



The Cartographic Journal

The World of Mapping

ISSN: 0008-7041 (Print) 1743-2774 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ycaj20>

An Agent in Pretoria? Fred Jeppe, the Cartography of the Transvaal and Imperial Knowledge Before 1900

Lindsay Frederick Braun

To cite this article: Lindsay Frederick Braun (2018) An Agent in Pretoria? Fred Jeppe, the Cartography of the Transvaal and Imperial Knowledge Before 1900, The Cartographic Journal, 55:2, 111-120

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00087041.2018.1435441>



Published online: 09 Jul 2018.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



REFEREED PAPER



An Agent in Pretoria? Fred Jeppe, the Cartography of the Transvaal and Imperial Knowledge Before 1900

Lindsay Frederick Braun

Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1288, USA

ABSTRACT

The German-born technocrat Friedrich Heinrich (Fred) Jeppe (1833–1898) is identified more than any other individual with the nineteenth-century cartography of the South African Republic (Transvaal). Many existing studies note that he was an Anglophile who served the short-lived British colonial government (1877–1881), a bureaucrat who operated within the settler republics that preceded and followed it, and a figure whose work extended beyond the realm of cartography narrowly. Very few, however, have considered his role as a passive and, at times, active agent who channelled information to the British government at least until his own death in June 1898. Based on extensive archival research, this essay highlights Jeppe's British connections to draw out a different, more partisan thread in the life and work of this meticulous mapmaker, one that had a direct effect on military intelligence just before the conflagration of the South African War in 1899.

KEYWORDS

South Africa; cartography; nineteenth century; Jeppe; compilation; Boer War; Transvaal

Introduction

The issue of inadequate map cover that dogged British forces during the South African War (1899–1902) is a familiar one to historians of the war and cartography alike. This has been the case since the war itself. In evidence to the Royal Commission mere months after peace in 1902, officers involved with military intelligence in England and southern Africa decried the ad hoc nature of mapping and the existence of only one remotely reliable map of the vast South African Republic (ZAR or Transvaal) until military surveys overtook it (Royal Commission, 1903: 7, 450–52). That one map was a six-sheet colour production in English or Dutch, most commonly on glazed linen, printed in Switzerland at a scale of 1:476,000 shortly before the war in October 1899 (Jeppe and Jeppe, 1899). It was the product of two draughtsmen in the employ of the Republic, Rostock-born Friedrich Heinrich (Fred) Jeppe (1833–1898)¹ at the Office of the Surveyor-General and his son Carlos Friedrich Wilhelm (Charles) Jeppe (1870–1900) at the Department of Mines. Because the lands of the Republic – an area barely smaller than the British Isles themselves – had no general network of triangulation, the map depended on a hodgepodge of sketch inspections, block surveys, and a few astronomically fixed positions, which made it as much art as science. Nonetheless, it was superior to anything else available, and the British duly seized the first shipment of some 5000 map sheets in Cape Town in January 1900 (Royal Commission, 1903: 452).

Buried within that testimony, however, is the revelation that London already had the map's southern sheets 11 months before the war. Lieutenant-Colonel SCN Grant, head of mapping at the Intelligence Division of the War Office (IDWO) before the war, briefly discussed proof copies of three map sheets that had arrived by November 1898 and contributed topography and toponymy to early war maps such as the IDWO 1367 series (Royal Commission, 1903: 31). Indeed, the War Office Library noted the accession in its catalogue, and the lone surviving proof sheet shows the reproduction lines and smudges that come with close study and heavy use (see Figure 1). The government of the Republic had reportedly delayed the shipment of printed maps in the second half of 1899 to prevent its falling into British hands, evidently unaware that they already had half of it (Habernicht, 1901).

The tantalizing question of how that proof reached the War Office, and who arranged for its delivery, lies at the heart of this essay. A variety of publications noted the derivative link, and in Germany, *Petermanns Mitteilungen* indignantly speculated that its acquisition must have been illegal (Habernicht, 1901), but none could explain its transmission. If one looks at means, motives, timing, and precedents, however, only Fred Jeppe himself could (or would) reasonably have approved such a delivery in advance through his agents and printers in Europe. The central argument I advance here is that this singular compiler was crucial in sharing valuable cartographic information and statistics about the Transvaal with British scientific and government authorities before all



Figure 1. Extract from the surviving title sheet of the War Office proof set (1898), with pencil reproduction grids. Reprinted with permission from Maps.aa.513.89.8, under copyright from Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

others, initially as a corollary of scientific exchange with outlets in Britain, Germany, and elsewhere, but increasingly as a privileged source of armchair reconnaissance within the combative, mineral-rich Boer republic north of the Vaal when relations deteriorated in the 1890s. This was not espionage in the sense of secret-agent thrillers, but rather a quiet sharing of expertise within an increasingly imperial-national framework for exchanging scientific knowledge (Butlin, 2009). While Jeppe's communications with the German geographical establishment in Gotha (and other societies in Europe) did not stop in the 1890s, and he was prominent on Pretoria's German émigré committee, he was not quite the apolitical internationalist that the major existing study on his work suggests (Carruthers, 2006: 122). He remained a proponent of British oversight and 'good government' but did not see this as incompatible with the existence of the Republic.

Fred Jeppe was, of course, not the only figure engaged in channelling information about land, resources, people, society, economics, or politics from the Transvaal to England and its proxies in Cape Town or Pietermaritzburg, but his position was unique compared to others. Data about parts of the region originated with missionaries, travellers, merchants, and others, many of whom Jeppe met and plied for information so long as they continued to correspond. Jeppe himself differed from these figures because of his much broader compilation activities and official roles. In addition, he enjoyed privileged access to the archives of the state for most of his career; after August 1889, when he became chief draughtsman for the Surveyor-General, he was directly involved in the adjustment of the surveys and general plans he would need to draw upon. The few operatives

that Britain's poorly provisioned intelligence services sent into the Transvaal in the 1890s could neither collect nor create such data (Fergusson, 1984: 147–49).

The full story of Fred Jeppe's life still awaits a proper treatment, but that is a difficult task because he left surprisingly faint archival tracks. True to the scientific mien of the era, he effaced himself from his productions where possible; their empirical effectiveness stood on their own, although he made certain they had textual support wherever he could. He tended to be modest about his personal contributions as a mere 'drawing-room geographer', except when he felt maligned.² Between Jeppe's admission to the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in 1874 and his death in 1898, however, we can see a distinct shift through his associations and work.

From Government Minister to Colonial Bureaucrat

At the beginning of 1874, after less than 13 years in South Africa, Fred Jeppe had attained the height of his power within the government of the South African Republic. He held the offices of Treasurer-General and Postmaster-General, as well as a seat on President TF Burgers's executive council (*Uitvoerende Raad*). Furthermore, he had already received accolades and a reward in land from the prior president and the legislature (*Volksraad*) for his 1868 map of the Republic (with missionary Alexander Merensky) as well as his accompanying essay, both of which appeared in August Petermann's *Mittheilungen* in Gotha after printing in Cape Town proved impossible (Jeppe, 1868; Jeppe and Merensky, 1868).³ The map, like the yearly sheet almanacs he also began producing in 1869, demonstrated his ability to collect and distil information from print as well as personal communications from a wide variety of figures. These connections aided his election to the RGS in 1874, an affiliation that would become vital to his cartographic identity. The British in Cape Town and London also considered the 1868 map and Jeppe's commentaries to Petermann to be authoritative regarding the political claims of the Republic because of his care in assessing his sources and his position as a government minister, his later denial of such intentions notwithstanding (House of Commons, 1877: 63, 139; Jeppe, 1877b: 221–22).

In the space of little more than a year, however, Jeppe's life turned upside-down, as he lost his ministerial appointments as Treasurer-General (March 1874) and Postmaster-General (April 1875) on charges of mismanagement that he felt were politically motivated but nevertheless cut off his income. In the closing months of 1875, after six months without regular employment, Jeppe completed a draft of a new map of the Republic that he sent to J. J. Pratt, the Republic's representative in London, for preparation and printing. Nevertheless, he valued the opinions of the Society on the map, and he planned to send an accompanying essay on the geography of the Transvaal for its journal in 1876. He combined the latter task with the compilation of a larger book almanac and directory for the whole Republic and another essay for the guidebooks of SW Silver, who had supported his election to the RGS in 1874 and held the right to sell his map as well.⁴ Jeppe's hopes for exoneration in Pretoria were dashed in March 1876 with a costly court judgement against him, and then again in May when President Burgers declined his last direct appeal for reinstatement as Postmaster-General; the President offered only a minor appointment on the commission to oversee plans for a rail line to the Portuguese depot at Lourenco Marques, which Jeppe declined.⁵ With no income yet from his new map and manuscripts, and the ZAR in bureaucratic chaos, teetering on the edge of bankruptcy over their mishandled war against the Pedi nation, the Jeppe family departed in for Durban in the British colony of Natal in July.

Jeppe clearly smarted from the implicit attacks upon his character and reputation, and in August he proffered his postal expertise to the Colonial Secretary of Natal, F. Napier Broome.⁶ After the appointment of Sir Theophilus Shepstone as Britain's Special Commissioner to investigate the Transvaal in September 1876, Jeppe shifted his appeal for work to that office instead (Guy, 2013: 438). He piqued Shepstone's interest in November with the promise of inside information about 'public opinion and the state of affairs upcountry' for his mission to Pretoria, and Shepstone responded the very next day offering to bring Jeppe to Pietermaritzburg to confer 'frankly and with unreserve'.⁷ Three weeks later, Jeppe sent a further press exposé of the Republic's instability from the postmaster of Potchefstroom (and editor of the *Advocate* newspaper), who underscored the inevitability of the state's submission to British overrule.⁸ Shepstone left for the ZAR at the end of December 1876, on a commission that resulted in British annexation by proclamation on 12 April 1877. Fred Jeppe only returned to Pretoria in May or June 1877, by which time the cartographer and his new map were suddenly of immense interest to the buying public as well as the imperial government.

Although the RGS published Jeppe's map and essay only after removing references to the defunct republic, Silver & Company had already been printing the version with the Republic's name on it, so two editions of the map existed in 1877 with different titles (Jeppe, 1877a; 1877c). For Silver, Jeppe's notes on the country became part of its new *Manual of the Transvaal*, which appeared in 1878 with a foreword from their mutual friend, entrepreneur and Portuguese consul Oskar Forssman (Jeppe, 1878). Silver carried other publications on the Transvaal, but the only map the company carried was Jeppe's, which it printed again in 1878 (see Figure 2), 1879 (for a book), and 1880 with no

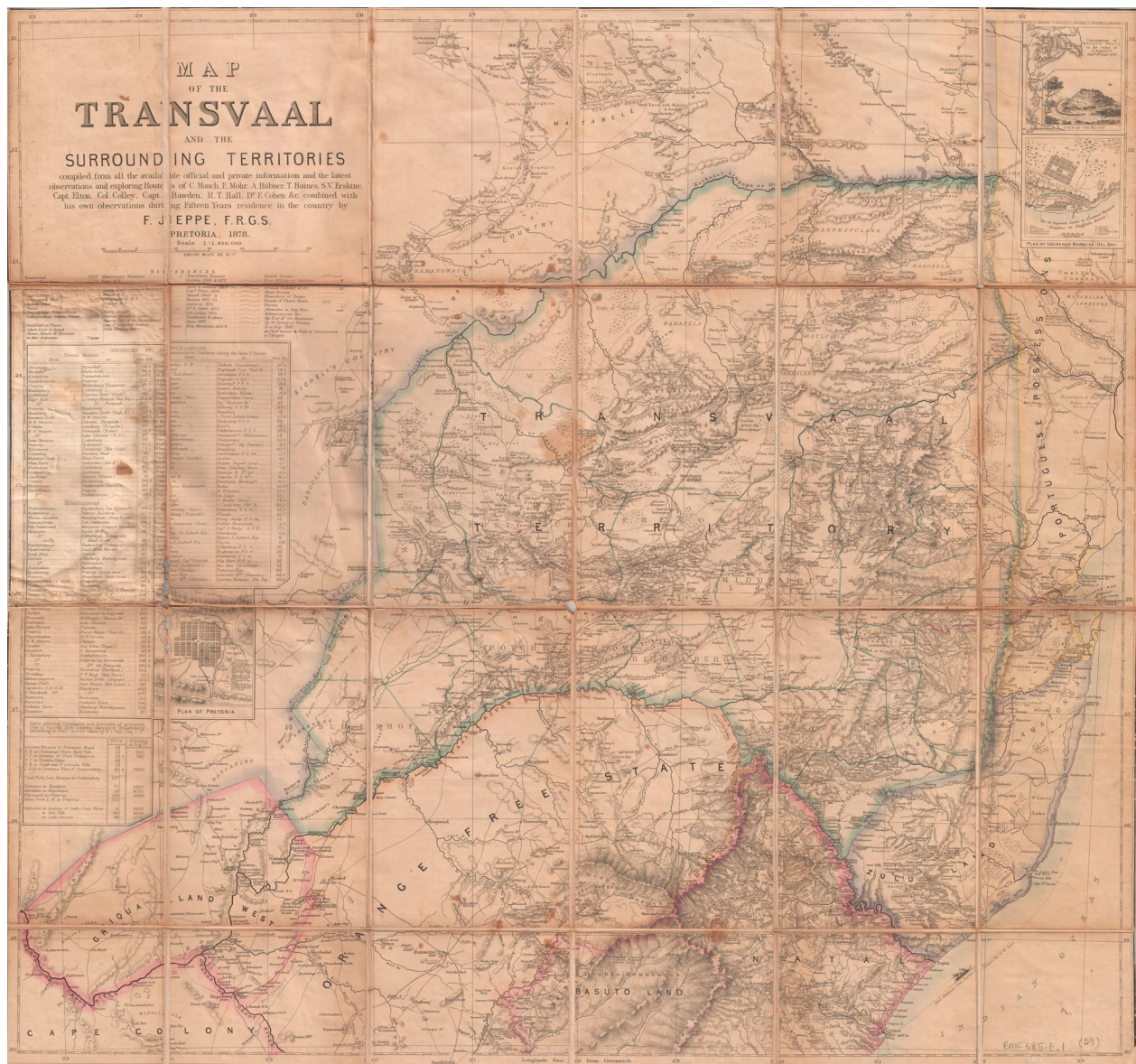


Figure 2. The 1878 edition of Jeppe's map of the Transvaal, as published by SW Silver & Co. Reprinted with permission from BMF 685.E.1 (56), under copyright from the University of Cape Town Libraries.

substantive changes beyond a few labels for settlement blocks and the like. Jeppe's map rapidly became the main reference point for other maps depicting the Transvaal and its surroundings and remained so until the mid-1880s.

In Pretoria, Shepstone carved out a position for Jeppe as a trilingual interpreter to the High Court and translator of government documents in April 1878 at £300 a year – a position that grew in 1879 to include the compilation and arrangement of information more in line with Jeppe's personal interests for an extra stipend of £100 per year.⁹ By June 1879 he was solely responsible for the official Blue Books of statistics for the colony and so he constantly sought to reduce his translation-related duties, to the annoyance of Shepstone and his successor as Administrator, Sir Owen Lanyon.¹⁰ Jeppe benefited, but he also saw his maps and statistics as a benefit that British rule brought to the country more widely, and he did not hesitate to sign petitions in favour of maintaining clear British authority in Pretoria.¹¹

What Jeppe offered in their stead, however, was valuable: a revised map of the colony and, in text, a compilation of its legal and social landscapes through laws, names, and statistics, both things that British authorities sorely wanted. He received a £50 grant from Lanyon at the end of September 1880 towards compiling his own 1881 book almanac and directory, and a few weeks later Justice JG Kotzé and the Attorney General sought to draw him into the commission to compile all laws and proclamations then in force.¹² For his envisaged map at a scale of 1:633,600, Jeppe asked for an initial investment of £100 by government, as well as free access to 'all the maps, sketches tracings and observations made by the Military' and all data, charts, and tools in the hands of the Surveyor-General. The Colonial Secretary opined that such funds would be 'very well spent'; Lanyon agreed, but insisted that the map 'be printed at the Intelligence Office in London' and not commercially.¹³ After the rural Boers rose in rebellion against British rule

in late 1880, however, matters changed. The Intelligence Department in London instead compiled a partial sketch map quickly to aid forces in the field, but that did not prevent the defeat of British arms at Amajuba in February 1881 that assured the negotiated retrocession of the territory to Boer rule.

The Cartographer's Contingencies

The end of British administration in Pretoria eliminated Jeppe's position, but the renewed Republic needed his compilation skill to pursue many of the same projects for their own legitimization. In July 1882, the new *Volksraad* resolved to appoint a new law commission with three members, including Fred Jeppe. Jeppe had already cashed out his small British service pension and could not simply turn down the £50 offered, but he believed it was insufficient and estimated that the work could take a year of devoted effort.¹⁴ After several months of state inaction, Jeppe expressed his conviction that an effective compilation could only come from one person working alone – himself, for a sum of £300 – under supervision from the Attorney General or Chief Justice ‘as appropriate’. The government acceded to this, and Jeppe worked under the same Justice Kotzé who had recruited him in 1880.¹⁵ Compiling the laws, resolutions, proclamations, and amendments from 1849 through 1885 took over two years with many late evenings, but Jeppe showed precision and industry that earned him another £200 honorarium from government and impressed the now-Chief Justice (Kotzé, 1934: 2, 145–146). Kotzé consequently proposed Jeppe for other record-keeping and compilation projects later, including the 1888–1889 commission to revise the ZAR constitution.¹⁶ These demanding yet irregular positions left Jeppe in poor financial condition, but he could not refuse them. An effort to mobilize popular support for his reappointment as Postmaster-General in January and February 1885 failed to sway the government, which was a further disappointment, but the printing of the law compilation at least gave him some income and freedom to focus on his map again.¹⁷

At a scale of 1:1 000 000, the new map would be far larger than its predecessor and incorporate all reliable positional data available in the region, most of which came from outside the ZAR. Jeppe cast his net widely, calling on contacts he knew from his almanacs, his government service, and his personal connections. Johann Friedrich Bernard Rissik (1857–1925), a family friend and land surveyor who worked as chief clerk in the office of the Surveyor-General, was an essential confederate who could provide records quickly. Jeppe also reached out to the War Office in London for military survey data on British Bechaunaland in September 1885, and they responded with their new map of the territory after Lanyon's former superior in Natal, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, evidently vouched for him.¹⁸ He also canvassed the Surveyors-General in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, and Pietermaritzburg for positional fixes and data between 1884 and 1886, and contacted his former Transvaal service colleague, Godfrey Lagden, for a proof copy of a new map of Basutoland.¹⁹ He also wrote the Royal Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope to request as many coordinates as possible from the Geodetic Survey of the Cape and Natal then underway and as yet unpublished.²⁰ The government of Natal had demurred on providing him full results for the unpublished survey but did share some positions; Sir David Gill, the Astronomer Royal and superintendent of the survey, provided many further astronomical positions outside Natal in the interests of the free flow of information.²¹

Publication, however, required money as much as it did information, and Jeppe had few resources. He appealed to President Paul Kruger and the ZAR Executive Council in September 1888 for help with the £500 cost of engraving and printing of his map in England on the grounds of its utility to the state. Johann Rissik had already shown the manuscript copy of the map to Kruger in March 1888, and Jeppe had added or revised so many administrative details from recent surveys and re-inspections that it delayed publication for at least a year.²² Compared to the one known 1888 proof copy, some revisions were dramatic; Jeppe totally redrew sections of the map to reconcile incompatible new information, most notably in the northeast where he remained unsatisfied even afterward (Jeppe, 1889).²³

Even so, the government would not provide funds in advance, so the mere £75 they voted in September 1889 too little, too late.²⁴ Jeppe's costs of advertisement, his 1887 and 1889 book almanacs, and time spent on map excerpts and essays about the Witwatersrand goldfields for *Petermanns* and the Kaap goldfields for the RGS *Proceedings* (Jeppe, 1888a; 1888b) had taken their toll. To offset some costs, he took payments to show companies' surveyed properties on the map, but it was not enough. In March 1889, Jeppe sold the rights to the original plates, most of the extant stock, and his name for two years to fellow Rostock émigré, mine surveyor, and mapmaker Gustav Troye for £2000, but the map retained its conspicuous dedication to the Council of the RGS and its detailed acknowledgement of Jeppe's debts to his correspondents, most of them British.²⁵

The map was a critical success that buoyed Jeppe's reputation, but not his finances. Fortunately, his friend Johann Rissik, now the Assistant Surveyor-General and de facto manager of the office staff, finally delivered what the compiler sought: a permanent, salaried position. Income from mining concessions, state monopolies,

and rising land values in the wake of the Witwatersrand gold rush both necessitated and underwrote the long-delayed general cadastral survey of the country (Braun, 2015: 226). Rissik had already hired Fred Jeppe's son Charles in 1888 to handle the increased volume of work, and with a further budget increase in 1889, the Surveyor-General rubber-stamped the appointment of Fred Jeppe as Chief Draughtsman and Compiler of Maps at a salary of £400, effective on 1st August 1889.²⁶ Soon after, he joined Rissik on the commission tasked with settling outstanding claims to land from settlers who arrived in the country before 1870 – a position that paid an additional £300 a year until its belated completion in mid-1893, and a small hourly stipend thereafter.²⁷

The State Compiler

Jeppe's appointment as Chief Draughtsman placed him in an ideal position to collect and process information for a multitude of cartographic purposes and gave him privileged access to data from surveyors at work on the general survey. Many of these surveyors knew Jeppe well, because Jeppe had used their notes and drawings in his prior work or prepared their diagrams on a freelance basis. Although Jeppe hoped to produce a second edition of his 1889 map on the expiry of his agreement with Troye in 1891, he may have elected not to after Troye's own attractive but incomplete six-sheet 1892 cadastral compilation at 1:500 000 appeared (Troye, 1892).

Jeppe did, however, industriously repurpose work he did for government as a means of advancing his stature and his own cartographic goals. One, of the Portuguese boundary resurvey in 1890 and 1891, he revised for *Petermanns* after the information was officially settled between the governments (Jeppe, 1892).²⁸ Another, of the recently proclaimed Zoutpansberg goldfields that he drew in 1893 for the report of the State Mining Engineer, Josef Klimke, he expanded and submitted with an essay for the relaunched *Geographical Journal* of the RGS a few months later (Jeppe, 1893b).²⁹ In the latter case, Jeppe purchased 100 additional copies of this superior engraved version (Jeppe, 1893a) for his own sale and distribution, which the Society arranged while retaining the plate for further printings.³⁰ The Society also heeded the main referee on that map and paper – former War Office cartographer E. G. Ravenstein – and elected Jeppe a permanent Corresponding Member exempt from fellowship dues in 1894.³¹ That act seems to have emboldened Jeppe as the local champion of the integrity of the RGS, to the point of his suggesting the RGS verify all applicants for Fellowship through him.³² He would continue to write with uncommon frankness to the Society, sometimes exasperating them in the process.

While Jeppe gained prominence in British circles, his subjects also gained importance. The IDWO, although primarily a re-compiler of published geographical information before the 1880s, sought information ever more actively (Fergusson, 1984). In 1891, under the new leadership of General EF Chapman, the Division published sheets seven and eight of an intended eight-sheet map of the ZAR (IDWO 835) at 1:380 160, dealing with the Republic's south-eastern borders with Natal as well as Portuguese East Africa and Swaziland. The sheets showed no topographical relief or cadastral boundaries, but their reliance on Jeppe's own 1889 published map for interior detail of the Transvaal is clearly visible in toponyms, watercourses, and the density of each from area to area. To improve it, Chapman reached out to the High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Henry Brougham Loch, who was returning to Cape Town after nearly two years in Britain. Chapman sent a total of 31 copies of each sheet to Loch in 1892 and 1893 for 'correction and amplification by qualified local officers' towards a revised edition.³³

Loch, who was increasingly hostile to the autonomy of the ZAR during his tenure, required that any such qualified officers be reliable and loyal. In the British colonies, this was a fairly simple matter, and a variety of civil, military, and private figures returned notes.³⁴ Within the Pretoria establishment, however, only Jeppe seems to have enjoyed the confidence of British officialdom. Although we have no record of when – or exactly how – Loch reached out to Jeppe, we do know that Jeppe returned corrected proofs and notes directly to him in March 1893, and these reached London in April.³⁵ In delivering these corrections, Jeppe made his office clear to the High Commissioner, but there is no evidence that any of his superiors knew about this contact; the lack of any official written outgoing request further suggests that the approach was personal. Although the marked maps he sent back and their accompanying notes are now lost or destroyed, they permitted significant revision of the south-eastern Transvaal for the second edition of November 1894.

Jeppe simultaneously expanded his own map compilation activities. Jeppe's cadastral compilation for the Pretoria Press of 28 May 1894 to illustrate the Boer military campaign against the Gananwa chief Mmalebôhò in the northerly Blaauwberg area was another example of his state compilation serving private commercial ends, and he would later reproduce that map for a campaign memoir (Jeppe, 1894). In early 1894, Fred Jeppe expectantly submitted a cadastral compilation of the 'Rooderand and Heidelberg Goldfields' to the RGS with a paper, but the Society declined it as being insufficiently scientific.³⁶ Undeterred, Jeppe expanded this compilation into a larger project sometime in 1894, but the full scope of his intent only appeared in print on his early 1896 Map of the Southern Goldfields (Jeppe, 1896). That

map, printed locally on the Argus newspaper press in Johannesburg, pronounced itself to be the centre section of 'Jeppe's Map of the Southern Transvaal,' a three-sheet compilation of the southern half of the Republic; the cartographer did not believe survey data further north was yet reliable enough to promise more.³⁷

After Johann Rissik took formal office as Surveyor-General in 1895, Jeppe had ever more freedom to work on a larger map, not least because Rissik had a mandate to produce new compilations of the ZAR (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1896: 4). Jeppe's son also became an active collaborator on this larger project, and in October 1895, the younger Jeppe officially transferred to the ZAR's Mining Department and became draughtsman for Josef Klimke, the Mining Engineer, with the access to information that implied.³⁸ As block surveys flowed in during 1896, Jeppe changed his mind about the prospect of a new map of the whole Republic. It would need to supersede Troye's 1892 effort and its haphazard 1896 extension by recompiling all of the extant surveys, diagrams, and maps to produce an authoritative synthesis with farm numbers, added boundaries, and other administrative features that Troye had omitted, which would be a massive undertaking (Troye, 1892; 1896).

At the same time, relations between Pretoria and Britain grew ever more strained. The failed Jameson Raid over the New Year in 1896 to overthrow the Kruger government had created a crisis that the long-time president addressed with increasing executive power. In this environment, Fred Jeppe 'and family' (excluding Charles) took a long recuperative leave from the Surveyor-General's Office from April to November 1897, during which he oversaw the lithographic preparation of the southern map sheets in Switzerland, visited Gotha and Rostock, and spent no less than a month in London.³⁹ We have no details of his movements or the actual size of his party, but second-hand reports and postal addresses indicate at least those stops in his wider tour.

In February 1898, President Kruger triggered a constitutional crisis with the dismissal of Chief Justice Kotzé, Fred Jeppe's old collaborator, over the court's right to review legislation passed by the *Volksraad* (Zimmermann and Visser, 1996: 17). That act prompted Jeppe to reach out to the RGS directly within a letter that ostensibly reported on the progress of his map. 'We trust', he wrote,

that this matter will receive the prompt attention of the British Government who claim the suzerainty [sic] over the Republic. I am a Government official and dare not express my opinion too freely but I know that you will consider my remarks private & confidential. As an official I am anxious to uphold the honour of this state. Please give the subject your best attention in your influential circle.⁴⁰

Few statements show so clearly that Jeppe saw his collaborations with British institutions as a part of his sworn responsibility to the Republic, not an act of betrayal, although he was aware that others would not share that view.

In mid-June, Fred Jeppe still anticipated the appearance of the full six-sheet map before the end of 1898, and Charles began three months' leave to travel to Europe.⁴¹ On 8 July, with the northern sheets still incomplete, the elder Jeppe suddenly took ill. His final note before his death nine days later was to Johann Rissik, thanking him for his great but unspecified kindness, promising that his son would repay a loan Rissik had extended them, and imploring him to 'assist Charley to finish the map' when he returned.⁴² With only one proof in hand the next June and his father's estate unsettled, Charles successfully petitioned the government for exemption from import duty. In return, he promised free copies – presumably the heretofore unmentioned Dutch edition – for government.⁴³ At this point, the pre-war trail of Jeppe's maps goes cold, and we return to the beginning of our discussion and the original mystery of the 1898 proof.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, Fred Jeppe was an agent for the transfer of authoritative information on the Transvaal region to London – but that is not the entire story, because he was not exclusive, and his sensitivity on ethical matters and quiet persona suggests a lack of malice towards his adopted home. He was a German technocrat with an Anglophile streak, but others who had less ambivalence like Charles Jeppe and Johann Rissik duly turned out to serve the state at the outbreak of war. Charles fell at Spion Kop at the beginning of 1900, but Rissik survived the conflict and returned to high office as a Transvaal government minister and then, after Union in 1910, became the first Administrator of the province under a titular British aegis. Fred Jeppe, during his life, remained deeply invested in the preservation, organization, and presentation of information that defined the Republic and the rights of its inhabitants, and shifting affinities did not negate that central position. In the month following his death, the ministers of Kruger's government in fact placed extreme importance upon obtaining copies of documents and gazettes that Jeppe had made or received, specifically because these were the only complete copies that remained for the state archives.⁴⁴ As an agent of information Jeppe showed favour to Britain on political questions to the point of supplying information, but he never saw it as incompatible with his efforts to divine the legal, social, and spatial bases on which the settler state – whether colony or Republic – rested.

Notes

1. Rostock birth registers establish Fred Jeppe's birth year as 1833, not 1834 as sometimes claimed. H. Peschel to author, personal communication, 29.9.2017.
2. F. Jeppe to H. Berthoud, 17.11.1890, Berthoud-versameling (A1529), Transvaal Archives, Pretoria (hereafter TAB).
3. M. Pretorius to F. Jeppe and A. Merensky, 18.4.1869, BB298/69, Argief van die Staatsecretaris (SS) 8616, TAB; F. Jeppe to A. Petermann, 22.1.1867, PGM 063–001, Justus Perthes-Archiv, Universität Erfurt, Gotha. The map appeared in English, although the essay was in German.
4. F. Jeppe to H. Rawlinson, 27.11.1875, and F. Jeppe to H. Bates, 5.10.1876, Correspondence Block 1871–1880 (Jeppe, Frederick), Royal Geographical Society Archives, London (hereafter RGS-IBG Archives); Certificate for Jeppe, Le Chevalier Frederic [sic], 29.7.1874, RGS-IBG Archives.
5. F. Jeppe to T. Burgers, 5.5.1876, Engelbrecht-versameling (A371)/4, TAB.
6. F. Jeppe to F. Napier Broome, 25.8.1876, R2334/1876, Archives of the Colonial Secretary (CSO) 562, KwaZulu-Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg (hereafter NAB).
7. F. Jeppe to T. Shepstone, 15.11.1876, Shepstone Papers (A96)/15, NAB; T. Shepstone to F. Jeppe, 16.11.1876, A96/71, NAB;
8. F. Jeppe to T. Shepstone, 12.12.1876 (with enclosure), A96/16, NAB.
9. M. Osborn to F. Jeppe, 8.4.1878, BB216M/78, SS 869, TAB; G. Lagden, undated memorandum [May 1879], BB 149c/79, SS 8645, TAB.
10. J. Kotzé to M. Osborn, 10.7.1879, Kotzé-versameling (A524)/6, TAB; T. Shepstone to F. Jeppe, 18.2.1879, A96/69, NAB; F. Jeppe to M. Osborn, 25.9.1879 (and annexures), R3330/79, SS 364, TAB.
11. W. O. Lanyon to Lord Kimberley, 9.6.1880 (with petitions), No. 10412, Colonial Office Archives (CO) 291/6, National Archives, Kew (hereafter BNA).
12. W. O. Lanyon to F. Jeppe, 30.9.1880, BB1594/80, SS 8650, TAB; J. Kotzé to W. O. Lanyon, 21.10.1880, R4554/80, SS 480, TAB.
13. F. Jeppe to W. O. Lanyon, 12.10.1880 (with marginalia), R4031/80, SS 476, TAB; G. Hudson to F. Jeppe, 2.11.1880, BB1885/80, SS 8651, TAB.
14. Précis for Treasury to Colonial Office, January 1881, Treas/17601, CO 510/2, BNA; F. Jeppe to W. Bok, 2.8.1882, R4465/82, SS 651, TAB.
15. F. Jeppe to S. J. P. Kruger, 5.8.1882, R4852/82, SS 651, TAB; W. Bok to J. Kotzé, 2.10.1882, R5552/82, SS 651, TAB.
16. Memorandum, J. Marais to W. Bok (f. 120), 1.6.1886, R2613/82, SS 651, TAB; J. Kotzé to W. Bok, 16.1.1888, R590/88, SS 1429, TAB. Jeppe was also secretary of the ZAR Financial Commission and secretary-treasurer for the State Library in the late 1880s.
17. F. Jeppe to S. J. P. Kruger, 15.1.1885, R266/85, SS 1024, TAB.
18. Précis for War Office to Colonial Office, WO/17465, CO 545/1, BNA. The information about Wolseley and a few following notes come from the cartouche to the map (Jeppe, 1889).
19. F. Jeppe to S. Melvill, 5.2.1884, Archives of the Surveyor-General, Cape Town (SG) 1/1/4/17, Western Cape Archives, Cape Town (hereafter KAB); F. Jeppe to P. Sutherland, 24.10.1885, SG1888/1885, Archives of the Surveyor-General, Pietermaritzburg (SGO) III/1/55, NAB.
20. F. Jeppe to W. Finlay, 3.11.1885, Maclear-Mann Papers (A515)/17/3, KAB.
21. D. Gill to F. Jeppe, 12.11.1885, pp. 816–819, Royal Greenwich Observatory Archives (RGO) 15/100, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
22. F. Jeppe to S. J. P. Kruger, 12.9.1888, R8211/88, SS 1715, TAB.
23. F. Jeppe to H. Berthoud, 27.1.1890, A1529, TAB; The 1888 proof of sheet 2 is located at Maps 3/1106, TAB.
24. F. Jeppe to W. Leyds, 5.9.1889, R7135/89, SS 2002, TAB.
25. Contract between F. Jeppe and G. A. Troye, 23.3.1889, MA 83/892, MuseumAfrica, Johannesburg. I am indebted to Professor Elri Liebenberg for this document.
26. G. R. von Wielligh (Surveyor-General) to W. Leyds, 24.7.1889, R7517/89, SS 2012, TAB.
27. Resolution (*besluit*) Art. 137, 21.2.1890, Uitvoerende Raad (UR) 10, TAB; Rapport van de Burgerrechten Commissie, 1893, Official Publications (ZAR) 107, TAB.
28. F. Jeppe to H. Berthoud, 27.1.1890 and 4.12.1891, A1529, TAB.
29. 'Rapport van den Staats-Mijningeneur', 1893, p. 2, ZAR 113b, TAB.
30. F. Jeppe to J. Keltie, 1.7.1893, Correspondence Block 1881–1910 (Jeppe, Frederick), RGS-IBG Archives; J. Keltie to F. Jeppe, 6.11.1893, Outgoing Letters 1888–1894, p. 495, RGS-IBG Archives.
31. Reader's Report, E. G. Ravenstein, 1893, file JMS 2–294, RGS-IBG Archives.
32. F. Jeppe to J. Keltie, 2.7.1894, Correspondence Block 1881–1910 (Jeppe, Frederick), RGS-IBG Archives.
33. Précis for War Office to Colonial Office, 25.11.1892, WO/22982, CO 545/4, BNA.
34. See, e.g., H. Loch to Lord Ripon, 9.1.1893, Gov/1664, CO 417/91, BNA.
35. Précis for H. Loch to Lord Ripon, 21.3.1893, Gov/5816, CO 545/5, BNA.
36. J. Keltie to F. Jeppe, 21.6.1894, Outgoing Letters 1888–1894, pp. 749–50, RGS-IBG Archives.
37. F. Jeppe to J. Keltie, 10.2.1896, Correspondence Block 1881–1910 (Jeppe, Frederick), RGS-IBG Archives.
38. 'Ambtenaren van den SMI-kantoor', p. 30, SMI 92, TAB.
39. Mine Commissioner, Johannesburg, to Superintendent of Education, 17.5.1897, OR6117/97, Argief van die Superintendent van Onderwijs (OD) 152, TAB; 'Personalia,' *The Press* (Pretoria), 11.4.1897.
40. F. Jeppe to J. Keltie, 4.3.1898, Correspondence Block 1881–1910 (Jeppe, Frederick), RGS-IBG Archives. Emphasis in original.

41. F. Jeppe to Superintendent of Education, 8.4.1897, OR8375/98, OD 231, TAB; C. F. W. Jeppe to J. Klimke, 15.4.1898, R5132/98, SS 7165, TAB. Reduced photostatic copies of the holograph sheets may have reached the War Office as early as June 1898 under unclear circumstances; see entry 21, f. 284, WO 408/38, BNA.
42. F. Jeppe to J. Rissik, n.d. [7-17.6.1898], Rissik Family Collection, MA 1974/751, MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg.
43. C. F. W. Jeppe to S. J. P. Kruger (and council), 28.6.1899, R9239/99, SS 7942, TAB. Neither Jeppe ever mentions the bilingual production directly.
44. Memorandum (Domestic), 1.8.1898, R9710/98, SS 7346, TAB.

Notes on the contributor



Lindsay Frederick Braun is Associate Professor of African History at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon, USA. He earned a PhD in History from Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, in 2008. His work focuses on the contested meanings and imperfections of survey and mapping in colonial contexts during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, primarily in southern Africa. In his previous book, published with Brill in 2014 as *Colonial Survey and Native Landscapes in Rural South Africa, 1850-1913*, he focused on the northern Transvaal and the western Transkei as zones of conflict and contest between surveyors, local communities of colonial settlers, and prior African inhabitants, all with different goals and social structures at work regarding land and its depictions. His two current projects stem from the earlier one, and draw in his other essays on the development of map knowledge and struggles over land. The first concerns the map compilers of southern Africa, and the second deals with the geodetic Arc of the 30th Meridian in eastern Africa. Both subjects engage questions about the fictions that precise survey and mapping create in a colonial setting, and the way that different groups of people interact based upon their geographical visions.

References

- Braun, L.F. (2015) *Colonial Survey and Native Landscapes in Rural South Africa, 1850-1913* Leiden: Brill.
- Butlin, R. (2009) *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies c.1880-1960* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carruthers, J. (2006) "Cartographic Rivalries: Friedrich Jeppe and the Transvaal" In Etherington, N. (Ed.) *Mapping Colonial Conquest: Australia and Southern Africa* Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, pp.102-122.
- Fergusson, T. (1984) *British Military Intelligence, 1870-1914: The Development of a Modern Intelligence Organization* Frederick, MD: University Press of America.
- Guy, J. (2013) *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Habernicht, H. (1901) "495. Jeppe, Fred., u. C. F. W. Jeppe: Jeppe's Map of the Transvaal or S. A. Republic and Surrounding Territories. Compiled from surveys filed in the Surveyor-General's Office" In Supan, A. (Ed.) *Geographischer Literaturbericht für 1901: Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 47 p.124.
- House of Commons. (1877) *Correspondence Respecting the War Between the Transvaal Republic and Neighbouring Native Tribes, and Generally with Reference to Native Affairs in South Africa* London: Harrison & Sons.
- Jeppe, F. (1868) "Die Transvaal'sche oder Süd-afrikanische Republik" *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt von Dr. A. Petermann* 14 (Ergänzungsheft 24).
- Jeppe, F. (1877a) *Map of the Transvaal and the Surrounding Territories, 1:1.850.000* London: J. Murray [for the RGS].
- Jeppe, F. (1877b) "Notes on Some of the Physical and Geological Features of the Transvaal, to Accompany his New Map of the Transvaal and Surrounding Territories" *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 47 pp.217-250.
- Jeppe, F. (1877c) *Map of the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Surrounding Territories, 1:1.850.000* London: S. W. Silver & Co.
- Jeppe, F. (1878) *A Manual of the Transvaal, a New Field of Enterprise for Agriculturalists, Capitalists, & Miners* London: S. W. Silver & Co.
- Jeppe, F. (1888a) "The Kaap Gold-fields of the Transvaal" *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 10 pp.438-446.
- Jeppe, F. (1888b) "Die Witwatresrand-Goldfelder in Transvaal" *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 34 pp.257-267.
- Jeppe, F. (1889) *Map of the Transvaal or S. A. Republic and Surrounding Territories, 1:1.000.000* London: Edward Stanford.
- Jeppe, F. (1892) "Die Feststellung der Grenze zwischen der Süd-afrikanischen Republik (Transvaal) und den portugiesischen Besitzungen an der Südostküste von Afrika" *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 38 pp.128-134.
- Jeppe, F. (1893a) *Map of the Zoutpansberg Goldfields, Compiled from Latest Information by Fred. Jeppe, F.R.G.S., Surveyor-General's Department, 1:600.000* London: Turner & Shawe.
- Jeppe, F. (1893b) "The Zoutpansberg Goldfields in the South African Republic" *Geographical Journal* 2 pp.213-237.
- Jeppe, F. (1894) *Map of Scene of War in Zoutpansberg, 1:150,000 [Approximately]* Pretoria: Press Works.
- Jeppe, F. (1896) *Map of the Southern Goldfields of the Transvaal, 1:262.000 [Approximately]* Johannesburg: Argus Co.

- Jeppe, F. and Jeppe, C.F.W. (1899) *Jeppe's Map of the Transvaal or S. A. Republic and Surrounding Territories*, 1:476.000 Winterthur: Wurster, Randegger & Cie.
- Jeppe, F. and Merensky, A. (1868) *Original Map of the Transvaal or South-African Republic*, 1:1.850.000 Gotha: Justus Perthes.
- Kotzé, J. (1934) *Memoirs and Reminiscences* Cape Town: Maskew Miller.
- Royal Commission on the War in South Africa. (1903) *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa (Volume I)*, (Cd.1790) London: HMSO.
- Troye, G. (1892) *Troye's Map of the Transvaal*, 1:500.000 Winterthur, Switzerland: Wurster, Randegger, & Cie.
- Troye, G. (1896) *Troye's Map of the Transvaal, Revised Edition*, 1:500.000 Winterthur, Switzerland: Wurster, Randegger, & Cie.
- Zimmermann, R. and Visser, D. (1996) "Introduction" In Zimmermann, R. and Visser, D. (Eds) *Southern Cross: Civil Law and Common Law in South Africa* Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.1–31.
- Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (1896) *Rapport van den Landmeter-Generaal over het Jaar 1895* Pretoria: Staatsdrukkerij.