason for the silence is the fact there is no written first-hand information about how Africans remembered and experienced the concentration camps, as many of them were non-literate, as mentioned in previous chapters (Nault 2013:22). Most of the records that contained information on them have been destroyed, therefore erasing their memories of their sufferings (Van Heyningen 2010:2). The only records scholars have of African experiences in the camps are occasional observations by Boer and British soldiers, missionaries and civilians (Nault 2013:22).

Therefore, it is difficult to see how Africans remembered and experienced the concentration camps. Thus, Myers (2008:236) notes that it is the duty of historical archaeologists to bring the people who have been erased to the fore by making the unfamiliar familiar. However, Cuthbertson and Jeeves (1999:12) note that there could be a danger that "[p]ublic histories and commemorations will further silence the Africans by parading around hastily rediscovered memorials to the white struggle and reprising earlier styles of racial commemoration". It is due to these reasons that little research has been done on the memory of the war in the African consciousness (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:11).

The silence resulted in the absence of monuments for Africans who suffered in concentration camps (Mongalo & Du Pisani 1999:181; Theron 2001:124). However, this changed after the first democratic elections in 1994, when the first memorial for Africans was unveiled in Aliwal North in the Eastern Cape and another was unveiled at Brandfort (McGreal 1999). A few other changes also took place in the commemoration and remembrance of Africans in concentration camps (Stanley & Dampier 2005:108). The first change that took place was that the existence of African concentration camps has also become part of history; however, this information is still often separated from the information about Boer concentration camps (Stanley & Dampier 2005:108). The second change that took place was the fact that Africans themselves started to commemorate the concentration camps (Stanley & Dampier 2005:108). The third and most important change that took place was that scholars, archaeologists and researchers are looking for and identifying the locations of African concentration camps (Nault 2013:24). Places where African concentration camps have been identified include Aliwal North, Allemans Siding,

Greylingstad, Nigel and Brandfort (Westby-Nunn 1988:173). In an interview on 18 April 2016, Benneyworth indicated that he has located the following African concentration camps: Vryburg, Dry Harts, Taung, Kimberley (two camps), Taaibosch, Witkop and Springs (see Figure 1). The last change that took place is the fact that people are now restoring African graves and cemeteries (Stanley & Dampier 2005:108).

5.4.2 Stone circle

The stone circle was located by the researcher during one of her previous visits to Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. The researcher was walking on a path that seemed to be used either by cattle or humans. The path led to a circle surrounded by stone, hence the name stone circle. The stone circle is interesting because it is located near the graves and it is the size of a small room (see Figures 49 to 50). Another interesting thing about the circle is that there are two stones that are higher than the others.

The purpose of this stone circle is unknown, because it is small, and thus unlikely to have been used as a meeting place. When consulted, Lowe (2015), an expert on various fields, suggested that it could be part of a fort. Van Vollenhoven (2015c) believes it could be an Iron Age structure that the British reused, which was probably the case. The stone circle could be part of the stone walls found, but it is far from the others and close to the graves. It could be that the stone circle was there before the war. Based the researcher's observations, the stone circle does not appear to have been used for a long time since it was built. The date of the stone circle is unknown. The researcher planned to dig a second test pit at the stone circle, but there were some concerns over this. The first concern was that the stone circle might be modern, as there was already a path that led to it. Secondly, the stone circle could be a place where people gather to pray, making it a potentially sensitive site, where an excavation could be perceived as invasive and insensitive.

Figure 49: A photograph showing the location of the Stone Circle

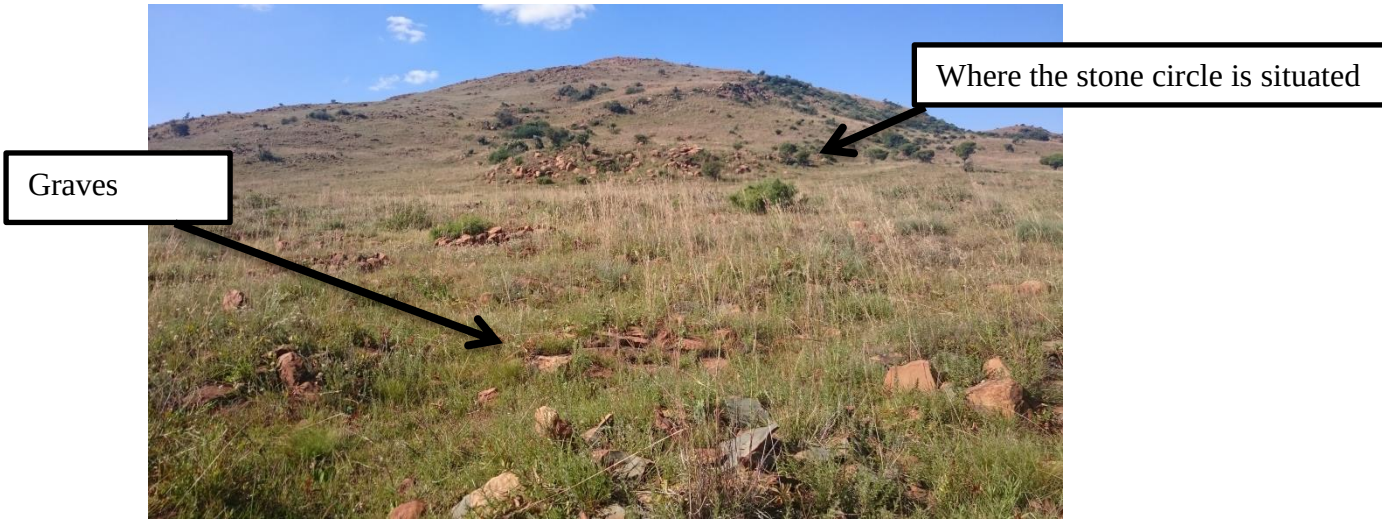

Photo courtesy of G. Benneyworth

Figure 50: Stone Circle

5.4.3 Stone walls

After further research, it was realised that the stone walls could have been used by any one or all of the three groups, namely Iron Age communities, British soldiers and African internees. Below, there is a brief consideration of what each of these three groups might have used the stone walls for.

5.4.3.1 Stone walls and Iron Age settlements

The first argument is that these stone walls were Iron Age ruins, 400 BCE. This is because the Iron Age is represented by stone walled settlements (Marker & Evers 1976:160). Iron

Age communities used such stone walls to define homestead areas, agricultural land and communication within the settlement (Marker & Evers 1976:160). According to Marker and Evers (1976:160), these three definitions form a settlement. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the stone walls could have been occupied by the Sotho-Tswana, but it is uncertain which specific group might have used them (Louw 1991:12). Maggs (1976:24) indicates that stone walls were important to the Sotho-Tswana, although their significance is unknown.

Iron Age communities created three types of stone-walled settlements. The first type consisted of two concentric walls. The inner circle was the cattle pen. Homesteads were built in the space between the inner and the outer circles (Esterhuysen & Smith 2007:57). The second type was a variation of the first. It also had an inner cattle pen, but one or two structures were attached to the cattle pen. Homesteads were also built between the two circles (Esterhuysen & Smith 2007:57). The last type was

> …an agglomeration of small circles that did not conform to the pattern of the other two. […] The slopes were terraced with lines of stones that ran along the contours, and tracks from the cattle enclosures to the outside if the settlements were edged in stone. (Esterhuysen & Smith 2007:57)

The cattle enclosures were the focus of the settlement (Fagan 1972:61). Many of the homesteads had a dome-shaped roof (Ankiewicz 2013b:15). These stone-walled settlements differed in size (Marker & Evers 1976:160). Unfortunately, the material used to build the roofs did not survive. The reason some African communities built their homesteads with stone instead of wood was that in some areas trees were scarce (Delius *et al*. 2014:24). Stone walls were also used for defensive purposes and to fortify hills (Fagan 1972:61). Iron Age communities tended to live near places where they could mine minerals (Esterhuysen & Smith 2007:64), as seen by the three slag pieces.

According to Ankiewicz (2013b:12), Greylingstad is surrounded by stone-walled settlements, which are especially common on the hills. African communities liked to live in the Greylingstad area because of the Silverbank River, which flows through the area (Ankiewicz 2013b:24).[71] African communities also liked the Greylingstad area because there are many hills which offered these communities a panoramic view of the area and which were fertile (Delius & Hay 2009:35). Many Iron Age settlements were far apart from each other and they relied on trade (Delius *et al*. 2014:34). Fagan (1972:59) believes

[71] It was not just in Greylingstad where African communities lived during the Iron Age. All over Mpumalanga there are stone fortifications and stone walls used by Africans (Delius & Hay 2009:19).

that the stone walls could have been abandoned during the *Difaqane* and the wars of Mzilikazi in the 1820s.

5.4.3.2 Stone walls and British blockhouses

The second argument is that these stone walls could have been the base of British blockhouses/forts. It is common knowledge that the Scottish Rifles fort is situated on the hill near the railway. Therefore, it is likely that the Scottish Rifles were responsible for building the rectangular stone walls. Many of the rectangular stone walls look like small rooms (see Figure 51). Therefore, it can be assumed that these stone walls might have been the bottoms of smaller blockhouses known as "Rice blockhouses", named after S.R. Rice (Greyling 2000:91). Such blockhouses were "built of corrugated iron nailed to a wooden frame" (Greyling 2000:91). The space between the iron and wood was filled with stones (Greyling 2000:91). These blockhouses were connected by barbed wire, with a ditch round each blockhouse (Westby-Nunn 1988:340) (see Figure 52). The Rice blockhouses were usually manned by six to ten soldiers and sometimes armed Africans (Greyling 2000:91; Scott 2007:79) (see Figure 53). The British used Rice blockhouses because they were easy to build and small (Gallow 2009:9; Westby-Nunn 1988:340). Unfortunately, many of the more than 8000 blockhouses have been destroyed to make way for expanding cities and towns, and roads (Greyling 2000:91).

Figure 51: Rectangular stone wall on the hill of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR

Figure 52: An example of a Rice Blockhouse

Source: Van Zÿl *et al.* (2012:359)

Figure 53: Armed Africans guarding a blockhouse

Source: Kessler (2012:53)

Blockhouses were part of Kitchener's three-step strategy to cut Boers of their supplies and sources and to end the war (Pretorius 2001a:30; Scott 2007:63).[72] The first blockhouse was built in 1900, when the guerrilla war began (Pretorius 1998:56; Stephens 2003:281). Blockhouses were usually built to prevent any spy activity (Greyling 2000:90). Blockhouses were also close to the railway lines to protect them from Boer attacks, as the railways allowed the British to shift supplies, horses and more soldiers (Westby-Nunn

[72] The blockhouse system was the first step in Kitchener's plan to end the war. Blockhouses served as barriers for the Boers. The second step was to organise mobile columns which would drive the Boers to the blockhouses (Scott 2007:63). The last step was sending women to concentration camps, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Scott 2007:63).

1988:340). The stone walls are situated near the railway line and Greylingstad. Blockhouses were usually situated near a town to guard it (Westby-Nunn 1988:340). The railway station in Greylingstad itself was also used as a blockhouse, as mentioned in Chapter 4 (Todd & Fordham 1980:184). When the South African War ended, there were 8 000 blockhouses and "3 700 miles of fencing, guarded by at least fifty thousand white and native troops" (Scott 2007:128; Stephens 2003:281; Warwick 1983:4).

However, Benneyworth (2016:pers. comm.) argues that the British were not responsible for building the stone walls found on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. According to Benneyworth (2016), this does not mean that they did not reuse the stone walls for their own purposes.

5.4.3.3 Stone walls and the African concentration camp

The last argument is that these stone walls were once part of the African concentration camp. These arguments are based on the historical information and sources reviewed in Chapter 2. Firstly, rectangular stone walls could be make-shift shelters used to house Africans during their stay in the camps. Africans were expected to provide for themselves and this included building their own shelter (Kessler 2012:113; Weiss 2011:27) (see Figure 54), because there was a shortage of tents, which might have forced Africans to build stone homesteads instead (Kessler 1999b:142; 2012:114). However, Benneyworth (2016) argues that it is unlikely that African internees would have been responsible for building these stone walls, but he admits that they could have reused the stone walls from the Iron Age as shelters because of the shortage of tents (Benneyworth 2016), especially if natural material was not available for them to build shelters (Kessler 2012:116).

The second reason why these stone walls might have been part of the concentration camp was that they were situated close to each other. Many of the historical sources emphasise that tents in concentration camps were very close to each other (Mohlamme 2001:119). This was also the case in African concentration camps, but it was not normal in an African village or town (Mbenga 2007:232; Mohlamme 2001:119). The condition of the shelters in the camps was also inadequate, which is known to have caused diseases to spread (Mbenga 2007:232; Pretorius 2009:103).

A third reason was that the stone walls were close to the cemetery, as mentioned earlier. According to Benneyworth, in an interview on 18 April 2016, concentration camps and cemeteries were usually situated right next to each other.

Lastly, the stone walls were located near the railway line. According to Mohlamme (1985:8), the British established concentration camps near railway lines for easier communication with bases and other columns. It was also the easiest way to obtain African labour (Mohlamme 2001:113; Warwick 1983:152). Africans worked on the railway, where they unloaded supplies from the trains (Marais 1999:218; Warwick 1983:21). This is one of the reasons why African concentration camps should perhaps not be seen as concentration camps, but should rather be seen as labour camps, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 54: A group of African children in an African camp, with a makeshift shelter in the background

Source: Van Zÿl *et al*. (2012:295)

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the various findings from three pedestrian surveys and three test pits have been discussed.

A number of stone walls were found. These stone walls would not have been located if it had not been for consultation with residents of Greylingstad. The stone walls that were found in the second pedestrian survey are interesting for three reasons. Firstly, these stone walls were probably built by African communities during the Iron Age. These walls may be of homesteads, which can be seen in the circular stone walls and in some rectangular walls, which were influenced by European architectural styles. Secondly, these stone walls could have been reused by the British as the bases for blockhouses to protect the railway in Greylingstad from Boer attacks. Such blockhouses might have been erected on the

rectangular and circular stone walls. Thirdly, the rectangular stone walls could have been reused by the Africans internees from the African concentration camp at Greylingstad, as shelters. Tent shortages were a major problem in these camps, so the Africans had to build their own shelters with natural supplies from the hills near the stone walls.

The graves that were examined were the main reason the researcher chose Bakkiesfontein 568 IR as a case study. The graves are important because they show scholars that there was a concentration camp at Greylingstad. They show not only that there was a concentration camp, but also that there were a large number of deaths, suggesting poor treatment of Africans by the British in concentration camps (Pretorius 2007:332). Unfortunately, historians cannot determine the total death toll or rate of the African concentration camps in general, or of this one in particular, because the records are incomplete (Pretorius 2007:332). These graves have also become "a place with memory", not only for the British soldiers, but also for the Africans who had to endure hardships in the camps, even though, strictly speaking, it was not their war (Devitt 1941:21). The presence of such graves also highlights to scholars the silence in the memories of the war. This problem needs to be addressed, because it is rightly a matter of concern to some South Africans, especially African South Africans. Fortunately, this problem is being addressed as more attention is given to Africans who suffered in the war.

During her last visit to Bakkiesfontein 568 IR in April 2016, subsequent to the study, the researcher and Benneyworth found more graves on the farm (see Figure 19). These graves were from the African concentration camp, as the date on some graves is 1901, when this camp was established, as mentioned in Chapter 4. There are estimated to be 250 graves in total. As with the previously found graves, these also contain more than one person. The graves found in April 2016 are laid out in a more military manner, in straight lines, not like the ones found in 1999, which are distributed more randomly. However, this study could not include a detailed study of these graves, because they were only found subsequent to the study, when the results were already being written up, and further studies still need to be done on them.

The stone circle found near the grave sites found in 1999 is unique, as it does not look like any of the stone walls found during the pedestrian survey. There are some interesting features about this stone circle. Experts consulted cannot yet determine what the stone circle is or what it was used for. However, there are many arguments on what the purpose

was – some claim that it was used to support a blockhouse, although Benneyworth (2016:pers. comm.) rejects this, while others believe that it was reused by the British for other purposes. Further studies may yield some answers to what the purpose of the stone circle was.

The pedestrian surveys yielded more artefacts than the test pits. However, not all the artefacts found during the pedestrian surveys can be linked to the concentration camp, as many of the artefacts were used by the Scottish Rifles soldiers or previous or subsequent owners of the farm. The research team found artefacts from the South African War and the Iron Age. The test pits did yield some interesting artefacts that can be linked to the concentration camp, but most of the artefacts from the first test pit do not date back to the war, but to the 1980s. The first test pit also yielded artefacts from the Iron Age. Hence, it was concluded that the barn where the test pit was dug does not date back to the war. Therefore, it cannot be linked to the concentration camp. The second test pit yielded valuable artefacts, probably related mainly to the Scottish Rifles soldiers. It was thought that the site would be a good place to establish a concentration camp, but it does not seem to have been used for this purpose. The last test pit did not yield any artefacts that can be linked to the concentration camp. However, many artefacts that can be linked to the Scottish Rifles soldiers were found in the last test pit. The military artefacts confirm that there was a military presence in the area (Van Vollenhoven 2015a:75).

It can be argued that the African concentration camp was situated on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, because it was situated in the immediate vicinity of the burial sites and also because of a few of the artefacts that were found on the farm, namely the two African pottery pieces, the graves, and the thick barbed wire piece, metal tent peg, fragment of a cast iron pot lid and stone walls. Also Bakkiesfontein 568 IR is situated near the railway and old station, a dry stream (which may have run at the time of the war) and the Scottish Rifles fort.

The next chapter discusses the gaps in the literature. It reflects on whether the research questions discussed in Chapter 1 have been addressed. It posits the future of archaeological studies on African concentration camps in South Africa and also reflects on the limitations of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

Chapter 6:
Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This study aimed to determine whether there was an African concentration camp located on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. This aim was addressed by focusing on four objectives. The first objective was to conduct a literature study on the South African War, on Boer and African concentration camps, the role of groups other than the British and the Boer Republics in the war, and foreign participation. The second objective was to determine whether the camps discussed in this study should be seen as internment or concentration camps. The third objective was to conduct an archaeological study to identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. The fourth objective was to map and analyse the findings of the pedestrian surveys and test pits in order to reconstruct aspect of the lives of Iron Age communities, African internees from the camp and Scottish Rifles soldiers on the basis of the findings.

This chapter reflects on how the four objectives listed above were addressed. Firstly, it considers the gaps in the literature. Secondly, it discusses the findings on whether these camps should be defined as internment or concentration camps as set out in Chapter 3. Thirdly, it addresses the question of whether the archaeological field methods chosen in this study helped to identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. Fourthly, the limitations of this study are considered, leading to the researcher's recommendations for future researchers dealing with African concentration camps from the South African War. Fifthly, the chapter reflects briefly on the future of archaeological studies on African concentration camps in South Africa. Lastly, the chapter concludes that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR is the location for the concentration camp.

6.2 Gaps in the literature

In the course of the literature study, the researcher realised that more than 2000 academic works have been published on the war itself (Wessels 2011:187). This includes works on the Boer concentration camps, as discussed in Chapter 2. A few of these works mentioned African participation in the war and African concentration camps in the war. Even though there have been many works on the war, there are still gaps in the literature that need to be

addressed, as Wessels (2011:80) pointed out (see Chapter 2). In Chapter 2, many of these gaps have been discussed – one is particularly relevant to this study, namely the role of other groups, such as Indians, Cape Coloureds and San people in the war.

Few records if any were kept on the participation of Indians, Cape Coloured and San people in the war, although they undoubtedly did participate in various forms, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The gaps in the literature may be partially ascribed to incomplete British records (Nasson 2013:182), so many people today remain unaware of these groups' involvement in the war. As seen in Chapter 2, some of the gaps on African participation and African concentration camps have begun to be filled by various researchers, including archaeologists and historians (Van Heyningen 1999:22). Information on a first-hand experience of the war has become available in the form of Sol Plaatje's diary, published by Comaroff (1973). A few of the researchers who have made a contribution in this area are Benneyworth (2016), Bonner (1967), Botha (1969:3098), Dreyer and Loock (2001), Denoon (1972), Kessler (1999, 2001, 2012), Maphalala (1979), Mohlamme (1985, 2001), Mongalo and Du Pisani (1999), Pakenham (1979), Nasson (1999b, 2003), Siwundhla (1977), Spies (1977) and Warwick (1978, 1983). However, there is much on the participation of Indians, Cape Coloured and San people that still requires research. According to Changuion (1999:106), these groups must also get recognition, even though they did not play as prominent a role in the war as the three main groups of participants, namely the British, the Boers and Africans.

6.3 Should these concentration camps be considered "internment" or "concentration" camps?

A question that this study attempted to answer was whether the concentration camps of the Second World War and those from the South African War, including the one at Greylingstad, should be considered "internment" or "concentration" camps. Based on the findings presented in Chapter 3, it was argued that both the terms "internment" and "concentration camps" are acceptable as terms to describe these camps. These terms have similar meanings – both kinds of camp are designed to keep non-combatants incarcerated or interned, to control their movements, and to separate them from rebels or combatants. Many historians, such as Stanley (2006:3) and Myers and Moshenska (2013:1623), prefer the term "internment camp" because the term "concentration camp" now has upsetting connotations because of the association of the term with the Nazi extermination camps of the Second World War.

However, the term "internment" still has some resonance in the South Africa context (Van Heyningen 2009:22).

Chapter 3 explains that concentration camps were not the only form of punishment used over time. Several nations have created various forms of camps, such as POW camps (for example, Norman Cross), death or extermination camps (for example, Auschwitz-Birkenau) and labour camps (for example, Nazi labour camps). These camps were created to punish people (Smith & Stucki 2011:427), to commit genocide, or as a response to end guerrilla warfare (Hyslop 2011:273), and sometimes, it was claimed, to prevent famine (Forth 2013:57) and to protect citizens from harm (Mytum & Carr 2013:4). In this research, the researcher also realised that the British also used many of these types of camps to help the British end the South African War, for example, the St Helena POW camp and African "labour" camps.

6.4 Can the archaeological methods chosen help to identify the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad?

Based on the findings presented in Chapter 4, the methods chosen for this study, namely pedestrian surveys and test pits were some of the best to use, as they helped the researcher to confirm that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR is where the African concentration camp was situated. These methods have also been used at Fort Pulaski, La Glacerie, Stalag Luft III, the Brandfort African concentration camp and the Doornbult concentration camp, where they were able to help researchers to answer research questions, as discussed in Chapter 4.

The researcher chose to conduct three pedestrian surveys and excavate three test pits, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.[73] The pedestrian surveys were conducted at the old house structure, barn, graves, stone walls, stone circle and hills. The surveyors were between 5 metres and 10 metres apart from each other, and walked in a south-easterly direction, from the perimeter fence of Bakkiesfontein 568IR to the R23 (Pedestrian Survey 1) and the hills (Pedestrian Surveys 2 and 3), with a hand-held GPS. Most of the artefacts were found during the second and third pedestrian surveys, as is shown in Tables 2 to 3. The test pits were dug in front of the barn, near the old house structure, on top and below the hills near the graves and stone walls. The test pits were 50 cm wide and 100 cm long, with a depth of 5 cm, and

[73] In this chapter, the researcher does not focus on the first pedestrian survey and the first test pit, because they yielded modern artefacts, except for three slag pieces and some barbed wire, as discussed in Chapter 5.

they were excavated in square grids. The test pits did not yield many artefacts, as is shown in Tables 4 to 6 (see Chapter 5).

Pedestrian Survey 2 and 3 and Test Pit 1 yielded two pottery pieces and three slag pieces, which indicate the former presence of an Iron Age community. Chapter 4 shows that it was difficult to ascertain which specific Iron Age community once occupied Greylingstad – not much is known about Greylingstad's archaeological history. Louw (1991:12) has argued that Sotho-Tswana people may have lived there (see Chapter 4). The artefacts may be associated with one or more groups in the Sotho-Tswana cluster, namely the Fokeng, Hurutshe, Kwena, or Makholokoe, who lived in the areas near Greylingstad, for example, around the Heidelberg and Standerton areas. The local group could also have been the Ghoya, because some of their corbelled beehive homesteads have been found in Mpumalanga, where Bakkiesfontein 568 IR is situated. What also made it difficult to identify the specific Iron Age community that lived in the Greylingstad area was the fact that the pottery pieces were undecorated, so there were no identifiable decorative patterns. Moreover, the research team did not find many Iron Age artefacts, perhaps because many of them were destroyed during the *Difaqane*.

Test Pits 2 and 3 and Pedestrian Surveys 2 and 3 yielded many European ceramic pieces, glass pieces, and various metal objects, which indicate the former presence of Scottish Rifles soldiers and a strong likelihood of the presence of African internees, as discussed in Chapter 5.[74] The research team did not find many artefacts that could be definitively associated with an African concentration camp. This may be because African internees were only allowed to bring a few personal belongings and food with them as the British did not always provide enough time for them to gather all their things. Five kinds of artefacts could possibly be associated with the African concentration camp. Firstly, there were African pottery pieces which internees could have brought in with them when they entered the camp. Secondly, there was a cast iron pot lid, which might have belonged to a pot which internees could have used. Thirdly, there was a tin can piece – there were cases where African concentration camps did receive tin canned food, although it is not clear whether this was the case in all camps and how regularly they received such canned foods, and whether they received fresh meat or not. Fourthly, the piece of thick barbed wire that was found may have come from a fence used to keep internees inside the camp. However, there is no clear

[74] Artefacts associated with the Scottish Rifles fort and presence in the area could also be associated with the African internees and vice versa.

evidence that indicates that African concentration camps were surrounded by barbed wire, so this piece could also have been used by the Scottish Rifles soldiers in a fence that served as an alarm system or to protect blockhouses, or by the previous owners of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR to protect their farm. Lastly, there were pieces of glass that seem to come from medicine bottles that could have been used by African internees, even though medical care was scarce in these camps.

Only during the pedestrian surveys were any features noted, as discussed in Chapter 5. One of these features was the African graves. The graves were a vital aspect in this study, because they were already known to be on the farm, and might be the only remaining incontrovertible evidence that the African concentration camp at Greylingstad ever existed, as a fire in the Greylingstad municipal buildings destroyed many of the few remaining records on this camp. The graves are a sad reminder of the silence in the remembrance of the contribution and loss of Africans as participants and victims of the South African War, who also need to be commemorated. The examination of the graves has filled in a gap on the African concentration camps, as little was known about them. These graves were discussed here as places with memory, which means that people link themselves to these places through emotional attachments. This in turn creates a "sense of place" (Van Dyke & Alcock 2003:6).

From the first pedestrian survey, it appeared from the lettering on the gravestones and the size of the graves that more than one person was buried per grave (see Figure 25). This practice was commonly followed in concentration camps, including the Boer camps. The research team did locate a few graves which might house only one person each, judging by the initials on the gravestones (see Figures 26 to 28). However, it was difficult to analyse the lettering on the gravestones because the stones were very weathered. Van der Westhuizen and Van der Westhuizen (2013:172) have suggested that many of the initials were those of Sotho names, and the dates on the gravestones go back to January and February 1902, the year the war ended and camps were closed (see Chapter 5).

A set of features observed in the second and third pedestrian surveys were the circular and rectangular stone walls, as discussed in Chapter 5. It was indicated that these walls may have been built by an Iron Age community as homesteads and fortifications. The British who occupied Greylingstad during the South African War may have seen these abandoned walls and reused them in some form. The African internees could also have reused them as makeshift shelters if there was a shortage of tents.

The old house structure, with its possible midden, the unknown structure and barn were also examined during the first pedestrian survey. It was realised from the artefacts that these structures were modern and were probably used by the previous owners of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, namely Bekker (see Table 1). Therefore, they were not valuable for this study.

Other features found during visits to Bakkiesfontein 568 IR included a stone circle. The stone circle had two large stones in it, and it was situated near the graves. Not much of it has remained. The purpose of the stone circle is unknown, and therefore it is not discussed in detail. After the main part of this study was completed, another burial site containing approximately 250 graves was found by Benneyworth, but these graves were not studied, as they were found at a later stage, not as part of the pedestrian surveys or in the excavation of the test pits which formed the core of this study. All that is known about them is that they date back to 1901. They are arranged in a more distinct pattern typical of military cemeteries (see Chapter 5).

6.5 Limitations

During this study, the researcher experienced a number of constraints. These are discussed below.

Firstly, there are no first-hand records, such as diaries, memoirs or reminiscences showing how Africans remembered and experienced the concentration camps (Nault 2013:22). The only record scholars have of how they might experienced these camps come from the brief mentions in the diaries and reminiscences of Boer women (Van Heyningen 1999:23). The reason scholars have not found such records on the African experience of these camps is that many Africans were illiterate, making it impossible for them to have written anything about their experiences of the camps (Mongalo & Du Pisani 1999:162).

Secondly, there was not much information on the history on Greylingstad which could have helped the researcher to find information on the Iron Age communities, the Scottish Rifles soldiers and the African concentration camp and its internees. Scholars have been consulted on who the specific Iron Age community that once lived in the area could have been, but none of them could indicate with certainty who they were. A lack of information on the Scottish Rifles was also limiting. The Scottish Rifles regiment was important because they protected the area and concentration camp against Boer attacks, so they might have had first-hand information on the concentration camp.

Thirdly, there were time constraints and costs. Time constraints prevented the researcher from surveying all of Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, making it impossible to locate more stone walls. Costs also prevented the researcher from using more expensive field methods, such as the use of aerial photographs, metal detectors and magnetometers. This prevented the researcher from conducting a thorough archaeological study on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR.

Fourthly, not many residents of the area were consulted during the fieldwork, and those who were approached were mostly White. The reason for this was that many African residents in Greylingstad have been left without a history due to forced removals, poverty and urbanisation (De Meyer 1999:10). De Meyer (1999:10) also notes that the oldest African resident in the township has only lived in the area during the last thirty years. If interviews and a survey were main methods of the study, more people would have been consulted, which might have led to more information on the camp or some of the internees.

Lastly, the field methods used had some disadvantages, as mentioned in Chapter 4. The test pits did not yield much, because they were not very deep. The pedestrian surveys, on the other hand, yielded numerous finds. More complex non-destructive methods, such as the use of a magnetometer, might have yielded more information on the concentration camp.

6.6 Future of archaeological studies on African concentration camps in South Africa

Nault (2013:24) notes that archaeologists in South Africa have had some success in finding the locations of African concentration camps and their cemeteries. Examples include the camps at Greylingstad, Taung, Vryburg, Dry Harts, Kimberley, Taaibosch, Witkop, Brandfort and Springs, Allemans Siding, Nigel, and Heidelberg, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Benneyworth 2016; Pretorius 2007:285; Westby-Nunn 1988:173). These findings have proven that African concentration camps can indeed be found. It is also hoped that these finds will promote further research, which in turn may help to reconstruct African concentration camps, providing a more comprehensive view of the participation of Africans in the war. Nault (2013:24) also notes that future archaeological studies may lead to the "establishment of additional historic sites commemorating victims of black concentration camps". Based on this research and other studies, it can be stated that there are still many camps and cemeteries out there waiting to be found.

6.7 Recommendations

A number of recommendations emanate from this study to fill in some of the gaps and address some of the limitations mentioned above. With these recommendations the researcher hopes to make people more aware of the fact that the South African War was in reality not only a White man's war, but a conflict that affected all the peoples in South Africa, including Africans. With these recommendations, the researcher also hopes to make more people aware that African concentration camps existed, as not many people know of their existence. Once people are aware of the existence of African concentration camps, they and their descendants may want to commemorate these camps and protect them, once they are found, as in this case. It is important to protect these African concentration camps with the help of government bodies, in order for future researchers to conduct a thorough archaeological study on them. The recommendations are discussed below.

The first recommendation is to make South Africans, especially Afrikaners, formerly known as Boers, aware of the fact that it was not only their ancestors who participated and suffered in the war, but that there were also others, such as Africans, who died in the concentration camps and in the field during the war. For almost a century, evidence of African suffering in concentration camps has been largely ignored by Afrikaners to promote and maintain their vision of Boer martyrdom (McGreal 1999). They have argued that they were the "sole martyrs" who suffered in the camps (Nault 2013:22). This was not true, as many Africans were also sent to concentration camps, as discussed in Chapter 2. This myth is finally being laid to rest now that scholars have begun to find more evidence of the African concentration camps (McGreal 1999). If Afrikaners become more aware of this fact, they may want to help preserve these historical sites of the war and its concentration camps. This could also make people come together so that various race groups can commemorate mutual suffering (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:5). Working with other races may clear up the war's divisive racial dimension (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:7).

Africans must be made aware that the South African War was not a White man's war only and that their ancestors also participated in it and also died in African concentration camps. Not many of them are aware that African concentration camps even existed, because their existence has not been part of the South African history curriculum. The history of African concentration camps only came into focus after the apartheid era. Only then were people made aware that African concentration camps existed. However, now that it is part of the

school curriculum, all South Africans, including African learners, may become more aware of their heritage, which they would hopefully want to protect (Stanley & Dampier 2005:108). There may also be some concentration camp survivors' descendants who may come forward with new information that they heard from one of their forebears. This information from them may help scholars to fill in the gaps in the incomplete records.

The third recommendation is to make other cultural groups aware of the fact that their ancestors also participated in the war. These include the San, Indians and Cape Coloureds. Once they are aware of this fact, then they may work with others to protect sites, where their ancestors were involved during the war, such as famous (or less famous) battle sites and graves. Their descendants may also come forward with new information that they heard from their grandparents or great-grandparents, which may be valuable for future studies.

The fourth recommendation is that a thorough archaeological study be done on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR. This could include a survey of the whole area or most of it. This may help future archaeologists to learn more about the stone walls, stone circle and graves. They may also find new artefacts belonging to the camp, which could lead them to more evidence of the exact location of the camp. Future archaeologists may also find more stone walls. The stone circle was interesting because nobody really knows what its purpose was, and why it was located near the graves. A more thorough archaeological study may reveal its purpose. It could also show future archaeologists whether the stone circle was part of a complex of more stone walls or not. Another reason why it is important to conduct further archaeological studies is that it may reveal more information on the graves found during the last visit to Bakkiesfontein 568, as mentioned in Chapter 5. This information may help future researchers to gain a better understanding of the African camp and its inmates.

The fifth recommendation is that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR should be declared a national heritage site by SAHRA. The farm is important because it is related to a section of the population ignored in the past, namely Africans who were in concentration camps in the South African War, and possibly with one or more Iron Age communities. The farm is linked to an important aspect of the history of South Africa, namely the South African War. Lastly, the farm is also relevant to the participation of the British in the war, such as the Scottish Rifles. If the site is accorded national status, then it may be protected from damage, because people may then not excavate or destroy anything on the farm without a permit from SAHRA and acknowledgement from the owners of the farm. According to the farm owners, national

status may make more South Africans, especially Africans, aware of the significance of the graves and the farm, as it is part of their history.

The sixth recommendation is that the graves on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR be protected, with the help of SAHRA and the owners of the farm, for future researchers. This includes putting up a strong barbed wire fence around the area where the graves are situated, in order to prevent cattle from grazing in that specific area and damaging the graves. A fence can also prevent people from entering the site without permission. This recommendation also includes cleaning up some of the graves, as many of them are covered by weeds and trees. A specialist should be engaged to do this. The owners may also open up the farm for the public to view. This can teach the public about African concentration camps. Future archaeologists may also want to excavate the graves, including the ones found recently, with the help of forensic archaeologists, bearing in mind the sensitivity of such excavations and exhumations. By excavating the graves, future archaeologists may find the number of internees buried in a grave, and determine the age of some of them, as well as gender.

Lastly, future researchers could erect a monument on Bakkiesfontein 568 IR, with permissions from SAHRA and the owners.[75] There are too few memories and memorials commemorating African concentration camps and their internees, because Africans have been forgotten and in a sense eliminated from the history of the war (Kessler 1999b:118; Westby-Nunn 1988:172). The Boers, the British and soldiers from Canada and other British territories have 1 100 monuments all over the world commemorating them (Cuthbertson & Jeeves 1999:12; Theron 2001:124). The best-known monument commemorating the Boers is the National Women's Monument, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, many have criticised this monument, as it primarily commemorates the Boers and no other groups, such as Africans (Nault 2013:23). There is even a monument commemorating all the Indians who died during the war at the Observatory in Johannesburg, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

A monument on the farm could be advantageous because it will make more people aware of this camp and African experiences in the conflict. The monument could also prevent people from driving past the graves without knowing that they are there. However, this monument must commemorate all the Africans and Boers from Greylingstad, and the Scottish Rifles soldiers, as all of them played an important part in the history of the town. The graves have

[75] There have been plans to erect a monument near the graves for those who died in the war and in the camp (De Meyer 1999: 10). However, no monument had been erected at the time when this study was conducted.

also become places with memory, as mentioned in Chapter 5. Therefore, it is vital to commemorate this site as a place with memory by erecting a monument for all people to see and to end the silence in the remembrance of the South African War.

6.8 Conclusion

Based on this research, it can be stated that Bakkiesfontein 568 IR is definitely where the African concentration camp was located, close to the burial sites and dry stream. These graves clearly mark the site as that of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad. The house on the farm has been proven not to have been associated with the camp or the African internees, as it turned out to be the ruins of a modern home. A stone circle and stone walls on the site warrant further research, as do the graves themselves.

Aside from a number of more modern artefacts, which were irrelevant to the research, the archaeological methods that were chosen have revealed a number of artefacts that, according to research done on these artefacts and specialists consulted, date back to the South African War, when the camp was in use, could indeed have been used by African internees in this concentration camp. These include pottery shards, and a cast iron pot lid, as well as remnants of a tin and broken medicine bottles.

Benneyworth (2016), who was consulted as an expert, has reiterated his opinion in a follow-up visit to Bakkiesfontein 568 IR that, based on the evidence found in this study, the camp was situated on the farm. He also based this opinion on his experience on African concentration camps and his assessment of the appearance of the graves. As mentioned in Chapter 4 and 5, the gravestones had initials that may have belonged to African people, and some were dated January to February 1902 and some graves may house more than one person. He also based this assessment on new graves found during his visit, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

The study thus contributes to the knowledge on African concentration camps in South Africa by conforming the location of the African concentration camp at Greylingstad.

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