Luka Jantjie: A Publisher's View of a Highly Illustrated Historical Biography

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Abstract

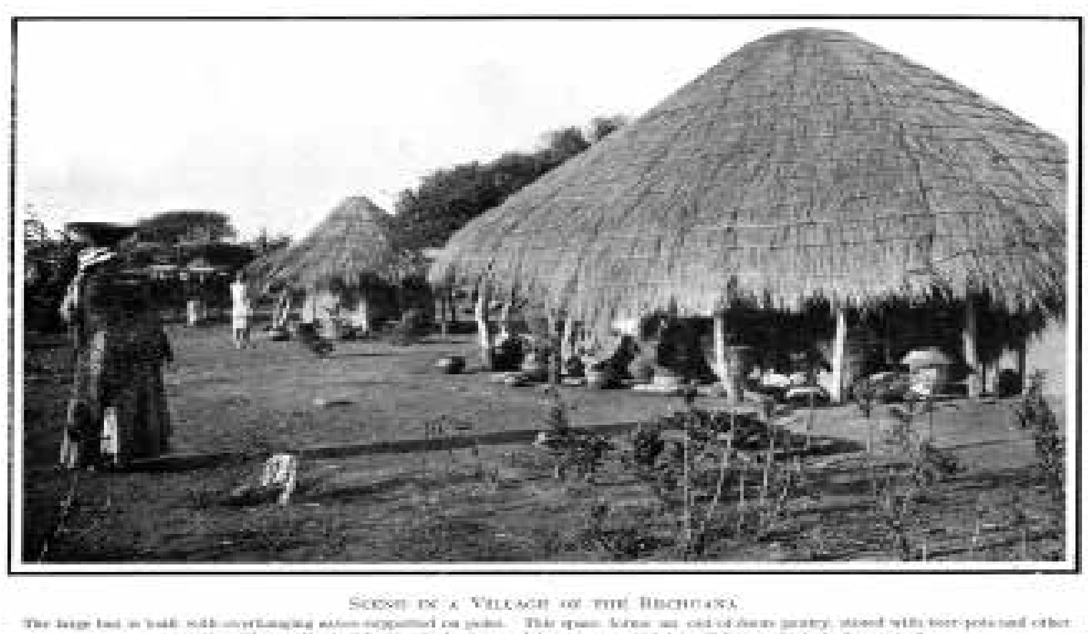
In the course of publishing Kevin Shillington's biography of Luka Jantjie (c.1835-1897), I became fascinated by the wealth of images available to illustrate Luka's life and times. These images created a number of opportunities to support the text in telling the story, but they also raised important issues about selection and about how images should be used in the book. In order to examine these issues this paper first outlines the story as it presented itself for illustration, and then discusses the development of the work as an illustrated biography.

Who was Luka Jantjie?

Luka Jantjie was a much neglected leader of resistance to British colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. His place in South African history has been overshadowed by events elsewhere in the region. In writing Luka's remarkable story, historian Kevin Shillington aimed to redress the balance.

Luka was born in or around 1835, at Mosesberg on the Vaal River. He was the eldest son of Kgosi Jantjie Mothibi, one of several Batlhaping leaders in the northern Cape. He lived in a village similar to the one below and learned to read and write at a mission school.

Figure 1: The social and domestic context: photograph of typical Batswana village (Mochudi) taken by AM Duggan-Cronin in the 1920s.



In 1853 or 1854 Luka married Gaseikangwe, and settled at Manyeding, about 25 kilometres east of Kuruman, where he built a stone house, quite a substantial house for the time. He spent some time advising his father, Jantjie Mothibi, in a political environment which was becoming increasingly pressured. Colonial settlers advanced steadily northwards and acquired more Batlhaping land through a mix of force and trickery. The map below shows the area of conflict.

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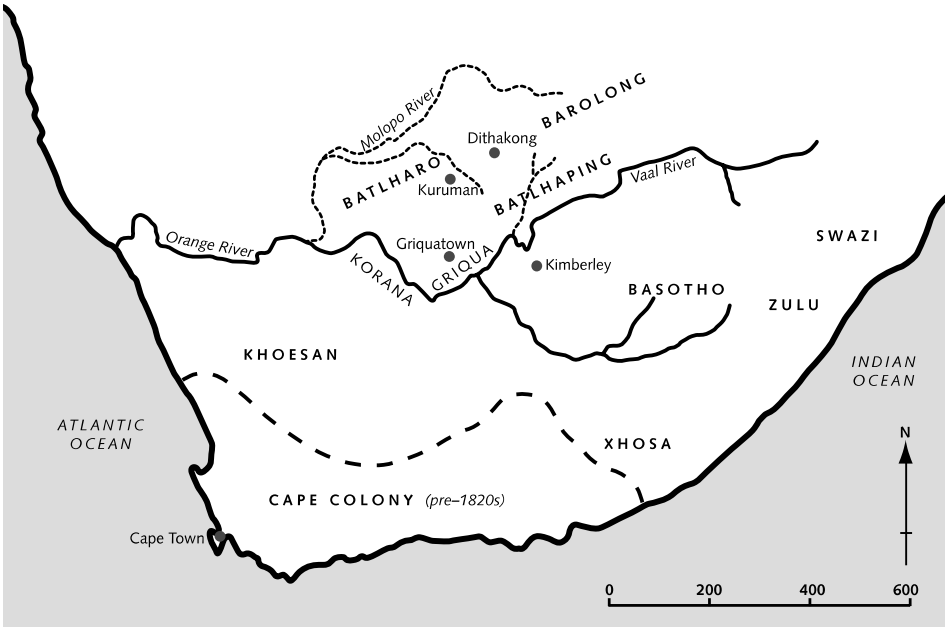
Figure 2: Map of Southern Africa in the mid to late nineteenth century showing the area of conflict and the main peoples involved.



Eventually, Luka became a successful hunter in his twenties and thirties, often travelling north in his wagon towards the Zambezi where there were still substantial numbers of game. He used the profits to build up his cattle herds, and to acquire many of the goods that prosperous men of his time – both black and white –aspired to, such as guns, wagons, horses, household goods, and clothing.

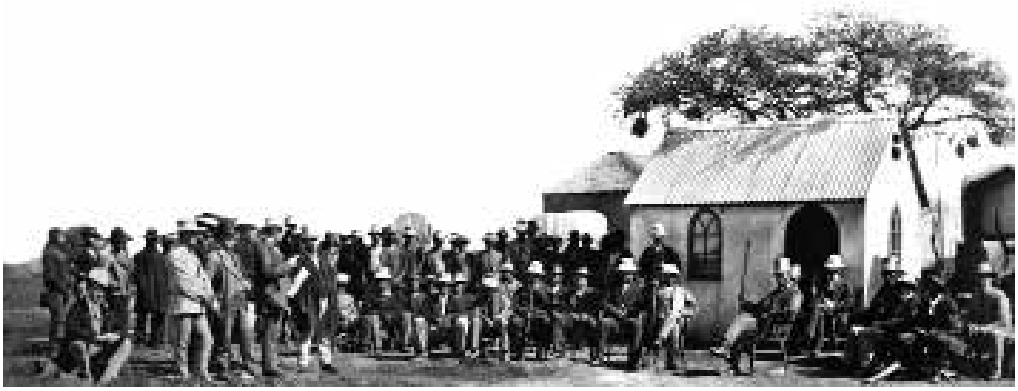
The Kimberley diamond mining boom that was to transform Southern Africa began in the early 1870s. Luka was the first independent African ruler in the Kimberley area to lose his land to the new colonialists, who quickly annexed all of the diamond fields. He was not a man to give in to colonialism quietly. At first he was able to get prospectors on his land to pay him fees; he purchased a cannon to help defend himself against armed invaders, and at one point had a German colonist flogged for murdering his African servant. Luka's outspoken stand against the colonists and their hypocritical 'justice' earned him the epithet: 'a wild fellow who hates the English'.

The photograph below shows Batlhaping and Griqua leaders with their counselors 'negotiating' in Barkly West with Lt-Governor Richard Southey in 1874, a tactic which ultimately failed to preserve their land.

Luka was forced to take up arms to defend himself and his people from colonial attacks. In 1878 at the battle of Kho he defeated, despite being wounded, a force of over one hundred colonial troops, many of them mounted. Victory was sadly temporary. His Batlhaping people were defeated by a larger colonial force four weeks later at the Battle of Dithakong. Luka was captured, tried and imprisoned in May 1879.

On his release a year later, Luka renewed his political efforts. He travelled around on horseback to many parts of the northern Cape to build up popular support for his leadership. Count Plater, a settler who lived at Blikfontein near Luka's main base, wrote 'I still very well remember the time when Luca (sic), accompanied by a following of from six to ten armed men, would pass every three months' visiting his people. Luka ensured that the country was 'studded with small locations where … (his) people dwell.' In Count Plater's opinion Luka was not just 'a Wily Chieftain', but a 'born diplomatic genius' (*Cape Times Weekly* 27 Jan 1897).

Figure 3: Political relationships through photographs: Lt-Governor Richard Southey with land agent David Arnot at his side meets regional leaders in Barkly West in the northern Cape including Botlasitse, Mankurwane, Nicholas Waterboer (Griqua) and possibly Jantjie Mothibi, Luka's father, c.1874 (photograph by Gray Brothers of Kimberley).



Luka, as the son of an early Christian convert, was brought up to respect peace and non-violence; his boycott of rural trading stores in the early 1890s was an early example of non-violent resistance in colonial South Africa. His refusal to bow to colonial demands of subservience intensified the enmity of local colonists determined to 'teach him a lesson'. His struggle culminated in a dramatic and violent six-month siege in 1897 in the rugged landscape of the Langeberg mountain range on the southern fringes of the Kalahari, where Luka allied with Kgosi Toto of the local Batlharo people. See colonial artillery below.

Figure 4: The physical context: the rugged Langeberg landscape today

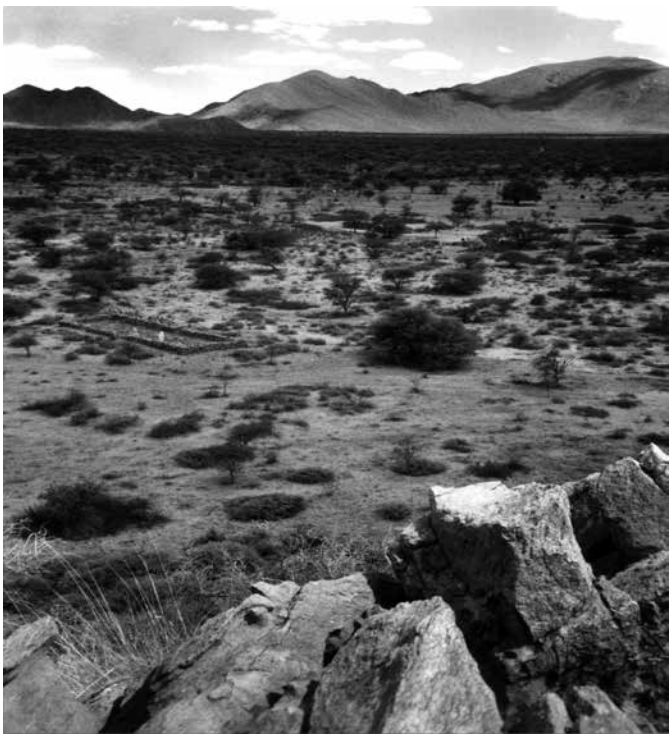
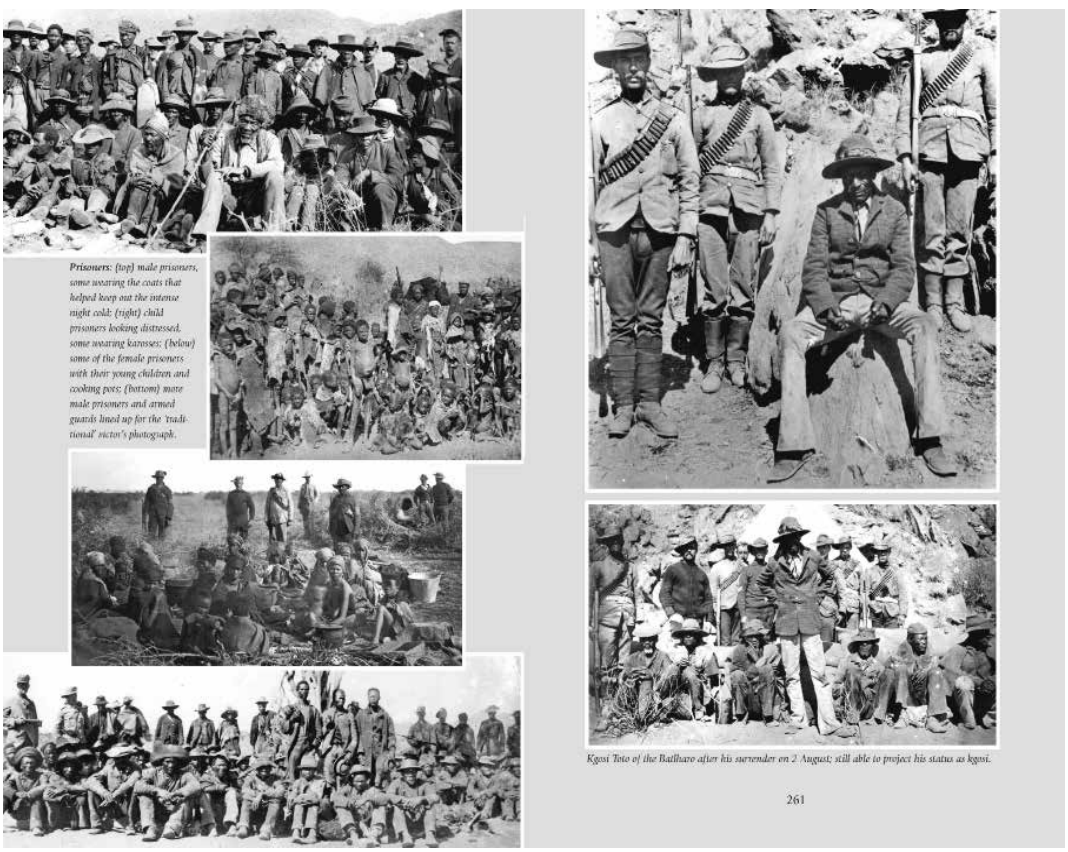


Figure 5: The military context: colonial artillery in the Langeberg in 1897.

Luka was shot dead by Lt Surgeon Temple Smyth in the early afternoon of Friday 30 July 1897, after his Winchester repeating rifle apparently jammed. Within three days most of his and Toto's people surrendered, as shown in this double-page spread below.

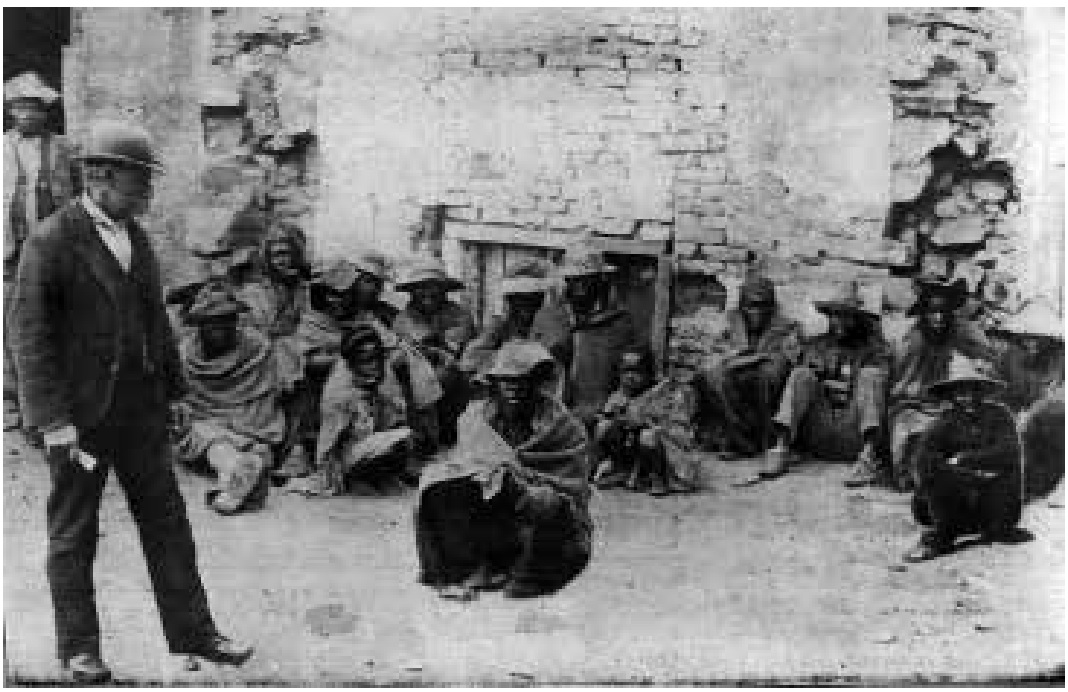
Figure 6: Just surrendered, Langeberg, August 1897 –a double page extract from the book, Luka Jantjie (pp.260/61)



The consequences of defeat in the Langeberg were tragic. Nearly four 4000 prisoners were taken – men, women, and children. They were marched initially to Kuruman over 100 km away. Most were suffering from wounds or from starvation or both. Many died. 2000 were compelled to walk a further 200 km to the railhead at Vryburg from where they were transported to Cape Town. Those that survived the journey were held in pitiful conditions, and were then indentured for five years as cheap labour to local farmers. Figure 8 shows a farmer selecting prisoners to work on his farm.

Figure 7: Telling the story: some of the prisoners waiting in Kuruman.

Figure 8: Telling the story: a farmer selecting prisoners in Cape Town to work on his farm.



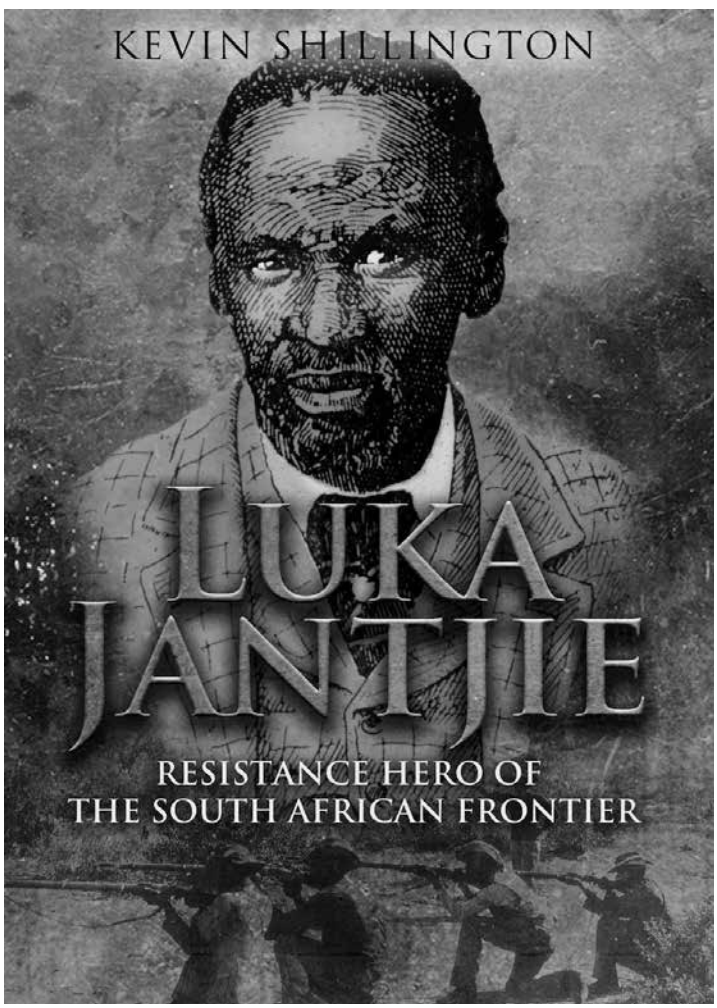
Kevin Shillington's new biography recovers the history of a remarkable man and his Batlhaping people –a history which was effectively obliterated by the forced removals described above coupled with extensive land confiscations in Batlhaping and Batlharo areas in the northern Cape.

The Book: Publishing rationale

It is important to stress that the book is a biography of Luka Jantjie, not a history of his people –even though there is still no detailed modern history of the Batlhaping. The priority was to keep the focus throughout the book on Luka, and not to fill in the gaps in Batlhaping history. African historical biographies are still quite rare, despite the burgeoning of writing about African history since the early 1960s.

One of the most fraught decisions in the publishing of Luka was getting the title right. The title had to say what the content was and it had to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. The result –after trying many alternatives – is this: Luka Jantjie: Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier. The depiction of resistance to colonial conquest and the attribution of heroism to the African leaders may have become somewhat passé in scholarly circles. But I still have no qualms about our decision to include the words 'resistance' and 'hero' in the title. We wanted to publish the first detailed account of the resistance led by Luka and to address the question: 'Was this man a hero?'

Figure 9: Publishing the story: Luka's biography.



The book is much more heavily illustrated than is normal for an academic book. There are 250 illustrations of which about 30 are in colour in the separate plate section in the middle of the book. The majority of the pictures are within the text, relating directly to what is being said. This allowed us to add extra meaning to the text, and to supplement the narrative through captions. Occasionally we were able to replace text in favour of a picture/caption mix which presented information more effectively.

Why so many pictures? The answer lay partly in our market research. We established that there were several different potential markets in different parts of the world. There are people in the northern Cape, who want to read about their own communities and ancestors, and there are those more generally in the rest of South Africa, where many readers want to know more about their history, a history which had been so damaged in the past. There are potential readers elsewhere in Africa, too, where the experience of colonial rule was different, and finally, there are global audiences, especially in the English-speaking world, where there continues to be a strong interest in the history of empire and, to a lesser extent, in the history of Africa.

We also believed that a good proportion of our potential readers were not academic – readers who are often described in the publishing business as 'trade' or general readers, and are considered to be part of the mass market for books. We realised that to reach both markets we needed to use features which belong to both genres: the academic as well as the mass market. To achieve our objective of reaching two audiences, and ones which were both local and global, the book needed to be accessible at two levels: i) read conventionally – in detail – from page 1 right through to the end of the book; and ii) skim read – using the pictures and their captions to get the gist of the story.

We hoped that many readers would do a bit of each, skimming through the book, but diving in to bits of the story which interested them, and reading these in more detail. We decided to retain footnotes –one of the indelible marks of an academic text, which superficially might discourage some general readers. We were determined though to demonstrate in situ (not buried away as endnotes at the end of the book) that what the author was saying on the page is supported by hard evidence. In addition, other footnotes have been used to explain terms, issues or topics to the reader, which otherwise might hold up their reading flow. This is especially true of some topics, which are familiar to historians of Africa or readers local to the Southern African region, but which are not to many global readers. For example, on page 1 there is a footnote that begins: 'The Batlhaping are a branch of the Batswana, the Setswana-speaking peoples of southern Africa' and so on. We decided, also, to make most of the footnotes as brief as possible, unlike many theses where there are more footnotes on a page than there is text. Since publication we have heard no comments (so far) that we have either overdone or underdone the footnotes. So perhaps we have got the balance right.

The Origins of the Book

How did we come to publish the book? This is a story I have often told. Over forty years ago, I (the publisher) did a research-based paper at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London on the Langeberg rebellion in 1968. Three years later an article entitled 'The Origins of the Langeberg Rebellion' co-written with Harry Saker of University of Cape Town was published in the Journal of African History (1971:299-317). I went on to teach history in Zambia, and later became an educational publisher in Africa and in the United Kingdom, but I never forgot my excitement about seeing the images published in the Cape Times Weekly about the Langeberg or their quality.

So when I met historian Kevin Shillington twenty years ago, who had written a PhD thesis in 1981 and published a book on the subject in 1985 (The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900), I readily agreed that – when we had the time – we would produce a book together – he as writer; me as publisher. Over the intervening years, we would meet from time to time, and say, 'maybe next year?', until eventually in mid-2008 we both had the time to embark on the writing and publication of the book.

I remember asking Kevin at one of our early meetings, how long he thought the book would be. He said 48, maybe 64 pages. We now know that the book Kevin eventually wrote was much, much more substantial –320 pages. He has said that he used to have a 'large brown envelope' into which bits and pieces about Luka were put over the years since he wrote his first book on the subject –some envelope!

The Pictures

Ideally, we would have liked a picture, something visual, on every double-page spread. This we failed to achieve, partly because there was a shortage of pictures in many of the earlier periods. For example, there were virtually no pictures that we could find to illustrate chapter 11 about the Land Commission in 1885-1896. Another limiting factor was cost, the cost of getting permissions to reproduce pictures which are in the hands of commercially oriented image libraries. That is why we are so grateful to the McGregor Museum and the Africana library in Kimberley for permission to reproduce many of the pictures in this book for free. Added to the visual impact of the book was the inclusion of maps prepared from meticulous sketch maps drawn by Kevin Shillington –22 of them –so that the reader can follow what was happening and where it happened, at each stage of the story. The physical geography of the northern Cape played an important role in Luka's story, but it was difficult to convey a sense of the huge distances covered by people in the book. Often this involved walking from one place to another, or at best riding on a horse. Hence the frequent references to actual distances in kilometres throughout the text.

One reviewer commented: '…every location mentioned in the text is referenced in the relevant map! This is so rare but especially important to someone like me who needs to place each event in its geographical setting' (Francis, Amazon.co.uk).

Luka's Pictures and Their Editorial Implications

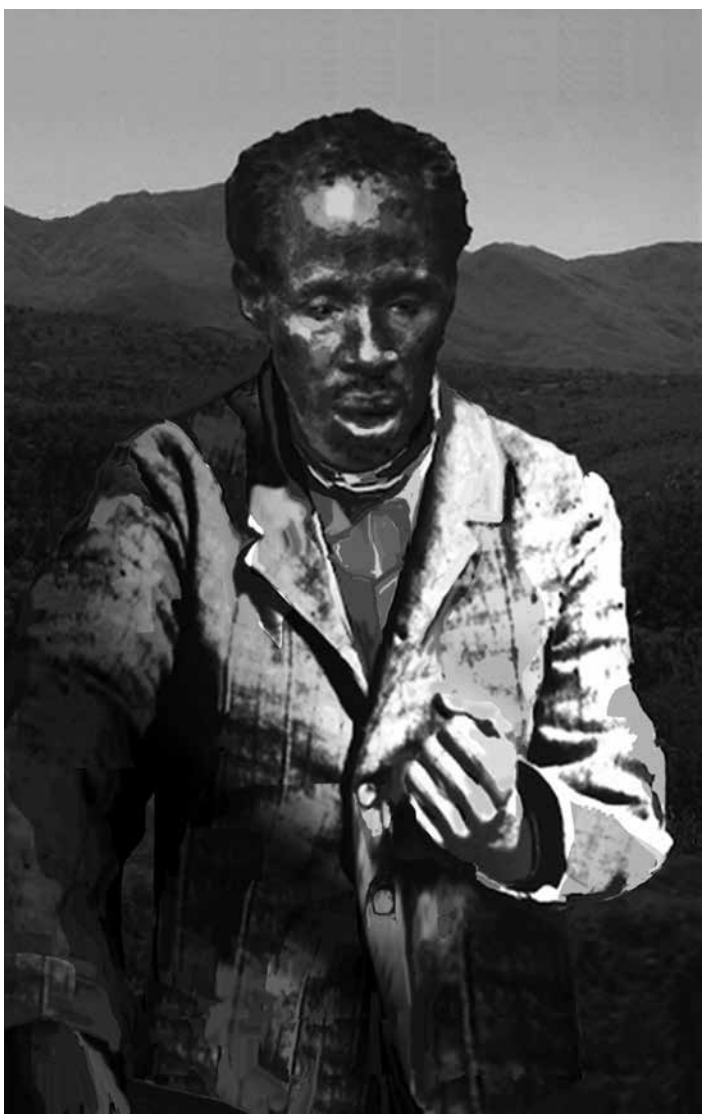
Here is the photograph of Luka Jantjie taken shortly after he was shot dead by Temple Smyth on 30 July 1897 in the Langeberg.

Figure 10: Luka in death.

It is a dramatic photo, but we do not learn very much about Luka from it, apart from the fact that by then he was old (62), and was quite thin, possibly through lack of food at the end of a 6-month siege. We learn much more from it about the colonialist's desire to have this picture as a 'souvenir'. It became a collector's item and was included in many of the albums compiled by participants after the Langeberg campaign. It is not a pleasant photo, and it is also technically faulty. There is light or chemical leakage on the lower part of the photo. But when we started work on this book, it was the only picture we had of Luka, and as such, really valuable.

However, as we started work on the book, I remember wondering how we were going to promote it successfully when it was published, if the one human image we had to put on the front cover was a picture of a dead man –and a rather indistinct one too. I contacted a friend, Judy Seidman in South Africa, who had worked for many years with the African National Congress (ANC) on creating artwork, to see whether she could help. She had seen paintings which had successfully brought to life images of heroes who had died for the ANC cause, and this she did for Luka. Below is her commemorating portrait.

Figure 11: Reconstructing Luka by Judy Seidman



Several months later I was in the newspaper archive of the British Library in Colindale looking for more pictures to illustrate the book, when there was what I can only describe as a Eureka moment. I had ploughed fairly fruitlessly through edition after edition of the Cape Argus Weekly of 1896 and 1897. Luka had died in July 1897, so was it worth going on into September, I wondered. Fortunately I did. In the 15 September edition there was an engraving of a photograph of Luka Jantjie in his prime. Even better it was reproduced beautifully, mainly because in the middle of 1897 the Cape Argus had caught up technologically with the printing quality of the Cape Times Weekly, its main rival. The engraving was based on a photograph taken probably in the mid-1880s. We have yet to locate the original photo.

Figure 12: Researching images of Luka: a 'Eureka' moment.

LUKA JANTJE

What more do we learn about Luka from this picture? He is well dressed, and clearly has the self-confidence that accompanies prosperity. But how certain can we be about what kind of man he was? Not absolutely, I agree. However, at least this picture allows one to be more confident about the authority of the man. This observation gives rise to my next question: do pictures tell the truth? To what extent can we trust what we see? We are all familiar with the way Leon Trotsky was airbrushed out of pictures once he had fallen out of favour with Stalin, and had been forced to flee into exile.

There is a famous eighteenth-century painting of Mr and Mrs Andrews by the English artist, Gainsborough which illustrates more of the ambiguities in the interpretation of pictures (see below). The smartly dressed couple are placed to the left of a picture of beautiful rolling countryside – quintessentially English. Kenneth Clark, the famous art critic of the 1960s, thought that Gainsborough was expressing his Rousseauesque love of 'nature'. John Berger (1972) in the 1970s suggested that the painting was much more about the fact that the Andrews are wealthy landowners; 'their proprietary attitude towards what surrounds them is visible in their stance and their expressions'. The interpretation of images requires considerable care.

Figure 13: The meanings of images: Mr and Mrs Andrews, Thomas Gainsborough c.1750 (National Gallery)

Figure 14: The meanings of images: Kgosi Toto, August 1897.

Compare the reconstruction painting of Luka by Judy Seidman on an earlier page with the photograph (above) of the Batlharo leader Toto taken soon after his capture in early August 1897. Both show apparently similar clenched fists. I know that Judy has given (using artist's license) Luka a clenched ANC fist, quite deliberately. I know because I asked her. But this cannot be true for Toto, as the photograph was taken in an earlier era, before the formation of the ANC. From other information researched by historians, we now know that Toto had been wounded in the hand during the fighting, hence the clenched fist.

Sources and Types of Images

The pictures which illustrate the life of Luka shown so far in this paper represent only part of a wide range of different image types available to Southern African historians, including the one discussed below.

Artwork and Paintings

These are represented by talented artists such as William Burchell, Thomas Baines, Samuel Daniell and Charles Bell. For example, Burchell's painting of the Batlhaping capital Dithakong was published (in colour) in Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa in 1822. It is especially useful to historians as it is based on firsthand experience. Burchell visited there during his time in South Africa between 1810 and 1815.

Figure 15: The use of paintings: Dithakong in 1812 by William Burchell.

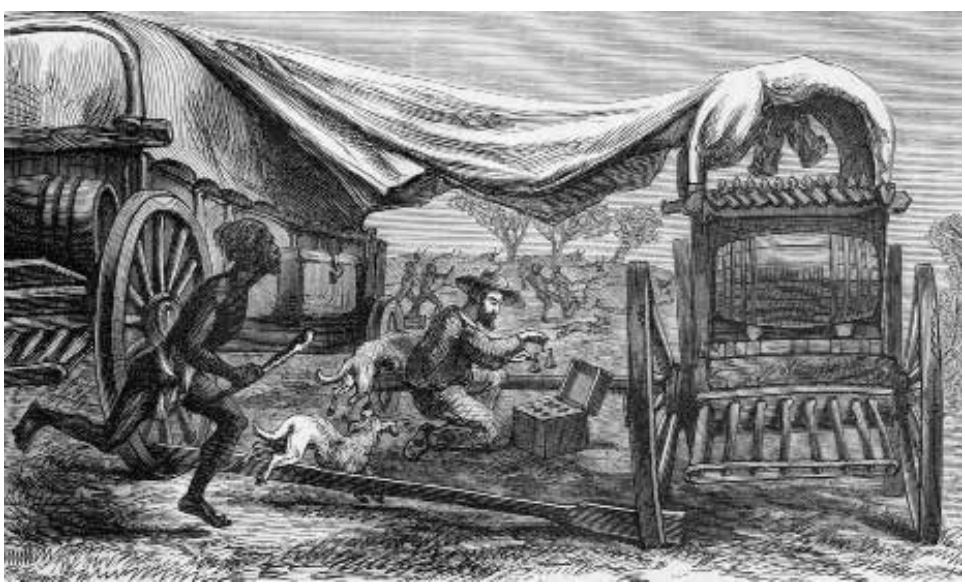
Contemporary Photos

The availability of photographs in mid-nineteenth-century Southern Africa is quite limited. The first photographic exhibition in South Africa was staged in Grahamstown in November 1846 (Bensusan 1966:10). By the 1870s photographs taken by professional studios are common. A high quality portrait of the personable Griqua leader Nicholas Waterboer and his rather surly sons was taken by the talented Gray Brothers studio in 1874.

By this date the 'dry-plate' method had replaced the wet-collodin process (used by Charles, David Livingstone's brother), and had reduced exposure times from ten seconds to a second or two (Killingray and Roberts 1988:9-19).

Figure 16: Using photographs with meanings: Waterboer nd sons by the Gray Brothers of Kimberley, c.1874.

Figure 17: The 'art' of photography in the 1860s by Thomas Baines.



The above engraving by Thomas Baines entitled Photography Under Difficulties demonstrates how challenging it was to take photographs in southern Africa in the early days (1860/1864). By the 1890s, with further improvements in camera technology, and the introduction of the Kodak box-camera, gifted amateurs were producing good photographs even outdoors. LMS missionary William Willoughby was one of those gifted amateurs who took striking photographs of African leaders and of Batswana life at the turn of the century. Karel Schoeman comments that 'The year 1880 has been described as a turning point in the history of photography.… By the 1890s the results of this [photographic] revolution had become apparent in South Africa, and photographs, formerly the preserve of professionals or wealthier amateurs, began increasingly to record informal occasions and the everyday lives of ordinary people' (Schoeman 1996:99).

Engravings

These were essential for the newspaper and magazine business as printing technology at the time was unable to reproduce photographs effectively; it could reproduce line drawings quite well, but not the kind of graduated tones found in photographs. However, engravings published after the improvements in photographic technology in the 1850s were increasingly based on photographs. Eventually in the late 1890s, the problems of printing graduated tints in photographs were partially resolved. Even then, though, photographs needed to be printed on superior quality art paper, thus limiting published photographs to inserted pages in periodicals, such as the Cape Times Weekly.

Figure 18: Engraving from a sketch by Thomas Baines, again, that excellent observer of life (Illustrated London News, 2 Feb 1867, p.105).

A BECHUANA CHIEF OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Thomas Baines was a talented artist, but he sometimes combined photography with the skills of engraving. The 1867 engraving of a 'Bechuana chief' above by Baines is particularly elegant, and although it is probably not Luka, it features many of the accoutrements that he would have had at this time in his mid-thirties – thus our decision to include it – with a carefully worded caption by the author.

Despite improvements in photographs in the late nineteenth century, engravings were often preferable for illustrating events. Compare the engraving with the photograph of early mining in Kimberley. The engraving (in my opinion) with its carefully constructed and informative vignettes wins hands down.

Figure 19: Engraving of diggings in Kimberley, early 1870s (The Graphic, 24 June 1872, p.580-1).

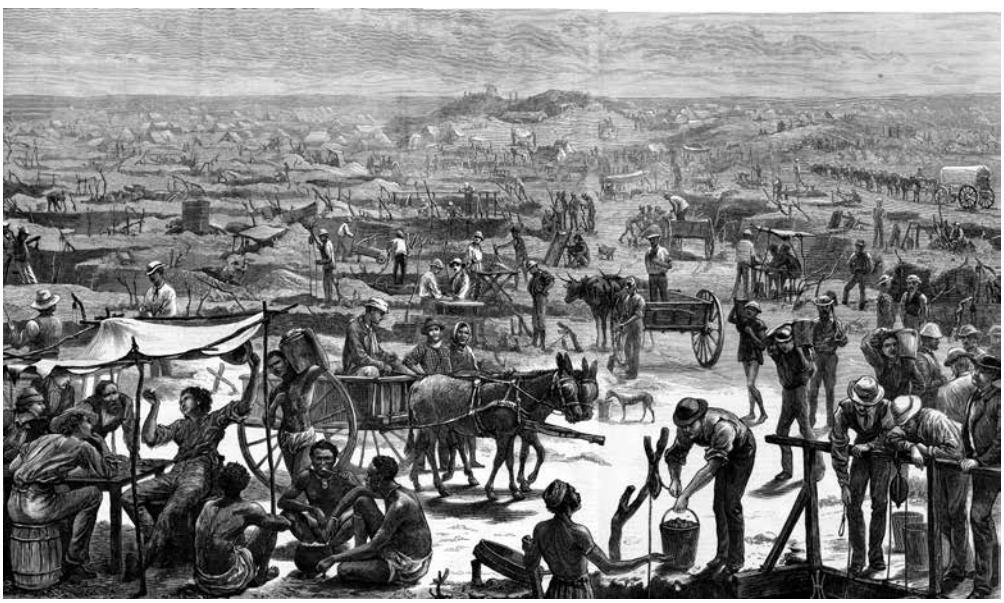
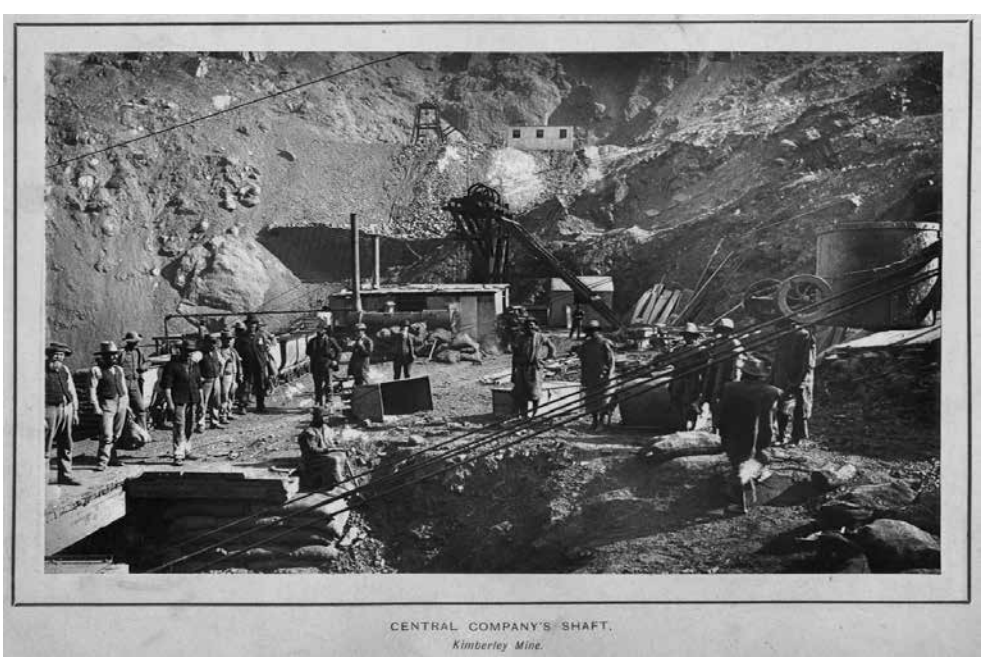


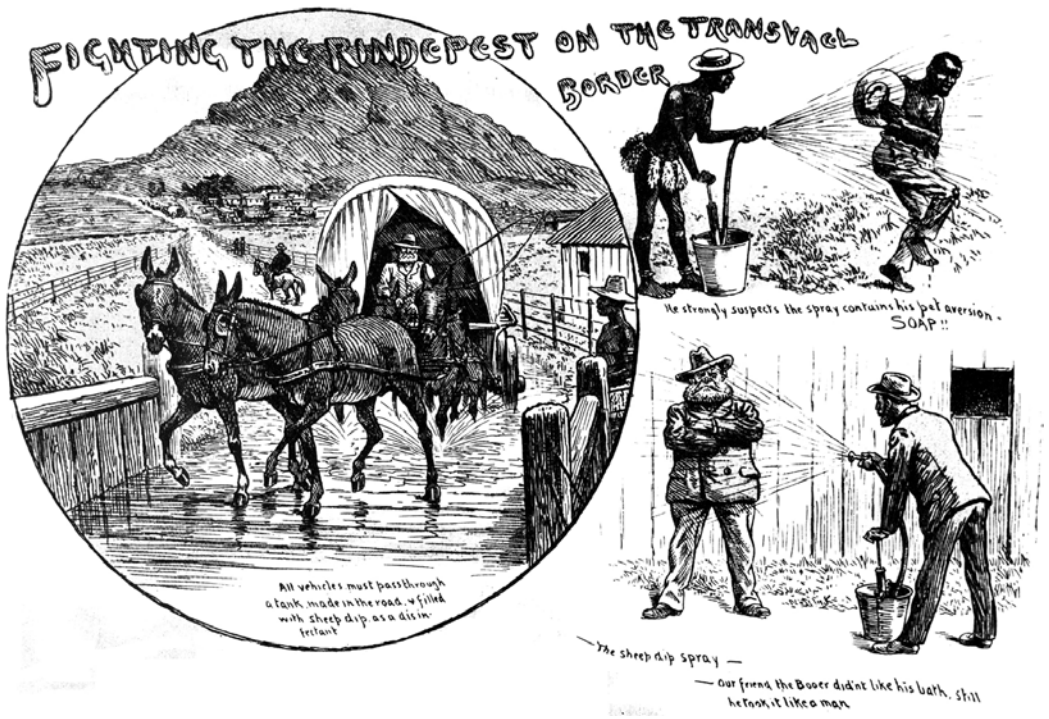
Figure 20: Central Company's Shaft, Kimberley, mid-1880s.



Cartoons

Limited numbers show Africans, but see below for examples of cartoons which reveal more about the views and prejudices of the artists and their white (and English) readership than about reality.

Figure 21: Cartoon published in The Graphic, 4 Sept 1897, drawn by W Ralston, based on sketches by border rinderpest guard.



Sketches

Newspapers often relied on sketches made on the battlefield to enliven their descriptive reports 'from the front'. The sketch below shows graphically the effects of artillery fire in the Langeberg.

Figure 22: Battle sketch (Cape Times Weekly).

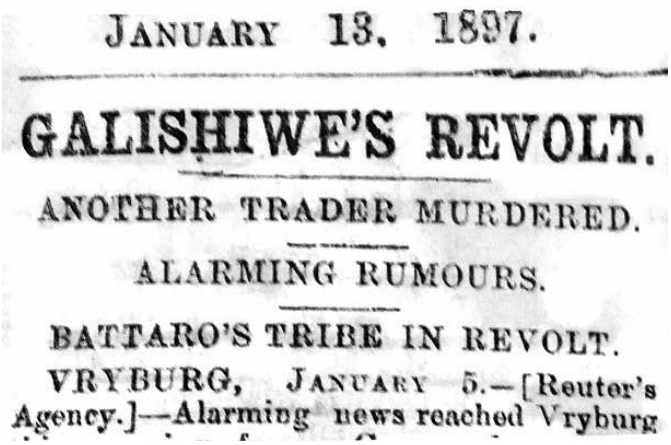
Below, see sketch of Batlhaping horseman (1885); the basis for the engraving on page 145 of Luka Jantjie.

Figure 23: Sketch drawn during the Warren expedition to Bechuanaland in 1885; probably the basis for the engravings published by The Graphic, 4 April 1885, p.328.

Newspaper extracts

These are especially effective with headlines, like the alarmist headlines for the report of Galeshewe's revolt on page 207.

Figure 24: Using realia: extract from Cape Times, 13 Jan 1897.



JANUARY 13, 1897.

GALISHIWE'S REVOLT.

ANOTHER TRADER MURDERED.

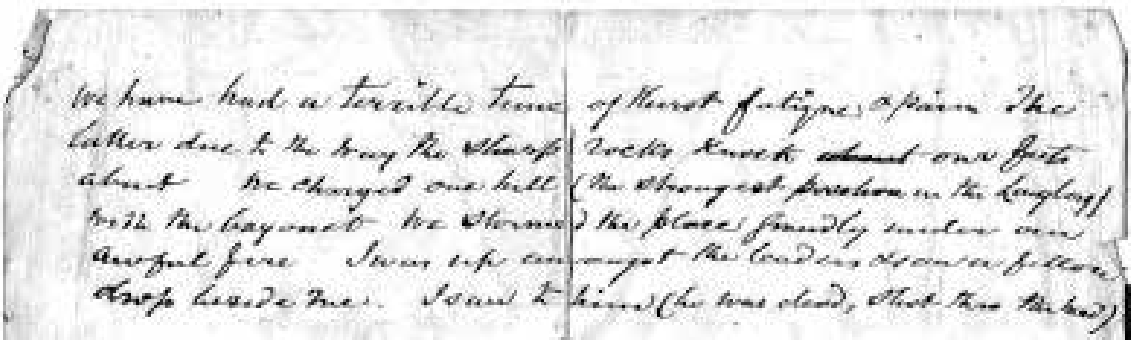
ALARMING RUMOURS.

BATTARO'S TRIBE IN REVOLT.

VRYBURG, JANUARY 5.—[Reuter's Agency.]—Alarming news reached Vryburg

Perhaps we should have used more in Luka Jantjie's biography, as they bring an extra sense of immediacy to the text. On page 257 we reproduced another extract, but from a different kind of source. It was a facsimile of Temple Smyth's letter to his family in Dublin – a personal account of how he shot and killed Luka –thus impressing the reader with its authenticity as well as its immediacy.

Figure 25: Using realia: extract from Lieutenant-Surgeon Temple Smyth's letter.



Modern Photos

These too help to convey a sense of immediacy, a sense of what it was really like to be there. There are several types of modern photograph which are appropriate for including in history books. Most effective are pictures of the physical environment in which the events took place. We used many to illustrate the battlefield in the Langeberg, as you will see elsewhere in this paper, as well as the mission in Kuruman. In addition, both archaeology and museums provided images which illustrate particular aspects of events. For example, we illustrated a broken artillery gun barrel which we had found still there on Gamasep farm over one hundred years later, and the McGregor Museum had an authentic prospector's bag which we used to illustrate the diamond business in the 1870s.

Monuments and Memorials

These are built to commemorate an event or a death and are occasionally useful. For example, memorials were erected in St Cyprian's cathedral in Kimberley and in Cape Town and Grahamstown to those who died fighting for the colonial government in 1897; no monument has been erected to those who died fighting with Luka against the colonial regime –at least not yet.

Figure 26: Using realia: monument to the colonial dead.

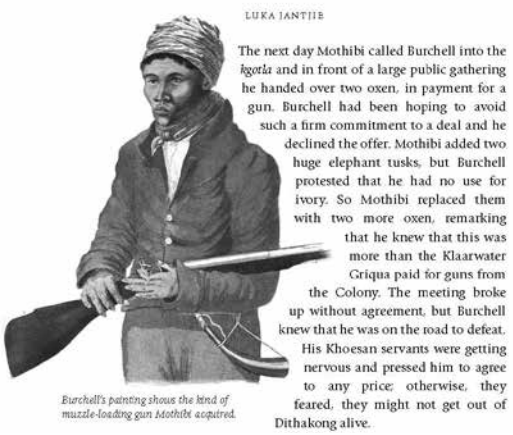
The photograph below shows the opening of the exhibition in the McGregor Museum on the life of Luka Jantjie and the Batlhaping people on 14 September 2011 – an exhibition which used many of the pictures described in this paper. The selection that the staff at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley chose to display in its photographic exhibition in the Duggan-Cronin building illustrated brilliantly the life and times of Luka Jantjie, in ways that words can never fully convey. (I wish to express our gratitude to all at the museum who worked so hard to prepare the presentation, and believe that it should travel and be shown to people elsewhere in South Africa).

Figure 27: Opening the Luka Jantjie exhibition, 14 September 2011. Who says history is dead?

Using Cut-outs and Cropping Images

Most of the pictures in the book are given rectangular spaces. However, there are occasional opportunities to use a more sophisticated design technique to wrap text around a cut-out version of the image (below). This visual feature helps to attract and draw the reader into the narrative (see pages 8 and 27 in Luka Jantjie). Not a new design device, but rarely used in academic books. Perhaps more frequent use of this technique would have added to the book's attractions.

Figure 28: Wrapping text around illustrations to vary reader's visual experience.



The cropping of images plays another important role in increasing the visual impact of the images. There are many examples of this technique in the book; in fact, there is scarcely a single image that is not cropped in some way or other. Two types of image cropping stand out. The first type is essential because so many photographs, particularly the amateur ones of the period, contain huge areas of boring foreground plus masses of undistinguished sky at the top of the photograph. For example, on pages 85 and 174, the middle sections of the pictures which had historical interest were isolated from the foreground and sky – thus creating narrow rectangular shaped pictures embedded within the text. These heavily cropped horizontal images became quite a feature of the book's design.

Figure 29: Cropping boring foreground and embedding within text for clarity.

The second type of crop is used to highlight a feature to the exclusion of surrounding detail. Look at the crop (below) of the photograph of the dead Luka (p.257), and ask yourself whether this increases its impact on the reader.

Figure 30: Close focus increases impact.

Similarly the next photograph has isolated Temple Smyth, the military surgeon who killed Luka, from a group picture of nine soldiers by cropping tightly on him and by blurring the surrounding detail. By doing this, we hoped the reader's eye would notice more about Temple Smyth himself, including the large cigar he is holding in his left hand. Where did he get the cigar from? Did he bring it with him all the way from Vryburg with a view to smoking it on the day of victory? After all there was no corner shop in the Langeberg. Or was he given it by his grateful comrades for killing Luka, and thus bringing the fighting to an abrupt end? From such details (and speculations) are human stories told.

Figure 31: One of many boring post-victory group photographs popular at the time.

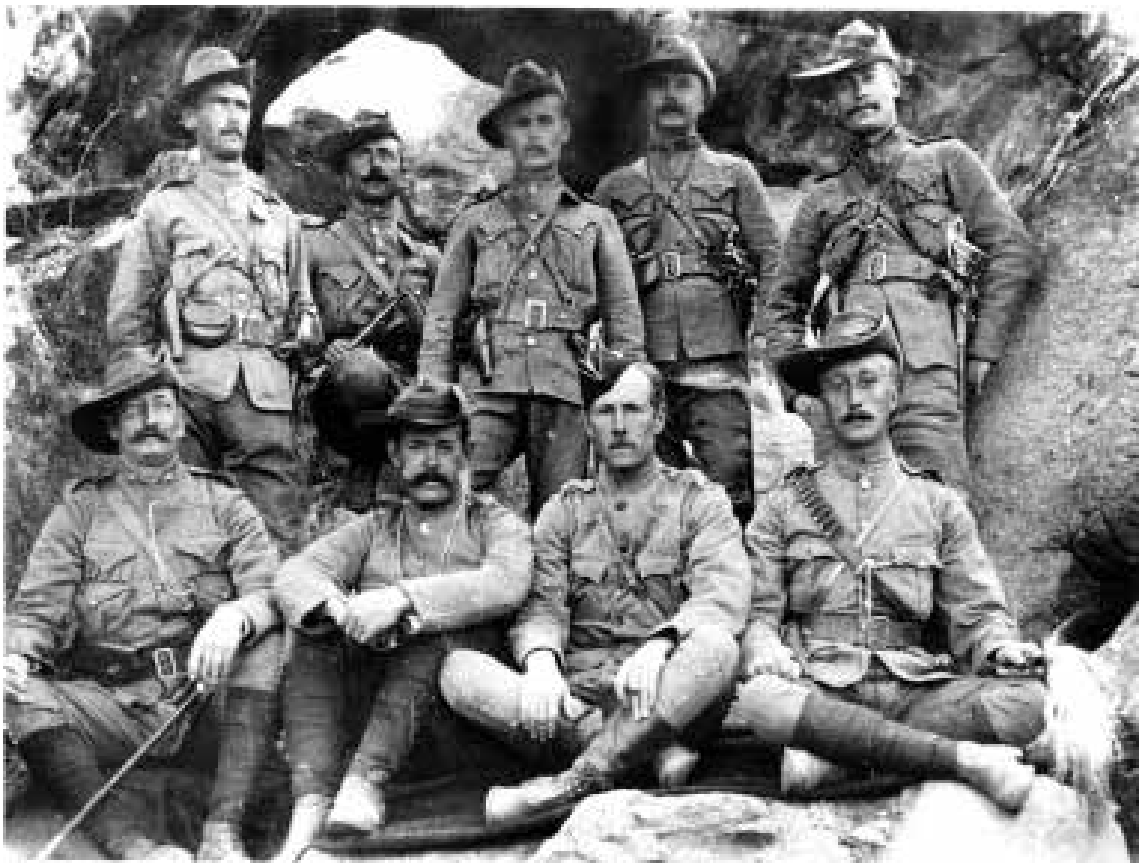


Figure 32: Making historical points more clearly through cropping of images

An extension of the technique of cropping images is the editing of images deliberately to achieve a specific effect. By this I do not mean the normal enhancement of images; many photographs were edited in Photoshop to enhance their contrast or to eliminate white and black 'dust' blotches before being positioned on the page.

Figure 33: The original image from The Graphic, 20 December 1873, prior to editing.

Figure 34: The same Graphic image after editing.

There is a more drastic form of editing, where details in a picture that is extraneous to the message the designer intends are eliminated. I felt this 1870s engraving (above) entitled 'The Natives Before and After Working in the Mines' (The Graphic 20 December 1873) was too patronising for audiences today with its inferences of imperial superiority. However, I was struck by the high quality of the draughtsmanship, and in particular the raffish cool style of the workers 'today'. It indicated an artist working accurately from close observation. So I did not want to lose the illustration entirely. It illustrated so well the new wealth some black workers were acquiring in the 1870s, and showed what they were spending their hard-earned wages on. It also showed a new confident style – a confidence that was to be destroyed over the next few decades. The version of this engraving we published edited out the 'naked' Africans from the picture. There is a legitimate debate as to whether this kind of editing is 'tampering' with history. My own view is that it is not, but in retrospect the caption should have made clear that the illustration was an edited version.

Juxtaposition of Images

Combining pictures often reveal historical insights that are not available to text-based document researchers. One version of this combination is what I call the 'then-and-now' technique. For example, by juxtaposing the 'then' photograph of denuded trees in the Langeberg taken in 1897 with a photograph of the same area 'now' (2009), the damage to the landscape and vegetation caused by the huge increase in population and livestock in the 1890s is clearly seen. It is fascinating that this issue is alive today; one of the farmers in the region recently told me that he has reduced the ratio of stock to land with significant benefits to the quality of both the vegetation and the stock (cattle and goats) grazing on it.

Other combinations of images, where both are modern, can convey the physical environmental context of historical events. For example, two pictures of the Langeberg fill the book's central double-page spread so that they combine Luka's view of the battlefield from his defensive position on Fighting Kopje with his colonial enemy's view from their forward base on the rocky outcrop called Gamasep Kopje. It helps us understand what both Luka and the soldiers fighting him might be thinking at the time.

Combining contemporary sketches with modern photographs can be particularly effective too. For example, the impact of this sketch of the Langeberg battlefield in 1897 is even greater when placed alongside a modern photograph taken from almost the same spot on the top of Gamasep Kopje. The combination of a contemporary engraving of early mining in Kimberley (see figs. 20 and 21 above, and figs 12 and 13 in the colour section of Luka Jantjie) with a modern photograph of the now disused 'Big Hole' today is equally impressive.

Using juxtaposition techniques again, the two photographs of Galeshewe opposite (Luka's cousin and leader of the revolt at Phokwani) reveal the effects of prison on him – something which words might fail to convey. The first photograph was probably taken on his arrival in Vryburg in early September after being captured in the northern border regions, and before his trial in Kimberley in October 1897; the second photograph was taken after he had endured months (possibly a year) in Breakwater prison in Cape Town. In the first picture, the laughter lines are still present around his eyes, but not only are they absent in the second, but his whole face seems to have tightened and his cheeks have hollowed out. Note the image editing technique of cropping and sizing the two images in similar ways, so as to enhance the differences between them.

Figure 35: The Langeberg battlefield in 1897.

Figure 36: The Langeberg battlefield landscape today.

Figure 37: Sketch drawn in 1897 of Langeberg battlefield.

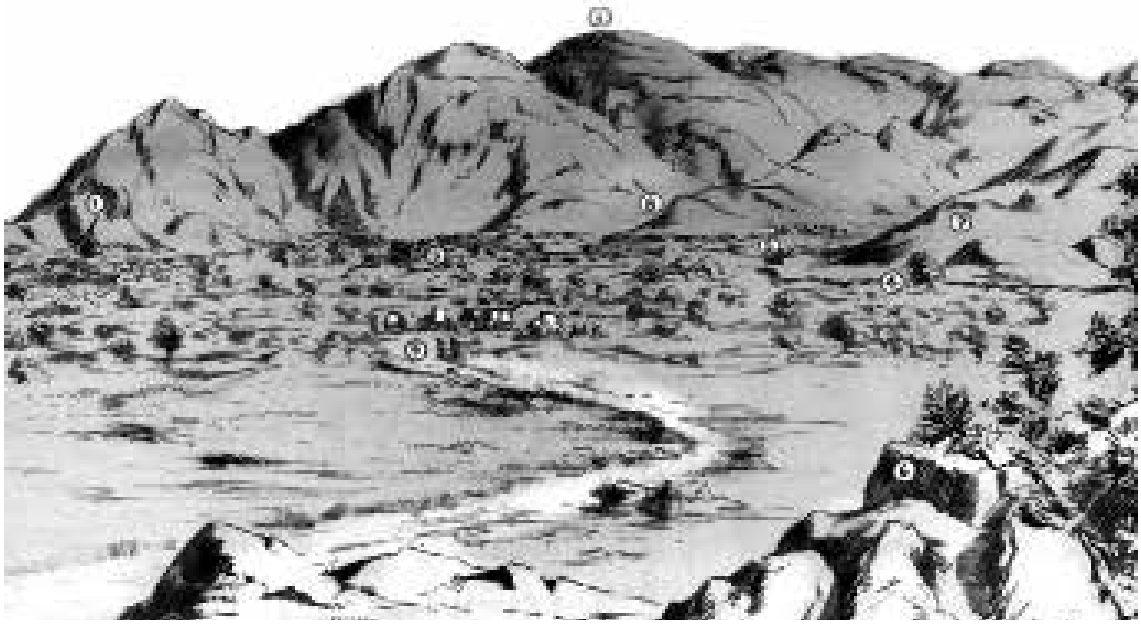
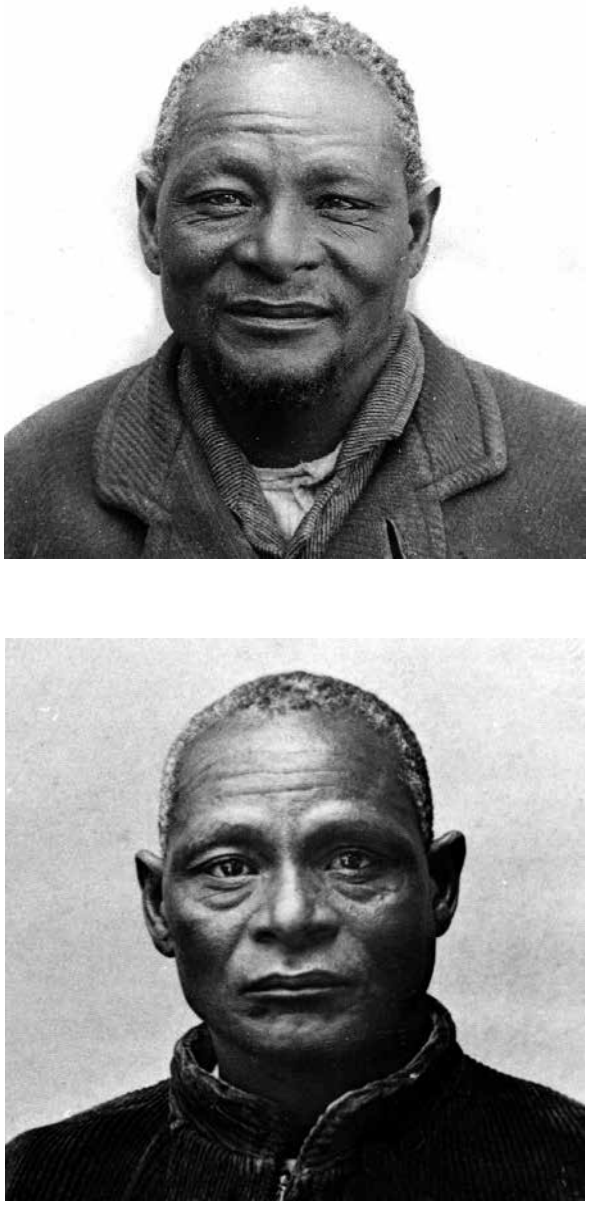


Figure 38: Modern photo of battlefield taken from the same point on Gamasep Kopje as the 1897 sketch.

Figure 39: Two contrasting photos of Kgosi Galeshewe.



Documentary sources provide possible reasons for his decline in health and morale. For example, we know from prison records that he was punished severely for minor infringements of prison regulations. He was caned on 10 October, and three weeks later caned again (Swanepoel and S Mngqolo 2011).

We included multiple images of some individuals as we believe this assists in exploring and interpreting their personalities. A comparison of Toto's demeanour in the four photographs in the book on pages 261, 274 and 275 demonstrates the historical value of doing this. Below are five photographs of Captain James Searle, a man of some significance in the story of Luka, as he was responsible for ordering the decapitation of Luka's body after it had been buried. Do we gain any new insights into his personality from these photos? Does he look the kind of man who could act in such a gruesome way?

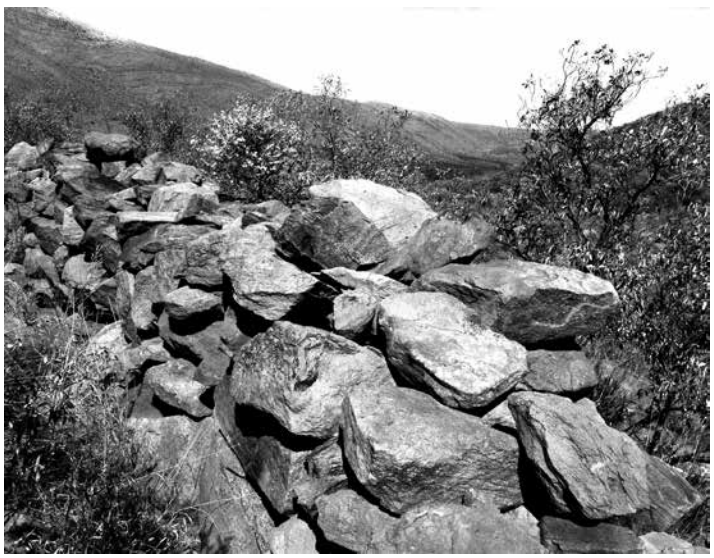
Figure 40: Exploring one individual, Captain JS Searle, through images: a) Looking smart in his Cape Town Highlanders uniform; b) Posing (top left) in Cape Town with fellow CTH officers; c) Standing in front of a water tank – invaluable for thirsty troopers; d) With his rather disreputable-looking troops (seated centre) in the Langeberg; and e) Kneeling (right) at the surrender in the Langeberg.

Using Modern and Other Era Photographs

Skilful use of modern photographs, as we have seen earlier in this paper, contribute greatly to readers' understanding of the past. The stone wall schanzes (overleaf) still remain today in the Langeberg and show how the Batlhaping used the terrain to defend themselves by building versions of First World War trenches. The picture below shows how difficult it was for the colonial troops to attack the Batlhaping positions on Fighting Kopje. Imagine charging up this hill! Once again modern photographs enable readers to empathise with the soldiers on both sides of the battle – thus adding to their historical understanding.

Figure 41: History through the use of modern images: the tough Langeberg terrain.

Figure 42: History through the use of modern images: the stone wall 'trenches' built by Batswana fighters.



Photographs of other eras were also used to represent the past. The photograph of a Batswana village on the first page of this paper (Figure 1) is not Luka's birthplace. It is a photograph taken by the famous South African photographer Alfred Duggan-Cronin in the early 1920s. We know that most of the details in it, apart from the design of the rooftop juncture, would be similar at Luka's birth in 1835 from pictures drawn by William Burchell at an even earlier date. Other photographs taken by both Duggan-Cronin and by Willoughby in the 1890s (see below) are particularly useful for showing readers, especially global readers, what domestic life would look like.

Figure 43: History through the use of contemporary images: Willoughby took this photo in 1895

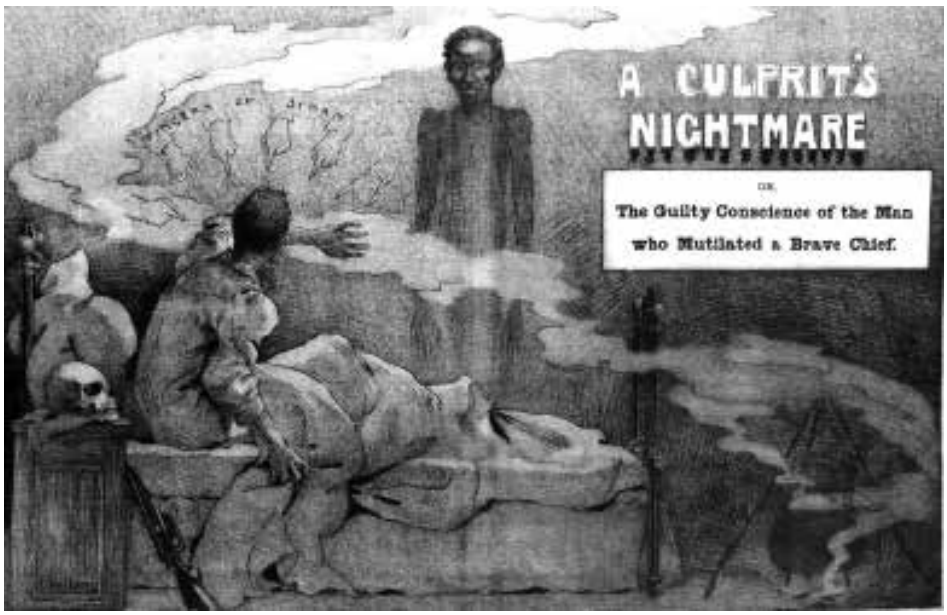
Possibly our most ambitious use of modern photographs was to bring Luka's family right up to the present day, by including photographs of four descendants: his grandson Kgosienewang Jantjie, his great grandson Pitso Jantjie, his great great grandson Kgosienewang II Jantjie, and his great great great grandson Tumo Dikare Jantjie. It is important to remind people that history is not dead. It is about the present, too.

Figure: 44 Luka Jantjie's descendants.

Cartoons

Most cartoons of the period tell us more about the prejudices of the artist and their audiences. However, occasionally one adds surprisingly empathetic dimensions to events. For example, the cartoon of Luka's ghost haunting James Searle reveals that some people in Cape Town were horrified by Searle's decapitation of Luka Jantjie (Cape Times Weekly September 1897).

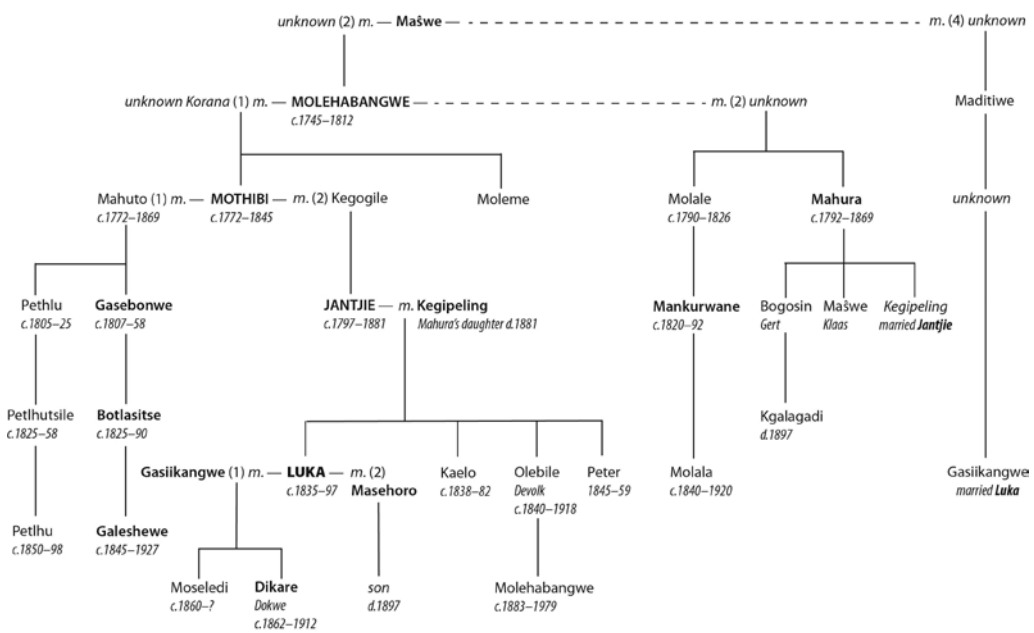
Figure 45: Using effective cartoons: the haunting of Captain Searle.



Family Trees

We had intended initially to include more family trees to show the inter-relationships between many of the main characters in the book, but in the end we decided on having just one really detailed one, early on in the book with cross-references back to it in later pages. Below is the family tree of the Batlhaping leadership showing its descent from Kgosi Molehabangwe and Luka's family relationships. In addition, we added, particularly for global audiences unfamiliar with South African history, a kind of 'cast-list' of the main characters.

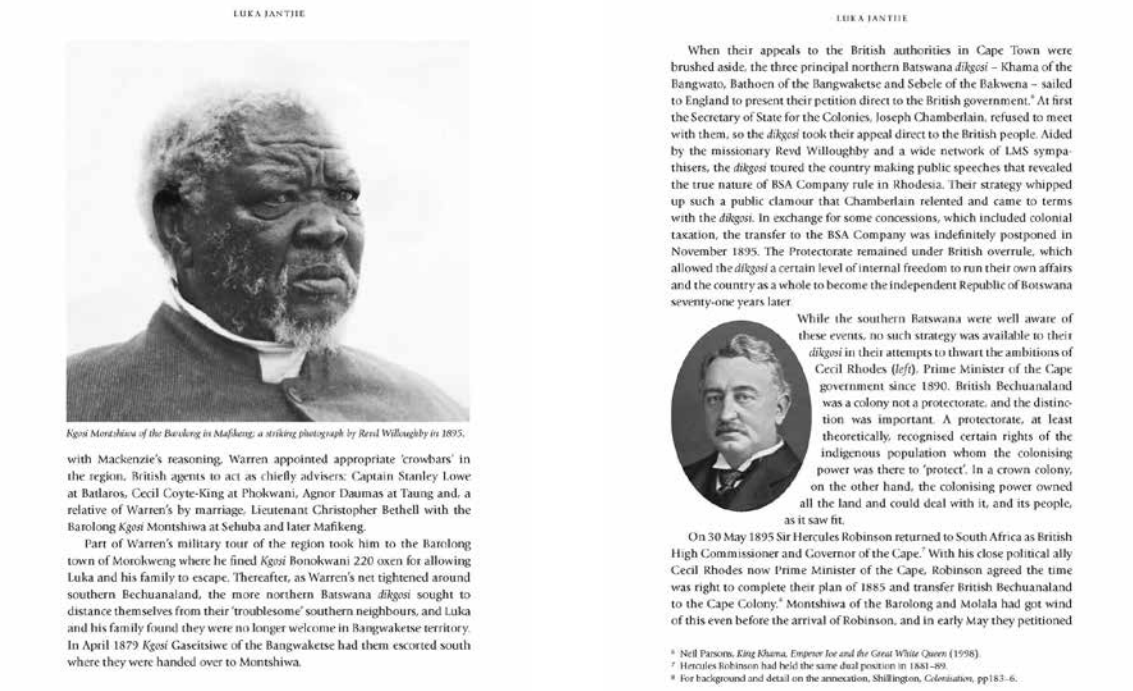
Figure 46: Using family trees effectively.



Who Created the Images?

Virtually all pictures in nineteenth century Southern Africa were made or taken by white colonialists, and few are of Africans. So there was a danger of giving a biased appearance to the book, and an important need to redress the balance. This was partly done by including in the book as many pictures as possible of Africans, but also by sizing images differently. European personalities generally have been reproduced quite small, whilst Africans are generally sized much larger. For example, Willoughby's impressive photograph of Kgosi Montshiwa of the Barolong in Mafeking fills the page, even though he is a relatively minor player in Luka's story, whilst the image of Cecil Rhodes, who 'bestrode the continent' during much of Luka's adult life, is given much less space. He needs to be pictured there in the book, of course, but not given undue space. In addition, images of Rhodes are commonplace in publications on Southern African history, and therefore do not require extra emphasis.

Figure 47: Colonizer and colonized: getting the balance right.



LUKA JANTJIE

Kgosi Montshiwa of the Bawkorg in Mafikeng; a striking photograph by Revd Willoughby in 1895.

with Mackenzie's reasoning, Warren appointed appropriate 'crowbars' in the region. British agents to act as chiefly advisers: Captain Stanley Lowe at Batlaros, Cecil Coyte-King at Phokwani, Agnor Daumas at Taung and, a relative of Warren's by marriage, Lieutenant Christopher Bethell with the Barolong *Kgosi* Montshiwa at Sehuba and later Mafikeng.

Part of Warren's military tour of the region took him to the Barolong town of Morokweng where he fined *Kgosi* Bonokwani 220 oxen for allowing Luka and his family to escape. Thereafter, as Warren's net tightened around southern Bechuanaland, the more northern Batswana *dikgosi* sought to distance themselves from their 'troublesome' southern neighbours, and Luka and his family found they were no longer welcome in Bangwaketse territory. In April 1879 *Kgosi* Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse had them escorted south where they were handed over to Montshiwa.

116

LUKA JANTJIE

When their appeals to the British authorities in Cape Town were brushed aside, the three principal northern Batswana *dikgosi* – Khama of the Bangwato, Bathoen of the Bangwaketse and Sebele of the Bakwena – sailed to England to present their petition direct to the British government.[6] At first the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, refused to meet with them, so the *dikgosi* took their appeal direct to the British people. Aided by the missionary Revd Willoughby and a wide network of LMS sympathisers, the *dikgosi* toured the country making public speeches that revealed the true nature of BSA Company rule in Rhodesia. Their strategy whipped up such a public clamour that Chamberlain relented and came to terms with the *dikgosi*. In exchange for some concessions, which included colonial taxation, the transfer to the BSA Company was indefinitely postponed in November 1895. The Protectorate remained under British overrule, which allowed the *dikgosi* a certain level of internal freedom to run their own affairs and the country as a whole to become the independent Republic of Botswana seventy-one years later.

While the southern Batswana were well aware of these events, no such strategy was available to their *dikgosi* in their attempts to thwart the ambitions of Cecil Rhodes (*left*), Prime Minister of the Cape government since 1890. British Bechuanaland was a colony not a protectorate, and the distinction was important. A protectorate, at least theoretically, recognised certain rights of the indigenous population whom the colonising power was there to 'protect'. In a crown colony, on the other hand, the colonising power owned all the land and could deal with it, and its people, as it saw fit.

On 30 May 1895 Sir Hercules Robinson returned to South Africa as British High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape.[7] With his close political ally Cecil Rhodes now Prime Minister of the Cape, Robinson agreed the time was right to complete their plan of 1885 and transfer British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony.[8] Montshiwa of the Barolong and Molala had got wind of this even before the arrival of Robinson, and in early May they petitioned

[6] Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen* (1998).
[7] Hercules Robinson had held the same dual position in 1881–89.
[8] For background and detail on the annexation, Shillington, *Colonisation*, pp183–6.

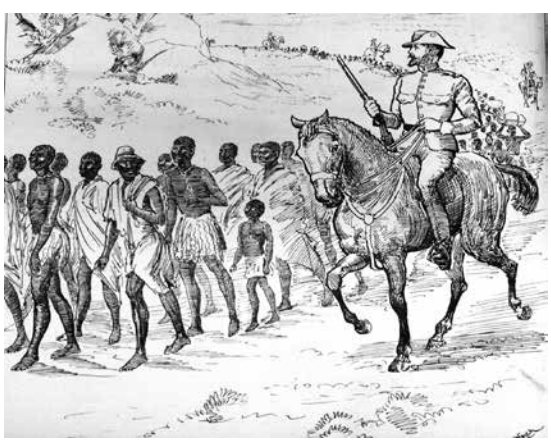
188

It must not be forgotten that the published imagery and photography of the period was an integral part of British imperial culture. Both 'express and articulate ideologies of imperialism' (Ryan, 1997:13). So when confronted with pictures of 'heroic' colonial troops on an attack in the Langeberg (see below), the publisher has a dilemma.

Figure 48: Heroic failures; this attack actually failed!

Should pictures like this be eliminated because of their imperial bias, and then lose the excitement of battle that they also convey? We decided to include some, but we also decided to make the captions work in historical terms, by encouraging readers to question the accuracy of the picture, and to be aware of other messages that might underlie it.

Figure 49: Show myth next to reality to get a proper understanding of history



Myths versus Reality: The Importance of Captions

Captions are critical to the viability of many images used in the book. Witness these two images, both purporting to show prisoners in the Langeberg: the drawn illustration of grass-skirted and blanketed people from the Cape Times Weekly tells us more about white myths about Africans than the reality portrayed in the photograph which is clothed in modern jackets, coats and hats. The Cape Town artist appears to have misconceptions about what 'modern' Africans in the Cape Colony look like, or perhaps he/she is deliberately playing to the imperial superiority culture of his readership. Without captions to guide an understanding of these kinds of images, they are unusable as 'history'.

Figure 50: Victory in Phokwani in 1896: visual witness to imperial triumph.

The picture above of colonial officers after their 'victory' at Phokwani in late 1896 is the best exemplar in the book of that imperial culture with its need to communicate its (supposed) superiority. The photograph bristles with brash triumphalism as these colonial conquerors sit with legs akimbo. Perhaps, the photographer was 'aware of the power of photographs as visual witnesses to imperial progress' (Ryan 1997:107).

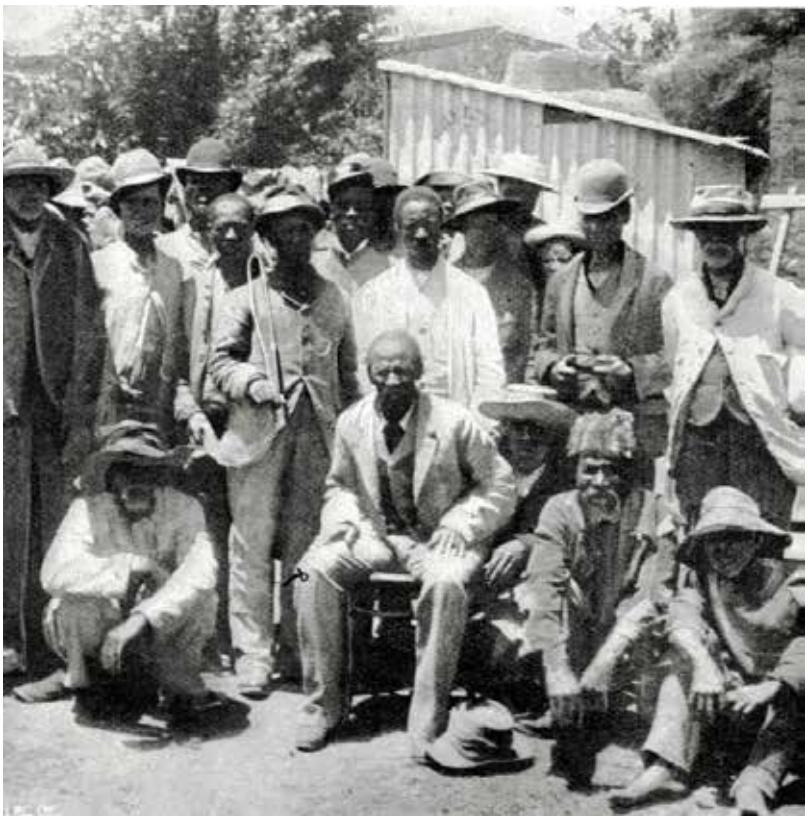
The Future of Illustrated Biographies

This biography is extensively illustrated for specific market reasons, as it needed to address a wider audience. We were also keen to show readers how rich the illustrative resources are for this period in Southern African history. Is this the future for other academic books with similar market potential? We would like to think so. Especially as the advent of the ebook has put the onus on printed book publishers to demonstrate why readers should pay good money for the printed rather than the electronic option. The heavily illustrated biography may be a way forward for the printed book. If so, then the lessons we learned about how to use pictures effectively will need to be applied.

Is this the End of Luka's story?

New information and new insights are continuing to be gained. Count Plater's account of Luka's activities in the 1880s (above) only emerged after publication, as did the details about Galeshewe's treatment in prison published in the study by Swanepoel and Mngqolo (2011), and a third picture of Luka was discovered by Sunet Swanepoel in the British magazine, the Sketch showing him visiting his people on the mines four years before his death.

Figure 51: How much more do we learn about Luka from this photo of him visiting his people on the mines around 1893?



More, too, has been added to Hepburn's impassioned description of what happened to the indentured labourers. Additional notes she wrote at the time were located by historian Brian Willan in the archives of the Aborigines Protection Society in Oxford, England. And Neil Parsons located a chapter entitled The Curse of Luka Jantje's Skull based on evidence from the famous newspaperman, Vere Stent (Chilvers 1933). Parsons also discovered another amazing reference to Luka in the Bulawayo Chronicle, providing more evidence that Luka was actively and profitably (one must hope) involved in the diamond business at its earliest stages: 'It will be remembered that Mr. O'Reilly and his brother Mr. J.R. O'Reilly found the first diamond in South Africa as far back as 1867. They also bought the second diamond from an old Boer, Jan Devenaar, and paid him something like 150 ewes for it, and, in this instance, lost over the deal. The third diamond was found at Le Katlong (presumably Dikgatlhong on the Vaal river) by Lucas Jankie (sic), the son of a native chief.' (Bulawayo Chronicle December 1920) quoting a recent and more extensive article in the Johannesburg Star).

The writing of the story of Luka and his people is most surely not finished, and we encourage others to extend and build on the work that Kevin Shillington began.

Blogs and Memorials

One evening over a year ago I was playing with the new iPad that belonged to Matt, a friend of my son, David. It was my first time to see one up close, let alone use one. Idly, I typed 'Luka Jantjie' into the Google search slot at the top of the screen, and there right at the top of the resulting list was the URL of a blog I had never seen before – dedicated to the story of Luka Jantjie. I was amazed. Even better, it was a serious research-oriented dialogue between a number of contributors, many of whose ancestors had participated in the Langeberg campaign, mainly on the colonial side.

Here is an extract from a late stage of the blog, which encapsulates much of its quality. It is written by Capetonian 'Dusty Muffin' – the initiator, manager and owner of the blog – in September 2011 – just after the publication of Kevin Shillington's biography of Luka. Dusty's ancestor was in the Langeberg campaign:

> I still find it hard to believe that a simple question I asked on the blog over four years ago has grown a life of its own. On 4 June 2007, I asked David van Wyk if he had heard of Luka Jantjie. Much discussion followed …, and as a result, several descendants from both sides of the Langeberg Campaign have commented on the various posts, and have been able to contribute in a very small way to (the book) 'Luka Jantjie – Resistance Hero of the South African Frontier'. It all came to a head when the publisher, John Aldridge, found the blog in December last year.
>
> When I held my own copy of the book for the first time last week, I had a little cry. For my dad. He would so have loved to have been part of these discussions. But he died in February 1995, sixteen years too early.
>
> There has been an incredible sense of serendipity throughout this whole project – as far as the blog is concerned (and for Kevin Shillington it seems, from what he writes in his prologue). The moment one thread dried up, another would start. It's almost as if the ancestors have been prodding us to take it further.

This part of my paper relates well to the fascinating presentation given by Sabine Marschal at the Kimberley conference in September 2011 about how recent ICT developments are affecting the way the past is commemorated and the dead are memorialised. Dusty Muffin, in her blog, has used ICT to do this very thing and in striking fashion. She has created the kind of memorial to South Africa's past which we need today.

I was especially moved by a short dialogue within the blog which I quote below. It is sad, yes, but also, in many ways, heart-warming. It is fairly self explanatory, so needs no introduction:

> Sometime in 2008, from Michael Searle
> 'My name is Michael Searle. My great-grandfather Capt. James Samuel Searle of the Cape Town Highlanders was responsible for the mutilation of the body of Luka Jantjie during the Langeberg Campaign of 1897. I believe I know what happened to the skull of Luka Jantje. I do not wish to have contact with anyone who would treat this matter in a trivial way. My family carries the guilt of what was a ghastly and inexcusable act.'
>
> 22 November 2010, from Dikare Tumo Jantjie
> 'Hi Michael, I hope you will be able to read this since I'm responding to something that was written 2 yrs ago. I am Dikare the second, commonly known as Tumo Jantjie. Luka Jantjie is my great great grandfather and I was named after his son Dikare. My son is named after Luka. My family will never treat you and your family bad on this matter because none of us was there by then even yourself. I believe that

your great grandfather was doing whatever he did because of the legislation by then. We are really searching for our grandfather's body and head. If you strongly feel uncomfortable of saying this, please contact the McGregor Museum because we are doing this together or you can also see my father and get to know him better. Maybe this will make it easier for you to help us with the info.'

22 November 2010 (on the same day), from Dusty Muffin
Dear Tumo, Unfortunately, Michael passed away in January this year. I'm sure he would have been very willing to correspond with you.'

At the opening of the Luka Jantjie photographic exhibition at the McGregor Museum in September 2011, I ended my talk about the book and its images by quoting this dialogue from the blog. I was approached at the reception afterwards by a well-dressed middle-aged man, who thankfully said a few nice words about my talk, but he added that the blog dialogue had affected him deeply.

'I knew when you started it', he said, 'that I would weep, and when you finished – I did.' I was tongue-tied, and still feel guilty that I neglected to respond adequately or even to ask his name.

Acknowledgements

This paper was presented at a conference entitled 'Resistance in the Northern Cape in the Nineteenth Century: History and Commemoration' at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley from 14 to 16 September 2011. It was published in an earlier form in a collection of conference proceedings edited by Sunet Swanepoel by the museum in 2012. Parts of this paper were presented also at the SAHS history conference at the University of Botswana, Gaborone, June 2013.

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