

## GLOSSARY

Tot die bitter eind– Until the bitter end

ABW– Anglo Boer War

ZAR– Zuid Afrikanse Republiek-Transvaal

Nooi– a young, unmarried Boer girl / girlfriend

Marshal Law- “The temporary substitution of military authority for civilian rule and is usually invoked in time of war, rebellion, or natural disaster.

When martial law is in effect, the military commander of an area or country has unlimited authority to make and enforce laws.”<sup>1</sup>

POW’s -Prisoners of War : "Commonly used to mean any person captured or interned by a belligerent power during war. In the strictest sense, it applies only to members of regularly organized, armed forces but by broader definition, it has also included guerillas, civilians who 'take up arms' against, an enemy openly, or non-combatants associated with a military force." <sup>2</sup>

The Hague Convention Chapter 2, article 4 of 1899: “Prisoners of War are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of the individuals or corps that captured them. They must be humanely treated.”<sup>3</sup>

## NEWSPAPER COLLECTIONS OF: ANGLO BOER WAR & POW'S BERMUDA "TWO SOUTH AFRICAN CURLEWIS MEN ON BERMUDA DURING ABW"

### VOLUME 1

War was inevitable. On 14 October 1899, barely 30 hours after the ultimatum from the ZAR was given to the British and ignored by them; the first shots of war rang out and the first battle won by the Boers at the Kraaifontein railway station. <sup>4</sup>

The two independent SA republics accepted assistance from other European countries like Germany, to build upon their small fledgling army. ZAR (Transvaal) only had 473 soldiers, including officers. For the Boer War, boys and men between the ages of 16 and 60 were conscripted as soldiers. The Boer burghers had no military training, but were excellent shots - and horsemen which would prove to be highly beneficial in a war scenario waged on familiar Boer turf. <sup>5</sup>

The British did not realize that President Kruger had in fact stockpiled weapons, ammunition and equipment since the breakdown of talks with Sir Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner to South Africa in July 1899. <sup>6</sup>

On 12 October 1899, President MT Steyn from the Free State, pledged his commitment in support of the ZAR to defend both Republics from British invasion. Since there were historical- and family ties as well as a formal treaty between the two governments; they would all stand together against the British. <sup>7</sup>

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  2. Encyclopaedia Britannica "[A New Survey of Universal Knowledge.](#)" Vol 18 pg 520-522
  3. Stead, W.T. 1901. [How we are Waging War.](#) The Hague Rules of War Chapter 2, article 4.
  4. Grobler, J.E.H. 2013. [The War Reporter: The Anglo Boer War through the eyes of the Burghers.](#) pg 1
  5. Fordred L.L. 1997. "[Wireless in the second Boer War.](#)" in Transactions of SA Institute of Electrical Engineers pg 62-64
  6. Austin, B.A. 2017. "[Wireless in the Boer War.](#)" in Electromagnetic Compatibility Magazine Vol 1 Quarter 1 pg 32
  7. Ibid 4 pg 2
  8. [tracyloveshistory.wordpress.com](http://tracyloveshistory.wordpress.com) Visited on 23/07/2020 "We went marching to Pretoria" (or How I fell in love with Afrikaans in my 36th year) Posted on October 17, 2012
  9. Ibid 4 pg 1

Free Boer Association Press

# "The War Herald"

1899-1902 "TOT DIE BITTER END..."



## BRITS MEDDLING WITH THE ZAR'S INTEGRITY & INDEPENDANCE LEADS TO ULTIMATUM BY PRES KRUGER TO THE BRITISH



TO WAR OR NOT TO WAR? THAT IS THE QUESTION...

JJ Retief reports from the capital of ZAR, Pretoria, 10 October 1899:

The Boers left the Cape of Good Hope in the 1830's to the 1840's with their ox

wagons, families, biltong, organs, Bibles and faith. They settled in the ZAR and the Free State to forge a new life and beginning, long before the gold rush in Johannesburg or diamonds were discovered in Kimberley. It had become impossible to live under British rule in the Cape. Those Englishmen with their penchant for tea over coffee, for all things British over Afrikaner, for the abolition of slavery over servitude; for their Johnny-come-lately insistence that they could run the Cape better than these countrymen who had been doing so since 1652.<sup>8</sup> Fast forward to almost 70 years later, the Boers have a sense of déjà vu and know this means trouble; just like it did in the Cape Colony. On 9 October 1899, state secretary of the Republic of South Africa (Transvaal), FW Reitz, personally handed the written ultimatum to the British agent, Sir William Conynham Greene from President Paul Kruger. It boiled down to the following: "The British must stop interfering with the internal affairs of our independent Republic and withdraw the British troops congregated on its borders immediately. If not, consider war to be declared."<sup>9</sup>

### Editor's Note:

JJ Retief put a spin on the famous Shakespeare quotation from Hamlet: "To be or not to be; that is the question." Hamlet was contemplating suicide; the ZAR contemplating war. Both extremely serious matters and choices or decisions people and leaders must make; all with consequences.

- ♦ War always leads to a lot of pain and suffering for both the friendly- and enemy forces. We pray for the safety of all the boys and men and their families of course; should there be war.
- ♦ The Boers feel that they are justified in defending their two Republics. As journalists, it is not our task to judge the strong conviction of our people who love this land dearly and have fought so hard for everything they have.
- ♦ Our Newspaper will bring you the latest news on the war front with only the facts by our best reporters in the field.

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The Boers say they are ready to fight for the ZAR & Free State!!!

At the beginning of the Victorian period circa 1838, small boys and girls dressed the same with frocks reaching to the knee or calf with pantalettes protruding beneath the skirts. Even older boys, although allowed to wear tight pantaloons, wore upper garments like a girls bodice, either frilled or wide collared... As boys grew older, they wore trousers and short jackets. Later they would wear a proper jacket, waistcoat and pants like their fathers.<sup>10</sup>

Oelaf Abraham Izak Davel (Loffie) was born on 4/04/1870 in Richmond, Cape Province and his parents relocated to Thaba Bosigo, near Reitz in 1872.

In October 1899, Davel fought with the Bethlehem Commando, under the command of Commandant Hans Naude on the Natal front. It is at Modderspruit that he received his baptism in fire on the warfront.

Here after, he fought with General Piet de Wet at Colesburg and General CR de Wet at Paardeberg. He was also actively involved at Sannaspas, Elandsfontein and Betlehem.

On 26 December 1900, Davel is appointed as commandant to President Steyn's special body guard detail at Tafelkop.

On 6 June 1901, he is part of a select group of soldiers to assist in the release of a women's *laer* (camp) at Graspan. He was wounded twice during the Boer War. He was captured in Reitz on 11/07/1901 and send as a POW to Morgan's island, Bermuda.

He was married to Cornelia Van Helsdingen in 1894 and also to Laura Pieter Wessels in 1930. He had a long military career and lived at Wesselsheim, near Bethlehem and was a well to do man in his community. He died on 30/07/1950. <sup>11</sup>

It is not clear exactly when JC Curlewis relocated from Paarl to the Free State. He was born circa 1876. Many of his younger male siblings from the Walter Henry line, would also relocate to the Free State.

DJ Opperman poem loosely translated: “My girl is in a naartjie. My Gran is in cinnamon. There is someone, someone in anise. There's a woman in every fragrance.”

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10. Lantern, February 1991 pg 58 Victorian Dress for boys
  11. geni.com Notes by Stephanus Scheepers on 02/02/20 Loffie Davel
  12. family.earch.org Walter Henry Curlewis Death certificate; with family details visited June 2020
  13. Christiaan de Wet-Annale 3 1975. pg 22 Footnote under 31 (Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns in samewerking met die Oorlogsmuseum, )
  14. Email with notes by Ian Curlewis dd 26 June 2020
  15. Ibid 13. pg 22
  16. “President MT Steyn: Lewe en Sterwe van die groot Afrikaner Staatsman” Volksblad Drukkery Bloemfontein Undated. Pg 26 Curlewis was a very short man whist MT Steyn was a very tall man. The story of MT Steyn almost captured in Reitz and the relevance of both men's height, will be told later in this Newspaper.

Interview with JC Curlewis by reporter Marie Van Niekerk

7 June 1901

JC has for security reasons asked me not to photograph him, but was kind enough to allow me to use a childhood photograph which caused us some laughter. Humor during this time of war, is always welcome!

Marie: Is JC a nickname?

JC: Yes, JC is a nickname which stands for James Curlewis. My full name is James Frederick.

Marie: Tell me more about yourself and your family.

JC: I am 24 years old and was born and bred in the Paarl. I am still single. I am the oldest

son of Walter Henry & Johanna Jacoba Minnaar Curlewis. My father is a wine farmer and trader.<sup>12</sup> I was a teacher after I relocated to the Free State.<sup>13</sup> I have 3 sisters Alida (22), Joan (17) & Daisy (20) and two brothers, Harry (14) and John (9).<sup>14</sup> My uncle is the retired Rev JF Curlewis from the Paarl.

Marie: Tell me about your current position in the Free State Government?

JC: I am the adjutant to Commandant OIA Davel who is in charge of the body guard detail of President MT Steyn.<sup>15</sup>

Marie: What does your duties include?



JF CURLEWIS'S PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN ROUND ABOUT 1878. HE WEARS THE SAME LINES OF THOSE OF HIS MOTHER AND SISTERS WITH WHITE PANTALETES. THE TOY RIFLE DENOTES HIS MASCULINITY. (UNFORTUNATELY HE LEFT THE PICTURE OF MOM AND SISTERS BACK IN PAARL, CAPE COLONY).<sup>10</sup>

JC: Without disclosing too much sensitive information; it entails a lot of administrative duties and a lot of coordination. I am the Commandant's gofer if you will; doing various things that need to be done during war.

Marie: Last question JC. Your grandfather was James Curlewis, a British immigrant to SA. Now you are on the side of the Boers. Is this not a strange position to be in?

JC: (Gives my question some thought) You know Marie, I always remember my British roots, but I am a third generation child born in SA. My Mom is from a Boer family. I have a loyalty to my homeland and my people.

Marie: Thank you for your time. I know you are very busy.

JC: Nods and dashes off to duty...

After thoughts by Marie: A short man<sup>16</sup> with loads of energy and a big heart beating for the Boer cause!



President MT Steyn

Paarl 27 December 1900 (handwritten)

To Captain Levett 4N Stafford Regiment Camp Paarl

Sir,

Referring to our conversation of this morning re: parole, and in the matter of my application to extend my geographical sphere within which I shall be allowed to perform my business duties outside the town of Paarl, together with portions of the adjoining districts, such as Malmesbury, Stellenbosch, etc, I beg to submit for consideration, & in support of my application the following facts and circumstances attending my case:

1 Under & in terms of certain proclamation issued at Johannesburg by HS Field Marshall Lord Roberts dated 30 May 1900, I laid down my arms and took an oath of neutrality to abstain from further participation in this war, thereby receiving according to the said proclamation, the protection of the military, and the privilege of enjoying freedom from all restraint consequent in the case of a person on parole i.e. a prisoner of war.

2 In August last I received a written order from Lieutenant Colonel Maye, Commissioner of Police at Pretoria to proceed to Europe, and which order was, however, at my request, modified in so far that I was permitted to remain in the Cape Colony. That on leaving Pretoria a pass was issued to me, passing me unhindered to my house at Cape Town for Paarl. That forced by domestic circumstances I have undertaken canvassing for The South African Mutual Life Association Society, which action necessitates my travelling about in the Paarl district and into the adjoining districts. That any action on the part of the military authorities to curtail the liberty I at present enjoy of visiting for business purposes, the Paarl district and adjoining areas, will precipitate me into a most awkward & impecunious position-debarring me from meeting my domestic expenses. In conclusion I would particularly call attention to the to the fact that I have taken the oath of neutrality to abstain from further participation in this war, & with all due deference I will assert, that my conduct hitherto has been such as to justify no restraint being placed upon me. I therefore desire that the military authorities with regard above mentioned proclamation as sufficient reason to exempt me from any future and possible restraint, or in the event of your authorities not acceding to my wishes, but under no other circumstances, I pray to be allowed freedom to travel as above

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant

“R G Curlewis” (then aged 26) <sup>26</sup>

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17. Email notes by Willie Curlewis dd 10 June 2020
  18. Transcribed copies made by Ian Curlewis December 2019 from handwritten records and documents in the period 27/12/1900 to 8/9/ 1902 obtained from various South African archives about Robert Gray Curlewis. Hand-written letter to Capt Levett, 4N Stafford Regiment Camp Paarl, by RG dated 27 Dec 1900
  19. Ibid 17
  20. curlewis.net JF Curlewis Notes
  21. geni.com Mary Curlewis & Robert Shaw
  22. Ja, dit is oorlog. - Yes, it is war.
  23. Ibid 17
  24. Ibid 18
  25. Photo from Ian Curlewis’s private collection (Perth) of the 5 children of Rev JF -& Mary Curlewis
  26. Ibid 18 Letter from RG to Capt Levett dd 27 Dec 1900



Interview with RG Curlewis by Adriaan Thiele on 6 May 1900

Secret location, somewhere in the capital, Pretoria ZAR

Robert Gray Curlewis was appointed clerk- & registrar of the High Court in Pretoria prior to the outbreak of the Anglo Boer War in 1898. His appointment was signed by President Kruger after he became a naturalized burgher of ZAR. Due to the circumstances of war, he is currently unable to practice Law. <sup>17</sup> He is working for the "South African Mutual Life Association Society". He has made no secret of where his loyalties lie in terms of this war. He is a staunch Boer supporter. <sup>18</sup>

Adriaan: Mr Curlewis, there is an interesting story behind your first names Robert Gray. Tell me

more.

RG: Yes, I was named after the first Bishop in Cape Town, Robert Gray. He ordained my father, James Frederick Curlewis as deacon in 1859 in the Anglican Church, Paarl. <sup>19</sup> & <sup>20</sup>

Adriaan: So you grew up as a minister's child? Were you the naughty Rev's son?

RG: (Laughs) Yes, very much so! I think I gave my parents grey hair! Maybe that's where my second name also comes in! I am the youngest child of the 5 children of JF -& Mary Curlewis. I also have two half siblings from my Mom's previous

marriage to Robert Shaw who died tragically. -William & Mary Jane. <sup>21</sup>

Adriaan: How did you get into the Law profession?

RG: Well, my second oldest brother Jack, is a judge. He very much inspired me to take up the law and also paid for my studies. <sup>22</sup>

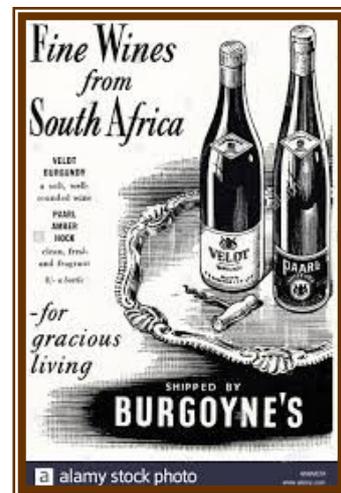
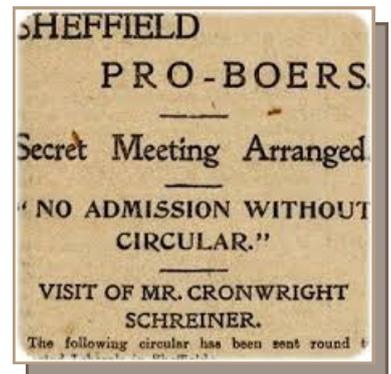
Adriaan: And now it is war!

RG: Ja, dit is oorlog! <sup>23</sup> I fully support the cause of the War and will help the Boers in my own way.

Adriaan: Have you taken up arms?

RG: (Pauses to think) Yes, I have. <sup>24</sup> More than this I cannot and should not say.

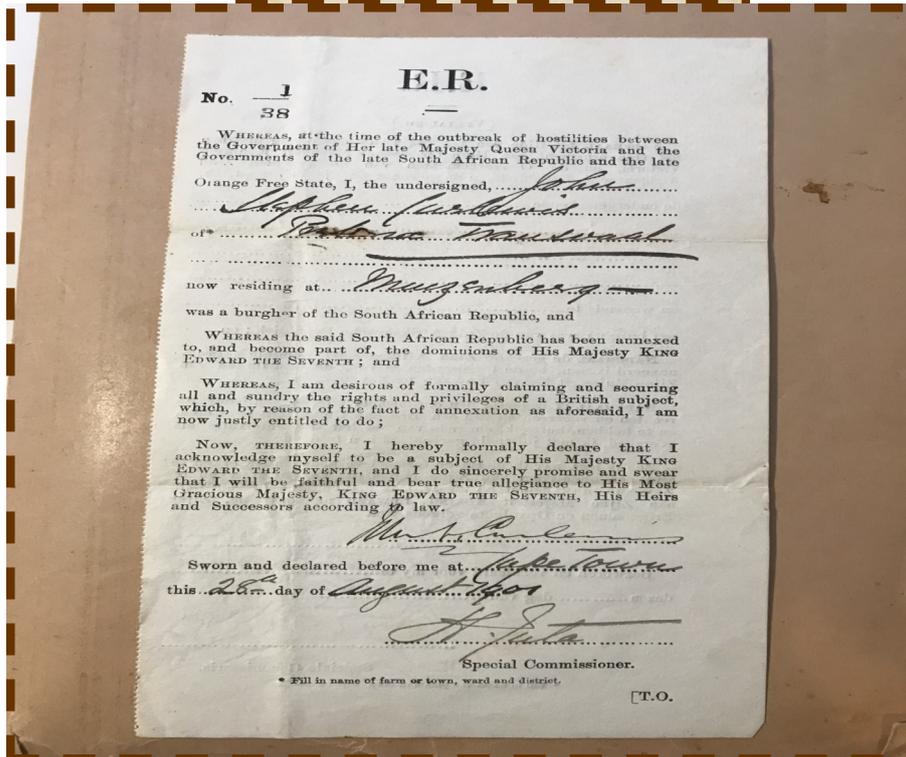
Adriaan: Thank you for your time.



F-L-R: James Frederick Inglis, Sarah Louisa (Lulu) & John Stephen (Jack) B-L-R: Robert Gray & George Edward (Algie) Children of Rev JF- & Mary Curlewis <sup>25</sup>



“The Transvaal Soup” is not as good as I thought it would be! (Chamberlain)



JS Curlewis's Pledge of Allegiance as British subject and permission to live in Muizenburg. <sup>34</sup>

27. Ibid 5 pg 30-34
28. Ibid 4 pg 73
29. angloboerwar.com POW RG Curlewis
30. Email notes Ian Curlewis dd 4 May 2020
31. Ibid 18 Letter Maj C Wedgwood Commandant Paarl SO POW 6/ 06/ 1901
32. Wasserman J.M. 2005. Chapter 9 Imprisonment of Natal Afrikaners University of Pretoria pg 293-294
33. Ibid 29 Town Guards W Curlewis & JW Curlewis
34. Ian Curlewis Family Memorabilia: Permission Letter ABW JS Curlewis to live in Muizenburg



## Wireless or Clueless Brits?

*Vleis Visagie reporting from Delgoa Bay, 10 February 1900:*

The five Marconi stations used by the British in the war; have all been dismantled from the field and the Royal Navy have apparently requested that this equipment be forwarded to them in Delgoa Bay, for use solely at sea now.

The Royal Engineers and sappers are very disappointed. One sapper spoke to me off the record in a local pub, obviously he does not want to be named. 'At sea the Marconi system works excellently; on land it is a different kettle of fish, altogether... There are too many unknown factors

on land such as geography, thunder storms, winds, rain etc, that make the Marconi unsuitable as is and totally unreliable. Some bloody British geniuses thought the war has already been won due to our technological advantage. My foot...'

The War experts however do agree that the Anglo Boer War hails the beginning of the use of more sophisticated technology in warfare, for sure!

The Boers have enlisted the help of the Germans and have Siemens systems for communication. Unfortunately the British have seized these systems and the Boers now rely on tele-

communication lines from the Railways.<sup>27</sup>



## The British flag is hoisted in Pretoria!

*Gert Meyer reporting from the mourning capital on 4 June 1900:*

It is a dark moment indeed in the history of the ZAR! We were all witness to the horrible event where the British removed our beloved flag and replaced it with their Union Jack! Even our elderly President Kruger and many of our

respected officers; wavered for a moment as they were just about to give up! President Steyn from the Free State and Chief Commandant De Wet heard that these leaders were irresolute and stepped in to pep talk, motivate and encourage! Unity is strength, people!

The Afrikaners do not want to

be known as a nation of cowards; people who give in. So it's upwards and onwards for the Boers! All is surely not lost yet! <sup>28</sup>



## RG Curlewis held in Irene Cells

*Adriaan Thiele reporting on 6 June 1900:*

RG Curlewis was interned on 5 June 1900, <sup>29</sup> at possibly the Irene POW cells. His brothers, John Stephen and James Frederick Inglis, were allegedly briefly detained in the Irene cells earlier too. They all had to sign an oath of neutrality and will be paroled as part of their rehabilitation and allowed to travel to Muizenburg (JS) and Paarl, (JFI & RG) in the Cape Province were they originally hail from, before they became naturalized ZAR burghers.<sup>30</sup> The fate of

RG seems to be in the balance as he is a tough cookie and thoroughly getting on the British's nerves.<sup>31</sup> By all accounts, prisoners are treated quite well under these circumstances since they are not hard combatants as such and have some privileges.<sup>32</sup>

In the mean time, a journalist colleague of mine in the Cape Province, Jan Van Staden, has reported that two distant cousins of the three brothers-their grandfather's twin brother Walter's clan- have joined the Petrusville Town Guards on side of the British. They are apparently father and son: Nr 10 W Curlewis (Senior) and Nr 11 JW Curlewis.(Junior)<sup>33</sup>



“In July 1901, General Broadwood, who was engaged in "sweeping" the north eastern Free State district around the town of Reitz, doubled back on his march during the night-time by a circuitous route, and succeeded in surprising President Steyn and members of his Government who had come into the place in the wake of the English column; believing that Broadwood was passing in a direct march north to Heilbron. There were only a few burghers with the President, and the surprise was so complete that he escaped half-dressed, according to the English reports, while Generals A. Cronje (of Winburg) and Wessels, Mr. Steyn's brother-in-law, and about thirty other persons were captured. Some State papers and a sum of money also fell into English hands.”<sup>37</sup>

The diary of Rocco De Villiers reveals that they, as state officials from the Free State, were treated differently than the fighting Boers. Like all captured Boers however, they were stripped of all their personal belongings but allowed to initially keep their horses. They were treated fairly, but were never left alone and were constantly asked to supply information re the military operations of the Free State and ZAR.<sup>38</sup>

On the 14th of July 1901, General Broadbottom informed the captured officials that they would be travelling to Pretoria to meet with Kitchener. Eleven men travelled to Pretoria. They were: Brain, Cronje, Wessels, Davel, de Villiers, Curlewis, Fraser, McHardy, Van Zijl & Slabbert. There, they were kept in cells for 5 days to “rethink their position”, but were treated well.<sup>39</sup>

It was an intelligence tactic of the British to treat the high ranking officials well, with the hope of gaining military information from them but, they also readily changed tactics when the Boers would not play ball, hence the 5 day stay in cells. Apart from a few important documents, the Free State officials could not give any credible information on Boer military operations and were sent back on their journey of internment to Bermuda.

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37. Davitt, M. 1902. Boer Fight for Freedom Chapter XXXVIII - Diary Of The War—July To December, 1901
38. Oosthuizen, S.P.R 1975 “Die beheer, behandeling en lewe van Krygsgevangenes gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902” MA Verhandeling UOVS
39. Ibid 13 pg 34
40. The Project Gutenberg EBook August 14, 2011 [EBook #37083] J. D. Kestell “Through Shot and Flame: The Adventures and Experiences of J. D. Kestell Chaplain to President Steyn and General Christian De Wet” Pg 2-3
41. Beeld 11 June 2018 Fransjohan Pretorius “Die dag toe Ruiter, die Griekwa Pres Steyn red.”
42. Ibid 40 pg 2-4
43. Dutch Holland translation to English: “It is personally very difficult for me that such good and loyal comrades, have fallen into the hands of the enemy.”
44. Ibid 13 Pg 33



## President Steyn's narrow escape!

*Nellie Visser reports from Reitz, Free State, 12 July 1901:*

On the evening of 10 July, President Steyn slept over at Reitz with some of his staff. Early on the morning of 11 July, President Steyn was awoken by his cook, the colored boy named Ruiter. "Wake up Sir, the English are here!" The President hurried to the stables without a jacket and his nightcap still on. His saddle was not available, so JC Curlewis took his own saddle and helped saddle up President Steyn's horse. Now Curlewis is very short and Pres Steyn, a tall man. President Steyn did not have

time to adjust the saddle and sped off just in time! If it were not for the dangerous situation; this would have been quite comical to see President Steyn moving on horseback with a saddle too short for his long legs! President Steyn got away, but many other members of the Free State government were captured that very day.<sup>40</sup>



Ruiter, the cook of Pres MT Steyn<sup>41</sup>

## Free State Government Officials Captured!

*Hennie Schutte reporting from Reitz, 13 July 1901:*

On 11 July practically the whole of President Steyn's staff are captured in Reitz, with exception of Mr. J. W. C. Brebner, the government secretary, who was absent on leave.

The brave-heart Commandant, Loffie Davel, who was chief of

the President's bodyguard; was also captured. Besides the President, only seven men of the bodyguard escaped. An English officer called this pure luck. In my opinion, this was nothing short of a small miracle!

All Free State money and important documents fell into the

hands of the British of course,



## Names released of captured Free State Officials

*Nellie Visser reports from Bloemfontein on 15 July 1901:*

President Steyn said the following re the capturing of his government officials: "Het was mij zwaar dat die goede, getroue kameraden in de hande van de vijand moesten zijn..."<sup>43</sup> The following Free State members were captured at Reitz and we confirm the accuracy of our list: 1) Commandant Davel- Bethlehem Burghers 2) WJ Van Zyl (Member of Commission) 3) AW Mc Hardy (Clerk of War Commission) 4) JF Curlewis

(Adjutant to Commandant Davel) 5) Rocco De Villiers (Secretary of Executive Board) 6) Gordon Fraser (Private Secretary of President Steyn) 7) Pieter G Steyn (Member of Commission) 8) Genl Andries P Cronje (Member of Executive Committee) 9) Genl Jan B Wessels (Member of War Commission) 10) Thomas P Brain (Gov Secretary) 11) WJ Van Zyl, working with Mr Brain 12) Corporaal Willem W Viljoen 13) FWJ Slabbert, member of Riding Force) 14) Paul Kamann

15) Gerhardus Oosthuyzen 16) Martin M. Oosthuyzen 17) Gert Nicolas Michau 18) Jacobus A Naude 19) Cornelius J Naude 20) David B Naude 21) Danie De Lange 22) Louis de Jager 23) Jan Van Wijk 24) Dirk J Kruger 25) Willem F Blignaut 26) Maximilian JF Hake 27) Hendrik J Van Jaarsveld 28) Theunis Roos and 29) Jan De Jager.<sup>44</sup>





PHOTO TAKEN AT "TIN TOWN" LADYSMITH AFTER THE ARREST OF FREE STATE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN JULY, 1901. B-F-L-R: COMMANDANT LOFFIE DAVEL (TAILCOAT), WJ VAN ZYL, AW MC HARDY, JF CURLEWIS (JC WITH BANDAGED EYE), JOUBERT REITZ, ROCCO DE VILLIERS & GORDON FRASER  
F-L-R: PIETER G STEYN, GENL ANDRIES P CRONJE, GENL JAN B WESSELS & THOMAS P BRAIN (PHOTO MSE VAN SCHOOR, BLOEMFONTEIN) <sup>41</sup>



TIN TOWN LADYSMITH <sup>42</sup>

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41 Ibid 13 pg 21

42 angloboerwar.com "Tin Town"

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