HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES
OF WAR, REVOLUTION, AND CIVIL UNREST
Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editor’s Foreword</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jon Woronoff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader’s Notes</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms and Abbreviations</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE DICTIONARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the Author</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you like your wars nice and neat, one side against the other, or just the “good guys” beating the “bad guys,” this is not the book for you. In its simplest form, the Zulu Wars can be regarded as a three-way struggle between the Zulus, the Boers, and the British, in various combinations and at various times from 1838 to 1888. But the Zulus were also divided among themselves and lapsed into several civil wars during this period. The Boers were also not very well unified, not being one single political entity. The British, of course, were a single force and had the advantage in soldiers, weapons, wealth, and backing. So of course the Boers beat the Zulus, then the British beat the Boers and the Zulus. But eventually the Boers overcame the British and created a state dominated by the Afrikaners, which in the fullness of time was decolonized and run by the Zulus and others in the modern state of South Africa.

Given the rather confusing and changing situation, a historical dictionary such as this is extremely valuable. It provides the background—first in an extensive chronology and next in a comprehensive stand-alone introduction—that places the historical events in context. The dictionary then examines the various people, places, and events; skirmishes and battles; military units and formations; and equipment and logistics. The bibliography is particularly important because it collects most relevant literature written by eyewitnesses and distant observers in English, as well as Afrikaans and sometimes Zulu.

The author is not related directly to any of the three participants, which is a definite advantage. John Laband studied at the University of Cambridge in England and the University of Natal in South Africa, and he is currently a professor of history at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. He is also an associate of the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, and he has written
about the Zulu Wars extensively, including several books and numerous articles. He has also shown increasing interest in the Zulu people themselves, having coedited *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. This *Historical Dictionary of the Zulu Wars* thus benefits from Professor Laband’s considerable knowledge and experience as well as his desire to bring greater fairness and balance to an area in which this is sometimes lacking.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
Acknowledgments

A historical dictionary covering 50 years of conflict in 19th-century Zululand and its neighboring states must owe an enormous debt to scholars who have researched not only the Zulu kingdom but also colonial Natal and the Cape, the Boer republics, the Ndebele, Tsonga, Swazi, Pedi, Sotho, Griqua, and Mpondo polities, and the British military and empire. Two fellow historians with whom I have collaborated in the past, Ian Knight and Paul Thompson, were as generous as ever with their advice and assistance, and in compiling this dictionary I have been especially dependent on their expert publications. I received valuable assistance from my doctoral student Heiko Stang in compiling the bibliography, and from Brian Scribner and Owen Cooke in researching Boer and British biographical entries. Brian Henderson, director of the Wilfrid Laurier University Press, and Eveline Escoto, administrative assistant to the History department at Wilfrid Laurier University, kindly assisted me in preparing the maps and illustrations for publication. Jon Woronoff, series editor, exercised great forbearance during the book’s long gestation and lent a steadying hand. I must also thank Wilfrid Laurier University for granting me a course release and sabbatical leave, which were essential for completing this book. My colleagues in the Department of History and the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies were unfailingly supportive. Fenella, as always, sustained me while I wrestled with yet another manuscript.
There is no settled terminology for either the various conflicts in Zululand between 1838 and 1888 or the progressive dismemberments of the Zulu kingdom. In the interests of consistency, concision, and clarity, variant terms have been eliminated from the text. This has meant deciding which particular form should be adopted throughout when variants exist, and establishing new terms where none is commonly in use. Thus the British invasion of 1879 is called the Anglo-Zulu War, and the Zulu uprising of 1888 the uSuthu Rebellion. The Boer invasion of 1838 is termed the Voortrekker-Zulu War to parallel the war of 1879. Civil war wracked Zululand in 1840, 1856, and 1883–1884. The issues behind these wars diverged, but for convenience they are termed the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Zulu Civil Wars. Zululand was partitioned in 1879, 1882, and 1884 in very different circumstances on each occasion, but as with the civil wars, it is expedient to refer to them as the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Partitions of Zululand.

In accordance with modern orthographic practice, Zulu words are alphabetized by the root word and not the prefix, thus iKlwa, and not Iklwa (stabbing spear). Entries in the dictionary that include a number, such as that of a regiment, battalion, or battery, are alphabetized under the name of the military formation, for example “Natal Native Contingent, 1st Battalion” or “Royal Artillery, H Battery, 4th Brigade.” The same goes for field formations, such as “Column, No. 1” or “South African Field Force, 1st Division.” Events such as numbered invasions, wars, or partitions are alphabetized under the name of the event, such as “Anglo-Zulu War, 1st Invasion” or “Zulu Civil War, 1st.”

Zulu terms and their plurals regularly employed in the dictionary are listed in the glossary with an English translation. The same applies to terms in Afrikaans. In most cases, Zulu terms are employed in the dictionary entries rather than the English translation in order to avoid
a misleading gloss. For example, in referring to the Zulu hierarchy of power, *inKosi* is preferred to *chief* because the latter carries connotations of a paid African functionary of the colonial state. Yet because the same term is used to mean a king, to avoid confusion I have used the English term *king* to describe Zulu rulers, rather than *inKosi*. Other Zulu terms, like *iButho*, or age-grade regiment, refer to a specific Zulu institution that has no direct counterpart in English, so it is preferable to stick to the Zulu term rather than fumble for an inexact counterpart in English. Afrikaans terms usually allow for more precise translation, and many employed in the dictionary, such as *veld* or *laager*, have entered common English usage in South Africa and Great Britain, though not always elsewhere. For this reason, they are also listed in the glossary.

Zulu and other Africans of the period included in the dictionary did not employ surnames but called themselves *ka* (son of) in Zulu, *wa* in Swazi, and *woa* in Pedi: thus King Cetshwayo *kaMpende*. They are consequently entered in the dictionary under their first name. In a number of cases, the name of the father is not known, because in a society without writing, much depends on patchy oral transmission. While it is often possible to note when a Zulu individual died, the date of birth can mostly be only approximated, although knowledge of the *iButho* to which the person belonged narrows the date to within a span of only a few years. Some of the white colonials (and one or two British officers) have also slipped between the records, and diligent efforts have failed to come up with all the salient dates of their lives and careers.

The colonial term *tribe* is not used to describe the adherents of an *inKosi* who, although offering him their allegiance, were potentially free to transfer it to another. Thus, political units must always be considered in terms of the number of people accepting the rule of an individual rather than in terms of geographical boundaries. Kingdoms could migrate, picking up adherents as they went, and like the Ndebele, they could move the enormous distance from Zululand to modern-day Zimbabwe. It was not unusual, therefore, for King Dingane *kaSenzangakhona* to attempt to move the Zulu kingdom north in 1839 at the expense of the Swazi when threatened by the Voortrekkers settling to the south.

In biographical entries, an individual’s changing rank and titles are noted, but when such individuals are mentioned in entries on other topics, they are accorded the rank or title carried at the time. Thus, while
it is Brevet Colonel Evelyn Wood who commanded at Khambula, it is Brigadier-General Wood who fought at Ulundi. The dates in biographical entries given after campaigns in which the subjects fought refer to the dates of their service rather than to the full extent of the campaigns, although in many cases these coincided. When describing the uniforms of units, common features appear under various DRESS entries in the dictionary, and only specific differences are noted in the individual entries. With British infantry regiments, for example, only the color of the facings is mentioned, as uniforms were otherwise standard, whereas the very distinctive uniforms of cavalry regiments are detailed in each case.

Throughout the dictionary, entries are listed in alphabetical order and are cross-referenced to indicate additional information. When a term that has its own entry is mentioned in another dictionary entry, it appears in **bold**. Some entries are simply cross-references to other entries and thus contain nothing more than a *see* reference. There are *see also* references at the end of some entries.

Women were inextricably woven into the fabric of Zulu and Boer military culture and society, and as civilians, many women suffered the full impact of war. Specific entries are not devoted to individual women except for such prominent figures as Harriette Colenso, but women are mentioned in many entries, and cross-referencing has been provided.

In this dictionary covering two major invasions of Zululand, three civil wars, and a rebellion, it was not possible for me to include every single skirmish and every individual involved in events. I had to exercise judgment and exclude potential entries on many secondary players. The task of selection was made easier by the knowledge that many biographical registers are in print where such information can be readily found (see the bibliography for references). Furthermore, I had to balance the need to include biographical information that could be found elsewhere against the desire to provide contextual information that elucidated events in Zululand.
Acronyms and Abbreviations

CDD Colonial Defensive District
DEIC Dutch East India Company
GOC General officer commanding
HMS Her Majesty’s Ship
INC Ixopo Native Contingent
NCO Noncommissioned officer
NMP Natal Mounted Police
NMR Newcastle Mounted Rifles
NNC Natal Native Contingent
OFS Orange Free State
RE Royal Engineers
RML Rifled muzzle-loader
RTC Reserve Territory Carbineers
SAR South African Republic
ZP Zululand Police
VOC Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie
THE ZULU KINGDOM AND THE REPUBLIC OF NATALIA
1838-1840

Area claimed by Republic of Natalia in 1838
Territory claimed by Trekkers in 1840
Battle sites

[Map of the Zulu Kingdom and the Republic of Natalia with annotations and major locations marked.]
THE PARTITION OF THE ZULU KINGDOM
1879

- Stanger  Towns
- Faku  Appointed chiefs
- NTUJI  Chieftains

0 10 20 Kilometres
0 5 10 Miles
Chronology

THE ZULU KINGDOM AND THE PORT NATAL SETTLERS

1816 Shaka succeeds his father, *inkosi* Senzangakhona kaJama, to the Zulu chieftainship and begins to consolidate the Zulu kingdom through the conquest or enforced submission of neighboring chiefdoms.

1824 May: First British hunter-traders from the Cape settle at Port Natal. August: King Shaka recognizes the Port Natal settlers as tributary chiefs.

1826 September: Port Natal traders with firearms support the Zulu in finally crushing their great rivals, the Ndwandwe, at the battle of the izinDolowane Hills.

1827 Armed party from Port Natal under James King assists Shaka in subduing the Bheje people.

1828 August: British at the Cape Colony warn Shaka that any further Zulu expansion southward would be sharply resisted. 24 September: Shaka is assassinated at his kwaDukuza *ikhanda* (administrative center) and is succeeded by his half-brother, Dingane kaSenzangakhona.

1831 April: King Dingane punishes the Port Natal settlers for insubordination.

THE GREAT TREK AND THE VOORTREKKER-ZULU WAR

1834 Beginning of the Great Trek, the migration of Dutch-speaking settlers from the Cape (Voortrekkers) into the South African interior.
1835  March: Scouting trek under Pieter Uys reports that Zulu territory would make an excellent place to settle. 13 July: Dingane proclaims Captain Allen Gardiner, the first Christian missionary in Zululand, chief over all the territory between the Thukela and Mzimkhulu rivers, including Port Natal.

1836  16 October: At Vegkop, just south of the Vaal River, laagered (encamped) Voortrekkers under Andries Potgieter repel an Ndebele attack.

1837  17 January: Voortrekkers under Potgieter and Gert Maritz defeat Ndebele at Mosega. Late January: Mercenaries from Port Natal (Durban) under John Cane assist Dingane in raiding the Swazi kingdom. June–September: Zulu army unsuccessfully raids Ndebele. 19 October: Pieter Retief arrives in Port Natal and opens good relations with the British settlers. November: The Voortrekkers laager in Zululand. 4–13 November: Voortrekkers under Potgieter and Piet Uys defeat Ndebele at eGabeni and they flee north across the Limpopo River. 5 November: Retief visits Dingane at his uMgungundlovu iKhanda and receives permission to settle in Zululand. In return, he agrees to recover Zulu cattle raided by Sekonyela of the Mokotleng Tlokwa. December: Retief leads a commando (militia unit) over the Drakensberg against Sekonyela.

1838  January: Retief successful in recovering the Zulu cattle from Sekonyela. 3 February: Retief and his following arrive at uMgungundlovu with the cattle. 4 February: Dingane puts his mark to a dubious document ceding to the Voortrekkers the lands between the Thukela and Mzimvubu rivers. 6 February: Dingane orders the execution of Retief and his party. 16–18 February: Zulu army overruns many Voortrekker encampments along the Bloukrans and Bushman rivers (the region later known as Weenen, or Weeping) before being driven off. March: Voortrekkers and Port Natal settlers agree on a joint offensive against Dingane. Port Natal forces under John Cane raid the Zulu at Ntunjambili near the middle Thukela River. 10 April: Zulu under Nzobo kaSobadli ambush and defeat Boer commando (Vlugkommando) led by Pieter Uys and Andries Pretorius at eThaleni in central Zululand. 17 April: Zulu under umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona rout the Grand Army of Natal under Robert Biggar at Ndondakusuka on the lower Thukela.
April–3 May: Zulu comprehensively sack Port Natal.  
13–15 August: Voortrekkers in the Gatsrand laager under Johan Hendrik (Hans Dons) de Lange repel main Zulu army under inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi in the battle of Veglaer.  
October: Boers lay out township of Pietermaritzburg.  
26 November: Voortrekkers at Sooilaer elect Andries Pretorius their chief commandant.  
27 November: Wenkommando under Pretorius commences its advances into Zululand.  
3 December: Port Natal contingent joins Wenkommando.  
4 December: First British occupation of Port Natal.  
9 December: Voortrekkers make a covenant with God at Danskraal on the Wasbankspruit in return for victory over the Zulu.  
16 December: The laagered Wenkommando routs main Zulu army under Ndlela and Nzobo at Blood (Ncome) River.  
20 December: Wenkommando reaches uMgungundlovu, which Dingane has ordered beforehand to be burned.  
26 December: Wenkommando encamps on the Mthonjaneni Heights.  
27 December: Boer commando under Karel Landman and Port Natal forces under Alexander Biggar raid the White Mfolozi valley and are ambushed and routed by the Zulu.  
28 December: Boer commando burns three amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley.  

1839  
2–8 January: Wenkommando returns to the Sooilaer.  
January: Voortrekkers begin settling in Pietermaritzburg, to be their capital.  
25 March: Peace concluded between the Boers and Zulu, permitting the former to live unmolested south of the Thukela River.  

THE 1ST ZULU CIVIL WAR  

1839  
June–July: Dingane tries to reestablish his kingdom to the north, but the Swazi defeat his forces at Lubuye and force them to withdraw.  
September: “Breaking of the rope”: Mpande flees to the Republic of Natalia with his adherents.  
27 October: Mpande strikes alliance with the Boers to attack Dingane. In return for being made king, he agrees to cede to the Boers the lands south of the Thukela as well as St. Lucia Bay.  
24 December: British evacuate Port Natal.  

1840  
4 January: Boers repudiate their treaty of 25 March 1839 with Dingane.  
14 January: Opening of joint campaign by Mpande and Boers under Pretorius against Dingane.  
29 January: Mpande’s army under Nongalaza kaNondela defeats Dingane’s forces under Ndlela
at the battle of the Maqongqo hills in northern Zululand, and Dingane flees to the Lubombo Mountains. 8 February: Boer commando withdraws. 10 February: Boers recognize Mpande as Zulu king. 14 February: In amendment to the treaty of 27 October 1839, Mpande further cedes Boers all the lands between the Thukela and Black Mfolozi rivers. March (?): Dingane, now a refugee with the Nyawo people, is put to death by a Swazi patrol.

ZULULAND BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE BOERS AND THE 2ND ZULU CIVIL WAR


1843  12 May: District of Port Natal annexed as a British dependency. June: “Crossing of Mawa”: refugees from Mpande’s rule flee to Natal. 5 October: Mpande and the British in Natal recognize their respective sovereignties with the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers as the border.

1844  31 May: District of Natal annexed to the Cape Colony.

1847  January: Klip River Insurrection: Boers “buy” land between Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers and proclaim independence.

1848  January: British exert their authority and suppress independent Klip River. 3 February: Proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty extends British authority over the Boers settled between the Orange and Vaal rivers.

1852  17 January: Sand River Convention between Britain and the Transvaal Boers recognizes the latter’s independence as the South African Republic (SAR).

1854  23 February: Bloemfontein Convention between Britain and the Transorangia Boers recognizes the latter’s independence as the Orange Free State (OFS). September: Mpande cedes the land between
the Mzinyathi and Ncome rivers to Boers, who proclaim the Utrecht Republic.

1856 15 July: Natal becomes a separate colony of the British Crown.
2 December: At the battle of Ndondakusuka on the lower Thukela, umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande leads his uSuthu to a crushing victory over the iziGqoza of his brother, umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpande, and his white-hunter ally from Natal, John Dunn. His victory in the 2nd Zulu Civil War secures Cetshwayo’s right of succession to the Zulu throne.

1859 6 December: Utrecht Republic absorbed as a district into the SAR.

1861 March: Treaty of Waaihoek: Boers hand exiled royal rivals over to Cetshwayo in return for indeterminate land claims east of the Ncome River, thus creating the problem of the “Disputed Territory.” May: Theophilus Shepstone, Natal secretary for native affairs, recognizes Cetshwayo as Mpande’s co-ruler. June–August: Invasion scare in Natal as Zulu mobilize against Boer incursions into Zululand.

1868 12 March: British annexation of Sotho kingdom.

1869 Diamond rush begins near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal rivers just west of the Orange Free State. June: SAR allots farms east of the Ncome to Boer settlers.

1871 August: Basutoland annexed to the Cape. October: British annexation of Griqualand West and the diamond diggings.

1872 September or October: Mpande dies.

1873 August: King Cetshwayo’s Zulu coronation. 1 September: Shepstone “crows” Cetshwayo, who agrees to the “coronation laws.” 29 October–31 December: Suppression by Natal colonial forces of a “rebellion” led by inKosi Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu of the Hlubi people.

1875 25 May: SAR proclamation claiming the Zulu territory “ceded” in 1861, plus a slice of territory south of the Phongolo River between Zululand and Swaziland. June: Natal prohibits the direct sale of firearms to Zululand.
1876 May: SAR goes to war with the Pedi people on its northeastern border. 2 August: Boers fail to take Pedi stronghold, and SAR abandons campaign.

CONFEDERATION, THE ANGLO-ZULU WAR, AND THE 1ST PARTITION OF ZULULAND

1876 August: London Conference on South African Affairs promotes confederation.

1877 27 February: Sir Bartle Frere appointed governor of the Cape and high commissioner for South Africa with the task of confederating the subcontinent under the Crown. 12 April: Shepstone annexes the SAR as the British Transvaal Territory. 18 October: Unsuccessful meeting at Conference Hill between Shepstone and Zulu delegation to resolve the issue of the Disputed Territory. 10 August: Permissive Federation Bill receives royal assent as the South Africa Act of 1877. August: 9th Cape Frontier War breaks out. November: abaQulusi iButho (regiment) asserts Zulu territorial claim north of the Phongolo of land inhabited by the Luneburg settlers. 8 December: Henry Bulwer offers Natal’s mediation in the Zulu–Transvaal border dispute. 25 December: Fighting between two rival amaButho at the umKhosi (first-fruits ceremony) exposes fissures between Zulu ruling elite.

1878 16 February: Britain and Portugal prohibit sale of firearms and ammunition to Africans. 4 March: Lieutenant-General Thesiger (later Lord Chelmsford) takes up his command as general officer commanding in South Africa. 17 March: Boundary Commission meets at Rorke’s Drift. 5 March: British in the Transvaal reopen campaign against Pedi. April–May: Failed uprising in Griqualand West against British rule. 15 July: Boundary Commission submits report favorable to Zulu claims. 28 July: Sihayo “incident” on the Natal–Zululand border alarms settlers. August: Conclusion of 9th Cape Frontier War. 9 August: Thesiger sets up headquarters in Pietermaritzburg. 31 August: Thesiger annexes Port St. John’s. September: Provocative hunts by Zulu amaButho opposite Natal border; abaQulusi order Luneburg settlers to leave. 10 September: Thesiger persuades Natal government to raise large field force of African levies (troops) to guard the frontier
with Zululand. 17 September: Deighton and Smith “incident” on the Natal–Zululand border. 7 October: British suspend unsuccessful campaign against Pedi. Swazi freebooter Mbilini waMswati (allied to Cetshwayo) raids Luneburg area. 19 October: British troops move up from Utrecht to Luneburg to protect settlers. October: Temporary mustering of the amaButho in the Mahlabathini Plain. 6 November: UmNtwana Hamu kaNzibe informs British of intention to defect if war should break out. 13 November: Zulu messengers to Natal convey Cetshwayo’s desire for peace. 23 November: Issue of regulations for raising the Natal Native Contingent (NNC) in Natal. 26 November: Natal divided into Colonial Defensive Districts. Natal Mounted Volunteers called out for active service. 11 December: John Shepstone delivers the boundary award and the British ultimatum to Zulu deputation at the Lower Thukela. NNC called into service. 13 December: British military preparations for the invasion of Zululand completed. 20 December: African Border Guards and part-time reserve levies organized for the defense of the Natal border. 22 December: Zulu deputation reports to Cetshwayo with the terms of the ultimatum. 31 December: John Dunn, Cetshwayo’s white chief, deserts to Natal with adherents.

1879  6 January: No. 4 Column under Colonel Wood crosses the Ncome River into Zulu territory. 8 January: Zulu amaButho muster for the umKhosi in the Mahlabathini Plain. 9 January: No. 3 Column under Colonel Glyn concentrates at Rorke’s Drift. 10 January: Public meeting at Wonderfontein of irreconcilable Transvaal Boers decides on policy of noncooperation with British. Bemba, a Mdlalose inDuna (officer), surrenders to Wood. 11 January: No. 3 Column under Chelmsford’s effective command invades Zululand at Rorke’s Drift. Natal Defensive Districts along Zululand border placed under military command. 11–13 January: Wood raids toward Rorke’s Drift with a flying column. 12 January: No. 1 Column under Colonel Pearson invades Zululand at Fort Pearson. No. 3 Column wins skirmish at kwaSogekle. 15 January: Zulu force prevents inKosi Sekethwayo kaNhlaka of the Mdlalose from surrendering to Wood. No. 2 Column under Colonel Durnford divided: part to remain at Middle Drift and rest under Durnford to reinforce No. 3 Column. 17 January: Zulu army marches out from the kwaNodwengu iKhanda. 18 January: Zulu army splits: smaller force under inKosi Godide kaNdlela moves against No. 1 Column; larger force under inKosi Ntshingwayo kaMahole and inKosi
Mavumengwana kaNdlela moves against No. 3 Column. 20 January: No. 4 Column crosses White Mfolozi. Thinta, a Mdlalose inDuna, surrenders to Wood. Abaqulusi repulse Colonel Buller and mounted men of No. 4 Column at Zungwini Mountain. No. 3 Column encamps at Isandlwana. Main Zulu army encamps by Siphezi Mountain. 21 January: No. 1 Column burns undefended kwaGingindlovu iKhanda. Reconnaissance in force under Major Dartnell moves out of Isandlwana camp. 21–22 January: Main Zulu army moves undetected by British to Ngwebeni valley. 22 January: Chelmsford moves out of camp to reinforce reconnaissance force that Dartnell believes is threatened by Zulu forces. Durnford reinforces garrison left in Isandlwana camp with part of No. 2 Column. Main Zulu army overruns Isandlwana camp. Chelmsford returns too late to save it. No. 1 Column fights through Zulu ambush at Nyezane River. Wood disperses Zulu on Zungwini. 22–23 January: Garrison at No. 3 Column’s depot at Rorke’s Drift repulses the Zulu reserve under inKosi Dabulamanzi kaMpfande. 23 January: No. 1 Column reaches Eshowe mission station and begins to fortify it. Remnants of No. 3 Column retire to Natal. No. 4 Column retires toward Kambula Hill on learning of Isandlwana. 27–29 January: Court of Enquiry convened by Chelmsford looks into the loss at Isandlwana. January–February: Colonists take refuge in their laagers on learning of Isandlwana. 26 January: No. 5 Column under Colonel Rowlands (which had remained in garrison at Derby and Luneburg) raids the Kubheka in Ntombe River valley. 30 January: Pearson decides to hold fast at Eshowe with British troops and sends the NNC and mounted men back to Natal. Zulu under Dabulamanzi blockade Eshowe. 1 February: No. 4 Column forms an entrenched camp at Kambula. Patrol under Buller burns the ebaQulusini iKhanda. 10 February: Buller raids abaQulusi on Hlobane Mountain. 10–11 February: The Kubheka, Mbilini’s adherents, and abaQulusi ravage farms and mission stations in the Ntombe valley. 15 February: Buller raids the Kubheka in the Ntombe valley and Rowlands attacks the abaQulusi on Talaku Mountain. 16 February: British government agrees to Chelmsford’s urgent request for reinforcements. 26 February: No. 5 Column attached to Wood’s command. February–March: British reinforcements and colonial troops from the Cape arrive in Natal. 1 March: Raid by Eshowe garrison burns eSiqwakeni iKhanda. Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Middle Drift. 10 March: Hamu and his Ngenetsheni adherents, pursued
by Cetshwayo’s forces, defect to Wood. **Mid-March:** Cetshwayo summons his councilors to oNdini to discuss prosecution of the war. **12 March:** At the Ntombe drift, Mbilini’s forces overwhelm convoy of No. 5 Column under Captain Moriarty on way from Derby to Luneburg. **22 March:** Zulu army reassembles at oNdini. **23 March:** Eshowe Relief Column under Chelmsford concentrates at Fort Pearson. Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Fort Eshowe. **24–28 March:** Zulu army under inKosi Mnyamana kaNgqengelele marches against Wood at Khambula. **24 March:** British border demonstration under Major Twentyman along Thukela at Middle Drift. **25 March:** Buller raids Kubheka in Ntombe valley. **27 March:** British demonstration under Captain Lucas along lower Thukela. **28 March:** Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Middle Drift. Force under Wood trying to clear Hlobane of abaQulusi and Mbilini’s followers trapped by arrival of main Zulu army and routed. **29 March:** Wood routs the Zulu army attacking Khambula. Eshowe Relief Column advances into Zululand. **2 April:** Zulu army concentrated near Eshowe under inKosi Somopho kaZikhala attacks the Eshowe Relief Column’s laager at Gingindlovu and is routed. **2–3 April:** Twentyman raids Zululand at Middle Drift. **3 April:** Eshowe garrison evacuated to Thukela and fort abandoned. AbaQulusi and Mbilini’s followers evacuate Hlobane. **4 April:** Frere orders that Zulu peace feelers must not delay military operations. **5 April:** Mbilini killed in skirmish and local Zulu resistance withers in the northwest. **9 April:** Rorke’s Drift garrison raids up the Batshe River to Isandlwana. **12 April:** Frere meets Boer leaders at Hennopsrivier and unsuccessfully offers the Transvaal self-government within British confederation. **13 April:** Eshowe Relief Column becomes the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, concentrating on the lower Thukela under Major-General Crealock. No. 4 and 5 Columns restyled Wood’s Flying Column. **April–June:** 1st Division concentrates supplies and builds force in preparation for advance up Zululand coast. **Mid-April:** 2nd Division, South African Field Force, under Major-General Newdigate begins concentrating at Dundee. **21 April:** UmNtwana Makwende kaMpande surrenders to 1st Division. **2 May:** 2nd Division masses at entrenched camp at Landman’s Drift on the Mzinyathi River. **5 May:** Wood’s Flying Column begins its march toward oNdini. **13–21 May:** Mounted patrols from 2nd Division clear path of division’s advance of any Zulu presence. **15 May:** Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Fort Chelmsford on
the coast. **20 May:** Twentyman raids Zululand at Middle Drift. **21 May:** Reconnaissance in force by 2nd Division begins the burial of the British dead at Isandlwana. **26 May:** British government subordinates Chelmsford’s command to General Wolseley. **28 May:** Lucas raids Zululand at lower Thukela. Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Fort Chelmsford. **31 May:** 2nd Division crosses Ncome River at Koppie Alleen into Zululand. **1 June:** Prince Eugène Louis Napoleon Bonaparte of France (an observer on Chelmsford’s staff) killed at the Tshotshosi River on patrol. **3 June:** 2nd Division and Wood’s Flying Column effect junction at the Tshotshosi River under Chelmsford’s overall command. **4 June:** Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Wood’s camp at the Nondwini River. **5 June:** Mounted men of 2nd Division and Wood’s Flying Column skirmish unsuccessfully with Zulu irregulars at Zungeni Mountain and withdraw. **7–17 June:** Chelmsford’s columns halt at Ntinini River to escort convoys of supplies. Zulu raiders sweep Luneburg district with assistance of disaffected Transvaal Boers. **14 June:** Buller raids north to Ntabankulu Mountain. **16 June:** Chelmsford lays down easy terms for surrender of Zulu chiefs but retains stringent conditions for Cetshwayo himself. Chelmsford learns informally of Wolseley’s appointment. **18 June:** Joint advance of 2nd Division and Wood’s Flying Column recommences. **20 June:** Buller skirmishes with Zulu in Mphembheni valley. **23–26 June:** Mounted patrols from 1st Division raid between the Nigoye Hills and the coast. **24 June:** Wolseley arrives in Cape Town. **25 June:** 1st Division crosses Mhlathuze River and starts Fort Napoleon. Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Fort Pearson. Zulu raiders cross Thukela and ravage valley below Ntunjambili in Natal. **26 June:** Wood leads patrol into the emaKhosini valley and burns nine amaKhanda and the sacred iNkatha (symbolic grass coil). **27 June:** Zulu peace emissaries arrive near Mthonjaneni. **29 June:** Chelmsford’s columns laager on Mthonjaneni Heights overlooking Mahlabathini Plain. **30 June:** Zulu peace emissaries arrive at Fort Napoleon. Zulu peace emissaries come into Mthonjaneni camp. Chelmsford gives Cetshwayo until 3 July to comply with conditions. **1 July:** 1st Division encamps at Port Durnford where it is supplied by sea and by convoys from Fort Chelmsford. **2 July:** Chelmsford forms laager on south bank of the White Mfolozi. Cetshwayo makes last, futile attempt to negotiate a peace. **2–4 July:** Wolseley unable to land through heavy surf at Port Durnford. **3 July:** Zulu ambush and repel Buller’s mounted reconnaiss-
sance from the White Mfolozi camp toward oNdini. **4 July:** British under Chelmsford rout the Zulu at the battle of Ulundi and burn all the amaKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain. Cetshwayo flees north and Zulu army disperses home. Chelmsford withdraws to his base on Mthonjaneni. Mounted patrol from 1st Division burns emaNgweni iKhanda. More local amaKhosi make their submission at Port Durnford. **5 July:** Major coastal amaKhosi surrender at 1st Division camp at the lower drift of the Mhlathuze. Chelmsford resigns his command. **6 July:** Mounted patrol from 1st Division burns old oNdini iKhanda. **7 July:** Buller raids south to kwaMagwaza. Wolseley rides into Port Durnford from Durban. **9 July:** Chelmsford receives formal notice of Wolseley’s appointment. Wood’s Flying Column starts to withdraw south toward Natal. **10 July:** 2nd Division withdraws the way it had come to Natal. **12 July:** Dabulamanzi surrenders. **19 July:** Wolseley receives formal submission of coastal amaKhosi at lower drift of Mhlathuze near burned emaNgweni and states his terms. **23 July:** 1st Division broken up. Elements form Clarke’s Column to reoccupy the Mahlabathini Plain. **26 July:** Wolseley issues instructions for inducing Zulu chiefs to surrender. Cetshwayo’s messengers reach kwaMagwaza seeking terms. Baker Russell’s Column (made up of elements of Wood’s Flying Column) begins final pacification of northwestern Zululand. 2nd Division is broken up. **31 July:** Wood’s Flying Column broken up. **August:** African levies and contingents mustered out. **10 August:** Wolseley encamps at kwaSishwili, close to the destroyed oNdini. Cetshwayo’s final message reaches Wolseley. Colonel Villiers’s Column moves south from Derby with Swazi forces and Hamu’s fighting men to support Baker Russell’s Column. **14 August:** Mnyamana sues for terms from Wolseley on behalf of Cetshwayo. **15 August:** Sekethwayo surrenders to Baker Russell at Fort Cambridge. **14–26 August:** Zulu chiefs of central and northern Zululand, including Mnyamana and Zibhebhu, submit to Wolseley. **20 August:** Chiefs of southwestern Zululand submit to Natal official, Francis Fynn, at Rorke’s Drift. **25 August:** Villiers’s Column reaches Luneburg. **28 August:** Cetshwayo betrayed and captured at kwaDwasa in the Ngome Forest by patrol under Major Marter. **1 September:** At kwaSishwili, Wolseley imposes his settlement (the 1st Partition of Zululand) on defeated Zulu chiefs. He abolishes the Zulu monarchy and divides former kingdom into 13 independent chiefdoms under appointed chiefs to be supervised by a British Resident.
AbaQulusi surrender to Baker Russell as his column approaches Luneburg. **4 September:** Cetshwayo taken off by sea at Port Durnford for exile at the Cape. **4–8 September:** Baker Russell’s Column and Luneburg garrison break last of Kubheka resistance in the Ntombe valley. **5 September:** Clarke’s Column begins its march from kwaSishwili to Middle Drift to enforce submission of southern Zulu chiefs. **8 September:** Villiers’s Column disbanded. **10 September:** Baker Russell’s Column ordered to Transvaal for renewed operations against the Pedi. British posts along the Zulu border abandoned. **21 September:** Final Zulu submissions to Clarke’s Column at Middle Drift. **September–December:** Wolseley crushes Pedi resistance in the Transvaal.

**THE 2ND AND 3RD PARTITIONS OF ZULULAND AND THE 3RD ZULU CIVIL WAR**

**1880**  
**May:** First uSuthu deputation to Pietermaritzburg pleading for restoration of Cetshwayo. **September:** Outbreak of the “Gun War” in Basutoland against Cape rule. **13 December:** Transvaal Boers meeting at Paardekraal reconstitute the republican government and proclaim martial law. **18 December:** The British administration in the Transvaal acts to put down the Transvaal Rebellion by force.

**1881**  
**15 March:** British and Boer forces in the Transvaal agree to an armistice. **3 August:** Pretoria Convention signed conceding Transvaal independence under nebulous British “suzerainty.” **31 August:** Major-General Wood (acting high commissioner) meets representatives of the contending Zulu factions at Nhlazatshe Mountain and confirms the British will uphold the 1st Partition of Zululand.

**1882**  
**April:** Second unsuccessful uSuthu deputation to Pietermaritzburg. **September–October:** Factional clashes in northwestern Zululand. **August:** Cetshwayo permitted to travel to England to plead his cause with the British government. **11 December:** Cetshwayo agrees to his restoration to the central portion of his former kingdom. Northeastern Zululand remains under the collaborationist Mandlakazi chief Zibhebhu. The Reserve Territory is created between the Thukela and Mhlathuze rivers and is put under British protection to be administered by Natal officials.
1883 10 January: Cetshwayo lands at Port Durnford. **January–March:** Fighting breaks out between the uSuthu and their opponents in northern Zululand. **30 March:** Zibhebhu with white mercenaries under Johan Colenbrander routs the uSuthu army at the Msebe River. **1 April–20 July:** Fighting continues between the uSuthu and their opponents in northern Zululand. **April:** Creation of paramilitary police force, the Reserve Territory Carbineers, with its headquarters in Eshowe. **21 July:** Zibhebhu and Hamu crush the uSuthu in dawn attack at oNdini and kill most of the leadership; uSuthu scatter and Cetshwayo flees. **August:** Cetshwayo takes refuge in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory. **August–September:** Zibhebhu and Hamu raid central and coastal Zululand. **19 September:** Boers from the SAR begin to occupy northwestern Zululand. **20 September:** The Etshowe Column, drawn from the British garrison in Natal, moves into the Reserve Territory to support the African levies, raised by Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner, maintain order. **24 September:** Zibhebhu threatens the Reserve Territory. **29 September:** Etshowe Column occupies Eshowe and builds Fort Curtis. **15 October:** Cetshwayo takes refuge with the British in Eshowe. **September–December:** Chaotic fighting continues across Zululand.

1884 **January–February:** Fighting continues, particularly in northern Zululand, with Zibhebhu ascendant over the uSuthu. **8 February:** Cetshwayo dies, possibly by poison, and is succeeded by his minor son Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo under the guardianship of his uncles. **February–March:** Fighting in the coastal region between the uSuthu and the Mthethwa. **29 April:** Hamu and his Ngenetsheni scatter the uSuthu concentrating in the Ngome Forest in northern Zululand. **May:** uSuthu forces in southwestern Zululand resume struggle against the Mandlikazi and Zulu loyal to the British. Osborn raises African levies to defend the Reserve Territory from the uSuthu. **2 May:** Dinuzulu meets Boers at Hlobane Mountain to negotiate an alliance. **10 May:** uSuthu under Dabulamanzi defeat Osborn’s forces in the eastern Nkandla Forest. **20 May:** Hlubi’s “Basutos” recruited to fight uSuthu in the western Reserve Territory. **21 May:** Boers of the Committee of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers proclaim Dinuzulu king of the Zulu and promise him military assistance against Zibhebhu in return for land in Zululand. **22–23 May:** Basutos worst uSuthu forces in the Nkandla Forest. **27**
May: British troops from the Natal garrison reinforce the military posts in the Reserve Territory. 1 June: Basutos and African levies defeat uSuthu under Dabulamanzi in the Nkandla Forest. 5 June: Boers and uSuthu rout Zibhebhu at Tshaneni Mountain in northeastern Zululand. June–August: Boers and uSuthu ravage Mandlakazi territory. British garrison at Fort Northampton aids Basutos against uSuthu still resisting in the Nkandla Forest. 3 July: uSuthu attack loyalists in the Nkandla Forest. 7 July: British troops from Eshowe make reconnaissance in force toward the Nkandla and erect Fort Yolland. 11 August: Osborn begins negotiating surrender of the uSuthu in the Nkandla. 16 August: Dinuzulu cedes 2,710,000 acres of northwestern Zululand to the Boers for the establishment of the New Republic. Boers also extend a “protectorate” over the rest of Zululand north of the Reserve Territory (Eastern Zululand). August: New Republic Boers occupy the farms they have allocated themselves and reduce Zulu living there to labor tenants. 7 September: Osborn grants Zibhebhu and Mandlakazi refuge in the Reserve Territory. 9 September: uSuthu in Nkandla submit to British. 21 December: Britain asserts its claims to St. Lucia Bay to forestall the SAR and Germany.

1885 26 October: New Republic proclaims a boundary that extends to the coast.

1886 29 April: Under British pressure, New Republic modifies its boundary line. 22 October: Britain recognizes New Republic in return for abandoning its claim to Eastern Zululand and for ceding Proviso B, a block of territory in central Zululand where the Boers are allowed to retain ownership of the farms they have laid out.

1887 25 January: Boundary Commission defines the borders of the New Republic.

THE BRITISH ANNEXATION OF THE COLONY OF ZULULAND AND THE USUTHU REBELLION

1887 5 February: Osborn informs uSuthu leadership that British protection has been extended over Eastern Zululand. February: Hamu dies. 19 May: Reserve Territory, Eastern Zululand, and Proviso B
annexed as the British Colony of Zululand and put under white magistrates. Reserve Territory Carbineers restyled the Zululand Police. **22 August:** British troops moved up to Nkonjeni in the new Ndwandwe District in support of the civil authorities being defied by the uSuthu leadership concentrated there, and other Zululand bases reinforced by the Natal garrison. **November:** British repatriate Zibhebhu and Mandlakazi to the Ndwandwe District to help overawe the uSuthu, who respond with hostility to their presence.

**1888 January:** Large location assigned Zibhebhu inflames the uSuthu further. More troops moved up temporarily to Ndwandwe contain the situation. **15 February:** Dinuzulu unsuccessfully seeks assistance from New Republic. **March–April:** AbaQulusi supporters of Dinuzulu start mustering on Ceza Mountain on the border of northwestern Zululand and the New Republic. **26 April:** Attempt by the Zululand Police to arrest uSuthu ringleaders at Dinuzulu’s oSuthu homestead resisted by force. **May:** uSuthu under Dinuzulu join abaQulusi on Ceza and raid Zulu loyalists and white traders. **31 May:** Zibhebhu reinforces the Ivuna magistracy held by the Zululand Police. **2 June:** Zululand Police, assisted by British troops, repulsed when they attempt to arrest uSuthu leaders on Ceza. **June:** uSuthu on Ceza and Boer freebooters in control of much of northern Zululand. Usuthu forces under umNtwana Shingana kaMpande concentrate on Hlophekhulu Mountain in central Zululand. Zibhebhu raids his uSuthu neighbors from Ivuna. **6 June:** Reinforcements dispatched to Zululand from the Natal garrison. African auxiliaries raised in the Eshowe and Nkandhla Districts of Zululand. **23 June:** uSuthu from Ceza, under Dinuzulu, rout Zibhebhu at Ivuna but avoid attacking the magistrate’s fort. **24 June:** Ivuna garrison and Mandlakazi survivors evacuated to British base at Nkonjeni. British abandon Zululand north of the Black Mfolozi River. **28 June:** Lieutenant-General Smyth, the general officer commanding in South Africa, arrives in Eshowe to take command. **30 June:** In battle of Ntondotha, coastal uSuthu unsuccessfully attack Fort Andries in the Lower Umfolosisi District. **2 July:** British troops and African auxiliaries under Colonel Stabb storm Hlophekhulu and restore British control in central Zululand. **6 July:** Formation of Eshowe Column under Major McKean at Kongella Camp to relieve Fort Andries. Usuthu in northeastern Zululand, assisted by Boer freebooters, begin ravaging Zibhebhu’s
abandoned territory. 9 July: Eshowe Column relieves Fort Andries and replaces it with Fort McKean. 11–13 July: Eshowe Column returns to Eshowe, burning deserted uSuthu homesteads on the march. Mid-July: Disaffected African levies desert at Nkonjeni and go out of control at Mfule. 20 July: New Republic is incorporated into the SAR as the Vryheid District. 25 July: Coastal Column under McKean joins Dunn’s Native Levy at the lower Mhlathuze drift to enforce uSuthu submissions along the coast. British reinforcements concentrate at Nkonjeni for final push to reestablish civil authority in Zululand. 28 July: Coastal Column encamps at Camp Umfolosi and ravages surrounding uSuthu territory. 30 July: Submission of inKosi Somkhele kaMalanda and other coastal uSuthu chiefs. 1 August: Smyth moves his headquarters from Eshowe to Nkonjeni. 1–6 August: Dunn’s Levy collects cattle fines along coast. 2 August: Coastal Column commences its march into Ndwandwe District. 6 August: Coastal Column reaches Ivuna. 6–7 August: Dinuzulu disbands uSuthu on Ceza and seeks refuge in SAR. 7 August: Colonel Martin’s Flying Column from Nkonjeni arrives at Ivuna. 8 August: Dunn’s Levy returns to Eshowe District. 8–20 August: Mutinous Mounted Basutos at Ivuna raid loyal Zulu for supplies. 11–12 August: Patrols from Nkonjeni clash with uSuthu at Dlebe Mountain and violate SAR territory. 18–30 August: Joint column (Coastal Column and Flying Column) marches from Ivuna to Eshowe, subduing last pockets of resistance. 19 August: Zibhebhu attacks and repels uSuthu ravaging his district. 23 August: Mounted Basutos and African levies disbanded. 27 August: Civil magistrate and Zululand Police reoccupy Ivuna magistracy. 10 September: uSuthu in northeastern Zululand raid Zibhebhu. 30 September: Smyth orders all advanced posts in Ndwandwe be abandoned, with troops either to be redistributed to garrisons at Entonjaneni or Eshowe or to return to Natal. 2 November: Zululand garrison reduced to its normal level. 15 November: Dinuzulu surrenders to the civil authorities in Pietermaritzburg. 17 November: British authorities arrest Zibhebhu and remove him from the Ndwandwe District.

1889 13 February–27 April: Special Court of Commission in Eshowe finds Dinuzulu and other uSuthu ringleaders guilty of high treason and sentences them to imprisonment on St. Helena. 1 August: Governor of Zululand decrees that Zibhebhu may not return to Ndwandwe.
1895  **30 May:** Tongaland (Amaputaland) annexed as a British protectorate. **15 July:** District of Ingwavuma incorporated into the Colony of Zululand.

1897  **24 December:** Tongaland incorporated into the Colony of Zululand. **30 December:** Colony of Zululand annexed to Natal and administered as a province of Natal until the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910.

1898  **January:** Dinuzulu and Zibhebhu brought back to Zululand as part of a general settlement to restore stability. Dinuzulu’s status reduced from king to “government inDuna” of the uSuthu location.

1903  **27 January:** Following defeat in the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), former SAR cedes the northern districts of Vryheid, Utrecht, and Paulpietersburg to Natal, thus bringing all the constituent parts of the former Zulu kingdom under Natal’s administration.

1906  **31 January:** White occupation of Zululand commences in accordance with the findings of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Committee of 1902–1904. **February–August:** Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion).

1910  **31 May:** Colony of Natal becomes a province of the Union of South Africa.
Introduction

The term “Zulu Wars” is very imprecise, there being no single, generally accepted understanding of what it encompasses. Most often it is sloppily applied to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, but to do so is to ignore the many other wars fought in Zululand during the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet where should the lines of definition be drawn? For the purposes of this historical dictionary they embrace the extended confrontation between the Zulu kingdom and the advancing forces of colonialism and imperialism that began with the Voortrekker invasion of 1838 and ended in 1888 with the failure of resistance to newly imposed British rule. Excluded are the Zulu campaigns of the 1820s and early 1830s against neighboring African polities before the coming of the Voortrekkers, as well as the much later participation of Zulu people as British subjects in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War of 1899–1902. A more problematical case is that of the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion) that flared up in both the colony of Natal and in what was by then its province of Zululand. Yet, unlike the traditionalist uSuthu Rebellion of 1888 that yearned back to the freshly extinguished Zulu kingdom, the 1906 uprising was a different phenomenon in which oppressed African subjects of the established colonial state were developing new forms of resistance. The Zulu Wars, then, are the story of initial Zulu resistance to conquest by the steadily encroaching Boers and British, and of the civil wars triggered in the consequently destabilized Zulu kingdom that made it increasingly vulnerable to partition between its colonial neighbors.
ZULULAND: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Because it began as an expanding conquest state in the early 1820s, and was later contained and then fragmented and incorporated by its Boer and British neighbors, the boundaries of Zululand were in constant flux during the 19th century. Nevertheless, the core of the kingdom always lay between the Mzinyathi River to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east, the Thukela River to the south, and the Phongolo River to the north. At its heart was the valley of the White Mfolozi River, where the Zulu kingdom arose and where many of its kings were buried. Today this region comprises the northern half of the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal, bounded to the north by the states of Swaziland and Mozambique.

Unlike mountainous Swaziland and Lesotho to the north and west, where the people were protected from conquerors by their difficult and broken terrain, the Zulu lived mainly in open and well-watered country suitable for stock farming and agriculture. These advantages later made their land fatally attractive to white settlers. The river systems rise in the great chain of the Drakensberg Mountains to the west, and with their steep-sided, sinuous tributaries, they have incised wide, deep, open valleys through the countryside. During much of the year, the riverbeds are nearly empty, but during the summer rainy season, they are often in torrent. When they reach the coastal plain, the rivers become sluggish, and their mouths are closed by sandbars that produce lagoons and marshes. The humid subtropical coastal plain, with its heavy rainfall, rises a few miles inland to well-watered, boldly modeled hills. Farther inland, as the rains borne off the Indian Ocean decrease, the terrain changes. The undulating countryside of the midlands that swells in gentle, rounded ridges is broken across by great, forested spurs of the Drakensberg that thrust out toward the coast. Between the foothills of the Drakensberg and the midlands stretch high, dry, open plains dotted with solitary, abruptly rising, flat-topped mountains, their rocky coronets full of caves. Wild game once abounded in great variety and in unimaginable numbers, but already by the 1870s, the fauna was diminishing rapidly, especially elephant, hippopotamus, and buffalo, which were the prime targets of commercial hunting and trading pursued by Zululand’s settler neighbors.
Human habitation in the regions extends back 500,000 years to the Early Stone Age. The hunter-gatherers of the Later Stone Age from about 30,000 years ago lived in rock shelters and temporary camps while they followed the game as it migrated seasonally between the Drakensberg and the coast. Between 2,000 and 1,500 years ago, Iron Age people entered the region down the east coast of Africa and gradually displaced the original inhabitants. Physically they were the direct ancestors of the present black population, and they developed their own distinctive Nguni-speaking culture. They lived in small settlements, cultivating small, scattered fields (by the early 19th century, Indian maize with its superior yield had supplanted sorghum and millet as the staple crop) and keeping domestic stock. Indeed, the Zulu were essentially pastoralists, and the grasslands of Zululand were ideal for raising cattle.

Vegetation types are constantly being affected by climate change and human activity, and at the beginning of the 19th century, the low-lying alluvial plain was still extensively covered with bush, and not with sugarcane as it is today. In-between the bush flourished the luxuriant sourveld grasses that are good for cattle only after the spring rains, for once sourveld matures, it ceases to be nutritious. Inland, with less rain and a more temperate climate, there were progressively less bush and wider tracts of grassland. The great river valleys, with their low rainfall, sheltered savanna or lowveld vegetation, with its scattered thorntrees and grassy understory. These grasses are “sweet,” and provide excellent grazing for cattle, even in the dry winter months. Fortunately there was sufficient surface water from the many streams rising in the forest-covered hills to support the great herds. Between the sweetveld and sourveld regions were belts of mixed veld that can be grazed for about half the year. Ideally, herds had to be free to move to take advantage of both the spring sourveld grazing and the sweetveld in the winter. The tsetse fly, which in many parts of Africa injects the trypanosome parasite into cattle with devastating effect, was usually confined to the deepest valleys or to the northeastern margins of Zululand.

During the period of the Zulu kingdom, the people lived in scattered family *imiZi*, or homesteads, each a tiny, circular village of grass beehive-shaped huts supported by its own grazing and agricultural land. By the 1870s, somewhere around 300,000 people were living in about 22,000 *imiZi* and keeping at least 300,000 cattle, 200,000 goats, and
40,000 African sheep. Positioned at strategic points about the kingdom were also some two dozen huge *amaKhanda*, or royal military and administrative centers, of an average of 500 huts each, where *amaButho*, or regiments of warriors (about 29,000 men when fully mobilized), were periodically stationed to serve their king in peace and war.

**THE RISE OF THE ZULU KINGDOM**

Until the late 18th century, there were no large chiefdoms in the region that would become the Zulu kingdom. Then a process of political centralization and expansion began that historians once explained by pointing to sharpening competition at a time of recurring drought for limited resources, especially for suitable winter and summer pastures for cattle. More recently, the emphasis has fallen on the effects of the expanding international trade in ivory and (more controversially) slaves carried on by Europeans from Delagoa Bay and across the Orange River from the Cape Colony. Either way, the little chiefdoms of the future Zululand were compelled to strengthen themselves and undergo social and political adjustments in order to compete and survive. These involved most notably the emergence of *amaButho* under the tighter authority of their chiefs, who employed them as instruments of internal control and as armies against external enemies. To keep them fed and rewarded necessitated raids against neighboring chiefdoms, which added to the growing cycle of violence.

By the end of the 18th century, three major chiefdoms had begun to emerge in the region: the Mabhudu-Tsonga in what is now southern Mozambique; the Ndwandwe to the southwest of them, between the Mkhuze and Black Mfolozi rivers; and the Mthethwa to the south of the Ndwandwe, between the lower Mfolozi and Mhlathuze rivers. In the late 1810s, intensifying warfare between these three rival chiefdoms caused their weaker neighbors to migrate out of harm’s way and to spark destructive conflicts in the South African interior still known commonly (although the concept is under revision by historians) as the *mfecane*, or “the crushing.”

The Mthethwa paramountcy encouraged some of its tributary chiefdoms to expand their own military potential to help obstruct Ndwandwe ambitions. One of these vassals was the obscure Zulu
chiefdom in the valley of the middle White Mfolozi River, ruled over by *inkosi* Senzangakhona kaJama. In about 1817, the Ndwandwe defeated the Mthethwa and shattered their political hegemony in central and southern Zululand. The little Zulu chiefdom nevertheless continued to defy the Ndwandwe because, since about 1816, they had been ruled by Shaka, a son of Senzangakhona’s who had overthrown his legitimate heir. A leader of extraordinary abilities, Shaka had become a renowned general in the Mthethwa service, and he now increased the size of his little Zulu army, improved its military capability through rigorous training, and schooled it in effective strategic and tactical maneuvers. Most likely, Shaka would first have learned these among the Mthethwa, although he certainly improved upon them. Shaka allied his growing military weight with the exercise of ruthless but extremely skillful diplomacy to consolidate his position over the entire region between the White Mfolozi and the Thukela to the south. Smaller chiefdoms who prudently submitted to him provided additional manpower for the Zulu *amaButho* in return for his protection. Larger neighboring chiefdoms like the Ndwandwe were faced with the unpalatable options of resistance, flight, or submission.

By the mid-1820s, Shaka had extended his sway north to the Phongolo River, west into the foothills of the Drakensberg, and as far south as the Mzimkhulu River. Yet distance and difficult terrain were imposing a natural limit on the extent of the territory that Shaka could effectively control. By the later 1820s, his armies had increasingly to confine themselves to frequent raids and the extraction of tribute from subordinate chiefdoms along the margins of the central Zulu domain.

**THE IMPINGING COLONIAL WORLD AND INTERNAL STRESSES**

In 1824, the establishment at Port Natal (later Durban) of a tiny settlement of British hunters and traders connected Zululand to all the apparent material advantages and many insidious dangers of the colonial world. Shaka treated the Port Natal adventurers as client chiefs under his suzerainty because he saw that they were more accessible suppliers of exotic goods than the distant Portuguese traders at Delagoa Bay, and that they could serve as intermediaries with the Cape Colony to
the south, where the British were growing apprehensive of Zulu armies operating near their borders. He also prized them as mercenaries with battle-winning firearms, and with their assistance he conclusively crushed and dispersed the Ndwandwe in 1826.

Yet all was not well in the new Zulu kingdom. Disaffected groups among the recently conquered chiefdoms and ambitious Zulu notables were persistently plotting Shaka’s overthrow. There was discontent among many of his subjects because of his increasingly cruel and arbitrary rule, and most dangerously, the amaButho were growing resistant to interminable and ever less rewarding military campaigns. On 24 September 1828, disaffection coalesced, and Shaka fell to assassins in a well-laid coup. His half-brother umNtwana Dingane kaSenzangakhona seized the throne, eliminated his co-conspirators and almost all his rivals in the royal house, replaced Shaka’s high officials with his own, and made concessions pleasing to the amaButho. He accepted that the kingdom was overextended, and he returned the center of gravity of the Zulu kingdom to the White Mfolozi valley, largely relinquishing direct rule over the territory south of the Thukela. There the settlement at Port Natal was growing in size and local influence, although the settlers remained in an uneasy tributary relationship with Dingane. Relations between the two almost broke down on several occasions during the 1830s, but self-interest on both sides averted a final rupture.

THE VOORTREKKER-ZULU WAR

In October 1837, the Voortrekkers from the Cape Colony, migrating on the Great Trek into the South African interior in search of new lands to settle free from British rule, entered Zululand from the west over the Drakensberg. Dingane realized they posed a formidable challenge, and his worst suspicions were realized when they began negotiating for the cession to them of all the lands owing allegiance to the Zulu south of the Thukela River. Deeply apprehensive of the military reputation the Boers had recently earned in crushing the powerful Ndebele kingdom on the highveld, Dingane and his advisers decided they could only defeat them through a surprise attack. So when a Voortrekker delegation under Pieter Retief visited Dingane at his capital, uMgungundlovu, he executed them on 6 February 1838 and dispatched his armies to
obliterate the rest of the invaders in their scattered encampments in the foothills of the Drakensberg. Despite suffering many casualties between 16 and 18 February, the Voortrekkers in their wagon laagers (encampments) succeeded in repulsing the Zulu. The Boers soon attempted to strike back, but on 10 April at eThaleni Hill, the Zulu ambushed and routed their mounted commando (militia). Port Natal settlers and their African auxiliaries, who advanced north against the Zulu in support of the Boers with whom they had struck an alliance, were likewise routed at Ndondakusuka on 17 April, and the Zulu went on to sack Port Natal. The main Zulu army then attacked the well-prepared Boer position at Veglaer but was thrown back in a three-day battle (13–15 August), which handed the initiative back to the Voortrekkers.

These encounters suggested several military lessons that were to hold good throughout the Zulu Wars. Zulu tactics were to envelop their foes with the two “horns” of their army, and then to bring up the “chest” to finish them off in hand-to-hand combat with the stabbing spear. Even though colonial forces held the overwhelming technological advantage with their firearms, standard Zulu tactics could be successful if the colonists were caught scattered in a running battle in the open field, when firearms could not be used to full effect. On the other hand, the Zulu could not succeed against all-round defensive positions such as wagon-laagers and forts from which impenetrable firepower could be concentrated. Both lessons were confirmed when, in a fresh offensive, a Voortrekker commando advanced on uMgungundlovu and decisively routed the Zulu army on 16 December 1838 from its laager at the Ncome River, but it was then worsted in a running skirmish in the valley of the White Mfolozi on 27 December.

Nevertheless, the Boers had sufficiently mangled Dingane’s army for him to cede them the territory they wanted south of the Thukela on 25 March 1839. They proclaimed the Republic of Natalia, with its capital at the recently founded village of Pietermaritzburg, and commenced dividing the land into farms. Apprehensive of the new Boer republic to the south, Dingane attempted to shift his power base north across the Phongolo River into southern Swaziland. After some initial successes, in the winter of 1839 the Zulu army was soundly defeated by the Swazi at Lubuye and forced to withdraw. This reverse, coming on top his defeat at the hands of the Boers, fatally compromised Dingane’s authority.
In September 1839, Dingane’s half-brother umNtwana Mpande ka-Senzangakhona, fearing the king intended to execute him as a potential rival, defected to the Republic of Natalia with a large following and made common cause with the Voortrekkers against Dingane. In January 1840, Mpande’s army advanced north, supported by a Boer commando, and on 29 January routed Dingane’s forces at the Maqongqo Hills. Dingane fled northeast toward the Lubombo Mountains, where he sought refuge among the Nyawo people, who soon collaborated with a Swazi patrol to kill him. On 10 February 1840, the Boers recognized Mpande as the new Zulu king in return for his giving them extensive concessions of territory as far north as the Black Mfolozi River.

The feeble yet unrealistically aggressive Republic of Natalia seemed set to destabilize all of southeastern Africa. To prevent this, the British at the Cape intervened in a long-drawn-out process between 1842 and 1856 to annex Natalia as a British colony. Boers who could not stomach British rule in Natal trekked away to the highveld. On 5 October 1843, the British recognized the independence of the Zulu kingdom and agreed on the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers as the boundary between it and Natal.

The Zulu kingdom under Mpande was wedged between British Natal to the south and southwest, the newly established Boer South African Republic to the northwest, and the Swazi kingdom to the north. The latter was the only salient still open for raids by the amaButho to win the booty on which the military system depended. Mpande’s armies repeatedly campaigned there in the 1840s and early 1850s, but the British deprecated these disturbances to the regional balance, and Mpande gradually desisted. An astute ruler, he accepted that it was necessary to cultivate the British, particularly in order to counteract the land-hungry Boers, who were repeatedly trying to thrust into northwestern Zululand. He thus did his best to foster good relations with the Natal authorities, permitting traders and hunters into his kingdom and, after 1850, missionaries.
The matter of the royal succession, however, continued to destabilize the kingdom. In polygynous Zulu society, custom made clear who should be a ruler’s heir, but Shaka and his two successors were all usurpers who gained the throne through assassination or civil war. Shaka and Dingane had sought to postpone the issue through siring no legitimate offspring, but Mpande had many sons. He attempted to secure his own position by playing one off against another, but this fostered a civil war for the succession between his favorite son, umNtwana Mbuyazi, and umNtwana Cetshwayo, whose claim was the stronger. The issue was decided on 2 December 1856 when Cetshwayo’s uSuthu faction obliterated Mbuyazi and his iziGqoza faction at the ferocious battle of Ndondakusuka. Thereafter Mpande had no alternative but to share his authority with his overmighty undisputed heir.

Unfortunately, Zulu dynastic politics also involved relations with the Boers and British. While Mpande lived, Cetshwayo courted the Boers to strengthen his dynastic position against his pro-British father. In March 1861, Cetshwayo recognized indeterminate Boer land claims east of the Ncome River in return for their support. Though he subsequently repudiated this agreement, the damage was done. The Boers henceforth persisted in asserting their land rights in northwestern Zululand, in what became known as the Disputed Territory.

CONFEDERATION AND THE ANGLO-ZULU WAR

Mpande died in September 1872, having managed, despite all perils, to maintain the integrity of his kingdom. King Cetshwayo, no less than his father, was confronted on the one hand by white neighbors greedy to carve out farms in Zululand, and on the other by ambitious great chiefs who were using their developing trading contacts with the colonial world that brought them wealth and firearms to aggrandize their local power. He responded by strengthening royal authority, primarily through strictly enforcing its mainstay, the iButho system, which had grown lax during the latter part of Mpande’s reign. On the diplomatic front, he continued his father’s successful policy of fostering good relations with the British to counteract the more overt menace presented by the Boers.

Through no fault of Cetshwayo’s, the situation changed drastically when, in the later 1870s, the British began pursuing a policy of
confederation in southern Africa. In the interests of imperial strategy, financial saving, and economic opportunity, they planned to bring all the white-ruled states in the region under their single authority. One of the major building blocks in the new structure was the South African Republic, which the British annexed in April 1877 as the Transvaal Territory. To help placate their reluctant new Boer subjects, it was necessary for the Transvaal authorities to support Boer claims to the Disputed Territory and jettison their previous support for Cetshwayo. In any case, the British sought to neutralize independent and militarily powerful black states like the Zulu kingdom that were perceived as a potential threat to the confederation process. Finding to his dismay that his old ally had changed sides, Cetshwayo was compelled to negotiate fruitlessly while the British moved inexorably toward a military confrontation aimed at conclusively knitting together the threads of confederation. Finally, the British issued an ultimatum requiring him to abolish the *ibutho* system and make other concessions that would disrupt the political, social, and economic structure of his kingdom and place it under British supervision. Cetshwayo did not respond. Thus, on 11 January 1879, British and colonial forces invaded Zululand.

The intention of the British commander, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, was that three invading columns would converge on oNdini, Cetshwayo’s capital, forcing a decisive battle and a quick end to the war. Chelmsford presumed that the fully mobilized Zulu armies of 29,000 men, who clung to their traditional fighting methods and made poor use of whatever firearms they possessed, would be no match for modern breech-loading rifles, artillery, and Gatling guns. However, the British advance became bogged down by inadequate transport and supply, and its strategy was drastically dislocated on 22 January when the main Zulu army annihilated part of the British No. 3 Column at Isandlwana. The Zulu failure that same night to capture the British depot at Rorke’s Drift did not change the strategic picture, nor did the success on the same day of the British No. 1 Column in fighting its way through a Zulu ambush at Nyezane. Chelmsford was forced to retire to Natal to regroup, eventually building up a total force of nearly 17,000 troops (7,000 of whom were African) and raising over 8,000 African levies to defend the borders of Natal. Meanwhile, while No. 1 Column remained blockaded at Fort Eshowe, No. 4 Column based at Khambula in northwestern Zululand made the British presence felt through constant mounted raids.
Zulu lack of commissariat arrangements and their need for ritual purification after battle meant they were unable to mount a sustained campaign and press their advantage. Besides, Cetshwayo reopened negotiations, presuming that the Zulu success at Isandlwana would persuade the British to withdraw, not realizing that their humiliation would impel them to fight until complete victory had been attained. The Zulu were ready for a second round of combat by March, when their main army marched against the troublesome No. 4 Column. On the way, the Zulu overwhelmed a large British mounted patrol on Hlobane Mountain on 28 March. The following day, the Zulu attacked the fort and laager at Khambula in the most hard-fought and decisive battle of the war. The eventual rout of the Zulu army permanently broke its morale. To compound this defeat, on 2 April, Chelmsford’s Eshowe Relief Column, secure in its laager at Gingindlovu, broke a smaller Zulu army blockading Fort Eshowe and evacuated the garrison.

The lessons of the Voortrekker-Zulu War of 1838 had been confirmed. Rorke’s Drift, Khambula, and Gingindlovu proved that the Zulu were helpless against concentrated firepower from behind all-round defenses. But Isandlwana and Hlobane showed how they could be successful in a battle of maneuver in the open if the British were foolish enough to give them the opportunity.

Chelmsford launched his second invasion in May. While the 1st Division, South African Field Force, moved cumbersomely up the coastal plain, the 2nd Division advanced into the Zulu heartland from the northwest in cooperation with Wood’s Flying Column. The joint force, drawn up as an impenetrable infantry square, conclusively routed the Zulu army at Ulundi on 4 July. Realizing even before Ulundi that the war was lost, many amaKhosi scrambled to submit on easy terms to the British. Any lingering Zulu resistance was ended by September with the sending in of two flying columns to secure submissions, and with the capture of the fugitive Cetshwayo, who was exiled to Cape Town.

THE 1ST AND 2ND PARTITIONS OF ZULULAND

The British did not annex the defeated Zulu kingdom, for it was not their intention to burden themselves with its administration. It was sufficient to ensure that the Zulu would never again pose a military threat to their colonial neighbors. To that end, on 1 September 1879 a settlement was
imposed on the Zulu *amaKhosi* whereby the monarchy was abolished, and with it its main prop, the *iButho* system. The former kingdom was partitioned into 13 independent chiefdoms under appointed chiefs, most of whom could be relied on out of self-interest to ensure that there would be no resurgence of the centralized Zulu monarchy.

The 1st Partition of Zululand soon broke down. Growing strife between the pro-royalist faction (uSuthu) and their opponents persuaded the British in December 1882 to restore the exiled Cetshwayo to the central part of his former kingdom. To ensure that he would pose no threat to his colonial neighbors, the 2nd Partition of Zululand hemmed Cetshwayo’s territory in from two sides. To the northeast was an independent chiefdom under *inKosi* Zibhebhu kaMaphitha of the Mandlakazi people, who had proved himself a reliable British collaborator and inveterate enemy of the royal house. To the south was the Reserve Territory created between the Mhlathuze and Thukela rivers and placed under British protection and administration to act as a buffer between Natal and Cetshwayo.

**THE 3RD ZULU CIVIL WAR AND THE 3RD PARTITION OF ZULULAND**

War rapidly broke out between the uSuthu and the Mandlakazi and their Ngenetsheni allies in northwestern Zululand. At the outset of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu invaded Zibhebhu’s territory, but on 30 March 1883 at Msebe, the Mandlakazi ambushed and completely routed them. Zibhebhu then counterattacked and, after a night march, surprised and routed the uSuthu at oNdini on 21 July 1883. The uSuthu were scattered, most of their leadership killed, and Cetshwayo fled to the Reserve Territory, where he died on 8 February 1884.

Cetshwayo’s young heir, King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, was helpless against continuing Mandlakazi attacks and British antagonism and turned to the neighboring Boers for military assistance. With their essential firepower, he crushed Zibhebhu at Tshaneni on 5 June 1884 and drove him into the Reserve Territory. Yet Boer aid came with a steep price. On 16 August 1884 in the 3rd Partition of Zululand, Dinuzulu ceded them the northwestern two-thirds of Zululand outside the Reserve Territory. This territory (with somewhat reduced boundaries
recognized by the British on 22 October 1886) became the short-lived
New Republic and was absorbed into the South African Republic on 20
July 1888 as the Vryheid District. The Zulu living in this territory—and
they included some of the royal house’s staunchest supporters, like the
abaQulu—found themselves reduced overnight to labor tenants on the
farms the Boers allocated themselves.

THE BRITISH ANNEXATION OF
ZULULAND AND THE USUTHU REBELLION

Britain, fearing the intervention of rival imperial powers in this chaotic
region, on 19 May 1887 annexed the Reserve Territory and the rump of
Zululand outside the New Republic as the British Colony of Zululand.
Dinuzulu and many of the uSuthu found it difficult to cooperate with
the new colonial administration. To curb him, in late 1887 the Zululand
officials restored the collaborationist Zibhebhu to his enlarged former
chiefdom. His return sparked renewed unrest, and by April 1888 the
uSuthu were in open rebellion, defying the paramilitary Zululand
Police, the regular troops of the Zululand garrison, their Mandlakazi
allies, and other African auxiliaries. On 2 June, the uSuthu repulsed a
British force at Ceza Mountain, their principal fastness, and went on to
rout Zibhebhu’s forces at Ivuna on 23 June. The discomforted British
withdrew south of the Black Mfolozi River to regroup and reinforce.
They swiftly took the offensive and on 2 July drove the uSuthu from
Hlophekhlulu Mountain in central Zululand. On 9 July, they relieved
Fort Andries, which was under siege in the southeast. Between July
and September, British flying columns traversed the disaffected areas
north of the Black Mfolozi and along the coast, securing uSuthu sub-
missions.

THE PACIFICATION OF ZULULAND

The ringleaders of the uSuthu Rebellion were tried for high treason at
Eshowe and found guilty in April 1889. Dinuzulu and two of his uncles
were removed to St. Helena to serve their sentences. A chastened Zulu-
land administration then set about pacifying the colony and disentangling
the land claims of the rival factions that remained a potent cause of unrest. It was believed that the return of Dinuzulu would help restore stability, but his restoration was strenuously opposed by the Natal colonists, who insisted that it be coupled with the throwing open of Zululand to white settlement. Eventually, a deal was struck with the British government. On 30 December 1897, the Colony of Zululand (including British-ruled Ingwavuma and Tongaland) were annexed to Natal as the Province of Zululand. As a result of the findings of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission of 1902–1904, two-fifths of the best land in Zululand were set aside, beginning from 31 January 1906, for white occupation. The Zulu occupiers of the land at the time either became labor tenants on the white farms or were removed to the remaining three-fifths of Zululand that had been declared African reserves. Thus, the young men of Zululand, who in their amaButho had once served their king, became rural labor tenants or migrant laborers in the mines and in the towns of a white-ruled, industrializing South Africa.
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ACCOUTREMENTS, AFRICAN LEVIES. African infantry levies (troops) in British service in Zululand between 1879 and 1888 were each issued a blanket to be carried in bandolier fashion over the left shoulder. A cooking pot was supplied for every 10 men.

ACCOUTREMENTS, BRITISH FORCES. The set of accoutrements of the Valise pattern introduced in 1871 consisted of a black waterproofed canvas sack (or valise) supported in the small of the back by shoulder straps. These were attached to a waist belt, to which were attached three ammunition pouches holding 70 rounds of ammunition. The rolled greatcoat and mess tin were secured above the valise. Mounted infantry replaced ammunition pouches with a bandolier. Accoutrements for the Naval Brigade were of brown leather.

ACCOUTREMENTS, COLONIAL FORCES. Standard equipment for the Natal Mounted Volunteers included a white canvas haversack over the right shoulder, a brown leather shoulder belt with ammunition pouch attached over the left shoulder, two bandoliers of ammunition (one worn around the waist and the other over the left shoulder), and a revolver in a brown leather holster on a strap worn over the right shoulder. Irregular cavalry units carried a valise, saddlebags, patrol tin, and blanket on their horses.

ADDISON, RICHARD HALLOWES (1857-1921). Addison began his career in the Natal civil service and served during the Anglo-Zulu War in the Stanger Mounted Rifles, seeing action at
Nyezane. Commissioned second-in-command of the Reserve Territory Carbineers in 1883, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War he was present at the battle of the Nkandla Forest. In June 1887, he was appointed resident commissioner of the Ndwandwe District in the British Colony of Zululand, where the uSuthu were concentrated and members of the royal house had their imizi. His openly partisan mishandling of the uSuthu, combined with unwavering support of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha whom the British returned to his location in Ndwandwe in November 1887 as a counterweight to the uSuthu, were material in driving King Dinuzulu kaMpende into revolt. During the uSuthu Rebellion, Addison was present at Ceza, Ivuna, and Hlophekhulu as the representative of the civil power. His questionable conduct toward the uSuthu led to an official censure in December 1889. His services as political adviser to the Natal forces during the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion) revitalized his career, and he retired as chief native commissioner for Natal and Zululand (1913–1916).

ADDISON’S HORSE. During the last stage of the uSuthu Rebellion, Captain Charles B. Addison recruited 150 men from the Christian African community of Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg, many of whom had served in the Anglo-Zulu War as the Edendale Horse. Paid for out of the funds of the British Colony of Zululand and mustered as mounted infantry, they were issued carbines or rifles (not necessarily of the latest model) and dressed in an assortment of blue or khaki frocks, usually with buff trousers and riding boots or puttees. They wore brown slouch hats with a red puggaree around the hatband and carried their ammunition in leather bandoliers. They reinforced the Zululand garrison at Nkonjeni in August 1888 and were disbanded at the end of the month.

AGTERRYER. Black, acculturated servants in Boer households were an inseparable part of the commando (militia) system in the Cape from its beginnings in the late 17th century, and they continued to be so when the institution moved inland in the 1830s with the Great Trek. These agterryers, or “after-riders,” drove the wagons, herded the draught animals and horses, slaughtered livestock, cooked, and looked after the sick and wounded. They also guarded
ammunition and sometimes took a direct military role, accompanying their masters on punitive expeditions and helping defend laagers against attack. Because their ubiquity on campaign was so much taken for granted, there is often little reference to them in the sources, and their presence on the battlefield must frequently be inferred.

**AIVUNA CAMP.** In late July 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, the British established this temporary post across the Black Mfolozi River as a forward base for mounted reconnaissance by Martin’s Flying Column into uSuthu-held territory. It also served as the column’s base in early August 1888 for joint operations with the Coastal Column.

**ALEXANDRA MOUNTED RIFLES.** One of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who were called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War, it was formed in 1865. In December 1878, its 20 troopers joined No. 1 Column at Fort Pearson and remained there on convoy duty while the column advanced into Zululand. Until mustered out in July 1879, it joined other units of the Natal Mounted Volunteers in patrolling the Natal border along the lines of communication between Fort Pearson, Stanger, and Ntunjambili in Colonial Defensive Districts VI and VII and participated in cross-border raids. Its uniform introduced in 1874 was of thick khaki cloth, the first uniform of that color recorded to have been issued in South Africa. The helmet was white with a white metal spike.

**AMABOMA CORPS.** Previously stationed during the Anglo-Zulu War near Pietermaritzburg in Colonial Defensive District No. III as a reserve to the Border Guard, this unit of about 70 Bomvu people under their inKosi, Siphandla, were transferred in April 1879 from colonial to military command and were attached to the Cavalry Brigade of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. They advanced with the brigade as far as Fort Newdigate and Fort Marshall, where they remained in garrison, undertaking scouting, escort, and dispatch-riding duties until the withdrawal of the 2nd Division from Zululand. They were disbanded in August.
AMANGWANI SCOUTS. Previously stationed during the Anglo-Zulu War near Pietermaritzburg in Colonial Defensive District No. III as a reserve to the Border Guard, this unit of some 40 Ngwane people under their inKosì, Pusha, were transferred in April 1879 from colonial to military command and were attached to the Cavalry Brigade of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. They advanced with the brigade as far as Fort Newdigate and Fort Marshall, where they remained in garrison, undertaking scouting, escort, and dispatch-riding duties until the withdrawal of the 1st Division from Zululand. They were disbanded in August.

AMMUNITION BOX CONTROVERSY. The myth has persisted that the British lost the battle of Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War because the boxes containing the ammunition for the Martini-Henry rifles could not be opened quickly enough. These ammunition boxes were stoutly constructed of wood, reinforced by two copper bands, with a sliding lid secured by a single two-inch brass screw. They were therefore simple to open, though the introduction in 1881 of a split-pin fastening made for even quicker release. The firing-line at Isandlwana ran out of ammunition because it was positioned up to half a mile from the camp, and no proper ammunition carts were available to bring up more. To compound the problem, no system of runners had been organized before the battle to carry ammunition, and the quartermaster distributing it was overly conscious of his duty to account for every round issued. Certainly, there seems to have been a reluctance to hand out ammunition to African troops.

ANGLO-BOER (SOUTH AFRICAN) WAR (1899–1902). In order to assert its paramountcy over South Africa, Great Britain fueled a long-building crisis with the independent Boer states of the South African Republic and Orange Free State until they were provoked into declaring war in October 1899. Despite humiliating initial setbacks, by October 1900 Britain and contingents from its empire had won the conventional phase of the war and occupied the two republics. Boer diehards then initiated the guerrilla phase that took a terrible toll on civilians during British counterinsurgency operations. The Boers finally capitulated on 31 May 1902, and in 1910 their former republics became part of the Union of South Africa.
The Anglo-Zulu War is described in terms of the 1st Invasion and 2nd Invasion. The 1st Invasion, 6 January–5 April 1879, encompassed the initial advance in January 1879 of the three invading British columns into Zululand; the battles of Isandlwana, Rorke’s Drift, and Nyezane; the blockade of Fort Eshowe; the period of regrouping, skirmishing, and border raiding from February to March; and the turning point from mid-March to early April when the Zulu were crushed at Kambula and Gingindlovu and Eshowe was relieved. The 2nd Invasion, 6 April–8 July 1879, encompassed the period when reinforcements pursued the war to its conclusion at the battle of Ulundi.

On 11 January 1879, imperial and colonial British forces under Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford invaded Zululand. In the 1st Invasion, three columns were to converge on oNdini, King Cetshwayo kaMpende’s capital, forcing a decisive battle and a quick end to the war. Instead, the British advance became bogged down by inadequate transport and supply. Its strategy was drastically dislocated on 22 January when the main Zulu army under amaKhosi Ntshingwayo kaMahole and Mavumengwana kaNdlela outmaneuvered, divided, and annihilated the British No. 3 Column at Isandlwana. The Zulu failure that same night to capture No. 3 Column’s depot at Rorke’s Drift did not change the strategic picture, nor did the success at Nyezane of the British No. 1 Column under Colonel Charles Knight Pearson in fighting its way (also on 22 January) through a Zulu ambush led by inKosi Godide kaNdlela. Chelmsford was forced to retire to Natal to regroup, eventually building up a total force of nearly 17,000 troops (7,000 of whom were African) and raising over 8,000 African levies (troops) to defend the borders of Natal. Meanwhile, Pearson remained blockaded at Fort Eshowe, and it was left to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood and No. 4 Column based at Kambula in northwestern Zululand to make the British presence felt through constant mounted raids.

The inadequacy of Zulu logistics and their need for ritual purification after battle meant they were unable to mount a sustained campaign and press their advantage. Besides, Cetshwayo reopened negotiations presuming that the Zulu success at Isandlwana would persuade the British to withdraw, not realizing that their humiliation would impel the British to fight until complete victory was attained.
The Zulu were ready for a second round of hostilities by March, when the main army under Inkosi Mnayama kaNgqengele marched against the troublesome No. 4 Column. On the way, the Zulu overwhelmed a large British mounted patrol on Hlobane Mountain on 28 March. The following day, the Zulu attacked the fort and laager at Khambula in the most hard-fought and decisive battle of the war. The eventual rout of the Zulu army permanently broke its morale. To compound this defeat, on 2 April Chelmsford’s Eshowe Relief Column, secure in its wagon laager at Gingindlovu, broke a smaller Zulu army under Somopho kaZikhala and evacuated the Eshowe garrison. Rorke’s Drift, Khambula, and Gingindlovu proved that the Zulu were helpless against concentrated firepower from behind all-around defenses, but Isandlwana showed how they could outflank the British if given the opportunity, and Hlobane demonstrated how they could be successful in a running battle in the open.

Chelmsford launched his 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War in May. While the 1st Division, South African Field Force, under Major-General Henry Hope Crealock moved cumbrously up the coastal plain, the 2nd Division (accompanied by Chelmsford and his staff) advanced into the Zulu heartland from the northwest in cooperation with Wood’s Flying Column. The joint columns devastated the countryside along their lines of march in order to break the Zulu spirit of resistance, and they persuaded many to surrender rather than face the loss of their homes and livestock. On 4 July, the joint force under Chelmsford’s command, drawn up as an impenetrable infantry square at the battle of Ulundi, conclusively routed the Zulu army under umNtwana Ziwedu kaMpande, which then dispersed.

General Garnet Joseph Wolseley, who replaced Chelmsford, broke up the two British divisions and formed two flying columns to complete the pacification of Zululand. Baker Russell’s Column subdued the last Zulu resistance in northwestern Zululand by 8 September, and Clarke’s Column secured the submission of southern Zululand by 21 September. Meanwhile, any possibility of organized resistance ended with the capture of the fugitive Cetshwayo on 28 August. The Zulu leaders formally surrendered to Wolseley on 1 September and accepted the 1st Partition of Zululand, which abolished the kingdom and broke it into 13 independent chiefdoms under appointed chiefs.
ARMY HOSPITAL CORPS. In 1873, when medical care in the British army was brought under control of the Army Medical Department, the Army Hospital Corps was formed to provide trained orderlies. During the Anglo-Zulu War, when not nearly enough medical personnel was available, even when reinforcements were brought in after Isandlwana, small detachments of orderlies were assigned to base hospitals and attached in the 1st Invasion of the war to the various columns, and in the 2nd Invasion to particular units. They were consequently present at all the major engagements of the campaign. The uniform was blue with scarlet piping. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the corps was armed with Martini-Henry rifles. See also BEARER CORPS.

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT. The Army Medical Department dated from 1873, when the existing regimental system of medical officers was abolished and the department assumed responsibility for trained surgeons of officer rank, station hospitals, and the Army Hospital Corps. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Surgeon-General John Woolfreys broke his limited personnel into small detachments with each column in the 1st Invasion, and personnel were present at all engagements, and then at Gingindlovu with the Eshowe Relief Column. During the 2nd Invasion of the war, they were attached to specific units and were present at Ulundi. Personnel, assisted by a number of volunteer civilian doctors, were in charge of the convalescent station at Pinetown, the base hospitals in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Newcastle, and Utrecht, the hospital at Fort Pearson, and the field hospitals with the forces operating in Zululand. Tunic facings were black.

ARMY REFORM, BRITISH. In the 19th century, the professional British army (there was no conscription) was a self-contained, conservative, and authoritarian institution. It played an essential role in imperial defense; between 1814 and 1914, it waged more overseas campaigns than any other colonial power’s military except for that of France. From the 1840s, the British government made various attempts to improve the effectiveness of the army while at the same time attempting to make the colonies more self-reliant militarily through raising and training settler volunteer units supported by
auxiliaries drawn from the indigenous population. The hope was that the colonies would bear more of the cost of their own defense and so reduce the need for garrisons of British troops stationed overseas. The Cardwell Reforms and the related Childers Reforms addressed these objectives but failed to raise the number or quality of recruits, to make pay competitive, or materially to improve the conditions of service life. Moreover, the mounting demands during the 1870s and 1880s for imperial defense (of which the Zululand campaigns were an instance) required a stronger military presence abroad than the reformers envisaged, and exposed the continuing inability of colonial forces to take full responsibility for their own security.

**ARMY SERVICE CORPS.** The Army Service Corps was formed in 1869 with the amalgamation of the other ranks of the Military Train, Commissariat Staff Corps, Military Store Staff Corps, and the Purveyor Branch of the Army Hospital Corps. It was officered by the Commissariat and Transport Department and the Ordnance Store Department. Detached personnel were with No. 3 Column in the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and were present at Isandlwana. Two companies of the corps were among the reinforcements brought in after Isandlwana. During the 2nd Invasion of the war, they were attached to the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and also assisted Wood’s Flying Column once the two field formations came together in early June for their joint advance. The corps performed poorly during the Zululand campaign, and in 1881 it was abolished and replaced by the Commissariat and Transport Corps. The blue tunic had blue facings and white piping.

**ARTILLERY, BRITISH.** British field batteries in the later 19th century were normally equipped with 9-pounder rifled muzzle-loader (RML) field guns sighted between 1,690 and 2,740 yards. However, these were not employed in the Anglo-Zulu War until reinforcements were brought in for the 2nd Invasion. The 7-pounder RML Mark IV steel mountain gun, with a maximum range of 3,200 yards, was fitted with a low-slung colonial carriage and narrow track, pulled by three mules, and was considered more mobile and better suited to local conditions than 9-pounders. Consequently, after the Anglo-Zulu War, the British continued to deploy 7-pounders during the
3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, even though they never had cause to fire them in action. On the demerit side, 7-pounders capsized easily in rough ground, and their low muzzle velocity and the small bursting charge of the shells they fired rendered their destructive power relatively ineffective. Case-shot, or canister, could only be employed at ranges of less than 280 yards.

The Naval Brigade from HMS Active landed in Natal in November 1878 with two 12-pounder Armstrong RML guns but left them at Fort Pearson when they advanced into Zululand. The guns were never fired during the Anglo-Zulu War.

The Durban Volunteer Artillery deployed two 6-pounder rifled breech-loading Armstrong guns in the Anglo-Zulu War for the defense of Durban but never fired them in action.

ARTILLERY, VOORTREKKER. At Ncome, the Boers placed two, possibly three, small 2.5-inch muzzle-loading brass cannons on improvised carriages at openings in their laager’s wagon wall. They were most likely modified swivel guns of the sort used primarily aboard ships as short-range antipersonnel ordnance. Their effective range was several hundred yards, and they fired grapeshot and a variety of small, hard projectiles such as stones or metal pot legs. In 1842, one of these cannon, nicknamed “Ou Grietjie,” was used again in the Boer siege of the British in Smith’s Camp at Port Natal (Durban).

ARTISTS. See SPECIAL ARTISTS.

ASHANTI RING. See WOLSELEY, SIR GARNET JOSEPH.

AWARDS. During the Anglo-Zulu War, only two decorations for gallantry and one campaign medal could be awarded British troops. The Victoria Cross, established in 1856 for all ranks of the armed forces, was the supreme award for conspicuous bravery in action. There was no provision in 1879 for the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross, but this was authorized in 1907. The medal for Distinguished Conduct in the Field was instituted in 1854 for other ranks only. All those troops involved in one or more of the campaigns in South Africa between 25 September 1877 and 2 December 1879 were eligible
for the South Africa Medal. The date bar fixed to the medal specified the campaign. No medal was issued for operations in Zululand during the 1880s.

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BAKER RUSSELL’S COLUMN. On 26 July 1879, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley put Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Baker Creed Russell in command of the reduced Wood’s Flying Column that was required for the pacification of northwestern Zululand in the last stage of the Anglo-Zulu War. Baker Russell’s Column left St. Paul’s on 26 July for Fort Cambridge, which it reached on 5 August. The column then moved across the White Mfolozi to construct Fort George on 10 August. Between 13 and 25 August, patrols were sent out as far as the headwaters of the Black Mfolozi, and the Mdlalose surrendered. On 25 August, the column moved north to Hlobane Mountain, and between 1 and 4 September proceeded to Luneburg, accepting piecemeal submissions from the abaQulusi as it went. At Luneburg, the column cooperated with the garrison and Villiers’s Column, which had advanced from Derby to attack the Kubheka on 4, 5, and 8 September in their caves in the Ntombe valley and secure their submission. On 10 September, the column was ordered to Lydenburg in the Transvaal to join in renewed operations against the Pedi that concluded successfully in November. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

BAKER’S HORSE. Commandant Francis James Baker, a former soldier, came out to the Cape in 1877 and during the 9th Cape Frontier War raised a unit of irregular cavalry that was disbanded in December 1878. After Isandlwana, he raised a new unit of about 140 men in the Eastern Cape for the Anglo-Zulu War. They wore yellow or brown corduroy uniforms and the customary wideawake hat. In late March 1879, Baker’s Horse joined No. 4 Column. A squadron fought at Hlobane with Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force and also at Kambula. As part of Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, a squadron took part in the skirmish at Zungeni, and two squadrons participated in the White
Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and fought at Ulundi. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, the unit returned to the Cape and disbanded in August.

BALTE SPRUIT LAAGER. Boers built a stonework laager at Balte Spruit in the Utrecht District of the South African Republic in the 1870s, and they took refuge there twice in 1877 for fear of Zulu attack related to the Disputed Territory. In December 1878, No. 4 Column established a depot there and improved the laager, also building a square stone redoubt with two opposing bastions. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Balte Spruit continued as No. 4 Column’s advanced depot after it moved forward on 4 January 1879 into Zululand. It was held by a small garrison.

iBANDLA. See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

BANGONOMO iBUTHO. InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha raised this Mandlakazi iButho in his chiefdom after the 1st Partition of Zululand, in resumption of the prerogatives of the great amaKhosi before the era of Shaka. He named it after his Bangonomo umuZi. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Bangonomo iButho participated in the victories at Msebe and oNdini, but it was defeated at Tshaneni. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it formed the Mandlakazi right horn at Ivuna but was routed by the uSuthu.

BANGONOMO umuZi. The primary umuZi in northeastern Zululand of InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, Bangonomo was his preferred place for rallying his forces for the various campaigns of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, and it was his base during the uSuthu Rebellion. On 6 July 1888, the pro-uSuthu Mdlatshe and Hlabisa people burned Bangonomo while Zibhebhu and his forces were under British protection at Nkonjeni.

BARROW, PERCY HARRY STANLEY (1848-1886). Captain Barrow went to South Africa on special service in March 1878 to form a mounted infantry squadron during the 9th Cape Frontier War. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he served first with No. 1 Column in command of No. 2 Squadron, Mounted Infantry, and fought at
Nyezane. He then served with the Eshowe Relief Column and at Gingindlovu led the mounted pursuit and was wounded. During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, he commanded the mounted troops of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and subsequently the mounted infantry with Clarke’s Column. In 1884, Lieutenant-Colonel Barrow was severely wounded at El Teb in the Suakin campaign while in command of the 19th Hussars; he never fully recovered.

BASUTO SPECIAL POLICE. See MOUNTED BASUTOS.

BASUTOLAND. In the 1820s, King Moshoeshoe I (c. 1786–1870) consolidated the chiefdoms of the mountainous country of Lesotho and ruled them as king from his stronghold of Thabu Bosiu, or “mountain of the night.” From the late 1830s, his kingdom was threatened from the west by the Voortrekkers in a series of wars, and in 1868 Moshoeshoe appealed to the British for help. They took his kingdom under their protection, and the boundary between the Orange Free State and the Basutoland Protectorate was defined by the Treaty of Aliwal (1869). In 1871, the protectorate was annexed to the Cape Colony, and in 1879 Moorosi of the Phuti people rose up unsuccessfully against its administration. The Cape then attempted to disarm the protectorate and sparked off the Gun War of 1880–1881. The Cape’s inability to pacify Basutoland led to the resumption in 1884 of a Crown protectorate over the Territory of Basutoland. On 4 October 1966, the kingdom of Lesotho attained full independence. See also SOTHO BORDER WITH NATAL IN 1879.

BATTLE-AXE, ZULU. A few amaButho (regiments) might wield a crescent-bladed battle-axe of Swazi or Pedi origin (isiZenze), instead of some other form of striking weapon. More usually, the battle-axe was carried by Zulu men of status as a ceremonial rather than fighting weapon.

BAYONETS, BRITISH. The Martini-Henry rifle was fitted with a triangular socket bayonet, 22 inches long, which had been universal issue since 1876. Although the “lunger” gave formidable reach in hand-to-hand combat, its blade was of poor quality and often bent or
broke. The 1871-pattern sword bayonet was carried by infantry sergeants. The Royal Artillery adopted a saw-backed bayonet in 1875 that was 18 inches long. Men of the Army Service Corps carried the 1870-pattern Elcho bayonet with a saw-backed blade 21 inches long and a swelling spear point. A cutlass bayonet was issued to the Naval Brigade.

ekuBAZENI iKHANDA. In the late 1840s, umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande established this iKhanda in the Vuna valley in northern Zululand, close to the first kwaGqikazi iKhanda, as the center for his growing uSuthu faction in the coming succession crisis, and it was his base in the 2nd Zulu Civil War. It remained a powerful node of uSuthu support during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and during the uSuthu Rebellion. On 25 April 1888, the Zululand Police raided it to collect cattle fines that Richard Hallowes Addison, the resident magistrate of Ndwandwe District, had levied against the uSuthu leaders for their contumacy.

BEARER CORPS. During the Anglo-Zulu War, there were not enough orderlies in the Army Hospital Corps to adequately staff base and field hospitals. Thus, African auxiliaries were recruited during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War to help bring in the wounded to field hospitals and to the convalescent facilities in Natal. The wounded were transported in hammocks slung between poles that two bearers supported on their shoulders. Bearers were present at Ulundi.

BEESKOMMANDO. The Beeskommando, or Cattle Commando, was the name derisively given to the Boer commando (militia) under Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius that supported the Zulu army of umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona during the 1st Zulu Civil War. The commando set out on 17 January 1840 and gave up the campaign on 6 February. It had done no fighting, but it had captured some 36,000 Zulu cattle.

BEGAMUZA CAMP. During the uSuthu Rebellion, Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth established the Begamuzza Camp on 29 July 1888 as an intermediate post between his main base at
Nkonjeni and his forward base at Aivuna. With the departure of Martin’s Flying Column and the Coastal Column from Ivuna on 18 August 1888, the Begamuza Camp was abandoned in favor of the Ceza Camp.

**BENDE STRONGHOLD.** InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s impregnable Bende stronghold, established on a hill of that name, was 10 miles southeast of his Bangonomo ikhanda in northeastern Zululand. Zibhebhu periodically retired to Bende when hard pressed in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. In July 1888, the uSuthu failed to capture it, even though it was held by only a small garrison of Mandlakazi.

**BESTER’S LAAGER.** A square stone encampment constructed by a farmer in the late 1850s, Bester’s laager was considered in late 1878 as a defensive post for local settlers in Colonial Defensive District No. II, but it was never used in the Anglo-Zulu War because of its defensive weaknesses.

**isiBHALO.** See NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT (INFANTRY); NATAL NATIVE PIONEER CORPS.

**BHAMBATHA REBELLION.** See ZULU UPRISING (1906).

**BHEJANA kaNOMAGEJE (c. 1860-?).** Bhejana was enrolled in the uFalaza ibutho and was an inDuna (official) of the emaNgweni people. He strongly supported King Cetshwayo kaM pande after the 2nd Partition of Zululand. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was an uSuthu commander at the battle of oNdini. After Cetshwayo’s death, he continued the pro-uSuthu struggle on the coast against inKosi Sokwetshata kaMlandlela of the Mthethwa, under whose father he had been reluctantly placed in the 1st Partition of Zululand. During the uSuthu Rebellion, Bhejana joined with Somopho kaZikhala, the senior inDuna of the emaNgweni, in operating against Andries Pretorius, the resident magistrate of the Lower Umfolosi District, and attacked Fort Andries in the battle of Ntondotha. The Eshowe Column ravaged his territory in July 1888, and Bhejane took refuge in the Yome bush in the northern coastal district, moving on to the Dukuduku stronghold.
when the joint Coastal Column and Martin’s Flying Column passed through in August 1888. He did not surrender until 1890, when the High Court of Zululand sentenced him to three years’ imprisonment.

BIGGAR, ALEXANDER HARVEY (1781–1838). Born in Ireland, Biggar served as an officer in the British army and was an 1820 settler in the Eastern Cape. He failed at farming and moved to Port Natal (Durban) in 1836. Elected commandant of the Port Natal Volunteers, he identified with the Voortrekkers in the Voortrekker-Zulu War. His two sons were killed fighting with the Boers against the Zulu, and to avenge them he joined the Wenkommando in October 1838 with a force of Port Natal Africans. He fought at Ncome and was later killed in the battle of the White Mfolozi. See also BIGGAR, ROBERT.

BIGGAR, ROBERT (1812–1838). The eldest son of Alexander Harvey Biggar, Robert grew up in the Eastern Cape and settled in Port Natal (Durban) in 1834 as a trader, when he had many contacts with King Dingane kaMpande. During the Voortrekker-Zulu War, he led the Grand Army of Natal that was routed at the battle of the Thukela, where he was killed.

BIYELA PEOPLE. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley appointed iNkosí Mgitzsha kaMvundlana of the Biyela people in south-central Zululand as one of the 13 chiefs. In 1883, the Biyela supported the anti-uSuthu faction in the first phase of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, but a section under Somhlolo kaMkhosana, whose father had died at Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War, was an uSuthu supporter. In July 1884, he drove the rest of the Biyela into the Reserve Territory. During the uSuthu Rebellion, Somhlolo, now the Biyela regent, reinforced umNtwana Shingana kaMpende on Hlopenhkulu. The Biyela were encamped to the east of the mountain when the British stormed it, and they were put to flight by the Eshowe Levy. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

BLOOD RIVER, BATTLE OF. See NCOME, BATTLE OF.
BLOUKRANS MASSACRE (1838). On 6 February 1838, King Dingane kaSenzangakhona ordered the execution at his umgungundlovu iKhanda of Pieter Retief and his party of Voortrekkers, who had been negotiating with him to secure land in the Zulu kingdom on which to settle. That same day, Dingane’s amaButho (warriors) set out to the southwest in the first campaign of the Voortrekkers-Zulu War to surprise and kill the rest of the Voortrekkers in their encampments in the valleys of the Bloukrans and Bushman’s rivers in the foothills of the Drakensberg. Because no Zulu attack was anticipated, the encampments were widely scattered, many had made no preparations for defense by forming wagon laagers, and many of the men were away hunting or helping newly arriving parties of Voortrekkers over the mountains.

The chest and right horn of the Zulu army began their attack before midnight on 16 February on the Voortrekker camps along the Bloukrans and its tributaries (later named by the Boers the Great and Little Moord, or Murder, rivers). The camps were rapidly overrun, but the arrival of fugitives and the sight of flames granted some time to the Boers in the camps to the west to prepare their defense. The Zulu, involved in unaccustomed night fighting and laden with booty, lost cohesion and control among the widely scattered encampments. They broke into small groups, and the impetus of their attack petered out beyond the Little Moord River. Some of the fugitives took refuge in the laagers (the largest being the Doornkop laager that held the family of Pieter Retief) beyond the Bloukrans River, which the Zulu had not reached.

The attack of the Zulu left horn was less successful than that of the right. Gerrit Maritz and Johan Hendrik (Hans Dons) de Lange had established proper laagers where many Voortrekkers rallied and threw back the Zulu attack, while Commandant Johannes Jacobus Janse van Rensburg made a successful stand on a hillock (the Rensburgkop) behind his camp. On the afternoon of 17 February, the Boers launched a mounted counterattack from their laagers. They inflicted casualties on the exhausted Zulu, who retreated, driving 25,000 cattle and thousands of sheep and horses before them. At dawn on 18 February, Maritz led out a commando of 50 men in pursuit from his Saailaer camp, but they could not prevent the Zulu from crossing the swollen Thukela River with their booty.
The Boers bitterly called the region of devastation Weenen, or Weeping. Apart from destroyed wagons and property and captured livestock, the Voortrekkers lost 40 Boer men, 56 Boer women, 185 children, and some 250 colored servants. The number of Zulu dead is unknown, although the Boers believed it amounted to perhaps as many as 500. Though damaged, the Boers had not been eliminated, and they were now implacably thirsting for revenge. See also COMMANDO SYSTEM, BOER; STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**BOER REPUBLICS.** See KLIP RIVER REPUBLIC; NEW REPUBLIC; ORANGE FREE STATE; UTRECHT DISTRICT; SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

**BOER WAR, 1ST (TRANSVAAL REBELLION, 1880–1881).** On 12 April 1877, Great Britain annexed the South African Republic (SAR) as the Transvaal Territory. On 13 December 1880, the Transvaal Boers rebelled against British rule. They then ambushed a British column and besieged the small British garrisons scattered across the Transvaal. When the Natal Field Force attempted to relieve the garrisons from neighboring Natal, the Boers defeated it at the border in three successive engagements, culminating in the humiliating British debacle on Majuba on 27 February 1881. The two sides agreed to an armistice on 15 March. On 3 August, they signed the Pretoria Convention, conceding the independence of the SAR under nebulous British “suzerainty.”

**BOERS AND THE ZULULAND CAMPAIGN OF 1884.** The Boers from the South African Republic took frequent advantage of the 3rd Zulu Civil War to raid Zulu livestock. In May–June 1884, they intervened militarily in support of the uSuthu against the Ngenetsheni and Mandlakazi. A Boer commando (militia) of 100–120 mounted men from the South African Republic under Lukas Johannes Meyer and about 20 mounted volunteers from Luneburg under Adolf Schiel were crucial to the uSuthu victory at Tshaneni.

**imBOKODWEBOMVU iBUTHO.** A Zulu iButho (age-grade regiment) formed in 1886 by King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo of youths
born in 1861–1865, the imBokodwebomvu was a military formation of the **uSuthu** faction. In the **uSuthu Rebellion**, it fought as part of the uSuthu right horn at **Ceza** and the chest at **Ivuna**.

**BONAPARTE, PRINCE (EUGÈNE) LOUIS NAPOLEON (1856–1879).** The only son and heir of exiled French Emperor Napoleon III, who died in 1873, the Prince Imperial was the Bonapartist pretender to the French throne. He graduated in 1875 from the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, but as a foreigner he could not take a British commission. He nevertheless craved active service to prove his Napoleonic military credentials. In 1879, he was permitted to join the British forces in the **Anglo-Zulu War** as a spectator and was attached as an extra aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Lord **Chelmsford**'s staff during the 2nd Invasion of the war. Chelmsford attached him to the Quartermaster-General’s Department to map the road ahead of the 2nd Division, **South African Field Force**. The prince was killed when his patrol was ambushed on 1 June 1879 near the **Tshotshosi River**. His body was transported on the **HMS Boadicea** and then **HMS Orontes** for eventual burial in England.

**BORDER GUARD, NATAL.** Since there were not enough units of the **Natal Volunteer Corps** and other settler volunteers available to defend the **Natal** border during the **Anglo-Zulu War**, and because the **Natal Native Contingent** was intended for service in **Zululand**, the Natal government agreed in December 1878 to raise and maintain levies (troops) furnished on a quota basis from African chiefs in **Colonial Defensive Districts** I, VI, and VII. The government could not afford a large standing force, and the local economy could not survive the loss of more of its labor force, so the designated levies were to assemble and take the field under white levy leaders only when a Zulu raid threatened. The government provided for small standing reserves of Border Guards to be stationed at designated strategic points, ready to move to any threatened stretch of frontier. River Guards were posted at strategic drifts across the Thukela and Mzinyati rivers. During the course of the war, the Border Guard was augmented by additional levies from Colonial Defensive Districts II, IV, and V. In March, early April, and late May, Lieutenant-General Lord **Chelmsford** ordered the Border Guard to raid **Zululand** to create diversions...
in favor of the operations of the **Eshowe Relief Column** and the 2nd Division, **South African Field Force**. These orders brought Chelmsford into conflict with **Sir Henry Gascoyne Bulwer**, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, who envisaged the colonial levies as acting in an entirely defensive capacity. Their lack of military effectiveness was conclusively exposed during the successful Zulu raid at **Middle Drift** in July. See also **CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS**.

**BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND.**

Basic to the civil strife in **Zululand** during the 3rd **Zulu Civil War** and the **uSuthu Rebellion** was the way in which the territorial boundaries imposed in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Partitions of Zululand disregarded the territorially complex patterns of authority and loyalty in existing Zulu chiefdoms. All too often, the **imiZi** (homesteads) of adherents of different chiefs were intermingled, making it impossible for boundary commissioners to draw clean boundary lines that would follow easily recognizable topographical features. The solution (going back to the 1st Partition) was to decree that where people were excluded from their old chief’s territory by the new boundaries, they had the option of moving back across the line to their former chief or tendering their allegiance to the new one. This was a recipe for an infinite number of disputes, especially when the boundaries were repeatedly redrawn, forcing many Zulu to reconsider their allegiances. **InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha**’s territory was redefined five times between 1879 and 1890, for example. The British also manipulated boundaries as an instrument of control. By favoring the territorial claims of loyal collaborators at the expense of uncooperative chiefs, they perpetuated local divisions, thereby weakening concerted opposition.

**BOUNDARY AWARD.** Since King **Mpande kaSenzangakhona**’s reign, the British, in order to foil attempts by the Boers of the **South African Republic** to extend their territory to the sea and gain a port, had always supported the Zulu in their claims to the **Disputed Territory**. However, when the British annexed the Transvaal Territory in April 1877 and needed to court Boer opinion, their policy underwent a turnabout. A meeting at **Conference Hill** on 18 October 1877 between Zulu and British representatives failed to resolve the
dispute, and the angry Zulu saw that the British were now supporting the Boer claims. Sir Bartle Frere, the British high commissioner, who believed an independent Zulu kingdom stood in the way of his confederation plans, supposed the impasse gave him the necessary justification for the military solution he sought.

At this crucial moment, the lieutenant-governor of Natal, Sir Henry Gascoyne Bulwer, who feared the effects on Natal of a war with Zululand, offered to mediate. King Cetshwayo kaMpende accepted Bulwer’s proposal for a Boundary Commission, and Frere, although thwarted, could not refuse. The commission, made up from Natal officials, duly began its sittings at Rorke’s Drift on 17 March 1878, and Frere received its scrupulous report on 15 July. Its findings did not affect the disputed area north of the Phongolo River, which had been excluded from its purview. It rejected Zulu claims of sovereignty that extended west over the Utrecht and Wakkerstroom districts of the Transvaal. It did recognize the Transvaal’s rights to the land between the Mzinyathi and Ncome rivers (effectively the Utrecht District) but, crucially, not to the territory east of the Ncome, where some Boers had settled. Frere realized he could not make the report public without fatally alienating the Boers of the Transvaal. He held it back until 11 December, when it was delivered directly before his ultimatum to the Zulu king and its import thereby negated.

BREAKING OF THE ROPE. In September 1839, umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona, fearing that his half-brother King Dingane kaSenzangakhona intended to execute him, fled across the Thukela River to the sanctuary of the Republic of Natalia with 17,000 adherents and 25,000 cattle. Safe in Boer territory, Mpande entered into an alliance with the Boers that culminated in the 1st Zulu Civil War and Dingane’s overthrow. The Zulu called Mpande’s defection “the breaking of the rope that held the nation together.”

BREVET RANK. Officers in the British army held substantive rank in their regiment based on seniority, but between the ranks of captain and lieutenant-colonel, they could concurrently hold a rank one higher in the army as a reward for distinguished service in the field, when serving in a staff appointment, or when it became necessary on campaign to make them eligible to hold a more senior command.
BROMHEAD, GONVILLE (1845–1892). A lieutenant in the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment during the Anglo-Zulu War, Bromhead was left in command of a detachment of the regiment at the depot at Rorke’s Drift when No. 3 Column advanced to encamp at Isandlwana. He was awarded the Victoria Cross for his gallant defense of the post during the battle of Rorke’s Drift. During the advance of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, he commanded detachments in garrison at Dundee, Landman’s Drift, and Koppie Alleen (Fort Whitehead). He subsequently served in the Burma campaign (1886–1888) and died of fever while still a major.

BUFFALO BORDER GUARD. One of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who were called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War, it was formed in 1873. The corps of 40 troopers joined No. 3 Column at Helpmekaar in December 1878. The majority advanced with the column in the 1st Invasion of the war, though a few men declined to do so and remained in Natal patrolling the border. The corps with No. 3 Column took part in the skirmish at kwaSogekle on 12 January. Two-thirds of the corps were absent with Major John George Dartnell’s reconnaissance in force when the remainder left in the camp at Isandlwana suffered heavy casualties in the Zulu attack. The corps retired with No. 3 Column to Natal, where it garrisoned its headquarters at Fort Pine between February and July 1879 while engaged in patrol work, cross-border raids, escort duty, and dispatch riding. Its uniform was of black cloth with black braiding and white metal buttons, black riding-boots, and a white helmet with a spike.

kwaBULAWAYO iKHANDA. In 1824, King Shaka kaSenzangakhona established the first iKhanda of this name on the coastal plain between the Mhlathuze and lower Thukela rivers. It contained perhaps as many as 1,400 huts. King Cetshwayo kaMpende later reestablished it in the Mahlabathini Plain, and it was burned by the British in the Anglo-Zulu War following the battle of Ulundi.

BULLER, REDVERS HENRY (1839–1908). Commissioned in 1858, Buller served in the 2nd China (Opium) War (1860), the Red River Expedition (1870), the 2nd Asante War (1873–1874), and 9th Cape
Frontier War (1878), when he became a brevet lieutenant-colonel. Now an established member of Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley’s Ashanti Ring, he was on special service during the Anglo-Zulu War when he commanded the mounted troops in No. 4 Column and Wood’s Flying Column. He saw action in numerous skirmishes, including at Zungeni and the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force, and he fought in the general actions at Hlobane (where he won the Victoria Cross), Khambula, and Ulundi. He served in the 1st Boer War (1881) with the local rank of major-general, and in the Egyptian campaign of 1882, after which he was knighted. He saw service again in the Suakin campaign in 1884 and the Gordon Relief Expedition of 1884–1885. Between 1887 and 1897, he was at the War Office as quartermaster-general and then as adjutant-general. He was promoted to general in 1896. In October 1899, he was appointed commander-in-chief in South Africa in the first stage of the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, but he was replaced in January 1900 by Field Marshal Lord Roberts after a series of reverses on the Natal front. Buller continued in command of the Natal Army until October 1900. He retired from the army in 1906.

BULWER, SIR HENRY ERNEST GASCOYNE (1836–1914). Before serving in Natal as lieutenant-governor (September 1875 to April 1880), Bulwer had been official resident in the Ionian Islands (1860–1864), treasurer and receiver-general of Trinidad (1866), administrator of the government of Dominica and the Leeward Islands (1867–1869), and governor of Labuan and consul-general for Borneo (1871–1875). In Natal, his overriding concern was for the peace and security of the colony, and he did his best to avert war with Zululand, intervening to set up the Boundary Commission of 1878. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he came into conflict with Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford over the parameters of civil and military authority, and he opposed Chelmsford’s cross-border raids for fear of Zulu retaliation. Bulwer returned to Natal in March 1882 as governor. He opposed the restoration of King Cetshwayo kaMpande to Zululand as endangering Natal’s security, but with the 2nd Partition of Zululand, he was appointed in 1883 special commissioner for Zulu affairs. He was unable to influence the course of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, though he did his best to restrain the territorial ambitions of
the New Republic following the 3rd Partition of Zululand. He left Natal in October 1885 and ended his career as high commissioner for Cyprus, retiring in 1892.

BURGER’S LAAGER. See PIVAAN LAAGER.

BUTHELEZI PEOPLE. The amaKhosi (chiefs) of the Buthelezi people in north-central Zululand had served the Zulu kings in the highest positions of state since the time of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Buthelezi remained stalwart uSuthu supporters. The uSuthu army crushed at Mshebe mustered in their territory, and their contingent was in the vanguard at the battle. In May 1883, they were prominent in the inconclusive campaign against umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe’s stronghold on the Phongolo River, and against inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha in July. They were among the uSuthu force that arrived too late to intervene at oNdini. In the aftermath of the uSuthu defeat, they were severely harried in August and September 1883 by the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni. On 29 April 1884, the Ngenetsheni defeated them in central Zululand. In 1887, Mnyamana kaNgqengelele, the Buthelezi inKosi, decided not to contest British rule in the colony of Zululand, so when King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo unleashed the uSuthu Rebellion, he targeted the Buthelezi for their disloyalty to the uSuthu cause. In May 1888, the uSuthu raided the Buthelezi from their base on Ceza, and the Buthelezi took refuge with the British at Nkonjeni. On 24 June, the uSuthu on Hlophekhulu raided them at Nkonjeni. Only in late August did the Buthelezi feel secure enough to return home. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

iBUTHO, STRUCTURE AND SIZE OF. The Zulu military system was made up of regimental groups called amaButho. Each iButho was divided up into a number of sections, or amaViyo. An iViyo consisted of men of the same age group, drawn from a particular locality, who had been formed into the section or company during their days as cadets at one of the district amaKhanda (administrative centers). Each iButho was commanded by an inDuna (officer) appointed by the king. An inDuna might also be an inKosi (hereditary chief) or umNtwana (prince). Under him were a second in command and two
experienced wing officers, all of an older generation than the men they led. There were also a number of junior officers, at least two to each Viyo, chosen by their contemporaries for their natural leadership in their days as cadets.

It was customary to express the size of an iButho in terms of the number of amaViyo that constituted it. Yet it is not possible to specify the strength of an Viyo, as this depended on the degree of royal favor involved, as did the number of amaViyo constituting any particular iButho. An Viyo could be 40–60 men, though in prize amaButho, the number could reach 100 or more. An iButho could consequently muster between several hundred and a few thousand men. Older amaButho that the king was not keeping up to strength would be smaller through natural attrition. The partially revived amaButho of the period of the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion were also small. It is particularly difficult to compute the size of an iButho in complex campaigns like the Anglo-Zulu War because elements of the same iButho could be engaged simultaneously in different theaters. See also iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM; iBUTHO SYSTEM IN THE 1880s; iBUTHO SYSTEM, SERVICE IN; POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM. The Zulu military system was an instrument both of internal control and external defense that allowed the king to exercise real economic and social control over all his subjects, men and women. It diverted their productive and military potential away from their own imiZi (family homesteads), localities, and amaKhosi (hereditary chiefs) to the service of the state, for it operated as a system of taxation where labor was substituted for money or goods. It was built on the institution of age-set units called amaButho that seem to have developed from the ancient practice among the Nguni-speaking people of southern Africa of banding together youths of similar age in circumcision sets. By the early 19th century, among the chiefdoms that would later be incorporated into the Zulu kingdom, the function of these amaButho was moving beyond initiation into organizing youths to perform economic and military services. In the 1820s King Shaka kaSenzangakhona brought this evolving iButho system into its fully developed form as an instrument for integrating the members
of conquered chiefdoms into the new kingdom under its sole ruler, and weaning them away from regional loyalties to their original ama-Khosi. The system persisted, with modifications, as the central pillar of the Zulu state until the fall of the kingdom in the Anglo-Zulu War. It survived in attenuated form during the period of the 3rd Zulu Civil War and uSuthu Rebellion.

Zulu boys between the ages of 14 and 18 would gather at ama-Khanda, or administrative centers, where they might serve for two to three years as cadets, herding cattle, working the fields (more usually a woman’s task in Zulu society), and practicing military skills. Once enough boys of an age group were congregated at a district iKhanda, they would be brought before the king at his main iKhanda, or “great place,” at the time of the umKhosi, or first-fruits festival. The king then formed them into an iButho with orders to build a new iKhanda, often bearing the name he had given the iButho. Sometimes, a new iButho was incorporated into an old one whose strength the king wished to maintain and was quartered with it in its existing iKhanda.

Not all amaButho were made up from cadets from every part of the kingdom. The abaQulusi in northwestern Zululand and the emaN-gweni along the coast had each developed out of an iKhanda founded to establish royal authority in the locality, and each formed a separate iButho composed only of men living in the region they dominated.

Women were fully part of the iButho system in that they constituted the major agricultural labor force in Zululand and produced food to feed their male relatives when they were away from home serving the king. Girls were also formed into amaButho, primarily for the purpose of regulating marriage. At intervals, the king gave members of a female iButho leave to marry middle-aged men from a male iButho who had received royal permission to put on the isiCoco, or headring. By delaying permission for a male iButho to marry and set up his own imiZi as an umNumzane (married headman), the king was prolonging the period in which the man would be regarded as a youth in Zulu society and thus would remain more firmly under the authority of his elders when providing labor and military service.

The 1st Partition of Zululand at the close of the Anglo-Zulu War also suppressed the iButho system along with the monarchy. It would be temporarily and incompletely revived following King Cetshwayo kaMxpande’s short-lived restoration after the 2nd Partition
of Zululand. See also iBUTHO SYSTEM IN THE 1880s; iBUTHO SYSTEM, SERVICE IN; iBUTHO, STRUCTURE AND SIZE OF; POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

iBUTHO SYSTEM IN THE 1880s. When the British government agreed to the 2nd Partition of Zululand and the restoration of King Cetshwayo kaMpende, it was on condition (insisted upon by Natal, which feared Zulu military potential) that he would not revitalize or even permit the existence of the iButho system in his territory. This prohibition made it difficult for Cetshwayo to reassert his authority or defend himself in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. Cetshwayo made a half-hearted attempt to revive the iButho system, but with the abolition of the monarchy in the 1st Partition of Zululand, Cetshwayo’s rivals, notably inKosi Zibhebhu kamaphitha and umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe, had resumed the ancient prerogative of chiefs raising their own amaButho. Thus, many members of the amaButho who had survived the Anglo-Zulu War no longer remained loyal to the royal cause and had given their allegiance to their local amaKhosi instead of to the monarch. Consequently, in the 3rd Zulu Civil War, when Cetshwayo tried to muster his old amaButho, only a limited number heeded his summons. When he tried to raise a new iButho, the uFalaza, he found he could only recruit young men from his own territory and not from throughout the kingdom as formerly. His amaButho thus no longer performed their previous function of bringing all Zulu men into the king’s service; they functioned merely as military units of the royalist uSuthu faction. Cetshwayo’s crushing defeat at oNdini scattered his partially reconstituted amaButho, and almost all his loyal, if elderly, commanders died in the rout.

Cetshwayo’s successor, King Dinuzulu kaMpende, employed his royal prerogative to form a new iButho, the imBokodwebomvu, but like the uFalaza, it was really nothing more than a military formation of the uSuthu faction. In fact, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, the uSuthu drew their military strength far more from territorially based irregulars like the abaQuulusi, or contingents under their own amaKhosi, than from the imperfectly reconstituted amaButho. The fact that the iViyo, or company, replaced the iButho as the tactical unit of Zulu forces operating in the field underlined the profound change that had taken place in Zulu military organization.
and scale since the defeat to the royal armies in the Anglo-Zulu War. See also iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM; IRREGULARS, ZULU; POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

**iBUTHO SYSTEM, SERVICE IN.** When the iButho system was functioning fully during the heyday of the Zulu kingdom, young men congregated at the district amaKhanda as cadets before being formed into amaButho, and married men assembled there for short periods of two to five months, often with their wives. Unmarried amaButho served at the central amaKhanda for seven to eight months immediately after their initial formation, and thereafter for a few months a year when they served the king. All the amaButho, married and unmarried, gathered at the central amaKhanda for national ceremonies like the umKhosi, or when they were mobilized to go on campaign.

While serving at an iKhanda, an iButho kept it in repair, herded and milked the royal cattle attached to it, and cultivated the king’s land. Daily dancing and praise-singing doubled as military exercises. The men were supposed to be provisioned through the king’s bounty, but they were mainly dependent on food provided from home by their women.

Sometimes the king would call up a few amaButho for special tasks: building a new iKhanda in a region where he wished to assert his authority (like in the Disputed Territory); repairing an iKhanda damaged by fire; participating in great hunts; supplying him with exotic foodstuffs and items for apparel from the margins of the kingdom; and collecting tribute from outlying subject people like the Tsonga. The amaButho also served as an instrument of internal control, collecting cattle fines from offenders against the king, or “eating them up” by destroying their imiZi and executing them and their dependents. The cattle and commodities which the amaButho accumulated for the king on their forays—particularly on full-scale campaigns against an external enemy like the Swazi or Ndebele—provided a vital source of royal power, because by redistributing them to the amaButho or to the great men of the kingdom, the king ensured their loyalty. In the 1880s, when the iButho system was imperfectly revived after its abolition at the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, these services continued to be patchily performed on a much
reduced scale. See also iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM; POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

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CAMBRIDGE, PRINCE GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK CHARLES, 2ND DUKE OF (1819-1904). Cambridge entered the British army in 1837 and succeeded his father, the 7th son of King George III, as 2nd Duke in 1850. In the Crimean War, he commanded the 1st (Guards) Division in 1854 and was present at the Alma, Balac- clava, and Inkerman. In 1856, he was promoted general and appointed general commanding-in-chief of the British Army, a post he held until 1895. In 1862, he was made field marshal. He found it difficult to countenance the army reforms instituted by Edward Cardwell in 1870–1873 because he believed they would render the overseas battalions less effective, and he resented the subordination of his post to the secretary of state for war. As the spokesman for the more conservative elements in the army, he was also suspicious and dismissive of the reforming General Sir Garnet Wolseley and his Ashanti Ring of like-minded officers. See also CARDWELL REFORMS.

CAMP KONGELLA. On 6 July 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, Major Alexander Chalmers McKean formed the Eshowe Column in a camp close by the Hermannsburg mission station at Kongella on the south bank of the Mhlathuze River before marching to the relief of Fort Andries.

CAMP UMFOLOSI. Between 28 July and 2 August 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, the Coastal Column encamped on the northern bank of the Mfolozi River and sent out patrols to enforce submissions of the uSuthu. InKosi Somkhle kaMalanda and various Mphukun-yoni izinDuna (headmen) surrendered there on 30 July 1888.

CAMP UMLALAZI. On 23 July 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, Major Alexander Chalmers McKean formed the Coastal Column in a camp on the south bank of the Mhlathuze River on the Zululand coast, preparatory to advancing to Ivuna and forcing the submission of the coastal uSuthu.
CANE, JOHN (c. 1800–1838). Born in London, Cane arrived in Port Natal (Durban) in 1824 as one of the first hunter-traders to settle there. He was among the white mercenaries who aided King Shaka kaSenzangakhona against the Khumalo people in the campaign of 1827. In 1828, Shaka sent him on a mission that proved unsuccessful to open relations with the government of the Cape. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona employed him for the same purpose in 1830, and Cane’s fresh failure led to fractious relations with Dingane. In 1837, Cane led a contingent from Port Natal to assist Dingane in raiding the Swazi. He welcomed the arrival of the Voortrekkers in 1837, and in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, he led the Port Natal raid at Ntunjam-bili. He was killed at the battle of the Thukela.

CAPE COLONY. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) established a refreshment station on the way to the East Indies at the southern tip of Africa. In a series of frontier conflicts, the growing settler community gradually spread out over the interior from the initial settlement at Cape Town at the expense of the indigenous population. During the wars with revolutionary France, Great Britain first occupied the Cape in 1795 but in 1803 made it over to the Batavian Republic (to which the VOC had ceded its territories in 1798) in terms of the Treaty of Amiens. On the resumption of hostilities with Napoleonic France, the British occupied the Cape for the second time in 1806. By the Anglo-Dutch Treaty (London Convention) of 13 August 1814 between the United Provinces and Great Britain, the Cape was ceded to Britain. The Cape Colony achieved responsible government in 1872. In 1910, the colony became a province in the Union of South Africa. See also CAPE FRONTIER WARS; EASTERN CAPE; GREAT TREK.

CAPE FRONTIER WARS. The Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope had a long history of frontier conflict. Their nearly a century and a half of endemic warfare was inherited by the British, who first occupied the Cape Colony in 1795. The most powerful resistance to white intrusion was conducted by the Xhosa people, who lived on the margins of the eastern frontier. Their nation consisted of a number of chiefdoms acknowledging a shadowy paramount chief but often deeply divided among themselves. Early in the 19th century, they
took to firearms and guerrilla warfare as the best means in their broken terrain of resisting encroaching white settlement. The Cape eastern frontier gave the British army its first South African lessons in irregular, bush warfare and taught it that the way to defeat the Xhosa was by destroying the logistical base that sustained them, rather than by trying to beat them in conventional operations and set-piece battles. Dutch forces engaged the Xhosa in the 1st (1779–1781) and 2nd (1789–1793) of the nine Cape Frontier Wars. The British and Xhosa fought seven of the wars: 3rd (1799–1803); 4th (1811–1812); 5th (1818–1819); 6th (1834–1835); 7th (1846–1847); 8th (1850–1853); and 9th (1877–1878). The last of these bitter conflicts ended in final Xhosa defeat.

CAPE TOWN. Founded on 6 April 1652 on the northern end of the Cape Peninsula under Table Mountain as a way station for the ships of Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC), Cape Town was the first European settlement in southern Africa. It was the administrative center while the Cape of Good Hope was under the rule of the VOC, and after 1814 it became the capital of the British Cape Colony. During the 19th century, it remained a strategically vital coaling station and naval base. Later in the century it was overtaken as the biggest city in South Africa by the gold-mining town of Johannesburg in the South African Republic.

CAPE TOWN CASTLE. After his defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War, the British sent King Cetshwayo kaMpande in exile to the Cape, where he was imprisoned between September 1879 and February 1881 in the Flagstaff Bastion of the Cape Town Castle (Castle of Good Hope). This fortress with five bastions was built between 1666 and 1679 by the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) to guard their settlement at Cape Town.

CARBINES. In 1877, the British cavalry adopted the Martini-Henry carbine, sighted up to 1,000 yards, as a secondary weapon to the sword or lance. It was replaced in 1892 by the Martini-Metford carbine. Mounted infantry in the Anglo-Zulu War carried the .450-caliber Swinburn-Henry carbine. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, they were issued the Martini-Henry carbine. The
standard weapon of the **Natal Volunteer Corps** was the .450-caliber Swinburn-Henry carbine, which replaced the Snider carbine in 1877, although because of shortages many of the **irregular** mounted units raised in the Anglo-Zulu War continued to be issued with Snider carbines.

**CARBUTT’S BORDER RANGERS.** On the eve of the **Anglo-Zulu War**, Captain Thomas Carbutt, a farmer near **Ladysmith** with previous military experience in the Natal Frontier Guard that had been disbanded in 1876, began to recruit volunteers from among the local settler community for the defense of **Colonial Defensive District** No. I. His 30 men wore their everyday clothes and carried their own weapons. After **Isandlwana**, they patrolled the vulnerable border along the Mzinyathi River from their base at the **Ladysmith laager**. In recognition of this valuable service, the unit was regularized on 15 March and maintained and equipped thereafter by the military. They continued to patrol the border and took part in the patrol of 21 May that began the burial of the British dead at Isandlwana. They disbanded in late July. See also **BORDER GUARD, NATAL**.

**CARDWELL, EDWARD (1813–1886).** Cardwell first entered parliament in 1842 and in 1868 was appointed secretary of state for war in William Ewart Gladstone’s first Liberal ministry. Between 1870 and 1873, he instituted wide-ranging army reforms, reorganizing the War Office, abolishing purchase of commissions, and introducing linked battalions to promote recruitment and build up a reserve. The **Cardwell Reforms** were controversial at the time and did not achieve all that was hoped of them, although they did lay the basis for a more efficient and professional army. Cardwell did not hold office again after the fall of Gladstone’s ministry in 1874 and was raised to the peerage as the 1st Viscount Cardwell of Ellerbeck.

**CARDWELL REFORMS.** The wide-ranging British army reforms carried out under **Edward Cardwell**, secretary of state for war (1868–1874), directly affected the army’s conduct of the **Anglo-Zulu War**. For the sake of economy and efficiency, Cardwell reduced Britain’s military presence overseas by accelerating the withdrawal of troops from colonies of settlement and by scaling down garrisons
elsewhere, except in India. The introduction of short service in 1870, whereby recruits spent six years in the regular army and six in the reserve, was designed to create a large reservoir of trained reservists, reduce unhealthy service abroad, and save money. The Localization Bill of 1872 created 69 brigade districts in Britain (usually conforming to an existing county) with two linked battalions attached to each depot. The intention was to tie infantry battalions to specific geographical regions in order to foster local loyalties and to encourage recruitment. The battalions alternated in recruiting at home and serving abroad with the intention of ensuring that the empire was guarded only by seasoned troops. In 1871, the purchase of commissions was abolished and promotion opened to merit in order to encourage the development of a professional officer corps.

In practice, the system did not work. In the officer corps a large private income was still necessary in all except the technical corps, so it still remained a conservative social elite. Recruits to the rank and file still came mainly from the poorest and least educated elements of society, and the army had to lower physical standards to find enough recruits to meet the large turnover of men caused by short-term enlistment. Since the reserve was not to be called up except in the event of a national emergency, colonial campaigns (such as the Anglo-Zulu War) could only be provided for by attracting special service officers, calling upon regular and reserve units for volunteers, and draining standing garrisons. As colonial commitments increased in the later 19th century, a growing number of home-based and imperfectly trained battalions was required to serve overseas. Thus, at the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, 82 battalions were abroad, and only 59 at home depots. Short-term enlistment meant that experienced soldiers left the ranks earlier, with the consequence that the number of younger, inexperienced men rose proportionately. Thus in 1879, many of the draftees sent out to Zululand, and some fresh battalions too, were militarily unsatisfactory: young, inadequately trained, unused to combat conditions, and susceptible to disease. See also ARMY REFORM, BRITISH; CHILDERS REFORMS; MILITARY ORGANIZATION, BRITISH.

CAREY, JAHLEEL BRENTON (1847-1883). Carey was educated mainly in France and was first commissioned in 1865, serving in
Honduras in 1867. During the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), he served with distinction with the English Ambulance Service. In 1878, he attended Staff College. He was promoted to captain, went on special service to the Anglo-Zulu War, and was mentioned in dispatches for his excellent conduct during the loss of the troopship Clyde. Serving with the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and attached to the staff of the acting quartermaster-general planning the invasion route, Carey accompanied Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte on patrol on 1 June, and was ambushed in the Tshotshosi skirmish. For his questionable part in the affair, he was tried by general court-martial on 12 June, found guilty of misbehaving before the enemy, and ordered back to England. There he found much public support, and on a technicality the findings of the court-martial were not confirmed. Carey rejoined his regiment in India, but his reputation and promising career were ruined. He died of peritonitis in February 1883.

CARNARVON, HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX, 4TH EARL OF (1831–1890). Carnarvon, who became the 4th Earl of Carnarvon in 1849, pursued a political career in Britain’s Conservative Party. He was the secretary of state for colonies in 1866–1867, when he guided through the British North America Bill (1867) that brought the federal dominion of Canada into being. Carnarvon was again colonial secretary in 1874–1878, when he promoted a confederation in South Africa along the lines of the Canadian federation. In March 1877, he sent Sir Bartle Frere to South Africa as high commissioner to implement confederation. Carnarvon resigned from the cabinet in January 1878 over the Eastern Question (the Turco-Russian crisis). Except for a short period as lord lieutenant of Ireland (1885–1886), his political career was at an end.

CARRIER CORPS. In July 1879, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, who had successfully used African carriers in the 2nd Ashante War (1873–1874), ordered the formation of a corps of carriers in Zululand drawn from the disarmed Natal Border Guard and African levies (troops) with the 1st Division, South African Field Force, to replace what he considered the inefficient and expensive ox-wagon system of transport being used in the Anglo-Zulu War. During late
July and early August, 2,000 carriers brought up supplies from Port Durnford to St. Paul’s for Baker Russell’s Column. They each carried loads of about 50 lbs. for an average of 10 miles a day, then returned the same day unloaded. The unarmed carriers were liable to panics and found working conditions harsh. Many deserted and had to be replaced by Zulu recruited locally. The cost of maintaining carriers proved four times higher than ox-wagon transport, and the military decided not to rely on carriers in Zululand again.

CARRINGTON’S LEVY. In the final stages of the uSuthu Rebellion, Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth brought in Colonel Frederick Carrington, in command of the Bechuanaland Border Police (1885–1893), to instill order and discipline into the demoralized African levies (troops) under his command. Carrington created a force of 1,760 comprising inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha and 200 of his Mandlakazi who had taken refuge at Nkonjeni after the battle of Ivuna, 150 of Yamela’s men (the remnants of the Eshowe Levy that had deserted on 14 July 1888), and fresh recruits. Carrington’s Levy made up Martin’s Flying Column, which joined the Coastal Column at Ivuna on 7 August for their joint march back to the coast. On 23 August, the levy made a night march to the Nhlati Hills to disperse inKosi Somopho kaZikhala’s followers, and on 25 August it reconnoitered the deserted Dukuduku stronghold.

CATTLE, ZULU. Iron Age Bantu speakers introduced domestic cattle into southern Africa about 2,000 years ago. The cattle may have stemmed from the humpless, long-horned Bos taurus originally domesticated in either Egypt or West Africa, with a strong admixture of the humped, short-horned Bos indicus first domesticated in the Near East about 7,000 years ago and then introduced to Africa via the Horn and east coast. “Sanga” is the term widely used today for African indigenous breeds of cattle and includes strains such as the Nguni found in Zululand. Cattle were susceptible to Redwater fever and Ngana, two wasting diseases caused by parasites injected into the bloodstream by the bite, respectively, of ticks and tsetse flies.

The Zulu were essentially pastoralists, and the Zulu language contains hundreds of terms by which to identify the distinctive shapes of cattle horns, the presence or absence of a hump, colorings, and mark-
ings. Favorite oxen had praise names and were trained to respond to whistled commands. The paramount importance of cattle in Zulu life was symbolized by the position of the cattle-fold, or isibaya, in the center of every umuzi (homestead). All ceremonies and rituals were performed there, and the amaDlozi (ancestral spirits) summoned and propitiated when cattle were sacrificed to them there. While in theory all cattle belonged to the nation and, by extension, to the king, in fact cattle were part of the umuzi unit, and individuals’ private control over their own cattle was practically complete.

Prized as the prime indicator of wealth in a society that had little other means of storing it, cattle constituted iLobolo, or bridewealth, which was exchanged for a wife on marriage. Cattle provided food (especially milk), their hides were used for clothing, and their dung was a vital source of fuel and construction material for izinDlu (huts). The capture of cattle was thus a prime objective of every military campaign and the indicator of its success. Cattle taken in war were technically the sole property of the king, who gave away large numbers to amaKhosi and favorites, and to reward and feed his amaButho. Having sufficient disposable cattle was therefore essential if the king were to bind his amaKhosi and amaButho to him, and in a circular process this necessitated sustaining an army to go out on campaign to acquire them. In the custom known as ukusisa, the king would also entrust his royal cattle for a time to amaKhanda (royal military centers) or imizizi, granting them the right to make use of the cattle (e.g., for milk, dung, or offspring) before having to return them.

CAVALRY BRIGADE. On 8 April 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Cavalry Brigade, consisting of the 1st (King’s) Dragoon Guards and the 17th (Duke of Cambridge’s Own) Lancers (1,247 men) under the command of Major-General Frederick Marshall was attached to the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and directed to join it in northern Natal. The Cavalry Brigade saw action throughout the entire 2nd Invasion of the war, and it fought at Zungeni and Ulundi.

CETSHWAYO kaMPANDE (c. 1832–1884). In 1839, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona identified Cetshwayo as his heir. Cetshwayo was enrolled in the uThulwana iButho and took part in the Swazi
campaign of 1852. He was a popular umNtwana (prince) and gathered a faction around him, known as the uSuthu. Mpande began to fear his power and favored other sons for the succession, notably umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpande. The issue was decided when Cetshwayo defeated Mbuyazi in the 2nd Zulu Civil War and other surviving claimants fled into exile. In May 1861, Mpande recognized Cetshwayo as his heir, and thereafter he exercised most of his father’s royal prerogatives until he succeeded him on his death in 1872.

During his reign, Cetshwayo tried to consolidate royal power that had been subverted by the leading amaKhosi and to revitalize the iButho system that was its basis. He maintained Mpande’s policy of fostering good relations with the British as a counterweight to the South African Republic’s territorial claims in Zululand. After the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, however, British policy toward Zululand turned hostile, and Cetshwayo’s efforts to stave off the Anglo-Zulu War through negotiation were rendered futile.

Cetshwayo’s strategy in the Anglo-Zulu War was to defend his country stoutly and then to try to negotiate further from a position of military success. Military defeat wrecked this policy. The British captured the fugitive king on 28 August 1879 at the remote kwa-Dwasa umuZi in the Ngome Forest and sent him into exile in Cape Town. His many supporters agitated for his restoration to bring stability in Zululand after the 1st Partition, and in August 1882 he visited London to argue his case. The 2nd Partition of Zululand was the consequence, but many in Zululand who had benefited from the suppression of the monarchy in the 1st Partition resisted his restoration. The 3rd Zulu Civil War broke out immediately on his return, and by July 1883 Cetshwayo was a refugee in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory. In October, he sought shelter with the British at Eshowe. Cetshwayo died suddenly on 8 February 1884, possibly of poison. He was buried deep in the Nkandla Forest near the umuZi of Luhungu of the Shezi people, whose descendants still watch over his grave.

CEZA CAMP. In the final stages of the suppression of the uSuthu Rebellion, the British abandoned the Nsukazi Fort and the Begamuza Camp on 18 August 1888 for a small fort built at Peter Louw’s store close to Ceza Mountain. The move was aimed at preventing
the uSuthu from regrouping on the mountain. The garrison was withdrawn in late September 1888, when all the advanced posts in Ndewandwe District in the colony of Zululand were given up.

CEZA MOUNTAIN, BATTLE OF (1888). This small engagement was the last time Zulu forces defeated the British in Zululand. At the outset of the uSuthu Rebellion, the resident magistrate of Ndewandwe, Richard Hallowes Addison, resolved to arrest the uSuthu ringleaders on Ceza Mountain. Since this was still a civil matter, the troops supporting the operation could only take action if Addison called on them to do so.

On 2 June 1888, Addison, 67 Zululand Police under Commandant George Mansel, and 600 of Mnyamana’s Auxiliaries, supported by 84 of the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons and 80 mounted infantry under Major Edward Graham Pennefather, halted near Ceza. The 2,000 uSuthu under King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo formed up on the slopes and started marching to the flat summit that was just across the border with the New Republic. Fearing that the uSuthu would consequently soon be out of British jurisdiction, Mansel pushed ahead with a small party of Zululand Police to execute the warrants. They encountered some Zulu in the thick bush, and on hearing firing, the rest of the uSuthu came streaming back down the mountain in traditional battle formation. Realizing the Zululand Police would be cut off by the encircling horns, Addison called on Pennefather’s soldiers to extricate them. The auxiliaries were caught up in the chaotic retreat, and the Zulu followed closely, skirmishing along their flanks. Pennefather and his mounted men formed into two ranks and charged the Zulu, who then gave up further attempts to surround and cut off the British but continued to harry them down to the Black Mfolozi River. The British crossed the river and re-formed at the Nsukazi laager.

Two British soldiers died in the affray and an unknown number of uSuthu, though it could not have been very large. The ignominious retreat of the British was a devastating blow to their prestige in Zululand and greatly encouraged the uSuthu in their continued resistance. See also CEZA MOUNTAIN STRONGHOLD; CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS; TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.
CEZA MOUNTAIN STRONGHOLD. Ceza is a looming, flat-topped mountain rising above the Sikhwebezi River basin in northwestern Zululand, and it was a traditional place of refuge. In 1888, the border between British Zululand and the New Republic bisected the mountain and put all but its eastern slopes under Boer rule. This ambiguous border made it an ideal place for King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo to concentrate the uSuthu in May 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, and it put him in close touch with the abaQulusi in the New Republic. On 2 June, his followers repulsed the British in the battle of Ceza Mountain. On the British withdrawal to Nkonjeni, they began raiding Zulu loyalists and white storekeepers along the Sikhwebezi. Dinuzulu led his men on a night march from Ceza on 22–23 June to defeat the Mandlakazi in the battle of Ivuna. Once the British regained control of central Zululand in July after capturing Hlophekhulu, the uSuthu on Ceza were put on the defensive and began to disperse. By August, those remaining there with Dinuzulu were mainly only the abaQulusi. On 6–7 August, Dinuzulu disbanded the last of the uSuthu on Ceza and left to take refuge in the South African Republic. See also CEZA MOUNTAIN, BATTLE OF; STRATEGY, ZULU.

CHARD, JOHN ROUSE MERRIOTT (1847–1897). During the Anglo-Zulu War, Lieutenant Chard joined No. 5 Company, Royal Engineers, and was the senior officer present at the battle of Rorke’s Drift. He was awarded the Victoria Cross. He accompanied the advance of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in the 2nd Invasion of the war, and he rose to lieutenant-colonel in a career that saw no further campaigns.

CHELMSFORD, SIR FREDERIC AUGUSTUS THESIGER, 2ND BARON (1827–1905). Commissioned in 1844, Chelmsford served in the Crimean War (1855–1856) and the Indian Mutiny (1858). For the next 16 years, he filled staff appointments in India, rising to adjutant-general (1869–1874), and served as deputy adjutant-general of the Abyssinian Expeditionary Force (1868). He returned to England in 1874 and was promoted to major-general in 1877. In March 1878, he took up his command as general officer commanding in South Africa, with the local rank of lieutenant-general. He brought the 9th
Cape Frontier War to an end by August 1878 and was knighted. He then set up his headquarters in Pietermaritzburg to prepare for the Anglo-Zulu War. In October 1878, he succeeded as the 2nd Baron Chelmsford.

In January 1879, Chelmsford accompanied No. 3 Column into Zululand, but the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War was derailed at Isandlwana, and he had to retire to Natal to defend the colony and build up reinforcements for a renewed offensive. He cleared the way by leading the Eshowe Relief Column to victory at Gingindlovu and evacuating the Eshowe garrison. He then accompanied the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, during the 2nd Invasion of the war, advancing with excessive caution. The failure of the 1st Invasion, followed by Chelmsford’s temporary loss of nerve and his protracted dispute with Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne Bulwer over the parameters of military and civil command, caused the British government to lose faith in his abilities. In May, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley was appointed to supersede him, but Chelmsford only learned of his appointment on 16 June. This knowledge spurred him on to fight the battle of Ulundi before Wolseley could arrive in the field.

Having (to his mind) vindicated his generalship, Chelmsford resigned his command on 9 July and returned to England. There his conduct of the Zululand campaign came under much adverse scrutiny, and he was never again offered an active command. He became a full general in 1888 and was placed on the retired list in 1893.

CHILDERS REFORMS. The British army reforms carried out under Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827–1896), secretary of state for war (1880–1882), brought the earlier Cardwell Reforms to a logical conclusion by permanently linking regular battalions within specific geographical areas in Great Britain. The reforms came into effect on 1 June 1881. Each regiment consisted in future of two regular or “line” battalions and two militia battalions (except in Ireland, which was to have three militia battalions instead of two). The restructuring was achieved by giving the first 25 numbered line regiments two battalions, while the remainder were amalgamated in pairs to form the two battalions of the new regiments. The old regimental numbers and county affiliations were changed to territorial titles, and the county militia regiments were renamed. In addition, the various corps of rifle volunteers were designated as volunteer battalions and affiliated
to the new regiments. Each of the new regiments and their affiliates
was linked by headquarters location and territorial name to its regi-
mental district. This structure survived until 1948. See also ARMY
REFORM, BRITISH; MILITARY ORGANIZATION, BRITISH.

CITY GUARD, PIETERMARITZBURG. This was a force of white
male citizens of Pietermaritzburg with elected officers who vol-
unteered in November 1878 for the defense of the city during the
coming Anglo-Zulu War. After Isandlwana, the City Guard was
assigned to help defend the Pietermaritzburg laager and was also
employed to maintain order in the city. By April, as the threat of Zulu
attack receded, it ceased to patrol the streets and finally stood down
later in the month.

CITY OF PARIS. See HMS TAMAR.

CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS. In the British Empire of the late
19th century, the respective spheres of authority of the civil and mili-
tary powers were not always clearly defined. In Zululand during the
Anglo-Zulu War and the uSuthu Rebellion, disputes between these
spheres threatened the efficient conduct of military operations.

The lieutenant-governor of Natal (governor from 1882) had, in
his capacity as supreme chief over the native population, the right to
extract isiBhalo, or compulsory labor and military service. This gave
him the right to raise African levies (troops) in time of war. From
1882, he was also the special commissioner for Zulu affairs, becom-
ing the governor of the Colony of Zululand in 1887, and this gave
him the authority to raise levies in British-ruled Zululand. However,
as governor, he was subordinate to the British high commissioner
for South Africa, who answered to the Colonial Office. The high
commissioner was also commander-in-chief, with claim to exercise
control over all military planning and operations. This did not sit well
with the general officer commanding in South Africa (GOC), who
was responsible to the War Office and the Horse Guards.

At the outset of the Anglo-Zulu War, Sir Henry Gascoyne Bul-
wer, the lieutenant-governor of Natal, ceded the command of the
Natal Native Contingent (NNC) and mounted African levies to the
command of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford but retained con-
trol of the Border Guard. Chelmsford believed in “active defense” and in March 1879 required the border levies to assist his operations in Zululand by making diversionary raids into Zululand. Bulwer believed such raids would only exacerbate the situation along the vulnerable Natal border, and he attempted to forbid the border levies to participate in cross-border raids. The increasingly acrimonious dispute between Chelmsford and Bulwer embroiled the high commissioner and then the British government. The government put an end to it by superseding both men with General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, entrusting him with supreme military and civil authority in southeast South Africa. On 19 May 1879, the government also laid down the principle that command of all the forces operating in the field must rest with the general in command.

Despite this clear cabinet decision, during the usuthu Rebellion a fresh dispute arose over the parameters of civil and military authority. Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, the governor of both Natal and Zululand, believed that to hand the suppression of the revolt over to the military would be an admission that his civil administration had failed. He therefore desired that the troops act only in support of the civil authorities on their request. The GOC, Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth, strenuously objected to the subordination of the military to the civil authorities, as he believed this arrangement would hamper effective operations by the military, not least because Havelock insisted on interfering with his plans. By the beginning of July 1888, they had reached a compromise, though not (as had also happened previously in 1879) without first involving the secretaries of state for the colonies and war in their dispute. It was agreed that Smyth would have command over the British regulars and any African levies organized along military lines, as the NNC had been. The civil authorities would command the Zululand Police and African auxiliaries provided they were deployed in close cooperation with Smyth’s forces. The civil authorities would remain responsible for enforcing the law and arresting rebels but could call on the military to provide support.

This renewed dispute over divided command concerned the British government, and in November 1888 it revised the Colonial Office Rules and Regulations to specify that once full hostilities in a colony had broken out, the GOC assumed entire operational authority over
the troops stationed in a colony, and that the governor must restrict himself to the civil sphere. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND. During the wars of 19th-century Zululand, noncombatants died of violence, starvation, exposure, and deprivation, sometimes in greater numbers than fighting men. If they dwelled along the line of march of even a friendly Zulu army, people were always vulnerable as inadequately supplied amaButho (regiments) demolished their imiZi (homesteads) for firewood, stripped their vegetable gardens, consumed their grain stores, and drove off their livestock. If the army were hostile, as in the three Zulu Civil Wars, then the devastation was intended to drive the people off their land. Taking refuge from attackers in a mountain or forest fastness brought with it great hardship and real danger of starvation. Civilians also suffered directly in the fighting when a ruler and his adherents came under attack while migrating. Then noncombatants had no choice but to stand by and watch, hoping their men won the day. If not, they faced being butchered. The women and children of King Dingane kaSenzangakhona were slaughtered when he lost the battle of the Maqongqo Hills in the 1st Zulu Civil War. In the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the greatest known slaughter of civilians in the kingdom’s history took place when the families of the defeated iziGqoza were massacred in the rout after the battle of Ndondakusuka. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, at the battle of oNdini, the victorious Mandlakazi slaughtered the civilians during the rout of the uSuthu and killed most of the surviving leadership of the former Zulu kingdom. The uSuthu later took their revenge on the Mandlakazi noncombatants after the battle of Tshaneni.

During the Anglo-Zulu War and the uSuthu Rebellion, the British conducted operations according to the principles of small wars and deliberately targeted civilians’ property to induce submission to British control. According to the not always complete evidence, in 1879 they destroyed over 200 imiZi and about an equal number in 1888, besides driving off at least 14,000 cattle in 1879 alone. Because military operations were limited in their extent and impact, it would seem that less than 10 percent of Zulu livestock was captured and an even smaller percentage of imiZi destroyed. And while the
British certainly waged war on civilians’ property and livelihood, causing them much sorrow and hardship, with a very few, specific exceptions they never deliberately killed civilians but allowed them to escape or encouraged them to submit.

During the uSuthu Rebellion, uSuthu raiders attacked and killed a few of the small number of white traders who had been allowed since the British annexation of the Colony of Zululand to set up their stores. See also LOGISTICS, ZULU.

**CLARKE, CHARLES MANSFIELD (1839-1932).** Commissioned in 1856, Clarke saw action in the Indian Mutiny (1858) and in the 3rd New Zealand War (1861–1867). In May 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke was appointed to command the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment, and served with it during the Anglo-Zulu War in the Eshowe Relief Column and at Gingindlovu. He was given command of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. When the 1st Division was broken up in July 1879, he commanded Clarke’s Column in the pacification of Zululand. Appointed brevet colonel, he served as commandant-general of colonial forces in the Cape before returning to England in 1884. He then held a series of home commands and staff positions and commanded the forces in Madras (1893–1898). He was knighted in 1896 and succeeded as 3rd baronet in 1899. He retired from the army a lieutenant-general and was appointed governor of Malta (1903–1907).

**CLARKE’S COLUMN.** In July 1879 during the final stages of the Anglo-Zulu War, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley broke up the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and formed a column under Brevet Colonel Charles Mansfield Clarke out of the units not sent back to Natal. The column’s mission was to reoccupy the Mahlabathini Plain and enforce Zulu compliance with Wolseley’s peace terms. Clarke’s Column marched on 24 July, and on 7 August it built Fort Victoria at the foot of the Mthonjaneni Heights. On 10 August, it escorted Wolseley to his camp at kwaSishwili, where between 14 and 26 August most of the important Zulu amaKhosi submitted. Patrols were sent out to capture King Cetshwayo ka-Mpande, who on 31 August passed through the camp on his way to
exile. On 1 September, the amaKhosi accepted Wolseley’s terms for the 1st Partition of Zululand, and on 5 September the column left for Natal by way of St. Paul’s, eNtumeni, and Middle Drift, which it reached on 20 September. On the way through the inaccessible border region, Clarke sent out patrols to confiscate firearms, levy cattle fines, and enforce the submission of amaKhosi who had not formally surrendered. Between 12 and 21 September, the amaKhosi reluctantly did so against the wishes of their younger amaButho, who wanted to continue the struggle.

CLIFFORD, HENRY HUGH (1826–1883). Clifford was commissioned in 1846 and saw much action in South Africa, serving in the 7th Cape Frontier War (1846–1847), against the Boers in 1848 during the annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty, and against the Sotho in 1852. In the Crimean War (1854–1855), he fought at the Alma and Inkerman and was awarded the Victoria Cross. He next served in the 2nd China (Opium) War (1857–1858). Back in England, he had a long period of service on the staff and came to the favorable attention of the Duke of Cambridge. In 1877, he was promoted to major-general. In April 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu War, Clifford was sent out to Natal on special service, and with Cambridge’s support was appointed inspector-general of line of communication and base, with the task of reorganizing army transport and repairing strained civil–military relations. He was also appointed Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s second-in-command and during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War was left in charge of the base in Natal and all forces stationed in the colony. Relations were strained between him and Chelmsford, and Clifford resented that his authority ceased at the Zululand border. Clifford was knighted after the war and retired from the army in 1882.

CLYDE. A steamer of 1,480 tons built in 1870, the Clyde was owned by Temperleys, Carter, and Drake. The ship was carrying 541 officers and men as drafts for the 1st Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment, to replace the battalion’s losses at Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War, when it was shipwrecked on 3 April 1879 on Dyer Island, three miles off the Cape shore, about 70 miles southeast of
Simon’s Town. The troops were rescued and taken on to Durban by the HMS Tamar.

COASTAL COLUMN. On 23 July 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, Major Alexander Chalmers McKean formed a column of 312 British regulars and 180 Mounted Basutos at the Umlalazi Camp. On 25 July, the column joined with Dunn’s Native Levy accompanied by Charles R. Saunders, the resident magistrate of Eshowe, who represented the civil authorities in the Colony of Zululand to whom the uSuthu were to submit. The column advanced on 28 July, burning imiZi as it went. On 30 July, the coastal amaKhosi surrendered at Camp Umfolosi, and on 1 August the Coastal Column proceeded inland to the Ndwandwe District, except for Dunn’s Native Levy, which was assigned to collect cattle fines before returning to Natal. The Coastal Column reached Ivuna on 6 August, where it was joined by Martin’s Flying Column. The uSuthu still on Ceza Mountain dispersed, and on 18 August the two columns marched back to the coast, dispersing the few remaining pockets of resistance on the way. They reached Eshowe on 30 August. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS.

isiCOCO. The isiCoco, or headring, was a circlet of tendons or fibers sewn into the hair of a Zulu man. It was coated with beeswax or gum, and then greased and polished. It was the Zulu king’s prerogative to permit his amaButho (warriors) to assume the isiCoco that denoted attainment of ritual manhood and the right to marry and set up an umuZi (homestead) as an umNumzane (headman). Even after the Anglo-Zulu War and the subsequent fading away of the iButho system, no Zulu male in the 1880s was prepared to jettison this prized and visible indication of his mature status in the community—even if it did not sit well with a hat.

COGHILL, NEVILL JOSIAH AYLMER (1852–1879). Lieutenant Coghill joined the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment in 1873 and proceeded with it to the Cape in 1875, where he was appointed aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, South Africa, and served in the 9th Cape Frontier War. In 1878, he rejoined his regiment
for the coming *Anglo-Zulu War* and served as staff officer to Colonel *Richard Thomas Glyn*, the commander of No. 3 *Column*. A knee injury kept Coghill in camp at *Isandlwana* on 22 January 1879, and he escaped the battle on horseback down the *Fugitives’ Trail*. He was killed on the Natal bank of the Mzinyathi River after he had turned back to assist Lieutenant *Teignmouth Melvill*, who was attempting to carry the queen’s *color* of the 1st Battalion, 24th Regiment, to safety. In 1907, Coghill was posthumously awarded the *Victoria Cross*.

**COLENBRANDER, JOHANNES WILHELM (1857-1918).** Born in *Natal*, Colenbrander served with the *Stanger Mounted Rifles* in the *Anglo-Zulu War* and fought at *Nyezane*. In the last stages of the war, he acted as *John Dunn*’s secretary and was entrusted with the *negotiations* for *inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha*’s surrender. Colenbrander earned Zibhebhu’s trust and he stayed on in *Zululand* as his secretary, resident trader, and gun-runner. During the 3rd *Zulu Civil War*, he and the small party of white *mercenaries* he commanded played an active role in the fighting on the *Mandlakazi* side and contributed to the victory at *Msebe*. He was away in Natal recruiting more mercenaries when Zibhebhu was defeated at *Tshaneni*. Colenbrander lost all his cattle and trade goods in the debacle. He moved to *Swaziland*, where he continued trading, and was one of the early settlers of Rhodesia.

**COLENSO, HARRIETTE (1847-1932).** For many years, Harriette Colenso collaborated closely with her father, Bishop *John William Colenso*, in the cause of Africans in colonial *Natal* and, after the *Anglo-Zulu War*, in support of the Zulu royal house. On Colenso’s death, his mantle fell on her. She steadfastly advocated King *Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo*’s cause as King *Cetshwayo kaMpande*’s successor, and in her writings she excoriated colonial officials and their Zulu collaborators whom she blamed for the 3rd *Zulu Civil War* and the *uSuthu Rebellion*. She played a prominent part in organizing the defense of Dinuzulu and others accused before the *Special Court of Commission for Zululand* after the failed rebellion. When these efforts were unsuccessful, she spent many years after 1889 in Britain, campaigning and pamphleteering to secure Dinuzulu’s par-
don. When Dinuzulu, who had returned to Zululand in 1898, was arraigned in 1907 for his alleged role in the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion), she once again rallied his legal defense, but without success.

**COLENSO, JOHN WILLIAM (1814–1883).** Consecrated in 1853 the first Anglican bishop of Natal, Colenso confronted difficulties in converting the Zulu. When he questioned the literal interpretation of the Bible, the ecclesiastical courts found him guilty of heresy in 1863 and excommunicated him, but in 1865 the civil courts allowed him to retain his bishopric. A religious schism opened up in the Anglican community of Natal when the rival Bishop of Maritzburg was consecrated in 1869. Always a controversialist, Colenso forfeited support among the colonists by steadfastly championing Africans against the oppressive colonial administration, particularly during the Langalibalele Rebellion in 1873. Colenso was known by Africans as “Sobantu” or “Father of the People.” He protested against the Anglo-Zulu War, which he believed the British had unjustly and unnecessarily provoked, and this brought him into conflict with the military authorities as well as the colonists. After the war, he vehemently took up the cause of the exiled King Cetshwayo kaM'Pande and agitated successfully for his restoration in the 2nd Partition of Zululand.

**COLONIAL CAMPAIGNS, BRITISH.** See SMALL WARS.

**COLONIAL DEFENSIVE DISTRICTS, NATAL.** On 10 September 1878, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford attended a meeting of the Natal Executive Council’s Defense Committee and persuaded it to take appropriate security measures for the colony during the coming Anglo-Zulu War. Natal was accordingly divided on 26 November 1878 into seven Colonial Defensive Districts (CDDs), with Pietermaritzburg and Durban forming two subdistricts. The district commanders were named on 3 December. Each was to have command of the colonial forces in his district, as well as of all the public laagers and government arms and ammunition. He was to be responsible for the defense of his district until such time as it was placed under direct military command. On 11 January 1879, Chelmsford subordinated the commanders of the crucial districts bordering
**Zululand** (CDDs I, VI, and VII) to the British officers commanding imperial bases and lines of supply. See also CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS.

**COLORS, BRITISH.** British regiments were proud of their individuality and traditions, and during the 19th century, the colors, or identifying flags, assumed great symbolic significance. They were made of silk, measured 3 feet, 9 inches by 3 feet, and were attached to a pike of 8 feet, 7 inches that was topped by the lion or crown of England. The colors were normally transported furled in a brass-capped black leather case. Each British regiment of infantry carried two colors: the sovereign’s color that was the gold-fringed Union Flag with the regimental number, and the individual regimental color that was inscribed with its battle honors (the names of the campaigns and battles in which it had taken honorable part). The colors were carried unfurled into battle by the two junior officers of the battalion, escorted by a color party, to encourage the men or to serve as a rallying point in defense. The last time a British regiment did so was on 28 January 1881, when the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment fought at the battle of Laing’s Nek in the 1st Boer War. When a regiment’s colors became thin and frayed, they were laid up in a church or cathedral and new ones were presented. See also ISANDLWANA, SAVING THE COLORS AT.

**COLUMN, NO. 1.** On 12 January 1879 during the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 1 Column of 4,750 men under Colonel Charles Knight Pearson, drawing its supplies through Stanger and Durban, crossed the Thukela River below Fort Pearson and built Fort Tenedos on the Zulu bank. On 18 January, the column, escorting 130 wagons, began its advance in two supporting divisions on Eshowe, where it intended to use the abandoned mission station as a depot for its advance on the second ondini ikhanda. It fought through a Zulu ambush at Nyezane on 22 January and reached Eshowe the following day. Learning on 27 January of Isandlwana and the retreat of No. 3 Column, Pearson decided to hold fast at Eshowe to divert the Zulu from invading Natal. On 30 January, he sent the men of the Natal Mounted Volunteers, the Natal Native Contingent, and oxen back to Natal, and the Zulu then blockaded the fort.
Pearson’s lack of initiative and mounted men meant that he contented himself with improving the fortifications of Fort Eshowe, and he made only one punitive raid on 1 March against the eSiqwakeni iKhanda. The Eshowe garrison grew increasingly short of supplies before it was relieved by the Eshowe Relief Column on 3 April. It was evacuated to Natal the following day, and on 13 April became the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

COLUMN, NO. 2. For the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the 3,871 African levies (troops) of No. 2 Column under Brevet Colonel Anthony William Durnford were positioned at Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive District No. VII. On 15 January 1879, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford ordered two of the three infantry battalions of the 1st Regiment, Natal Native Contingent, to remain at Ntunjambili to guard the Natal middle border against local Zulu irregulars concentrated in the Nkandla Forest. He sent Durnford, the men of the Natal Native Horse, a rocket battery, and the rest of the contingent to reinforce No. 3 Column. On 22 January, Durnford was ordered up from Rorke’s Drift to reinforce the camp at Isandlwana. He was killed in the battle and the troops with him suffered heavy casualties. The detached Natal Native Contingent that had not yet reached Rorke’s Drift halted in Natal to defend the border in Colonial Defensive District No. I. No. 2 Column ceased to exist; in the succeeding months, its surviving units were reassigned to new field formations.

COLUMN, NO. 3. For the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 3 Column of 4,709 men under Colonel Richard Thomas Glyn, accompanied by Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford and his staff, was concentrated at Rorke’s Drift on 9 January 1879, leaving garrisons along its line of supply through Helpmekaar, Greytown, Ladysmith, and Durban. It began its advance into Zululand on 11 January. The next day, it won a skirmish at kwaSogekle in the valley of the Batshe River. Heavy rains and poor tracks delayed its advance, and it was only on 20 January that the column halted at Isandlwana Mountain. The camp was not fortified, as it was intended only as temporary, while patrols were sent out to find a suitable site for the
next camp on the road to the second Ondini iKhanda. On 21 January, Chelmsford sent out a reconnaissance in force to locate the Zulu army. In the early hours of 22 January, he moved troops out of the camp to reinforce it, leaving the camp with a much reduced garrison. In the course of the day, the camp was reinforced by elements of No. 2 Column, but the main Zulu army overwhelmed the defenders. The Zulu reserve went on to attack the small British garrison left at Rorke’s Drift but was repulsed. That night, Chelmsford brought his forces back to the camp after the Zulu had withdrawn, and they marched out early on 23 January to relieve Rorke’s Drift, narrowly avoiding contact with the retiring Zulu. On 24 January, the remnants of the column broke up, leaving strong garrisons at Rorke’s Drift and Helpmekaar to bar the anticipated Zulu invasion of Natal.

COLUMN, NO. 4. For the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 4 Column of 2,278 men under Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood assembled in early January 1879 near Balte Spruit, drawing its supplies from Newcastle and Utrecht. On 6 January, the column advanced across the Ncome River to encamp at Bemba’s Kop. Wood led a flying column between 11 and 13 January to within 12 miles of Rorke’s Drift in support of No. 3 Column, capturing much livestock. On 18 January, the column resumed its advance and on 20 January halted across the White Mfolozi River at Fort Tinta. On the same day, the abaQulusi and Mbilini waMswati’s adherents repulsed a mounted patrol under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller on Zungwini Mountain. In retaliation, Wood led out the column on 22 January and dispersed the Zulu on Zungwini, capturing much livestock. On 24 January, the column broke up another Zulu concentration between Zungwini and Ntendeka Mountain. News of Isandlwana reached Wood that same day and he withdrew his column to Khambula, where he formed an entrenched camp on 31 January, relocating it along the ridge in February and again in April for sanitation and firewood.

Thanks to Wood’s energy and the number of experienced irregular cavalry at his disposal, the column retained the ascendancy in northwestern Zululand. On 1 February, a mounted patrol under Buller destroyed the ebaQulusini iKhanda. On 10 February, it raided Hlobane Mountain, where many Zulu had taken refuge.
Great numbers of livestock were captured, and many Zulu began moving eastward out of range of Wood’s raids. On 15 February, Buller raided the **Kubheka** people in the Ntombe valley, who had been harassing **Luneburg** and its environs, but he did not succeed in subduing them entirely. On 24 March, the main Zulu army began its march to confront Wood at Khambula. On the way, it succeeded on 28 March in helping local irregulars cut off and severely maul a large British raiding party of mounted men and African auxiliaries on Hlobane. The British survivors fell back on Khambula, where the Zulu attack was severely repulsed the following day. With the rout of the Zulu army, the local Zulu irregulars largely dispersed. On 13 April, Wood’s forces were restyled **Wood’s Flying Column** for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

**COLUMN, NO. 5.** During the 1st Invasion of the **Anglo-Zulu War**, No. 5 Column of 1,565 men under Colonel **Hugh Rowlands** remained in garrison on the Phongolo River frontier to protect the left flank of No. 4 Column from **Pedi** and Zulu **irregulars** and did not advance beyond its posts at Derby and **Luneburg**. A mounted patrol from Luneburg on 26 January 1879 worsted the **Kubheka** in the Ntombe valley, and another from Derby on 15 February repulsed the **abaQulusi** at Talaku Mountain. Neither raid did much to stop the activities of local irregulars, and the British lines of supply remained vulnerable to attack. On 12 March, **Mbilini waMswati**’s forces overwhelmed a convoy from Derby to Luneburg when it halted at the Ntombe Drift. On 26 February, No. 5 Column, which had reached Luneburg on 19 February, was attached to Brevet Colonel **Henry Evelyn Wood**’s command when Rowlands returned to **Pretoria** to deal with the disaffected Boers of the Transvaal. See also NTOMBE, ACTION AT.

**COMET.** The Comet was a 120 ton brig that had been trading gunpowder and general goods since 1836 with Port Natal (**Durban**) and other places on the east coast of Africa between Algoa Bay and **Delagoa Bay**. On 29 March 1838 during the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, it anchored in Durban Bay under its master, William Thomas Haddon, and was still there on 17 April, when the Zulu crushed the
Grand Army of Natal at the battle of Thukela and advanced on Port Natal. Survivors gave warning to the white settlers, who took refuge on board the Comet, leaving their black adherents on shore. The Zulu swept into Port Natal on 24 April and sacked the settlement for nine days while the settlers looked on helplessly from the Comet. On 12 May, the Comet sailed first to Delagoa Bay with all but a few of the refugees on board, and then on to Algoa Bay, where it discharged its passengers on 23 June.

**COMMANDANT, BOER.** The Boer commandant (kommandant) who led a commando (militia) was elected by open, popular vote. He was invariably a prominent and wealthy person who already controlled clients and armed retainers and was able to exert pressure on the electors.

**COMMANDO SYSTEM, BOER.** The Boer commando (militia) system was formalized in 1715 on the Cape frontier when the Dutch East India Company sought a mobile mode of defense against African raiding. It became a central feature of Boer society and persisted in the Cape after 1806 when British rule was established. The Voortrekkers perpetuated it when they left the Cape in the 1830s for the interior of South Africa and institutionalized it once they established their republics on the highveld.

Every able-bodied burgher between 16 and 60 was required to serve without payment in time of need. He was expected to provide his own weapons and ammunition, his own horse and saddlery, and rations for about a week. He was accompanied on campaign by black servants (agterryers). He had no uniform and wore ordinary clothes. There was no structured military training or parade-ground drill. **Commandants** and **field cornets** were popularly elected, and these officers often had to struggle to exert control over their independent-minded and outspoken men. There was no punishment for desertion, and burghers often left a commando if they disagreed with the plans adopted at the war council, which was open to all.

On commando, Boers fought as mounted infantry, often dismounting in action for better firepower (their horses were trained to stand without being held) and retired in alternate ranks if it became necessary to disengage. In hostile territory, the lightly encumbered
and mobile Boer commando made unexpected, rapid thrusts against the enemy from the secure base provided by its wagon laager, and commando members scouted, pillaged, and skirmished. As members of a citizen militia made up from a very small population, they were unwilling to take unnecessary casualties. They consequently avoided hand-to-hand combat and saw no shame in retreating if necessary.

**COMMISSARIAT AND TRANSPORT CORPS, BRITISH.** In 1881, the Army Service Corps, which had performed poorly during the Anglo-Zulu War, was replaced by the Commissariat and Transport Corps. The new corps was amalgamated in December 1888 into the new Army Service Corps.

**COMMISSARIAT AND TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT, BRITISH.** During the army reforms of 1876, the Control Department that had been created in 1870 was broken into the Commissariat and Transport Department and the Ordnance Store Department. The success of the Anglo-Zulu War campaign depended on effective logistical arrangements, but the Commissariat and Transport Department proved unequal to the task. Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford augmented the overstretched and inefficient officers in the department with inadequately trained regular staff officers. Their inexperience in purchasing methods, compounded by antagonist relations with the colonial officials on whose cooperation they should have depended, drastically drove up the costs of securing draught animals and vehicles from the colonists. It was consequently only with the greatest difficulty that the department assembled sufficient transport for the invasion of Zululand. In 1881, it was replaced by the reformed Commissariat and Transport Staff. Tunic facings were blue.

**CONFEDERATION, SOUTHERN AFRICAN.** Successive British governments throughout the 19th century debated the merits of formal and informal empire in southern Africa, sometimes seeking to assert political paramountcy over the region, only to withdraw again. In the 1870s, British imperial planners were seeking to consolidate rather than expand the British Empire. Southern Africa’s traditional significance had always been its strategic position on the sea routes.
to India, and it was essential for Britain to maintain its ports and coaling stations there. What was new in the 1870s was southern Africa’s growing economic potential set off by the burgeoning mineral revolution initiated by the **Kimberley diamond fields** and the associated increasing demands for productive land and a dependable supply of cheap wage-laborers. The combination of traditional strategic concerns and new economic considerations required that Britain consolidate her paramountcy in southern Africa. Yet the region was economically and politically fragmented into the British colonies of the **Cape, Natal** and other lesser possessions, the two Boer republics of the interior, and several surviving independent African polities, of which the **Zulu kingdom** was the most powerful. Moreover, conflict between settlers and African states was endemic and debilitating.

The Earl of **Carnarvon**, colonial secretary from 1874 to 1878, believed that the creation of a comprehensive political structure, funded by the region’s improving economy, would serve Britain’s imperial interests best. If all the white-ruled states of southern Africa were brought into a confederation under a streamlined administration fostering a settled environment and vibrant economy, then South Africa would be able to afford its own armed forces and the existing expensive British garrison would no longer be necessary. A successful confederation might also be the launching pad for future British economic and political expansion into the interior of Africa.

The major obstacle to confederation was the security risk posed by neighboring independent African kingdoms. It was thus necessary to impose some form of British supremacy over them. What made the fulfillment of this requirement essential was the reluctance of the Cape—the largest and most prosperous piece in the structure—to commit itself to confederation until it was assured it would not entail fresh costly wars with neighboring Africans. As his proconsul to implement this delicate mission, Carnarvon appointed the experienced **Sir Bartle Frere** as high commissioner for South Africa.

Frere was used to acting on his own initiative. Arriving in South Africa in March 1877, he acted swiftly. He secured the northern component of confederation with the annexation of the **South African Republic** in April 1877 as the Transvaal Territory and undertook to bring the republic’s mismanaged and unresolved conflict with
the Pedi to a successful conclusion. Frere also executed a series of further strategic annexations aimed at stabilizing the Cape’s eastern frontier and securing the remaining potential ports along the southern African coast.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach replaced Carnarvon as colonial secretary in February 1878 and was happy to leave the consummation of confederation in Frere’s hands. One major hurdle was the Zulu kingdom, which was believed to be the inspiration behind an African conspiracy to overthrow white supremacy in the subcontinent, and whose iButho military system was perceived as a standing threat to its neighbors. To reconcile Boer public opinion to annexation, it was necessary to intervene against the Zulu on the side of the Transvaal in the bitterly divisive issue of control of the Disputed Territory. The report on 15 July 1878 of the Boundary Commission, which partially upheld Zulu territorial claims, caused Frere to fear that if he made it public, the consequent alienation of Boer opinion would result in a rebellion in the Transvaal that might lead to widespread hostilities in southern Africa. It was thus more urgent than ever to break Zulu power. Frere was convinced that a swift military campaign would do so, and during 1878 he drove the ultimatum crisis to an open breach with the Zulu kingdom. Unfortunately for Frere, his military experts had gravely miscalculated, and the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 turned into a major campaign. Frere was disgraced, the Transvaal was not reconciled to British rule, British prestige in southern Africa was damaged, and the cause of confederation was temporarily abandoned, not to be fully resurrected for nearly 20 years.

CONFERENCE HILL FORTIFICATIONS. In early February 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu War, a detachment of No. 4 Column took up position at Conference Hill in the Utrecht District of the Transvaal to guard stores. In May 1879, the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, established its forward depot there for the 2nd Invasion of the war and built a fort and twin redoubts below the hill to protect the stores. When in late May reconnaissance patrols established that the more direct route to the second oNdini iKhanda was farther south via Koppie Alleen, the stores were transferred there from Conference Hill. See also FORT NAPOLEON; FORT WHITEHEAD.
CONFERENCE HILL MEETING. Conference Hill is a prominent little hill on the west bank of the Ncome River. On 18 October 1877, Theophilus Shepstone, the administrator of the Transvaal, met representatives of the Zulu nation to discuss the Disputed Territory. The British had formerly always supported the Zulu, but now that they ruled the Transvaal, they changed their position. When Shepstone championed the Boer claims, the Zulu leaders were astounded and enraged, and the meeting broke down in recriminations. For Sir Bartle Frere, the high commissioner, who was engineering a military solution to the Zulu question to further the cause of confederation, this incident provided a useful casus belli.

CONGELLA, BATTLE OF (1842). The Boers had established a settlement at Congella in 1840 half a mile up Durban Bay west of Port Natal (Durban). On 4 May 1842, Captain Thomas Smith raised the Union Flag at Port Natal, and the Boers of the Republic of Natalia decided to resist British annexation. Smith led out 133 men from Smith’s Camp on 23 May in what he intended as a surprise attack on the Boers at Congella. About 30 Boers, however, under the command of Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius, were waiting for them in ambush among the mangrove trees of the bay. The British column fell back in confusion, reaching their camp on 24 May. The British lost 18 dead and some ammunition wagons and guns; the Boers suffered no losses. See also CAMP KONGELLA.

CONVOYS. See TRANSPORT CONVOYS, BRITISH.

CORONATION LAWS. One of Cetshwayo kaMpende’s first initiatives as king was to secure the support of the colonial government of Natal against his powerful rivals within the Zulu kingdom. Early in 1873, he invited a Natal deputation to visit him to discuss matters of common concern, and Theophilus Shepstone, the ambitious secretary for native affairs, saw it as an opportunity to expand British influence in Zululand. Cetshwayo had been crowned in August according to Zulu ritual, but on 1 September 1873 Shepstone staged a coronation ceremony at Cetshwayo’s emLambongwenya iKhanda that he claimed imposed Zulu suzerainty over the Zulu kingdom. He also proclaimed a set of “coronation laws” that Cetshwayo assented
to. Cetshwayo understood the laws as restricting the independent power of his amaKhosi (chiefs) and restoring the exclusive power over life and death into his hands, but British officials interpreted them as restricting the king’s right to execute his subjects. Cetshwayo’s apparent noncompliance with these coronation laws was exploited by Bartle Frere in 1878 as an important justification for unleashing the Anglo-Zulu War.

CORRESPONDENTS. See SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS.

COW-TAIL DECORATIONS, ZULU. See imiSHOKOBEZI.

CREALOCK, HENRY HOPE (1831-1891). Henry Hope Crealock saw action in the Crimean War (1854–1855), the first stage of the 2nd China (Opium) War (1857–1858), the Indian Mutiny (1858–1859), and the second stage of the 2nd China (Opium) War (1860). He was promoted to major-general in 1870 and from 1874 to 1877 was deputy quartermaster-general in Ireland. On special service during the Anglo-Zulu War, he took command of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, from its formation in April 1879 until the end of the campaign. Hampered by a shortage of wagons and by many rivers to cross, “Crealock’s Crawlers,” as his force became known, made slow progress up the coast, establishing fortified depots and a landing place for supplies at Port Durnford, and forcing Zulu submissions. Crealock retired from the army in 1884.

CREALOCK, JOHN NORTH (1836-1895). John North Crealock served in the Indian Mutiny (1858–1859) and between 1870 and 1878 held a series of staff appointments. In February 1878, he was appointed assistant military secretary, Cape of Good Hope, to Lieutenant-General Frederic Augustus Thesiger (later Lord Chelmsford). In recognition for his services in the 9th Cape Frontier War, Crealock was made brevet lieutenant-colonel and continued on Chelmsford’s personal staff during the Anglo-Zulu War, being promoted to military secretary in May 1879. He served as senior staff officer to the Eshowe Relief Column and was slightly wounded at Gingindlovu. He was present at Ulundi and returned with Chelmsford to England in July. He retired in 1895 as a major-general in India.
Although privately critical of Chelmsford’s generalship, Crealock was suspected of wielding undue influence over the general and in deflecting criticism from him after Isandlwana. Crealock’s water-color paintings and sketches are an invaluable record of his campaigns in South Africa.

**CUBE PEOPLE.** See MANZIPHAMABANA STRONGHOLD; NANDLA FOREST.

**CURTIS, FRANCIS GEORGE SAVAGE (1836–1906).** Curtis was commissioned in 1854 and served in the Crimean War (1855–1856), the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858), and the 1st Boer War (1881). Promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1879 and colonel in 1883, he commanded the 6th (Inniskilling Dragoons) between 1883 and 1886 when they formed part of the Natal garrison. In January 1883, when he was deputy adjutant- and quartermaster-general in South Africa, Curtis commanded the guard of honor that escorted the restored King Cetshwayo kaMpende to his new territory after the 2nd Partition of Zululand. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Curtis commanded the cavalry with the Etshowe Column and in July 1884 pushed forward the troops to Fort Yolland to threaten the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest. He then served with the Bechuanaland Expedition (1884–1885). In 1888, he served as Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth’s chief of the staff during the uSuthu Rebellion. In 1889, he was appointed colonel on the staff in South Africa. He retired in 1893.

**CUTLASS, NAVAL.** The 1871 pattern cutlass carried by the Naval Brigade in the Anglo-Zulu War had a bowl guard with two cast-iron sides and a 26-inch blade in a brown leather scabbard with steel mounts.

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**ekuDABUKENI iKHANDA.** This was one of the nine amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.
DABULAMANZI kaMPANDE (c. 1839–1886). Like his half-brother Cetshwayo kaM pande, umNtwana Dabulamanzi was enrolled in the uThulwana iButho. During the 2nd Zulu Civil War, he strongly supported Cetshwayo who, when he became king, appointed Dabulamanzi an inDuna of the eSiqwakeni iKhanda (military center) near Dabulamanzi’s eZuluwini umuZi (homestead). Dabulamanzi developed close contacts with colonial hunters and traders in southeastern Zululand. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was with the uncommitted Zulu reserve at Isandlwana, and although he held no official command, he asserted his royal status to lead the unsuccessful assault on Rorke’s Drift. Retiring in disgrace to eZuluwini, he coordinated the Zulu blockade of Fort Eshowe and led the Zulu right horn at the battle of Gingindlovu.

Placed under John Dunn in the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was active in agitating for Cetshwayo’s restoration. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was one of Cetshwayo’s commanders. Defeated at Msebe and again at oNdini, he vigorously carried on the struggle from the Reserve Territory. On 10 May 1884, he repulsed Melmoth Osborn’s forces at the battle of the Nkandla Forest. He was instrumental in arranging the alliance between King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo and the Boer mercenaries known as Dinuzulu’s Volunteers in 1884, but he later fell out with the Boers over their exorbitant land claims. They shot him in a scuffle on 22 September 1886.

DARKE, HENRY GROSVENOR (?–1905). A Welsh adventurer, Darke formed a trading partnership with Johannes Wilhelm Colenbrander in inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s territory in 1880, after the 1st Partition of Zululand. He played an active role in the 3rd Zulu Civil War and was among the white mercenaries fighting for Zibhebhu at oNdini and Tshaneni. He escaped to Natal after Tshaneni but lost all his property in Zululand. In 1886, he moved to Swaziland to continue trading; he left for England in 1899.

DARTNELL, JOHN GEORGE (1838–1913). Commissioned in 1855, Dartnell served in the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858). In 1869, he resigned his commission as brevet major and settled in Natal. He was appointed commandant of the Natal Mounted Police (NMP) in 1874 and inspector of the Natal Volunteer Corps. During the Anglo-Zulu
War, he was on Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s head-quarters staff during the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and commanded the NMP and Natal Mounted Volunteers with No. 3 Column. He was away skirmishing during the battle of Isandlwana. From December 1878 to July 1879, he was commandant of Colonial Defensive District No. 1. He served in Basutoland during the “Gun War” (1880), in the 1st Boer War (1880–1881), in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War (1899–1902), and in the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bambatha Rebellion). He was appointed chief commissioner of the reconstituted Natal Police in 1894, was knighted in 1901, and retired in 1903.

**DEAD, ZULU TREATMENT OF.** Friends or relatives of Zulu killed on campaign had the obligation, if circumstances permitted, to dispose of their corpses decently in dongas, antbear holes, or grain-pits of abandoned imiZi (homesteads). Otherwise, the Zulu dead were left where they had fallen, covered if possible by a shield. The Zulu left the enemy dead unburied, to be devoured by wild animals. On occasion, such as after the battles of Rorke’s Drift, Gingindlovu, and Khambula in the Anglo-Zulu War, the British buried the Zulu dead in mass graves, but only because they presented a health hazard to their camp. They left them where they had fallen after Ulundi.

**DEIGHTON AND SMITH BORDER INCIDENT.** By late 1878, with the Anglo-Zulu War looming, the situation was very tense along the border between Natal and Zululand. On 17 September, W. H. Deighton and David Smith of the Natal Colonial Engineers Department went down into the valley of the Thukela River to inspect a wagon road being built down to the river that marked the border. The Zulu believed the road was intended to facilitate a British invasion, and a small party of men roughed up the two officials when they strayed onto an island in the middle of the river the Zulu considered their territory. The incident provoked outrage in colonial Natal, and Bartle Frere seized on it as another justification for the war he was fomenting to bring about confederation. See also NATAL–ZULULAND BOUNDARY; SIHAYO’S SONS, CROSS-BORDER INCIDENT BY.
DELAGOA BAY. The Portuguese discovered Delagoa Bay and natural harbor on the southeast coast of Africa in 1502, and in 1544 the trader Lourenço Marques explored its environs. Control of the bay was long contested. The Dutch East India Company maintained a fort and factory there between 1720 and 1730. In 1787, the Portuguese built a fort around which the settlement of Lourenço Marques began to grow. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona sent an army in 1833 to overawe the Portuguese. In 1823 and in 1861, the British asserted their control of the bay, as did the South African Republic (SAR) in 1868. In 1869, the SAR acknowledged Portuguese sovereignty over the bay, as did the British in 1875 after French arbitration. Delagoa Bay was important as a trade outlet, initially for ivory and slaves, but by the later 19th century for the diamonds and gold of the interior.

DE LANGE, JOHAN HENDRIK (HANS DONS) (1799–1861). A farmer from the Grahamstown District of the Eastern Cape, de Lange was nicknamed Hans Dons, “Orphan Fluff,” after his sparse beard. In 1830, he hunted and explored in the South African interior, and he was a member of Petrus Lafras Uys’s scouting commission (kommissietrek) in 1834 to Port Natal (Durban) to ascertain the region’s suitability for settlement. De Lange was a supporter of the trek idea and strongly influenced his neighbors in the Cape to join his party of Voortrekkers in mid-1837. He joined up with Pieter Retief’s party in crossing the Drakensberg into Zululand in November 1837. As a veteran of the Cape Frontier Wars, he put his faith in the defensibility of the wagon laager. During the Voortrekker-Zulu War, his wagon laager survived the Bloukrans Massacre. He was a member of the Vlugkommando defeated at eThaleni, but he soon showed himself to be one of the Voortrekkers’ ablest commanders and an expert scout. He played a leading part at Veglaer, fought at Ncome as a member of the Wenkommando, and saved the ambushed commando at the battle of the White Mfolozi. After the British annexation of Natal, he was one of the Boer farmers who tried in 1847 to set up the abortive Klip River Republic. He was farming in British northern Natal when in December 1860 he shot and killed an African in circumstances that were never properly clarified. He was found guilty of murder and executed on 26 March 1861.
**izinDIBI.** Boys over 14 years of age who were still too young to be formed into an *iButho* (regiment) accompanied the Zulu army as *izinDibi*, or carriers. They were attached to *aMakhosi* (chiefs) and principal *izinDuna* (officers), for whom they carried items such as mats, headrests, and tobacco. They also drove the *cattle* required for the army’s consumption. See also **LOGISTICS, ZULU.**

**DINGANE kaSENZANGAKHONA (c. 1795–1840).** In 1828, Dingane assassinated his half-brother King *Shaka kaSenzangakhona* and seized the crown of the **Zulu kingdom.** Dingane immediately eliminated his co-conspirators and royal rivals and moved the focus of royal power back to central **Zululand** from the recently conquered and tenuously controlled lands south of the Thukela River where Shaka had established his capital. Dingane maintained Shaka’s uneasy relationship with the settlers at Port Natal (**Durban**) in order to ensure the supply of desirable trade goods, and he attacked the Portuguese at **Delagoa Bay** in 1833 to assert his control over them. During his reign, he continued to raid his neighbors, notably the **Swazi** in 1836 and 1837, and the **Ndebele** in 1837. The arrival of the Voortrekkers in his kingdom in late 1837 presented a mortal threat, and his initial response was to attempt to eliminate them through treachery and surprise attack. This failed, and despite some successes against the Boers and their allies from Port Natal, he was defeated in the **Voortrekker-Zulu War** and had to negotiate a temporary settlement. Defeat by the Swazi in 1839 prevented him from relocating his kingdom northward, and his suspicions of his half-brother *umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona* led to the latter striking an alliance with the Boers and defeating Dingane in the 1st **Zulu Civil War.** Dingane fled to Nyawo territory on the slopes of the Lubombo Mountains. His reluctant hosts and a Swazi patrol killed him in his eSankoleni *umuZi*, where he is buried.

**DINUZULU kaCETSHWAYO (1868–1913).** Dinuzulu was the heir of King **Cetshwayo kaMpande.** Before his flight at the end of the **Anglo-Zulu War,** Cetshwayo appointed *iNkosi Zibhebhu ka-Maphitha* Dinuzulu’s guardian, but when it became apparent after the 1st Partition of **Zululand** that Zibhebhu was determined to keep the royal house in submission, Dinuzulu escaped to the guardianship
of his uncle umNtwana Ndabuko ka Mpande. After the uSuthu defeat at the oNdini iKhanda during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he fled to the sanctuary of the Nkandla Forest. On Cetshwayo’s sudden death in 1884, Dinuzulu’s uncles rallied around him to prevent a disputed succession. Dinuzulu entered into negotiations with the Boers, who proclaimed him king on 21 May 1884 and aided him against his enemies in return for a huge grant of land in the 3rd Partition of Zululand.

Dinuzulu led the uSuthu forces at the battle of Tshaneni, but he could not protect his people from escalating land claims by the Boers of the New Republic, and he could not prevent them from imposing a “protectorate” over him. Consequently, he welcomed British intervention and acquiesced in their annexation of the Colony of Zululand in 1887, but he soon bitterly resented the imposition of their administration. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he assumed a prominent part in the planning of military operations and fought in the front line at the battles of Ceza and Ivuna. In early August 1888, acknowledging that the British had regained control of Zululand, he fled to the South African Republic for sanctuary but surrendered to the British in November. He stood trial in Eshowe between February and April 1889, was found guilty of high treason and public violence, and was sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment, to be served on St. Helena.

In January 1898, Dinuzulu was returned to Zululand as part of a general settlement to restore stability. He came back not as king, but as a “government inDuna” (official). Nevertheless, he was perceived by many Zulu as their rightful ruler, and during the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, the British reluctantly exploited his status to raise Zulu levies (troops) to help defend Zululand from Boer incursions. In 1908, he was controversially arraigned for being implicated in the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion), stripped of his remaining powers, and imprisoned. In 1910, the government of the new Union of South Africa commuted his sentence to exile on the farm Rietvlei in the Transvaal Province, where he died on 18 October 1913. He was buried in the emaKhosini valley among his royal ancestors.

DINUZULU’S CORONATION. On 20 May 1884 Dinuzulu’s uncles NdabukokaMpande, Ziwedu kaMpande, and Shingana kaMpande
installed him as king by traditional Zulu ritual. The following day he was “crowned” by the Boer Committee of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers at their Nyathi Hill laager.

**DINUZULU’S VOLUNTEERS, COMMITTEE OF.** On 2 May 1884 Boers from the Wakkerstroom and Utrecht districts of the South African Republic and from further afield, who were taking advantage of the chaos in the 3rd Zulu Civil War to infiltrate the northwest of the country, met King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, who was seeking military aid against his enemies at the Hlobane laager. Calling themselves the Committee of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers, on 21 May the leading Boers from among the 350 gathered at their laager at Nyathi Hill crowned Dinuzulu king at an improvised ceremony in the presence of 9,000 uSuthu. In return for their recognition and promise of military aid, Dinuzulu promised to cede them about a third of Zululand. See also DINUZULU’S CORONATION; NEW REPUBLIC.

**DISEMBOWELMENT.** See RITUAL DURING BATTLE, ZULU.

**DISPUTED TERRITORY.** The valleys of the Mkhondo, Ntombe, Phongolo, and Bivane rivers in northwestern Zululand, as well as the lands stretching east of the Ncome River in central Zululand, are open and grassy and an ideal region for grazing if the free seasonal movement of cattle is secured between winter and summer pastures. The cattle-keeping peoples of the region—Zulu, Swazi north of the Phongolo, and Boers of the South African Republic (SAR)—all desired to control this valuable territory. In the mid-19th century, it became a cockpit of competing claims. Particularly assertive were the Boers of the SAR, who were trying to push toward the sea to secure a port.

By the treaty of Waaihoek in March 1861 with umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande, who was trying to consolidate his claim to the Zulu throne, the SAR agreed to hand over fugitive rivals for the succession in return for indeterminate land claims east of the Ncome River. Cetshwayo repudiated the treaty in June 1861, but Boers moved into the territory anyway. In August, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona agreed to honor Cetshwayo’s land concession. In late 1864, the Boers asserted their land rights by beaconing off a boundary line between their farms east of the Ncome and what they decided was Zulu territory. Cetshwayo ordered the beacons to be torn down, but the Boers
were not to be put off. In June 1869, the SAR began to allot farms east of the Ncome to Boer settlers. On 25 May 1875, the SAR issued a proclamation claiming Zulu territory “ceded” in 1861, plus a slice of territory south of the Phongolo River between Zululand and Swaziland. The **Boundary Award** stated in July 1878 that the Boers had no legitimate claim to the lands east of the Ncome, but the **Anglo-Zulu War** negated this ruling. The 1st Partition of Zululand finalized the matter by drawing the boundary of western and northern Zululand up the Ncome from its confluence with the Mzinyathi to the Bivane’s confluence with the Phongolo, and then along that river to the sea. See also ZULU INVASION SCARE (1861).

**DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL.** See AWARDS.

**uDLAMBEDLU iBUTHO.** King Dingane kaSenzangakhona formed this **iButho** around 1829 of youths born about 1809. The **shield** was white with black or red spots. During the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, the uDlambedlu formed part of the Zulu left horn at **Ncome**, and it ambushed and pursued the defeated Boers at the battle of the **White Mfolozi**. It fought on umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande’s side at **Ndondakusuka** in the 2nd **Zulu Civil War**, when it formed the right horn. In the **Anglo-Zulu War**, most of its members remained in reserve at the second **oNdini iKhanda**, though small local elements fought in the battle of **Nyezane**. At the time of the battle of **Ulundi**, it was guarding Cetshwayo at the **kwaM bonambi iKhanda**.

**oDLAMBEDLWINI iKHANDA.** This was one of the nine **amaKhanda** in the **emaKhosini valley** burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s **Flying Column** during the 2nd Invasion of the **Anglo-Zulu War**.

**uDLANGEZWA iBUTHO.** King Shaka kaSenzangakhona formed this **iButho** around 1823 of youths born about 1802. The **shield** was black with many white patches. In the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, it formed part of the Zulu chest at **Ncome**.

**DLEBE MOUNTAIN.** On 11 August 1888, Captain Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell (the future founder of the Boy Scout movement), nephew and aide-de-camp of Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth during the **uSuthu Rebellion**, led a punitive
expedition from Nkonjeni to Dlebe Mountain on the border of Zululand and the South African Republic (SAR), where some uSuthu had clashed with British scouts the previous day. He inadvertently crossed the frontier into the territory of the SAR and compounded his mapping error by attacking loyalist Buthelezi refugees on Dlebe, killing 12 civilians.

uDLOKO iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1858 of youths born about 1838. The shield was red with white patches or plain white. It was part of the chest in umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpende’s army at the battle of Ndondakusuka in the 2nd Zulu Civil War. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it was part of the uncommitted reserve at Isandlwana, but it went on to attack Rorke’s Drift. At Kambula, it fought with the Zulu chest. At Ulundi, it attacked the east side of the British infantry square. At oNdini in the 3rd Zulu Civil War, elements made up part of the uSuthu chest.

amaDLOZI. For the Zulu, good fortune in an enterprise depended on the approval of the amaDlozi, or ancestral spirits, who lived under the ground and were interested in every aspect of their descendants’ lives. Because the spirits maintained the status they had enjoyed while alive, it was essential before proceeding on campaign to secure the favor of the amaDlozi of the king’s royal forebears, since they were concerned with the welfare of the entire Zulu nation. Before it marched away to war, the army propitiated the royal amaDlozi with a generous sacrifice of royal cattle so they would accompany the amaButho (regiments) and deploy their powers against the enemy. See also umKHOSI; iNKATHA.

inDLU. The basic dwelling place for every Zulu was the hut, or inDlu. Whether forming an umuZi (family homestead) or an iKhanda (administrative center), all izinDlu were alike in basic construction and furnishings, but those of the great were distinguished by size, choice of materials, and workmanship. IzinDlu in 19th-century Zululand were circular and domed. They were constructed from thousands of curved intersecting saplings and sticks, like wicker work, tied together with grass where they crossed. The average hut was three yards in diameter, but those occupied by amaKhosi (kings or chiefs)
were double that size, with several poles (rather than a single central one) supporting the structure. A neat thatch of long, tall grass covered the huts. The floor, made of a mixture of the earth from anthills compressed with cow dung, was polished to a blackish, dark green, glossy smoothness. The hearth was a circular cavity in the center of the floor with a raised edge, and pots were placed on the three cooking stones. There was no chimney. The right-hand side of the hut was reserved for men and the left for women. At the back was a special area, the umSamo, where the amaDlozi were thought to dwell and where weapons, food, and prized implements were kept. During the day, the sleeping mats, headrests, baskets, and other items were hung on the walls. Izinhlu had to be frequently repaired, as the materials from which they were built fell easy prey to the depredations of insects, fire, and weather. They were easily destroyed in war, but the simplicity of their construction meant that they could be quickly reconstructed. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

DOORNHOEK CAMP. On 15 May 1879, the four corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who had been serving during the Anglo-Zulu War with the Eshowe Relief Column moved to Doornhoek from Potspruit, their previous camp in Colonial Defensive District No. VII. They remained at Doornhoek until 26 July 1879, when they returned home and mustered out.

DRAGOONS, 6TH (INNISKILLING). The regiment was ordered out to South Africa in February 1881 to reinforce the Natal Field Force in the 1st Boer War and constituted part of the Natal garrison until 1890. The Dragoons formed part of Major-General Evelyn Wood’s escort at the meeting with the Zulu leaders at Nhlanzatshe Mountain in 1881 and the guard of honor for King Cetshwayo kaMponde on his restoration in 1883 following the 2nd Partition of Zululand. In September 1883, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, a squadron made up part of the Eshowe Column sent to support the colonial administration in the Reserve Territory and was stationed at Fort Curtis. In July 1884, it made up part of a reconnaissance in force toward the Nkandla Forest, where the uSuthu were operating, and erected Fort Yolland. On 14 August, a detachment was sent to garrison Fort Northampton. With the submission of the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest, the Dragoons returned to Fort Napier in November 1884.
During the uSuthu Rebellion, a troop of the Dragoons was stationed in October 1887 at Entonjaneni and a squadron at Nkonjeni to support Richard Hallowes Addison, the resident magistrate of the Nd wandwe District of the Colony of Zululand, against the uSuthu. In June 1888, a squadron covered the retreat of the civil authorities repulsed on Ceza Mountain. In June, reinforcements from the Natal garrison brought the strength of the dragoons in Zululand up to three squadrons. A squadron was among the British forces that stormed Hlophekhulu Mountain in July, and another was with the supporting troops on Lumbe Mountain. A squadron served temporarily with the Coastal Column between 23 July and 3 August before rejoining the others at Nkonjeni. With the suppression of the uSuthu rebels, the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level, which included one squadron of Dragoons stationed at Entonjaneni.

The uniform consisted of a scarlet tunic with yellow facings, dark blue breeches with a yellow stripe, and white accoutrements. In Zululand, the steel helmet with white plumes was replaced by a white sun helmet.

DRAGOON GUARDS, 1ST (THE KING’S). Sent out as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Colonel H. Alexander made up half the Cavalry Brigade attached to the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. It was employed in reconnoitering into Zululand in advance of the division. In May 1879, the regiment took part in the patrol to Isandlwana to bury the British dead. A squadron took part in the skirmish at Zungeni. Detachments were stationed at Rorke’s Drift, Conference Hill, and Fort Newdigate, where they escorted convoys and raided the surrounding countryside. A troop fought at Ulundi. Detachments then served with Clarke’s Column and Baker Russell’s Column and played a part in the capture of King Cetshwayo kaM pande.

The uniform consisted of a scarlet tunic with blue facings, dark blue breeches with a yellow stripe, and white accoutrements. In Zululand, the brass helmet with red plumes was replaced by a white sun helmet.

DRAKENSBERG. The principal mountain range in southern Africa, the Drakensberg stretches for over 600 miles separating the coastal
lands of the east from the highveld of the interior. Its tallest peaks are nearly 12,000 feet high. The headwaters of the main rivers of Natal and Zululand rise in the Drakensberg. The name means “Dragon’s Mountain” in Afrikaans. The Zulu call the mountains uKhahlamba, or “Barrier of Spears.” A limited number of difficult passes cross the Drakensberg, connecting the highveld with the coast.

**DRESS, AFRICAN LEVIES.** The African levies (troops) raised by the Port Natal (Durban) settlers for the Grand Army of Natal in the Voortrekker-Zulu War wore white calico to distinguish them from their Zulu adversaries. The African infantry formations raised by the Natal government during the Anglo-Zulu War and the Zululand authorities during the 3rd Civil War and uSuthu Rebellion likewise wore civilian dress that consisted of little more than the traditional Zulu loin cover sometimes augmented with items of European clothing like jackets or hats. The levies were distinguished from African noncombatants and hostile Zulu by a colored cloth twisted around the head or arm. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the color of the cloth was predominantly red, as it always was in Zululand in the 1880s. With the reorganization of the Natal Native Contingent for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, scarlet tunics were issued to all battalions. Some also received white trousers, but the men found them uncomfortable and refused to wear them. The Natal Native Pioneer Corps wore similar uniforms from the outset of the Anglo-Zulu War.

White mounted officers provided their own clothing, usually military-style blue patrol jackets or corduroy breeches, although noncommissioned officers (NCOs) received brown or yellow uniforms. Officers and NCOs wore red puggarees around their headgear. Mounted levies received uniforms of yellow or brown corduroy and broad-brimmed felt hats with a puggaree. Boots were issued, but in the Anglo-Zulu War only the Edendale Horse elected to wear them, as the men preferred to ride barefoot with only the big toe in the stirrup iron. See also individual units.

**DRESS, BOER MEN.** Boer men wore civilian clothes on campaign, although by the 1860s some commandos (militias) identified themselves by wearing colored puggarees around their hats. Frontier
costume for men at the time of the Great Trek was full of variety, but because clothes were expected to last and were usually homemade, they were normally decades behind the latest metropolitan fashion. Men wore short jackets and waistcoats made of moleskin or corduroy (though poorer men wore leather clothes) which were black, green, brown, or dark yellow. Trousers were of the klapbroek type, with a front flap that buttoned, and they were held up by a belt or braces. Weekday shirts were of wool and overcoats of woolly duffel. Boots were often worn without stockings. Broad-brimmed straw hats were popular, as were high-crowned felt hats with brims of varying width. A few men at the time of the Great Trek adopted the more dandyish, pale-colored, bell top hat. Every man would have kisklere, or Sunday-best clothes: linen shirt, broadcloth coat, and cashmere trousers for the well-off, corduroy for the rest. Many had fancy silk waistcoats. By the 1860s, the short jacket was being replaced by a full-skirted coat, but fashion otherwise changed little.

**DRESS, BOER WOMEN.** Boer women wore plain and sober clothing. Dresses could be made of every material from silk to woolly baize and usually had a turned-over collar, fairly wide sleeves fastened at the wrist, and flounces at the bottom of the skirt. Women never wore their hair loose but parted it in the middle and fastened it into a bun. Over it they wore a kappie, a big, intricately tucked and embroidered sunbonnet made ordinarily of white linen but sometimes of dull-colored merino or silk. To protect their complexions further, women often wore light goatskin masks when on trek. Most women had shawls of wool or silk.

**DRESS, BRITISH ARMY.** No specifically tropical uniform was issued to the British soldier, with the exception of those stationed in India. Uniforms on active service were not replaced and thus became tattered and stained. The standard overseas issue in the 1870s and 1880s for infantry was the single-breasted unlined frock with five brass buttons; Rifles wore dark green. With the Childers Reforms of 1881, the traditional different-colored facings of the old infantry regiments in the Anglo-Zulu War were replaced by national ones worn on cuffs and on the collar: white for English and Welsh regiments, yellow for Scottish, and green for Irish. Trousers were dark
blue with a scarlet welt down the outside seam for infantry. They were tucked into black leather leggings. Officers wore either scarlet frocks of the plain tunic color or the blue patrol jackets introduced in 1866 and preferred in the field. On campaign, they often adopted a strange assortment of jackets and caps. Highland regiments wore kilts and their officers trews.

The Royal Engineers and Royal Marine Light Infantry wore a uniform similar to that of the infantry. The Royal Artillery and Royal Marine Artillery wore dark blue tunics with scarlet collars, and blue trousers with a wide red stripe. Mounted infantry retained their regimental tunic but replaced their blue trousers with brown cord riding-breeches. Cavalry uniforms, individual to different regiments, were in dashing combinations of scarlet, blue, and white.

Headgear was the light cork sun helmet, covered in white canvas, which was adopted for overseas service in 1877 to replace the blue helmet worn in Europe by infantry, or the ostentatious headgear of the cavalry. It was normally dyed brown with tea when on campaign and the shiny brass shako-plate removed. See also individual units.

DRESS, IMPERIAL MOUNTED UNITS RAISED LOCALLY. Experienced units of imperial mounted troops in South Africa were properly turned out in uniform. Standard headgear was a wideawake (soft-brimmed felt hat) with a red puggaree. Boer commandos (militias) in British service dressed in their everyday clothes. See also individual units.

DRESS, NATAL MOUNTED POLICE. The quasi-military Natal Mounted Police wore tight-fitting black cord tunics trimmed with black braid and fastened with five brass buttons. Their black breeches were tucked into black calf-high boots fastened with six buckled straps. Their white helmets had a dark band, brass spike, and brass monogrammed badge.

DRESS, NATAL VOLUNTEER UNITS. Inconsistent attempts at uniforms based on European patterns were made by the Natal Volunteers Corps and Natal Native Horse, though some of the better-established units were properly turned out. See also individual units.
DRESS, NAVAL BRIGADE. Sailors of the Naval Brigade wore a blue frock and trousers with leather-bound tan canvas gaiters. Officers wore a double-breasted blue frock coat or a single-breasted five-buttoned blue tunic with blue or white trousers and white canvas leggings. Headgear was a blue foreign service helmet, blue cap or broad-brimmed straw sennet hat for sailors, or peaked cap with white cover for officers.

DRESS, ZULU MEN. The ceremonial dress of the amaButho (regiments) that distinguished them one from another was lavish and intricate and contained many rare and fragile feather and skin items supplied through the king’s favor. By the 1870s, when hunting had depleted these materials, dress became simpler. Basic dress consisted of white cow tails fastened around the neck, below the knees, and above the elbows (imiShokobezi). The loin cover evolved by the period of the Anglo-Zulu War to become a bunch of tails in the front and an oblong of cowhide behind. The most valuable and distinctive items were reserved for the headdress. The king and Zulu notables wore the same festival dress as did ordinary amaButho, their status marked by the costliness or profusion of the materials used.

On campaign, most of this precious costume was discarded except for the loin cover and some distinctive elements of headdress. IzinDibi, youths serving as carriers for the army, wore only a loin cover of strips of skin or tails in front and a back flap of leather. Men of status retained more of their festival attire as an indication of rank, as did older, more conservative amaButho. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, almost all of the showy regalia was abandoned, though distinctive headdress feathers, for example, might still identify different amaButho. In the 1880s, members of the uSuthu faction wore the imiShokobezi as a sign of their allegiance to the royal cause. This was a period of transition in Zululand, so traditional dress jostled with articles of Western apparel like wideawake hats, tweed jackets, braided coats, trousers, and gaiters. Most Zulu still preferred not to wear shoes or boots. See also individual units.

DRESS, ZULU WOMEN. For Zulu women, who accompanied the amaButho on campaign for a few days carrying supplies, dress was minimal. Unmarried young women wore an oblong piece of
beadwork or leaves as a frontal covering, or a fringed waistband of skin. Married women wore a short leather skirt, and a skin concealed their breasts until the birth of their first child, or when pregnant. Hair dressing varied from district to district, although that for married women was uniformly more intricate than that of unmarried women. Ornaments of imported beads, copper, or brass were favored by young women at the time of courting though were not worn much when married.

**DRUMMOND, THE HONORABLE WILLIAM (1845–1879).** The second son of the 9th Viscount Strathallan, Drummond went adventuring in southern Africa as a hunter between 1868 and 1872, when he learned Zulu. He returned to Natal in 1876 or 1877 and earned his living as a hunter. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was appointed to Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s headquarters staff. He was put in charge of the Intelligence Department of the Eshowe Relief Column and then acted as interpreter and guide for the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. He was killed in the oNdini iKhanda during the pursuit after Ulundi.

**uDUDUDU iBUTHO.** King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1859 from youths born about 1839. The shield was black with white markings. During the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of the right horn at Isandlwana. Small local elements fought at Nyezane. It was part of the chest at Kambula and attacked the north side of the British infantry square at Ulundi. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, it was stationed near oNdini at the kwaNodwengu iKhanda and was caught up in the uSuthu during the pursuit after Ulundi.

**DUKUDUKU STRONGHOLD.** Dukuduku was the stronghold of Somkhele kaMalanda in the thickly forested and swampy terrain of the northern Zululand coastal plain. Somkhele was a pro-uSuthu inKosi (chief) of the Mphukunyoni people. In August 1883, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Mphukunyoni took refuge at Dukuduku after inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s victory at oNdini when the Mandlakazi and their allies, the Mthethwa, raided their territory. During the uSuthu Rebellion, when in mid-1888 the Mphukunyoni
again felt threatened by the Mandlakazi and the Mthethwa, they temporarily took refuge at Dukuduku once more. On the approach of the Coastal Column in July 1888, the Mphukunyoni and emaNgweni fell back on the stronghold but decided not to defend it, to the relief of Major Alexander Chalmers McKean, who feared his column was not strong enough to attack it without the support of gunboats on St. Lucia Bay. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

kwaDUKUZA iKHANDA. In late 1826, King Shaka kaSenzangakhona established the first iKhanda of this name near the lower Mvoti River, only 45 miles from Port Natal (Durban), to assert his authority in the southern marches of his kingdom. He was assassinated at kwaDukuza on 24 September 1828 and buried there. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona later reestablished the iKhanda in the emaKhosini valley, close to the umuZi of his father, inKosi Senzangakhona kaj ama, and his grandfather, inKosi Jama kaNdaba. It was intended as a spirit home for Shaka, whose shade thereafter dwelled in the company of his ancestors. It was one of the nine amaKhanda burned in the emaKhosini valley on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

inDUNA. See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

DUNN, JOHN ROBERT (1834-1895). Dunn entered Zululand as a trader and hunter in 1853. Even though he fought for the iziGqoza in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, he succeeded in gaining King Cetshwayo kaMpende’s confidence and became his adviser and supplier of firearms. Cetshwayo rewarded him with a large chiefdom in southeastern Zululand. In 1878, Dunn strongly advised Cetshwayo against war with Britain; when accused of treachery by the members of the iBandla (royal council), he crossed over to Natal in December 1878 with his adherents. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Dunn threw in his lot with the British. He rode with the Eshowe Relief Column to organize reconnaissance and to advise on laager procedures, and he was present at Gingindlovu. He then joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in command of the Native Foot Scouts, and he played an important role in negotiating the submission of the coastal chiefs. He advised General Garnet Joseph Wolseley in
devising the 1st Partition of Zululand and was rewarded with a large chiefdom in southeastern Zululand. In the 2nd Partition, Dunn’s chiefdom was incorporated into the Reserve Territory, but he continued to cooperate loyally with the British authorities. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he raised levies (troops) in 1884 to defend the Reserve Territory against uSuthu attacks down the coast. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he raised Dunn’s Native Levy. Until his death, he lived as a “white chief” at his Mangethe and Moyeni homesteads, the quintessential “transfrontiersman.” He was survived by 23 Zulu wives and 79 children.

**DUNN’S NATIVE LEVY.** During the final stages of the uSuthu Rebellion, John Dunn raised a levy to assist the British. On 6 July 1888, 1,500 men of Dunn’s Levy joined the Eshowe Column in its operations while 500 more remained as border guards south of the Mhlathuze River. On 25 July, 2,400 of Dunn’s Levy joined the Coastal Column in its pacification operations and proceeded as far north as Camp Umfolozi. From there, in early August, they collected the cattle fines imposed on the surrendered uSuthu along the coast. They were armed with their traditional spears and shields, though a few carried obsolete muzzle-loading firearms.

**DUNDEE.** By the 1860s, the plentiful coal outcrops in northern Natal were being mined, and by 1878 a tiny hamlet had sprung up on the farm Dundee for the few resident artisans who had been attracted by the workings. The laying out of a proper township began only in 1882. In May 1879, during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, Dundee, which fell into Colonial Defensive District No. I, became the depot for the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and Fort Jones was built to protect the stores accumulating there.

**DURBAN.** The first permanent white settlement in southeast Africa was established at Port Natal in 1824 by white hunter-traders from the Cape. In August 1824, they opened communications with King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, who allowed them to occupy and exercise authority over the land surrounding Port Natal as tributary amaKhosi. After 1832, other traders from the Cape joined them, and by 1838 the population of whites had increased to about 40. King
Dingane kaSenzangakhona was uncertain how best to deal with these intruders in his realm, and crises in relations occurred in 1831 and in 1833, when the traders temporarily fled Port Natal for fear of Zulu attack. In 1835, a township was laid out on the north side of the bay, and Port Natal was officially renamed Durban, though it continued to be known as Port Natal for years afterward.

The Port Natal traders allied with the Voortrekkers in 1837 and fought on their side in the Voortrekker-Zulu War. After the disastrous defeat at the battle of Thukela, the remaining whites took refuge on the brig Comet anchored in the bay. On 24 April 1838, the Zulu army swept down on the settlement and put it to sack for nine days. The returning settlers had to rebuild the village from scratch. On 16 May 1838, the Voortrekkers annexed Port Natal to the Republic of Natalia and started laying out their rival settlement of Congella on the bay half a mile to the west. Concerned that the policies of the Republic of Natalia would adversely affect the stability of the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, the Cape government sent a detachment of the 72nd Regiment (Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders) under Major Samuel Charters to occupy Port Natal. They arrived on 4 December 1838 and built Fort Victoria on the point. The British garrison withdrew on 24 December 1839 once it seemed the Republic of Natalia’s relations with its African neighbors had normalized.

When it became apparent that the Republic of Natalia’s policies continued to pose a threat to the Cape, a detachment of the 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment and Royal Artillery under Captain Thomas Charleton Smith was sent overland from the Cape to occupy Natal. The British troops took possession of Port Natal on 4 May 1842, and the Boers decided to resist. On 23 May, they defeated the British in a night skirmish at Congella and besieged them in Smith’s Camp until the British were relieved on 25 June 1842 by five companies of the 25th Regiment (King’s Own Borderers) under Lieutenant-Colonel Josias Cloete, which arrived by sea. The Boers withdrew and capitulated on 5 July 1842.

With the establishment of British rule in Natal, new British settlers clustered particularly in Durban, which became the new colony’s trading, banking, manufacturing, and commercial center and the terminus by the late 1860s of the lucrative Overberg trade to the Kimberley diamond fields, Orange Free State, and South African
Republic. By 1878, its population stood at 5,300 whites and 3,500 Africans. During the Anglo-Zulu War, almost all of the men and material for the British campaign passed through its port. See also DURBAN HARBOR.

DURBAN HARBOR. Although 19th-century Durban possessed in its bay a perfect natural harbor essential for the success of the Natal economy, it remained inaccessible to most oceangoing vessels because of the notorious sandbar across its entrance between the Point in the north and the Bluff in the south. Not until 1881 were proper measures taken to remove this obstacle through the gradual construction of breakwaters, and to make the bay more accessible to larger ships through effective dredging. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, all but smaller ships with a shallow draft had to remain in the outer anchorage, and men, horses, and supplies had to be brought through the surf to shore by lighter. See also LOGISTICS, BRITISH.

DURBAN MOUNTED RESERVE. In late November 1878, Harry Escombe, a Durban lawyer, organized the Durban Mounted Reserve from 40 volunteers in the town to take the place of the Natal Mounted Volunteers who had taken the field in the Anglo-Zulu War. On the news of Isandlwana, the unit initially moved north to the Mdloti River to give warning of Zulu attack. In early February 1879, it moved back closer to Durban and took up position at Kennedy’s Drift across the Mngeni River. It remained there until 3 March, when the unit was dissolved.

DURBAN MOUNTED RIFLES. Formed in 1873, the Durban Mounted Rifles was one of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. In December 1878, the corps of about 30 troopers joined No. 1 Column at Fort Pearson. It advanced with the column but was absent on convoy duty during the battle of Nyezane. On 28 January, it returned from Fort Eshowe to Natal with the other mounted men of the column. Until the corps was mustered out in July, it served by patrolling the border along the lines of communication between Fort Pearson, Stanger, and Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive Districts VI and VII, and it participated in cross-border
raids. A number of its men volunteered for service in the Natal Volunteer Guides. Its uniform was of dark blue cloth with black facings and scarlet piping, black trouser stripes, and a white helmet with a spike.

**DURBAN REDOUBT (“OLD FORT”).** The 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment that relieved Smith’s Camp north of Durban on 25 June 1842 from siege by the Boers swept away the entrenched wagon laager and replaced it with a proper fort that commanded the northern approaches to the port. They constructed a square of wattle and daub barracks surrounded by an earthwork wall with two flanking bastions. By 1845, the earthworks were increased in height, and a brick magazine was built. In 1858, brick barracks were erected, and British troops continued to garrison the fort until 1897. See also DURBAN TOWN LAAGER.

**DURBAN TOWN LAAGER.** In the panic after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the townspeople of Durban clamored for the town to be entirely encircled by fortifications. Instead, the military decided to follow the principles for the defense of an open town, which required holding key buildings not linked by continuous barricades. Accordingly, substantial edifices like the court house, market house, jail, and various shops and warehouses were prepared for defense by storing ammunition inside, loopholing walls and doors, and sandbagging parapets. The British garrison of Durban, units of the Natal Volunteer Corps and the Durban Town Guard (incorporating the Natal Coast Rifle Association), were assigned to defend the fortified buildings and the civilians who took refuge inside. By April 1879, all fears of a Zulu invasion had passed and these defensive arrangements were abandoned. See also DURBAN REDOUBT; POINT LAAGER; WESTERN VLEI REDOUBT.

**DURBAN VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.** The single artillery corps of the Natal Volunteer Corps was not initially mobilized with other colonial units for the Anglo-Zulu War. After Isandlwana, when Durban seemed in danger of Zulu attack, the corps of 75 men with two guns was posted until the end of February 1879 at the Eastern
Vlei near the Durban Redoubt, and then at the Point laager until it was disbanded on 12 March.

DURNFORD, ANTHONY WILLIAM (1830-1879). Commissioned into the Royal Engineers in 1848, Durnford was posted to Ceylon in 1851 and also served in Malta, Gibraltar, Ireland, and England. He was promoted to major and posted to Natal in 1872. He served during the Langalibalele Rebellion of 1873, when he was much blamed by the colonists for the debacle at the Bushman’s River Pass. Promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1873, between 1873 and 1875 he acted as colonial engineer for Natal. In 1878, he sat on the Zululand Boundary Commission. Durnford was promoted to brevet colonel in December 1878 and raised and commanded the 1st Regiment of the Natal Native Contingent. For the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, he was given command of No. 2 Column. On 22 January 1879, he reinforced the camp of No. 3 Column at Isandlwana with part of his force. He was killed in the battle, and subsequently much of the blame for the defeat was fastened on him by Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford and his staff, who were determined to make him the scapegoat.

DUTCH BURGHERS. See TRANSVAAL BURGHER FORCE.

kwaDWASA umuZI. On 28 August 1879, at the very end of the Anglo-Zulu War, a mounted patrol from Clarke’s Column led by Major Richard James Coombe Marter captured the fugitive King Cetshwayo kaMpende at this umuZi (homestead) deep in the Ngome Forest in northern Zululand.

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EASTERN CAPE. The settlers of the far-flung eastern frontier regions of the Cape Colony had a long tradition of resenting the political supremacy of distant Cape Town and developed a culture of separatism fostered by their particular concern with security issues during the Cape Frontier Wars. For a time the British responded administratively to this particularism by appointing a commissioner-general
of the eastern districts between 1827 and 1833, and a lieutenant-governor of the Eastern Cape between 1836 and 1847. It was from this region of disaffected frontier farmers that the Voortrekkers were mainly drawn.

**EASTERN ZULULAND.** On 16 August 1884, when King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo ceded northwestern Zululand for the establishment of the New Republic, he also agreed that the Boers would extend a protectorate over the rest of Zululand north of the Reserve Territory, to be known as Eastern Zululand. Now no more than a nominal king in the hands of the Boers, Dinuzulu could do nothing to protect his people as the Boers fanned out into Eastern Zululand, making further extensive land claims in 1885 and 1886. Driven from their lands, the uSuthu took refuge in their fastnesses or began to resist, bringing on themselves savage Boer retaliation. As part of the price for British recognition on 22 October 1886, the New Republic dropped all claims to a protectorate over Eastern Zululand.

**ECKERSLEY, JOHN.** A white trader in Zululand, in January 1880 Eckersley joined Johannes Wilhelm Colenbrander in inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s chiefdom. Until 1883, he acted as secretary for both Zibhebhu and umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe in their correspondence with the Natal authorities. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he fought at Msebe and oNdini as one of the white mercenaries with Zibhebhu’s forces.

**EDENDALE HORSE.** In December 1878, the African Christians of the Wesleyan mission community at Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg raised an excellent troop of well-disciplined irregular cavalry for the Natal Native Mounted Contingent. During the Anglo-Zulu War, they formed part of No. 2 Column and fought at Isandlwana. In the reorganization of February 1879, they became a troop in the Natal Native Horse and joined No. 4 Column, subsequently Wood’s Flying Column, and fought at Hlobane, Khambula, and as part of the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, they returned home and were disbanded.
ENTONJANENI CAMP. On 22 August 1887, British troops of the Zululand garrison moved forward from Eshowe to a camp on the Mthonjaneni Heights to secure the line of communications to the Ndwanwe District of the new British colony of Zululand, where the uSuthu were disaffected, and to ensure swift military intervention if required. There they built a large, circular, earthwork fort and smaller, supporting earthworks. In early June 1888, following the outbreak of the uSuthu Rebellion, reinforcements from the Natal garrison moved up to the Entonjaneni Camp. During the rest of June and July, small detachments remained there while the main body of troops moved forward to the Nkonjeni Camp. When after the suppression of the rebellion the Zululand garrison was reduced in November 1888 to its normal levels, Entonjaneni remained its forward base.

ENTONJANENI LEVY. Raised in late June 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, the 500 men of the Entonjaneni Levy under John Locke Knight, the resident magistrate of the Entonjaneni District in British Zululand, were with the forces on Lumbe Mountain that supported the British assault on Hlophekhulu Mountain. On 18 July, they went out of control at Knight’s magisterial post at Mfule, burning the imiZi of “loyal” Zulu and rustling 300 head of cattle. They were armed with their traditional spears and shields, though a few carried obsolete muzzle-loading firearms.

ERMELO FORT (DÖHNE’S LAAGER). This square, stonework laager with two opposing bastions in Colonial Defensive District No. I was begun in January 1878 on the initiative of the local settlers, and in late 1878 arrangements were made for its defense. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it was briefly used by some farmers during their flight out of the district in the panic after Isandlwana.

ESHOWE. In 1860, umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpende built an umuZi, eziQwaqeni, on the site of the future town of Eshowe. In 1861, Ommund Christiansen Oftebro, the superintendent of the Norwegian Mission Society, established his mission station, kwa-Mondi, in the vicinity. He abandoned kwaMondi in March 1878
when relations with Cetshwayo deteriorated. During the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 1 Column occupied the buildings between January and April 1879 and built Fort Eshowe. On the British withdrawal in April, the Zulu burned the mission buildings. In 1883, Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory, established his post close by. When Zululand was annexed as a British colony in May 1887, Eshowe became the seat of the administration and the headquarters of the British Zululand garrison and the Zululand Police. By the 1890s, about 100 white civilians lived there in dwellings made of wood and iron.

ESHOWE COLUMN. On 6 July 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, Major Alexander Chalmers McKean formed a column at Camp Kongella to relieve Fort Andries, which was under uSuthu attack. The Eshowe Column consisted of 251 British regulars drawn from Nkonjeni and Eshowe, 180 Mounted Basutos, and about 1,500 men of Dunn’s Native Levy. The column advanced on 7 July, brushing aside some weak uSuthu resistance, and relieved Fort Andries on 9 July. While Fort Andries was being replaced with the better-built Fort McKean, Dunn’s Native Levy raided the surrounding countryside. On 11 July, the column began its return in three divisions: the British troops kept to the road, the Mounted Basutos scoured the countryside to the southwest, and Dunn’s levies ranged between the two detachments. The column encountered no resistance on the way but burned 180 deserted imiZi. It reached Eshowe on 13 July. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

ESHOWE LEVY. Raised in June 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion from Zulu living in the Eshowe District of the British colony of Zululand, and paid for by the Zululand administration, the African Eshowe Levy was placed under white leaders and was subject to some military discipline. Stationed at Nkonjeni, 1,000 of the levy took part in the storming of Hlophekhulu Mountain, but on 14 July all but 150 of them deserted. In August, this remnant was incorporated into Carrington’s Levy and took part in the operations of Martin’s Flying Column. They were armed with their traditional spears and shields, though a few carried obsolete muzzle-loading firearms.
ESHOWE RELIEF COLUMN. Before Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford could renew his offensive after the failure of the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, it was necessary to relieve No. 1 Column, beleaguered in Fort Eshowe. On 23 March 1879, Chelmsford took command of the Eshowe Relief Column of 5,670 men assembled at Fort Pearson. While forces stationed along the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers in Colonial Defensive Districts VI and VII mounted demonstrations to divert Zulu attention, the column began its advance into Zululand on 29 March. To rectify the deficiencies that had led to the Isandlwana disaster, Chelmsford organized effective forward reconnaissance and followed regular laagering procedures on the march. The Zulu army attacked the column’s entrenched laager at Gingindlovu on 2 April and was routed. The column relieved Eshowe the next day, and while the garrison withdrew on 4 April, a patrol destroyed the eZuluwini umuZi nearby. The column formed a new entrenched camp a mile south of the Gingindlovu laager on 6 April, and on 13 April it became the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, that was preparing to advance up the Zulu coast during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

ESTCOURT LAAGER. In early January 1879, shortly before the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War, the Natal government proclaimed the laager outside the village of Estcourt in Colonial Defensive District No. II as the central defensive post for the settlers of the region. It consisted of a blockhouse (Fort Durnford) erected in 1874 for the Natal Mounted Police, three associated loopholed guardhouses, and a stables block built in 1876. The buildings were connected in 1878 by an eight-foot-high stone wall to form a large enclosure. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the laager was further strengthened (which included leveling a small hill that overlooked it), and it was stocked with arms and ammunition. It was recognized, however, that the laager was far too big for defense by the Weenen County Rifle Association and the small number of settlers expected to take refuge there. It continued to be used as barracks for the Natal Mounted Police until 1900.

ESHOWE COLUMN. In September 1883, the officer in command of Natal, Colonel W. D. Bond, became alarmed at the course of the 3rd
Zulu Civil War and resolved to send troops of the Natal garrison to Eshowe to support Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory. The Etshowe Column of 529 British regulars under Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Montgomery assembled at Fort Pearson and began its advance on 20 September, reaching Eshowe on 29 September. When Montgomery died of a snake bite, he was succeeded on 25 September by Lieutenant-Colonel R. J. Hawthorne, who commenced Fort Curtis outside Eshowe, which the column garrisoned. In May 1884, troops from Fort Curtis built Fort Chater to support Osborn’s Levies operating against the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest. The deteriorating situation in the Reserve Territory required that the Etshowe Column be reinforced, and by 27 May the troops garrisoning Fort Curtis were brought up to 800 men under the command of Colonel Francis George Savage Curtis.

EUPHORBIA HILL REDOUBT. This small, earthwork redoubt close to Fort Pearson was where the Naval Brigade encamped during the Anglo-Zulu War.

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FAIRLIE’S SWAZI. This small force of African levies (troops) raised in the Transvaal served in the Anglo-Zulu War with No. 5 Column. It took part in the raid of 15 February against the abaQulusi on Talaku Mountain. It seems that once No. 5 Column was attached in late February to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s command they were incorporated into Wood’s Irregulars.

uFALAZA iBUTHO. Formed by King Cetshwayo kaMpondi in 1877 from youths born in 1856–1858, this iButho (regiment) was then called uMsizi. It took no part in the Anglo-Zulu War, but when Cetshwayo was restored in 1883 after the 2nd Partition of Zululand, he exercised his former authority to reconstitute and rename the iButho. Since the uFalaza was raised only from young men in Cetshwayo’s truncated territory and not from the entire kingdom as formerly, it was in effect a military unit of the uSuthu faction, and it took an active role in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. On 24 June 1883, it was beaten
back by the Ngenetsheni supported by the Mandlakazi when it raided umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe’s stronghold on Ngotshe Mountain. On 4 July, the uFalaza was part of an uSuthu force that defeated the Mandlakazi in a skirmish at the Dlomodlomo Hills in northern Zululand. At oNdini, it formed the uSuthu left horn and was routed. It formed part of the uSuthu army at the victory at Tshaneni in 1884. In victorious engagements in the uSuthu Rebellion, it fought on the uSuthu right horn at Ceza, and on the right of the chest at Ivuna.

FIELD CORNET. The primary duties of a field cornet (or veldkornet) were to ensure that the burghers in his ward or district were combat ready, to muster them in wartime into the local commando (militia), and to commandeer transport and supplies. On campaign, he acted as a subordinate officer to the commandant (kommandant). He was an elected official, but because the vote was not secret, influential local notables invariably secured nomination.

FIREARMS, BOER. The Voortrekkers in the 1830s and 1840s normally carried a voorlaaier, or muzzle-loading musket, known as a snaphaan when it was a flintlock. Flints were preferred because percussion caps were difficult to come by in the interior of South Africa. Single- or double-barreled fowling pieces firing buckshot were in common use, as were heavier muskets of various calibers, including the heavy elephant gun. Generically known as Sannas, these flintlock muskets were tolerably accurate only up to about 80 yards, and the rate of fire was no more than four shots a minute at best. Nevertheless, they proved most effective in breaking up a massed attack on a wagon laager because the Boers fired and loaded in rotation, keeping up a constant wall of fire. Boers carried their powder in an ox or buffalo horn sawn off at the tip and fitted with a measure. It was attached to the waist belt. Buckshot slugs were set in cylinders of hard fat or sewn into oiled buckskin bags, loopers, that slid easily down the barrel and would explode at about 40 yards. Loopers, musket balls, and wadding were carried in the pockets of a broad leather bandolier.

By the 1840s, the Boers of the interior of South Africa began increasingly to adopt percussion-cap muskets and rifles in place of their old flintlocks, and powder-horns were replaced by cartouche
pouches and belts with cap pouches. By the 1870s, most were armed with breech-loading rifles and carbines and carried their cartridges in leather bandoliers or in pouches sewn onto their waistcoats.

Voortrekkers occasionally carried muzzle-loading flintlock pistols, but they were inaccurate and ineffective except at very short range.

**FIREARMS, ZULU.** In the Voortrekker-Zulu War, some Zulu had firearms captured in successful engagements, but they lacked skill in effective use. In the 1st Zulu Civil War, neither side apparently made use of them, though in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the iziGqoza were supported at Ndondakusuka by the iziNqobo with their firearms. From the 1860s, firearms began entering Zululand through Delagoa Bay and Natal. By 1878, there were about 12,000 inferior, obsolete weapons like muzzle-loading flintlock muskets, as well as some 7,500 percussion-cap and 500 breech-loading rifles reserved for men of higher status. In recognition of the power and prestige conferred by firearms, the king always attempted to regulate their distribution to favored individuals and amaButho. Most Zulu preferred to rely on their traditional weapons and tactics, and tended to employ firearms as secondary weapons in place of throwing-spears, to be cast aside when hand-to-hand fighting ensued. Muskets were in any case inferior, inaccurate weapons, especially when gunpowder was of poor quality, the improvised bullets of irregular shape, and amaButho untrained in their effective use. Marksmanship was consequently very poor, with Zulu firing while out of range or shooting high.

By the 1870s, several hundred Zulu were familiar with modern firearms through contact with white hunters, traders, and adventurers in Zululand. They made effective snipers during the Anglo-Zulu War and made good use of Martini-Henry rifles captured from the British. Most of these rifles were surrendered to the British at the end of the war. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, firearms were more in evidence, especially among the Mandlkazi faction that had closer contacts with Europeans than the uSuthu. Nevertheless, modern rifles were still in the minority on both sides, and most Zulu firearms continued to be muzzle-loaders.

**FORBES, ARCHIBALD (1838-1900).** In 1867, Forbes left the British cavalry to pursue journalism. From 1870, he was a special
correspondent to the Daily News, reporting on the Franco-Prussian, Carlist, Serbian, Russo-Turkish, and Afghan wars. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he reported critically on the advance of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and relations between him and Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s staff became strained. His “ride of death” brought the news of Ulundi to the public ahead of Chelmsford’s official dispatch, and Chelmsford was instrumental in denying him the South Africa Medal for the exploit. In retaliation, Forbes published damaging attacks on Chelmsford’s generalship. Having established himself as the leading special correspondent of his time, Forbes covered no more campaigns but lectured and wrote reminiscences.

FORT ALBERT. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Wood’s Flying Column, on withdrawing after Ulundi, built this earthwork fort on 11–12 July 1879 close by the Anglican kwaMagwaza mission in Zululand to secure its line of supply to the coast. The small garrison it left behind was relieved when Baker Russell’s Column passed through on 27 July 1879. This was withdrawn in turn when the column reached the Transvaal in early September 1879. During the uSuthu Rebellion, a small detachment of British troops from the Natal garrison reoccupied the fort between June and September 1888.

FORT AMIEL. In June 1877, the British built this stone-walled fort, which commanded the village of Newcastle, as a base for troops involved in the annexation of the Transvaal. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the fort, now in Colonial Defensive District No. I, served as a rear depot and hospital for No. 4 Column. The fort continued in use by the British during the 1st Boer War (1880–1881) and the Anglo-Boer (South African) War (1899–1902), when it was greatly extended.

FORT ANDRIES. In June 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, Andries Pretorius, the resident magistrate of the Lower Umfolosi District in the British colony of Zululand, hurriedly threw up two small earthworks flanking his magistracy office built on the lower slopes of Ntondotha Hill. He and the garrison of 40 Zululand Police, aided by Mthethwa auxiliaries, beat off an uSuthu attack on 30
June 1888 in the battle of Ntandotha. The Eshowe Column relieved the post on 9 July.

**FORT ARGYLL.** In the last stages of the Anglo-Zulu War, the 91st Regiment (Princess Louise’s Argyllshire Highlanders) with the 1st Division, South African Field Force, built this earthwork fort as an advance post commanding the drift across the Mhlathuze River and garrisoned it between 24 July and 14 September 1879.

**FORT AYR.** During the advance of Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, detachments were sent on 26 April 1879 to cut wood for fuel on the Doornberg, where they built this earthwork fort. They were followed on 8 May by detachments from the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, that improved the fortifications and formed a wagon laager as well. By 29 May, all troops had left the Doornberg.

**FORT BENGOUGH.** This fort in Colonial Defensive District No. I, with loopholed, rough stone walls 15 feet high, was built during the Anglo-Zulu War in the fortnight after Isandlwana by the 2nd Battalion, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), on the road between Grey-town and Helpmekaar. The central, square section was the magazine. The white officers camped in one of the flanking sections, and their black troops in the other and in huts below the fort. The NNC actively patrolled the vicinity until they left the fort in May 1879 to join the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. Some of the local Border Guard may have partially occupied the fort after they had gone.

**FORT BUCKINGHAM.** In July 1861, during the Zulu Invasion Scare, troops of the Natal garrison built this earthwork fort on the escarpment overlooking the middle Thukela River. In 1863, when it was reconstructed and garrisoned, it consisted of a collection of wattle-and-daub huts surrounded by a sod parapet and palisade bastions. It was abandoned after 1868 and was in ruins by 1878. During the Anglo-Zulu War, troops operating in Colonial Defensive District No. VII occasionally used it as an outpost but never reoccupied it. The fort was altered in September 1901 during the Anglo-Boer
(South African) War by Natal colonial units anticipating a Boer raid, and again during the Zulu Uprising of 1906.

FORT CAMBRIDGE. These two earthwork redoubts were thrown up on 26 July 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, and Baker Russell’s Column encamped there from 5 to 9 August, sending out patrols to enforce Zulu submissions. When the column continued its advance, it left a garrison to secure the area until the British evacuated Zululand in September 1879.

FORT CHATER. In May 1883 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu repulsed the local forces raised by Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory, in the battle of the Nkandla Forest. Osborn’s men fell back on Fort Chater, an earthwork hastily thrown up by British troops of the Natal garrison stationed at Fort Curtis. Fort Chater was close to Entumeni, a Norwegian mission station, and barred the way to Eshowe, the seat of Osborn’s administration, against the uSuthu in the Nkandla. During mid-1884, British troops reinforced the African levies holding this strategic post. The uSuthu in the Nkandla submitted in early September 1884, and the British garrison of Fort Chater was reduced. The fort was abandoned in May 1887 when the Reserve Territory became part of the colony of Zululand.

FORT CHELMSFORD. During the Anglo-Zulu War, men of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, began this earthwork fort on 25 June 1879 as an advanced post and depot along the line of the division’s advance. It was garrisoned by detachments of the 1st Division until early August 1879.

FORT CHERRY. This large, irregularly shaped earthwork fort in Colonial Defensive District No. VII was hastily constructed during the Anglo-Zulu War in the panic after Isandlwana, and it was strengthened thereafter. It was garrisoned by the 1st and 3rd Battalions of the Natal Native Contingent until the end of September 1879. D’Almaine’s fortified farmhouse on the hill close by was used by the garrison as a storehouse.
FORT CLERY. During November 1878, the detachment of the 90th Regiment (Perthshire Volunteers Light Infantry) from the Utrecht garrison that had been garrisoning the Luneburg laager since October built this military earthwork fort nearby for their own use. During the Anglo-Zulu War, succeeding detachments of No. 4 and No. 5 Columns relieved each other at the fort until July 1879.

FORT CREALOCK. Men of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, began this earthwork fort on 23 April 1879 as an advanced post and depot along the line of the division’s advance during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. It was garrisoned by detachments of the 1st Division until early August 1879.

FORT CROSS. In July 1861 during the Zulu Invasion Scare, a slight defensive work was thrown up at Balcomb’s farm in Natal on a strategically placed hill overlooking the Thukela valley. On about 10 May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, a detachment of the Ixopo Native Contingent (INC) encamped at Balcomb’s, and in late June or early July, following the Zulu raid at Middle Drift in Colonial Defensive District No. VII, they constructed a rectangular earthwork fort with two opposing bastions in order to protect their camp. Fort Cross was garrisoned by the INC until they were withdrawn on 26 August 1879.

FORT CURTIS. Constructed in October 1883 by the Etshowe Column as the Natal garrison’s headquarters in the Reserve Territory close to the Eshowe Mission Station, this fort consisted of a permanent earthwork lunette commanding a timber stockade riveted with sods and surrounded by a ditch and barbed-wire entanglements. With the surrender of the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest in September 1884 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the garrison was reduced. In August 1887, the Zululand garrison was again increased because of uSuthu disaffection with the British annexation of Zululand. During the uSuthu Rebellion of 1888, the fort remained the British base for operations in Zululand. When the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level in November 1888, nearly half the remaining British troops were concentrated there.
FORT DURNFORD. In the period of alarm following the Langalibalele Rebellion of 1873 in Natal, the Natal government decided in 1874 to build a permanent fort overlooking the village of Estcourt. Designed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony William Durnford, the acting colonial engineer, the blockhouse was two stories high, with two flanking towers and water storage tanks in the basement. A detachment of Natal Mounted Police was stationed there. In 1878, it was linked by stone walls to stables and blockhouses to form the Estcourt laager. The Natal Mounted Police continued to be stationed there until 1900.

FORT ESHOWE. After fighting through a Zulu ambush at Nyezane during the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 1 Column halted at the abandoned Norwegian mission station at Eshowe and between 23 and 30 January 1879 built this earthwork fort there. The church was turned into a hospital and the other buildings given over to stores. On news of Isandlwana, Colonel Charles Knight Pearson decided to hold fast at Eshowe with the infantry, and he sent his mounted men, African levies, and oxen back to Natal. The Zulu blockaded the garrison until it was relieved on 3 April 1879 by the Eshowe Relief Column. The fort was abandoned on 4 April. A small detachment of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, was briefly stationed there between mid-July and early August 1879.

FORT EVELYN. Men of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, built this stone fort on 22–23 June 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War at their camp along their line of supply and communication back to Fort Marshall. The depot was abandoned after Baker Russell’s Column passed through in late July 1879 on its way to the Transvaal.

FORT FROOM. In May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, a detachment of the 94th Regiment relieved the garrison of Greytown in Colonial Defensive District No. VII and replaced the existing military earthwork, Fort Moore, with Fort Froom. The detachment of the 94th Regiment was replaced in August 1879 by a detachment of the 99th (Duke of Edinburgh’s Lanarkshire) Regiment that now formed part of the permanent British garrison of Natal.
FORT GEORGE. These two earthwork supporting redoubts were built on 10 August 1879 during the last stages of the Anglo-Zulu War by Baker Russell’s Column as a forward base while it probed across the Black Mfolozi River from Fort Cambridge, sending out patrols to secure Zulu submissions. The column continued its advance on 25 August 1879, leaving a garrison at Fort George that was withdrawn in September 1879.

FORT JONES. This earthwork fort was built in early May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War to protect the main supply depot of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, at the little settlement of Dundee in Colonial Defensive District No. I. It enclosed the three galvanized iron commissariat sheds that were moved there from Helpmekaar when that fort ceased in April 1879 to be an important depot with the mounting of the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. Fort Jones was garrisoned until July 1879 by detachments of the 2nd Division.

FORT KHAMBULA. During the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 4 Column built a small redoubt between 11 and 13 February 1879 to command its entrenched camp, begun on 27 January and relocated higher up the Kambula spur on 11 February. Effective patrols from Kambula maintained the British initiative in northwestern Zululand after the failure of the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. The fort played a key role in the defense of the British position during the battle of Kambula. It was abandoned when Wood’s Flying Column began its advance on 5 May 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the war.

FORT LAWRENCE. This earthwork fort was built on 8 May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War at the Widow Potgieter’s farm in the Disputed Territory by a detachment of the 2nd Battalion, 4th (King’s Own Royal) Regiment, that had been distributed in reserve among posts to the rear of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the war. It is likely the detachment garrisoned Fort Lawrence until September 1879.

FORT LIDDLE. In early July 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, following the Zulu raid at Middle Drift in Colonial Defensive District
No. VII, a detachment of the **Ixopo Native Contingent** (INC) constructed this rectangular earthwork fort with two opposing bastions in order to bolster the frontier defenses. The fort was garrisoned until the INC was withdrawn on 26 August 1879.

**FORT LUCAS.** In May 1879, Captain George Lucas, commandant of **Colonial Defensive District** No. VI, built this earthwork fort as headquarters for his **Border Guard** during the **Anglo-Zulu War**.

**FORT MARSHALL.** On 18 June 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the **Anglo-Zulu War**, the 2nd Division, **South African Field Force**, and **Wood’s Flying Column** built this earthwork fort on their line of communications back to **Fort Newdigate**. It consisted of three connected five-sided enclosures. It was garrisoned by various detachments, including cavalry, to protect the line forward. The 2nd Division was formally broken up nearby on 26 July 1879 after its withdrawal after the battle of **Ulundi**, although the garrison was maintained until convoys could bring out unconsumed supplies. The depot was abandoned in early August 1879 after **Baker Russell’s Column** passed through on its way to the Transvaal.

**FORT MCKEAN.** On 9 July 1888 during the **uSuthu Rebellion**, the **Eshowe Column** relieved **Fort Andries** and the magistracy in the Lower Umfolosi District in the Colony of **Zululand**. It replaced the fort with a more professionally constructed military earthwork called Fort McKean that was temporarily garrisoned by **Mounted Basutos**. When in late July 1888 the Mounted Basutos joined the advance of the **Coastal Column**, they left a small detachment of **Zululand Police** to defend the fort.

**FORT MELVILL.** Built in the **Anglo-Zulu War** between March and May 1879 by detachments of the former No. 3 **Column** broken up after **Isandlwana**, this stone-walled fort overlooked the Mzinyathi River at Rorke’s Drift. It superseded the fortified mission station, **Rorke’s Drift Fort**, whose stores and troops were transferred to the new fort. Fort Melvill was garrisoned until early September 1879.

**FORT MIZPAH.** See **UVOTI LAAGER**.
FORT MONTGOMERY. Men of the 1st Battalion, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), threw up this earthwork fort to secure Middle Drift across the Thukela River during the border demonstrations from 25 March to 11 April 1879 undertaken during the Anglo-Zulu War by the forces in Colonial Defensive District No. VII to coordinate with the advance of the Eshowe Relief Column. The fort was then left unoccupied until after the Zulu raid at Middle Drift on 25 June 1879. A detachment of the NNC was sent to garrison and strengthen the fort on 30 June, and it probably remained there until the NNC was disbanded at the end of September 1879.

FORT MOORE. In January 1879, a detachment of the 2nd Battalion, 4th (King’s Own Royal) Regiment, which during the Anglo-Zulu War formed the British garrison of Greytown in Colonial Defensive District No. VII, built this earthwork adjoining the civilian Greytown laager. The garrison was relieved in May 1879, and Fort Froom was erected in Fort Moore’s place.

FORT NAPIER. The Fort Napier military station was the headquarters of the permanent British Natal garrison from 1 September 1843 until 12 August 1914. The fort was begun in September 1843 on a hill commanding Pietermaritzburg from the west. By 1845, it consisted of a rectangle of brick barracks, whose windowless outer walls were loopholed for defense, flanked by two stone bastions at opposite corners with guns on revolving platforms. During the Zulu Invasion Scare of 1861 when most of the garrison was deployed on the Zululand border, the alarmed citizens of Pietermaritzburg moved close to the fort, and units of the Natal Volunteer Corps manned the redoubts. A new building program was begun in August 1876 because facilities and accommodation in the fort were reported lacking, and because growing tensions in southern Africa indicated that better defenses were required. A 10-foot-deep trench with corresponding earthwork walls was built to enclose the barracks and other buildings. Stone redoubts and gun emplacements were built at various angles of the new earthworks, and the main roadways to the fort were protected by drawbridges. In the panic after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, plans were made for the white women and children of Pietermaritzburg to take shelter in the fort with the
soldiers of the garrison while the men of the town were to defend the Pietermaritzburg laager.

**FORT NAPOLEON.** During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, as part of the Conference Hill fortifications, the 1st Division, South African Field Force, started this square, earthwork redoubt on 25 June 1879 to cover the pontoon bridge across the Mlalazi River.

**FORT NEWDIGATE.** On 6 June 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, built this stone-walled fort on its line of supply and communication back to Fort Warwick. Wood’s Flying Column joined the 2nd Division there on 18 June for their joint advance in the 2nd Invasion of the war. Various detachments, including cavalry, garrisoned the fort and depot to maintain communications. On its withdrawal after Ulundi, the 2nd Division halted there on 18 July. Until Baker Russell’s Column passed through in early August 1879 on its way to the Transvaal, the garrison was maintained to ensure unconsumed supplies were brought out of Zululand.

**FORT NOLELA.** See FORT ULUNDI.

**FORT NORTHAMPTON.** In June 1884 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, troops of the Natal garrison built and garrisoned Fort Northampton in the Reserve Territory, just north across the Mzin-yathi River from Rorke’s Drift, to provide a military point of entry for supporting operations against the uSuthu in the Reserve Territory to the west of the Nkandla Forest. It consisted of a dry-stone parapet and mealie-bag traverses. A small garrison remained after the submission of the uSuthu in September 1884, but it was withdrawn in May 1887 when the Reserve Territory became part of the British colony of Zululand.

**FORT PEARSON.** In November 1878, detachments of No. 1 Column built and garrisoned this earthwork fort and two small redoubts to command the lower drift over the Thukela River. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Fort Pearson acted as the base and main supply depot
for No. 1 Column in January 1879, the **Eshowe Relief Column** in March, and the 1st Division, **South African Field Force**, in April. During April and May, the fort was strengthened to cover the pont (rope-hauled ferry) and pontoon bridge constructed across the lower Thukela. Its garrison was withdrawn in September 1879. The fort was briefly used again in late September 1883 during the 3rd **Zulu Civil War** when the **Etshowe Column** concentrated there preparatory to advancing into the **Reserve Territory**.

**FORT PIET UYS.** During the **Anglo-Zulu War**, **Baker Russell’s Column** built the stonework fort in August 1879 below **Hlobane Mountain** to forestall **abaQulusi** resistance and to protect the stores brought up from **Fort Cambridge**, its previous base. When it resumed its advance on 1 September, the column left a small garrison there until it reached the Transvaal in the second week of September 1879.

**FORT PINE.** Begun in 1878 by the **Natal** government in **Colonial Defensive District** No. I, this solid fort with loopholed stone walls 14 feet high and two opposed bastions was originally intended as a post for the **Natal Mounted Police**, but the **Buffalo Border Guard** made it their headquarters instead. After **Isandlwana** during the **Anglo-Zulu War**, it was entirely filled with panicked refugees from the locality. They did not finally leave until May 1879. Units of the **Natal Mounted Volunteers** garrisoned the fort from early February until July 1879 and regularly patrolled the surrounding countryside.

**FORT RICHARDS.** This earthwork fort was begun on 1 July 1879 during the **Anglo-Zulu War** by men of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, **South African Field Force**, to command the landing place and camp at **Port Durnford**. It was apparently never completed.

**FORT SCOTT.** This fort was built in 1857 on the northern **Natal** coastal plain by the **Natal garrison** as a defense against possible Zulu incursions. It was abandoned by the 1870s.

**FORT TENEDOS.** Between 13 and 17 January 1879 during the **Anglo-Zulu War**, No. 1 **Column** built and garrisoned this earthwork
fort on the Zulu bank of the Thukela River across from Fort Pearson. It was abandoned in July 1879 with the withdrawal of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, from Zululand.

**FORT TINTA.** On 21 January 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the advancing No. 4 Column built and garrisoned this stone fort overlooking Tinta’s Drift across the White Mfolozi. From this base, the column sent out strong patrols on 22 January against Mbilini waMswati on Hlobane Mountain, and on 24 January against the ebaQulusini iKhanda. On learning of Isandlwana, the column fell back on 26 January 1879 to a fortified camp at Kambula, and Fort Tinta was abandoned.

**FORT ULUNDI (FORT NOLELA).** On 2 July 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, men of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, built this little stonework fort on the hill commanding the double laager constructed on the banks of the White Mfolozi by men of the 2nd Division and Wood’s Flying Column. It was from this camp that Colonel Redvers Henry Buller made his White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force on 3 July. During the battle of Ulundi, a garrison of 622 men under Colonel William Bellairs held the fort while the rest of the British were committed in the Mahlabathini Plain. A Zulu force some 5,000 strong approached, crossed the White Mfolozi River, and came to within 500 yards of the fort and laager. The Zulu did not press their attack; they soon melted away to join the battle in the plain. The British force routed the Zulu and returned to their camp on the White Mfolozi. The following day, the joint force retired to the Mthonjaneni laager, abandoning Fort Ulundi.

**FORT VICTORIA, DURBAN.** On 4 December 1838, a detachment of the 72nd Regiment (Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders) from the Cape under Major Samuel Charters occupied Port Natal (Durban) and established a fortified camp on the Point commanding the anchorage and entrance to the bay. During the course of the year, a stockade of mangrove trees was erected that enclosed barracks, officers’ huts, a magazine, a hospital, and sheds and marquees for commissariat stores. The stockade was commanded by an earthwork redoubt and gun emplacements. The garrison of Fort Victoria withdrew
from Port Natal on 24 December 1839. The British reoccupied Port Natal on 4 May 1842, establishing Smith’s Camp at the Eastern Vlei north of the town and garrisoning Fort Victoria with only a small force. Following the British repulse at Congella on 23 May 1842, the Boers surprised Fort Victoria on 26 May, quickly enforced its surrender, and seized the stores and weapons.

FORT VICTORIA, ZULULAND. Once he had assumed command of operations in early July 1879, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley decided it was necessary to reoccupy the Mahlabathini Plain to ensure the submission of the major Zulu amaKhosi and terminate the Anglo-Zulu War. On the breakup of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, on 26 July and the formation of Clarke’s Column, the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment advanced to the foot of the Mthonjaneni Heights, where on 7 August it built this rectangular earthwork fort to secure the column’s line of supply and communication to Port Durnford. Companies of the regiment were detached to other garrisons until only one remained at Fort Victoria; it marched back to Natal on 26 August.

FORT WARWICK. In June 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, a detachment of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, threw up this small earthwork fort on the advancing division’s line of communication back to Fort Whitehead.

FORT WHITEHEAD. The 2nd Division, South African Field Force, advanced to Koppie Alleen in late May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War and formed a depot there on the west bank of the Ncome River. The depot replaced Conference Hill to the north as the division’s forward base for the 2nd Invasion of the war because reconnaissance had established that it was on a more direct route to the second on-dini iKhanda. Stores were relocated from Conference Hill to the new depot, and two supporting earthwork redoubts were begun on 28 May to guard it. A small detachment garrisoned Fort Whitehead until late July 1879, when the 2nd Division was broken up.

FORT WILLIAMSON. Begun in 1861 during the Zulu Invasion Scare to guard the lower drift across the Thukela River, this earth-
work fort was in disrepair by 1870, and it was not reoccupied during the **Anglo-Zulu War**.

**FORT YOLLAND.** In July 1884 during the 3rd **Zulu Civil War**, Lieutenant-Colonel **Francis George Savage Curtis**, in command of the British troops in the **Reserve Territory**, erected the earthwork Fort Yolland as a forward base from **Fort Chater** for operations against the **uSuthu** in the **Nkandla Forest**. By September, the uSuthu had **submitted**, and in November the British garrison was withdrawn from Fort Yolland and replaced by the **Reserve Territory Carbineers**. The fort was abandoned in May 1887 when the Reserve Territory became part of the colony of **Zululand**.

**FORTIFICATIONS IN NATAL AND ZULULAND.** In **Natal** and **Zululand**, stone or earthwork fortifications erected by British forces or the colonial government were never very elaborate because the Zulu had no **artillery** or scaling ladders. Nor were they able to support close or prolonged sieges because of their own problems of supply and discipline. All that was required for defense was a closed work a few yards high, surrounded by a ditch and possibly an abatis of felled trees and bushes, with a clear, all-around field of fire extending over several hundred yards. The ground had to be sufficiently level and drained for encampment, and easy access to good water, grazing, and fuel were essential. See also individual fortifications.

**FRERE, SIR (HENRY) BARTLE EDWARD (1815–1884).** Frere enjoyed a distinguished career as an administrator in India. He was political resident to the rajah of Satara (1847–1850), chief commissioner of Sind (1851–1859), member of the Council of the Governor-General (1859–1862), and governor of Bombay (1862–1867). He retired from India in 1867 to take up a seat on the Indian Council in London. In 1872–1873, he was sent on a special mission to curb the slave trade in Zanzibar. He was created a baronet in 1876.

Believing fervently in extending the benefits of empire, Frere took up the challenge of effecting the **confederation** of South Africa when in March 1877 he was appointed governor of the **Cape** and high commissioner for South Africa. He was also commander-in-chief and could employ the military forces in South Africa to achieve his
objective of creating a new dominion along the lines of Canada, with himself as the first governor-general. Frere unleashed the Anglo-Zulu War in the belief that a quick military victory would eliminate the Zulu kingdom as an obstacle to his plans. The war proved disastrous, drawn out, and expensive. The government censured Frere and in May 1879 split the high commission in two, appointing General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley as high commissioner in the southeast. Wolseley consequently took the responsibility for the 1st Partition of Zululand out of Frere’s hands. The new Liberal government recalled Frere in August 1880, and his stellar career ended in disappointment and humiliation.

FRONTIER LIGHT HORSE. The Frontier Light Horse was first raised in 1877 from rough recruits in the Eastern Cape for service in the 9th Cape Frontier War. Lieutenant Frederick Carrington and then Major Redvers Henry Buller formed it into a tough and efficient unit. At the conclusion of the 9th Cape Frontier War, the unit marched to the Transvaal Territory, where it took part in the campaign against the Pedi before joining No. 4 Column for the Anglo-Zulu War. Along with other units of irregular cavalry with the column, it patrolled and raided northwestern Zululand. Two squadrons fought at Hlobane with Lieutenant-Colonel Buller’s force and then at Kambula. As part of Wood’s Flying Column, a squadron took part in the skirmish at Zungeni, and two squadrons participated in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and fought at Ulundi. After the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, they joined Baker Russell’s Column and were disbanded in September. They had no specific uniform, though generally the men wore yellow or buff corduroy with black trimmings and a wideawake hat with a red puggaree.

FUGITIVES’ DRIFT. See SOTHONDOSE’S DRIFT.

FUGITIVES’ TRAIL. When the Zulu army enveloped the British camp at Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Zulu right horn poured into the valley behind the mountain. Forming in long lines between the camp and Mzinyathi River, they cut the British retreat along the road to Rorke’s Drift. However, before the Zulu
left horn could complete their encirclement, some mounted men and African levies (troops) on foot fled through the gap south-southeast of Isandlwana and led the way down what came to be known as the Fugitives’ Trail to Sothondose’s Drift downstream of Rorke’s Drift. But the going was difficult, and the pursuing Zulu caught up with even the mounted men. The Zulu ran along with those in retreat, shooting and stabbing. The two 7-pounder guns overturned in a stony donga and were abandoned. In addition to those killed along the trail, some drowned in the swollen Mzinyathi as they attempted to cross under Zulu fire, or died on the Natal bank where the local Qungebe people cut them off. Some of the British regulars attempted a fighting withdrawal through the gap in the Zulu encirclement down the Fugitives’ Trail. Shepherded on their left by the Zulu who held the ridge parallel to their line of retreat, and bounded on their right by steep dongas, groups of up to half-company strength were systematically cut off and killed. No group got farther than the far bank of the Manzimnyama stream, a third of the way down to the Mzinyathi.

FYNN, HENRY FRANCIS, JR. (1846–1915). The son of one of the early pioneers in Natal, Fynn was fluent in Zulu. He rose through the ranks of the Natal civil service to the post of resident magistrate of the Umsinga Division in 1876. In 1878, he acted as interpreter to the Boundary Commission. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was appointed in January 1879 as Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s personal interpreter and political adviser and accompanied No. 3 Column into Zululand. He was away with Chelmsford during Isandlwana. After Chelmsford retreated to Natal, Fynn resumed his magisterial duties in Umsinga and raised a Border Guard for the defense of the division. In August 1879, he negotiated the surrender of the Zulu amaKhosi along the Mzinyathi border. On 12 January 1883, following the 2nd Partition of Zululand, Fynn was appointed British resident with King Cetshwayo kaMpande, whom Fynn had known since 1873. Fynn enjoyed a close friendship with Cetshwayo that inclined him to empathize with the restored king during the 3rd Zulu Civil War. But Fynn had no armed forces with which to intervene, and as the representative of the British government, he was expected to remain neutral. Cetshwayo regarded this as a betrayal. After oNdini, Fynn stayed with Cetshwayo in the Nkandla Forest
until 16 October 1883, when the fugitive king finally took refuge with the British in Eshowe. Fynn resumed his post at Umsinga, retiring in 1897.

**FYNNEY, FREDERICK BERNARD (c. 1840-1888).** Fynney was Natal government interpreter (1876–1877) and administrator of native law and special border agent, Lower Tugela Division (1878–1879). During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was also in command of the Border Police in Colonial Defensive District No. VI with responsibility for passing on intelligence of events in Zululand to the military authorities. He compiled the booklet *The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen* (1878), which proved very influential in forming British perceptions of Zulu political organization and military capability.

**GATLING GUN.** The American inventor Richard Jordan Gatling (1818–1903) took out a patent in 1862 for this early version of the machine gun. It came into service with the British army in 1871 and was first employed in the 2nd Asante War of 1873–1874. The British deployed a Gatling gun in combat in the open field at Nyezane during the Anglo-Zulu War, but the guns were regarded primarily as defensive weapons to be sited at prepared, all-around positions, and they were deployed in that way at Gingindlovu and Ulundi. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and uSuthu Rebellion, they were incorporated into fortified positions but were never fired in action.

The Gatling gun was mounted on a carrier similar to that of a field gun. It could fire 200 boxer .250 rounds a minute from 10 rifle barrels (which limited overheating) rotated around a fixed central axis by a manually operated crank. The bullets were fed by gravity from a revolving upright case holding 40 cartridges, which was replaced after every four revolutions. Though highly effective up to 1,000 yards, the Gatling gun proved unreliable because of its tendency to jam, as occurred at Ulundi.

**eGAZINI PEOPLE.** The eGazini people of northwestern Zululand were uSuthu supporters in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. They made up part of the uSuthu army arranged in territorial units of irregulars
under their own amaKhosi that was defeated at Msebe. They participated in offensives in northern Zululand against the Ngenetsheni until the uSuthu defeat at oNdini put them on the defensive. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

emGAZINI PEOPLE. The emGazini people of northeastern Zululand were strong uSuthu supporters assigned in the 1st Partition of Zululand to the north of the chiefdom made over to their foe, inkosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War they made up the left horn of the uSuthu army routed at Msebe. In April 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion emGazini irregulars rallied to King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo on Ceza. They were part of the uSuthu chest at the battle of Ceza and of the right horn at Ivuna. With the crushing of the rebellion, they began to disperse home in late July. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

emaGEBENI. See VEGLAER, BATTLE OF.

GINGINDLOVU, BATTLE OF (1879). On 1 April 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Eshowe Relief Column under Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, consisting of 3,240 British troops, 150 white mounted troops, 130 African mounted troops, 2,000 African levies, and 150 African scouts, marched to within a mile of the Nyezane River, just south of the burned-out kwaGingindlovu iKhanda. On a slight knoll, John Dunn selected the site for a wagon laager made about 130 yards square to accommodate the African levies and the livestock. It was surrounded by a shelter trench 15 yards in front of the wagons.

That night, Zulu forces that had been blockading Fort Eshowe concentrated in the vicinity of the laager. They numbered between 10,000 and 11,000 men (3,000 of them Tsonga irregulars) and were under the overall command of Somopho kaZikhala. On 2 April, they advanced to the attack, one column from across the Nyezane and another from the Misi Hill to the west. The British troops manned the laager’s shelter trench two deep, and the African levies, 300 horses, and 2,280 oxen remained inside the laager. Its corners were strengthened by 9-pounder guns, Gatling guns, and rocket tubes. Marksmen were stationed on top of the wagons.

The Zulu were deployed in open order, and their skirmishers drove in the British pickets and mounted scouts. Once their two columns
had enveloped the laager in a crescent that left only its eastern side free, the Zulu made repeated attempts to break through the concentrated British fire, which was not as effective as it might have been on account of the inexperience of many of the raw British troops. Chelmsford ordered a mounted sortie that proved premature and had to withdraw under the determined Zulu assault that, under the leadership of umNtwana Dabulamanzi kaMpfande, particularly threatened the laager’s southern face. The Zulu onslaught faltered again, and Chelmsford ordered out another mounted sortie that caused the Zulu to retreat. The British horsemen turned the Zulu withdrawal into a rout and kept up the pursuit for nearly two miles. The African levies advanced out of the laager to mop up behind the horsemen, killing all the Zulu wounded. Zulu reserves on the hills beyond the Nyezane retreated when they saw their army in flight. Fire from the 9-pounders dispersed those Zulu who tried to rally on Misi Hill. The British killed were two white officers, seven white troops, and five black troops. Nearly 500 Zulu were buried within 500 yards of the laager, and many hundreds more were found along the Zulu line of flight. It seems probable that the Zulu lost close to 1,200 men.

Chelmsford advanced the next day and relieved and evacuated the Eshowe garrison, clearing the way for the commencement of the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. See also TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

GINGINDLOVU CAMP. On 6 April 1879, the Eshowe Relief Column, when retiring after the relief of Eshowe during the Anglo-Zulu War, formed a new entrenched camp a mile to the south of the Gingindlovu laager. The force that had been left guarding the latter moved to the new camp on 7 April. The troops there were redesignated the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force. They left the Gingindlovu Camp on 21 April 1879 to help guard convoys and build forts along the 1st Division’s line of advance during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

kwaGINGINDLOVU iKHANDA. This small iKhanda of about 60 huts was established by King Cetshwayo kaMpfande to assert his authority in the southern coastal plain of Zululand. In October 1878, Zulu forces mustered there to monitor that sector against possible
British attack. In January 1879, during the opening phase of the Anglo-Zulu War, the secondary Zulu army under inKosi Godide kaNdlela marched to confront the British No. 1 Column but found that the British had already burned it on 21 January. Local members of the amaButho associated with the burned kwaGingindlovu played their part in the blockade of Fort Eshowe. On 1 April, the Eshowe Relief Column laagered just south of its ruins, and the battle the following day was named after it.

GINGINDLOVU LAAGER. See GINGINDLOVU, BATTLE OF.

GLYN, RICHARD THOMAS (1831–1900). Glyn saw service in the Crimean War (1855–1856) and the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858). In 1872, he was promoted to colonel. He was posted to the Cape in 1875, where he served throughout the 9th Cape Frontier War (1877–1878). During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was given the command of No. 3 Column, but Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, who accompanied the column, allowed him little independence of action. During the battle of Isandlwana, Glyn was absent with part of his force on a reconnaissance in force. He subsequently was in command of the garrison at Rorke’s Drift, where he suffered a temporary breakdown. In May 1879, he took up command of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and he was present at Ulundi in command of the Infantry Brigade. He was promoted to major-general in 1882 and knighted. He retired from the army in 1887.

GODIDE kaNDLELA (c. 1820–1883). The son of inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi, who was King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s chief inDuna, Godide was enrolled with the iziNyosi iButho and succeeded Ndlela as inKosi of the Ntuli people. Already an isiKhulu (important hereditary chief) under King Mpande kaSenzangakhona, Godide continued in favor under King Cetshwayo kaMpande and was the senior inDuna of the uMxhapho iButho. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he commanded the army defeated at Nyezane and retired home to the middle border in disgrace. He finally surrendered to Clarke’s Column in August 1879. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was placed under John Dunn and was active in appealing for Cetshwayo’s restoration. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he joined the uSuthu forces with his adherents and was killed at oNdini.
kwaGQIKAZI iKHANDA. In the early 1840s, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona established the first iKhanda of this name in the Vuna valley in northern Zululand to assert royal authority there. It was later reestablished in the Mahlabathini Plain and was burned by the British on 4 July 1879 following the battle of Ulundi. Its influence continued in northern Zululand, where the people originally attached to it remained stalwart uSuthu supporters during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and uSuthu Rebellion.

iziGQOZA FACTION. In the escalating succession dispute that culminated in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the supporters of umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpende (whose claims King Mpande kaSenzangakhona was promoting to offset those of umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpende) came to be called the iziGqoza, or “those who drop down like water from a roof,” signifying the steady trickle of support for Mbuyazi’s cause. In November 1856, Mpande allocated the iziGqoza land in southeastern Zululand in an attempt to separate them from Cetshwayo’s rival uSuthu faction in northern Zululand. But Cetshwayo mobilized his forces and crushed the iziGqoza at Ndondakusuka. He drove defeated fighting men and noncombatants alike into the swollen Thukela River in a massacre that obliterated the iziGqoza faction. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

GRAND ARMY OF NATAL. See THUKELA, BATTLE OF (1838).

GREAT TREK. When Great Britain formally annexed the Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1814, some 27,000 white colonists already lived there. These Cape colonists, derived from Dutch, Flemish, German, and French Huguenot settlers, were already beginning to develop a sense of their own “Afrikaner” identity. Between 1834 and 1840, some 15,000 of them trekked north across the Orange River into the interior of South Africa in a series of settler parties, taking with them all their portable possessions and livestock as well as black dependents and servants in numbers equal to their own. The “Great Trek,” as this migration came to be called, has been subject to many interpretations. It was in part a revolt against the British government of the Cape that, while emancipating slaves and intent on establishing the idea of the equality of the races before the law, was unable
to provide the settlers of the frontier with security against their black neighbors and the land and labor they required. The trek was also a continuation of a long tradition among individual white stock farmers and hunters of the Cape frontier to trek into the interior in search of grazing and game. And the recent dislocations in the hinterland (including the rise of the Zulu, Ndebele, and Sotho kingdoms), which caused the temporary depopulation of whole regions, gave these pastoralists the inviting impression of an “empty” land.

The Voortrekkers, or pioneers, as they are known today, called themselves “emigrant farmers.” Modern Afrikaner nationalists argue that they had a sense of a national mission and were determined to establish their independent republics as far away as possible from British interference. They also wanted to grasp new economic possibilities following the extension of the frontier. In the interior, they displaced or incorporated the peoples living there (as had other indigenous states like the Ndebele) and replicated their loose-knit, patriarchal society as it had been before the British had interfered with their master–servant arrangements and their dominance over the black majority. Once settled in the interior, they also hoped to free themselves from the British colonial commercial network on which they still reluctantly depended for many essential commodities. They could do so only by gaining access to traders and ports on the east coast of Africa beyond the sphere of British control, like Delagoa Bay or St. Lucia Bay, and this brought their nascent republics into conflict with African states in the way, primarily the Zulu and Swazi.

Disunity and dissension bedeviled the Voortrekkers regarding both the direction the trek should take and its command. Several groups made for the highveld, where by the early 1850s they had established the independent republics of the Orange Free State and South African Republic. Other groups crossed the Drakensberg into the Zulu kingdom and founded their short-lived Republic of Natalia. For the British, the Great Trek (which the Cape authorities had failed to impede) threatened to create further instability and warfare in the interior with likely repercussions on the volatile Cape frontier. Until British victory in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War over the Boer republics solved this problem, the dilemma over how best to assert British control in southern Africa beyond its colonial frontiers
dominated British policy in the subcontinent. See also CONFEDERATION, SOUTH AFRICAN.

**GREYTOWN.** The township of Greytown was laid out in 1850 as the administrative center of Umvoti County in the British Colony of Natal, where many Boers had remained after British annexation of their Republic of Natalia. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, Greytown was a thriving place with a rectangular grid of streets on the Boer model, and with a population of 1,500 white inhabitants.

**GREYTOWN LAAGER.** In 1854, the Natal government erected a loopholed, stone-walled laager in Greytown for the white settlers of the district to be defended by the Umvoti Rifle Association. During 1877 and 1878, the laager was strengthened and improved. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the settlers of Greytown and the surrounding region in Colonial Defensive District No. VII took refuge there in the panic after Isandlwana, and some lingered until after the relief of Eshowe in early April 1879. On 2 February, a false alarm filled the laager, and many temporarily resorted there again after the Zulu raid at Middle Drift on 25 June 1879.

**GRIQUA AND MPONDO BORDERS WITH NATAL IN 1879.** In Natal’s two southernmost Colonial Defensive Districts, Nos. IV and V, with their tiny settler populations, there was some anxiety in 1879 that their African neighbors over the border might use the opportunity of the Anglo-Zulu War to make hostile incursions. However, to the south of District IV, the Griqua of East Griqualand (which had been administered by the Cape since 1873 and would be annexed later in 1879) did not act. Nor did the Mpondo people south of District V. King Cetshwayo kaMpande maintained some diplomatic contact with the Mpondo, but they were riven by succession disputes, and the area was effectively under informal Cape control.

**GRIQUA PEOPLE.** See GRIQUA AND MPONDO BORDERS WITH NATAL IN 1879.

**izinGULUBE iBUTHO.** King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1844 from youths born about 1824. The shield
was white with black or red spots. It apparently was incorporated with the uDlambedlu iButho to maintain the latter’s strength. It formed part of the uSuthu center at Ndondakusuka in the 2nd Zulu Civil War. A small contingent fought at Nyezane in the Anglo-Zulu War.

iziGULUTSHANE iBUTHO. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1833 from youths born about 1815. The shield was black with white spots. In the Voortrekker-Zulu War, it fought at eThaleni and at Ncome, where it was part of the Zulu right horn.

ezinGWEGWENI iKHANDA. This was one of the nine amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

Ingxotha. The most prestigious ornament the Zulu king could confer on his favorites, men and women alike, or on those who had performed distinguished service, was the Ingxotha, or brass armband, which reached from wrist to elbow. It was split along its length for easy removal, since it was most uncomfortable to wear.

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HAMU kaNZIBE (c. 1834–1887). UmNtwana Hamu was enrolled in the uThulwana iButho. He was King Mpande kaSenzangakhona’s eldest son, but through the ukuvuza custom he was heir not to his biological father but to Mpande’s full brother, Nzibe, the senior son of Senzangakhona kaJama, who had died in 1828 and for whose spirit Mpande was “raising seed.” Hamu ruled over the Ngenetsheni people in northwestern Zululand and maintained royal state at kwaMfemfe, his chief umuZi. During the 2nd Zulu Civil War, he fought on umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande’s side, but he coveted the throne and became increasingly resistant to Cetshwayo’s authority. In the 1860s, the white trader Herbert Nunn became an adviser and supplied Hamu with firearms and trade goods.
A leading isiKhulu (hereditary chief), Hamu was prominent in the iBandla (royal council) on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War in advocating peace and the surrender of inKosi Sihayo kaXongo’s sons to the British. During the war, Hamu feared his enemies in Zululand and, with the help of Nunn, defected to the British in March 1879 in the hope they would recognize him as king. They did not, but they rewarded him with a large chiefdom in the 1st Partition of Zululand.

After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, Hamu was placed in the restored Cetshwayo’s territory and rejected his authority. Throughout the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Hamu fought against the uSuthu, particularly the neighboring Buthelezi and abaQulusi people, taking refuge when occasionally worsted in his strongholds near the Phongolo River. His Ngenetsheni fought at oNdini and joined in harrying the uSuthu. After King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo struck his alliance with the Boers in May 1884, they forced Hamu to surrender in June. With the 3rd Partition of Zululand, his chiefdom was incorporated into the New Republic. See also MFEMFE iBUTHO.

HARDING LAAGER. This earthwork laager abutting the magistrate’s office was erected during 1878 on the orders of the Natal government at the tiny village of Harding in Colonial Defensive District No. V. It was supplied with weapons and ammunition for the local Rifle Association and the detachment of Natal Mounted Police stationed in the village. The district was never threatened during the Anglo-Zulu War by its neighbors along the Griqua and Mpondo borders, so the laager was never manned.

HAVELOCK, SIR ARTHUR ELIBANK (1844–1908). Previously governor of Sierra Leone and the West African Settlements (1881) and governor of Trinidad (1884), and knighted in 1884, Havelock came to Natal as governor in 1886. On 19 May 1887 as an economy measure on the part of the Colonial Office, he was concurrently appointed governor of the new British Colony of Zululand. Havelock was a proven administrator of humanity and sense. His mistake was to accept the advice of Sir Theophilus Shepstone and his disciples among the Zululand officials, for it led him to confrontations with King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo and the uSuthu. By the time he realized these policies were flawed and biased, it was too late, and
the uSuthu Rebellion had broken out. Loath to admit that his civil administration had failed, Havelock was initially reluctant to call in military aid. When he did, he clashed with Lieutenant-General Henry August Smyth over the parameters of civil and military authority. He left South Africa in 1889 and served successively as governor of Ceylon, Madras, and Tasmania. See also CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS.

**HEADRING, ZULU.** See isiCOCO.

**HELIOGRAPH.** The heliograph was a simple instrument for instantaneous optical communication. It sent its signals by reflecting sunlight toward the recipient with a mirror mounted on a tripod, the beam being keyed on and off with a shutter or tilting mirror, thereby transmitting Morse code at the rate of up to 12 words per minute, depending on the skill of the operator. Visibility depended on the clearness of the sky and the size of the mirrors used, though under good conditions a flash could be seen from 30 miles away with the naked eye and up to 50 miles away with a telescope.

British commanders employed the Mance pattern heliograph, devised in 1869, throughout the Anglo-Zulu War, 3rd Zulu Civil War, and uSuthu Rebellion. Magistrates in British Zululand used the heliograph during the uSuthu Rebellion to relay messages from their magisterial posts to Eshowe, where the telegraph line ended.

**HELPMEKAAR FORT.** In early December 1878, during the buildup to the Anglo-Zulu War, the main depot for No. 3 Column was established on the heights at Helpmekaar in Colonial Defensive District No. I overlooking the valley of the Mzinyathi River. Three galvanized iron sheds and large huts were erected to hold the accumulating stores. No. 3 Column concentrated there in early January 1879 and moved down to Rorke's Drift by 9 January. The garrison left at Helpmekaar formed a strongly entrenched wagon laager around the stores on the night of Isandlwana. During the following weeks, the laager was supplemented by a strong earthwork fort that surrounded the galvanized iron commissariat sheds, the marquees protecting commissariat stores, and a hospital. Helpmekaar ceased to be an important depot with the mounting of the 2nd Invasion of the
Anglo-Zulu War. In April 1879, the bulk of its stores were transferred to Fort Jones. The fort at Helpmekaar continued to be garrisoned until the military post was finally broken up on 25 October 1879.

HEMULANA kaMBANGEZELI. A member of the Sibiya people, Hemulana was inKosi Mnyamana kaNgqengelele’s inDuna and one of King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo’s most influential councilors. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Hemulana fought at Msebe, where three of his sons were killed. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he was a commander at Ceza and concerted the successful uSuthu strategy at Ivuna, where he again commanded.

HERMANNSBURG LAAGER (FORT AHRENS). In 1878, local Boer farmers in Colonial Defensive District No. VII of Natal subscribed to build this square, stone-walled laager with two opposing bastions. They took shelter there with their families from the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War in January 1879 until mid-April. They furnished a small mounted force that used the laager as their headquarters and base for patrols of the vicinity.

HERNEUTERMES. All Boer men, when hunting or on trek in hostile territory, carried a large sheath knife with a steel blade 7–18 inches long with a guard modeled on that of the Bowie knife. It was known as a herneutermes after the first of them made by the Hernhutters, or Moravian Brethren, at their mission station at Genadendal in the Western Cape. On 6 February 1838, when King Dingane kaSenzangakhona ordered the execution of Pieter Retief and his comrades at uMgungundlovu, many of the Boers, who had left their firearms at the gate of the iKhanda as protocol required, desperately fought back with their herneutermesse but were overpowered and killed.

HICKS BEACH, SIR MICHAEL EDWARD (1837–1916). Hicks Beach, who succeeded as 9th baronet in 1854, was a Conservative politician and entered Parliament in 1864. As colonial secretary (1878–1880), he inherited the plans of his predecessor, the Earl of Carnarvon, to push ahead with the confederation of South Africa. Hicks Beach was not committed to the cause of confederation and
was more concerned over his government’s desire to avoid costly imperial adventures and looming war in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, he proved unable to restrain Bartle Frere, the high commissioner in South Africa, from forcing the **Anglo-Zulu War** in order to cement confederation. In subsequent years, Hicks Beach held cabinet posts in three Conservative administrations and on his retirement from Parliament in 1906 was created 1st Viscount St. Aldwyn.

**iHLABA iBUTHO.** King Dingane kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1837 from youths born about 1817. The shield was black with white spots. In the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, it fought with the Zulu right horn at **Ncome**.

**HLABISA PEOPLE.** The pro-**uSuthu** Hlabisa people under inKosi Mthumbu kaMbopha were assigned by the 1st Partition of **Zululand** to the south of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s chiefdom and resented his rule. In June 1888 during the **uSuthu Rebellion**, when Zibhebhu was encamped at **Ivuna** with his fighting men, the Hlabisa and the **Mdletshe** people took advantage of his absence to raid **Mandlakazi** territory. After Zibhebhu’s defeat at Ivuna, on 6 June the Hlabisa and the Mdletshe burned **Bangonomo**, his main **umuZi**, and went on to ravage his territory until early August, assisted by opportunistic Boers from the **South African Republic**. On 19 August, Zibhebhu struck back at the Hlabisa and Mdletshe, who withdrew toward **St. Lucia Bay** and then retaliated on 10 September. The raiding and counterraiding did not end until the British arrested Zibhebhu on 17 November 1888 and banished him from his location. See also **CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND**.

**HLOBANE, BATTLE OF (1879).** During the **Anglo-Zulu War**, Hlobane Mountain was the central defensive position for the abaQulusi people in northwestern Zululand and the base for umNtwana Mbilini waMscoli, the most effective leader of **irregulars** in the region. It thus formed an important military objective for Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood in command of No. 4 **Column** encamped at **Khambula**. To attack it would create a diversion in favor of the **Eshowe Relief Column** then beginning its advance in southeastern Zululand. Hlobane was also a tempting source for booty
in the form of cattle, as the local Zulu had concentrated their herds there for safety.

For this raiding expedition, Wood employed only his mounted units, supported by African auxiliaries. They were to attack the mountain in a pincer movement. Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force of 675 officers and men would go up the steep path on the eastern side of the mountain and capture cattle, while Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s force of 640 officers and men would ascend the mountain on its western side by way of Ntendeka Mountain, which was joined to Hlobane by a rocky ridge called the Devil’s Pass. Wood would operate freely with his own mounted escort. What he did not know was the main Zulu army under inKosi Mnyamana kaNgqengelele had left oNdini on 24 March and was marching toward his camp.

Buller’s force scaled the eastern slopes of Hlobane early in the morning of 28 March. Fighting through a heavy cross-fire from Zulu irregulars, it gained the summit. Wood’s small party followed in its wake but suffered heavy casualties and withdrew south around the mountain toward Ntendeka. On the summit, Buller’s force drove west under sniping Zulu fire across the mountain to the Devil’s Pass, rounding up about 2,000 cattle as they went. When Russell’s force on Ntendeka, also busy rounding up cattle, saw the Zulu army advancing across the plain from the southeast, Buller was alerted and prepared to descend with his booty by the way he had come. But the Zulu irregulars under Mbilini’s command, reinforced from Mashongololo Mountain to the east, did their best to bar his path.

Buller decided to retire instead over the western side of Hlobane, but Russell’s force was no longer there to support him. Alarmed at the approach of the Zulu army, Russell had withdrawn to the foot of Ntendeka, and Wood ordered him to fall back farther to Zungwini Nek, some four miles to the west. Buller’s men scrambled down the precipitous Devil’s Pass, harried by the Zulu and suffering many casualties. They rallied on Ntendeka and were then pursued toward Zungwini. Once the Zulu irregulars gave up the chase, Russell withdrew to Khambula with his and Buller’s exhausted men. Most of the African auxiliaries were cut off in the rout, but the survivors succeeded in retaining 300 head of captured cattle.
The main Zulu army did not allow itself to be diverted from its march on Khambula, but it detached elements from its right horn to intercept British fugitives in the plain to the south of Hlobane and Ntendeka. A force of irregular horse ordered to return to Khambula that way collided with the detached Zulu amaButho and turned about in an attempt to escape north over the steep Itentyeka Nek between Hlobane and Mashongololo. The horsemen were intercepted by Zulu irregulars and very few broke through to reach Khambula across the plain north of Hlobane. Up to 2,000 Zulu were engaged in the battle, and their losses are unknown. Among the British, 15 officers and 79 men were killed, and well over 100 African auxiliaries. It was fortunate for Wood’s reputation that his decisive victory at Khambula the following day blunted criticism of his badly bungled raid on Hlobane.

Many British exhibited considerable bravery in the rout, and the Victoria Cross was awarded to Buller of the 60th Rifles (King’s Royal Rifle Corps); Major William Knox-Leet, 1st Battalion, 13th (1st Somersetshire) Prince Albert’s Light Infantry; Lieutenant Edward Stevenson Browne, 1st Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment; and Lieutenant Henry Lysons and Private Edmund John Fowler of the 90th Regiment (Perthshire Volunteers Light Infantry). Corporal W. D. Vinnicombe and Trooper R. Brown of the Frontier Light Horse received the Distinguished Conduct Medal. See also TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**Hlobane Laager.** On 2 May 1884, the Committee of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers, a Boer mercenary group, met King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo at their Hlobane laager to begin negotiating a military alliance. The Boers were victorious at Tshaneni on 5 June, ravaged the territory of the defeated Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni, and in mid-July concentrated again in the Hlobane laager preparatory to setting up the New Republic.

**Hlobane Mountain.** Hlobane is a huge, flat-topped mountain in northwestern Zululand. Its steep slopes culminate in a belt of
sheer cliffs full of caves. Only a few viable paths lead to the summit, where springs make for good grazing for livestock. Its defensibility made it an ideal refuge for the **abaQulusi people**, whose *ikhanda*, *ebaQulusini*, was only five miles away to the northeast. During the **Anglo-Zulu War** when patrols sent out by No. 4 **Column** broke up abaQulusi concentrations on 22 and 24 January 1879 at **Zungwini Mountain** a few miles to the west, the Zulu retired up Hlobane. On 10 February, a patrol led by Lieutenant-Colonel **Redvers Henry Buller** raided Hlobane and captured many cattle. The next raid on Hlobane on 27–28 March almost ended in disaster when the British were caught up the mountain by abaQulusi irregulars and detachments from the Zulu army advancing on **Khambula**. On 29 August, **Baker Russell’s Column** camped beneath Hlobane to enforce the surrender of the abaQulusi. During the 3rd **Zulu Civil War**, the abaQulusi periodically took refuge there, especially after the **uSuthu** defeat at **oNdini**. See also **HLOBANE, BATTLE OF**.

**HLOPHEKHULU MOUNTAIN.** This mountain is on the north bank of the White Mfolozi River in central **Zululand**, and its thickly wooded southeastern face falls precipitously to the river. A traditional Zulu stronghold, during the **uSuthu Rebellion** it was held by umNtwana **Shingana kaMpande** until stormed by the British in 1888. See also **HLOPHEKHULU MOUNTAIN, BATTLE OF; NONKWENKWEZIYEZULU STRONGHOLD**.

**HLOPHEKHULU MOUNTAIN, BATTLE OF (1888).** In June 1888 during the **uSuthu Rebellion**, umNtwana **Shingana kaMpande** assembled a force of uSuthu on **Hlophekhulu Mountain** in central **Zululand** in support of King **Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo**’s men on **Ceza Mountain** and raided British loyalists in the vicinity as well as the British lines of communication. In late June, inKosi Ngobozana’s Mpungose people began to reinforce Shingana’s men, bringing their number up to about 1,100. On 28 June, Lieutenant-General **Henry Augustus Smyth** assumed command of the British troops in Zululand and determined to clear Hlophekhulu of the **uSuthu** and Mpungose.

On the morning of 2 July 1888, British **Dragoons** and **Mounted Infantry** and 141 **Mounted Basutos** from the British camp at
Nkonjeni under the command of Colonel Henry Sparke Stabb, representing the military authority, supported 87 Zululand Police under Commandant George Mansel, representing the civil government of Zululand. Accompanied by the resident magistrate of Ndwandwe, Richard Hallowes Addison, with a warrant for Singana’s arrest, they successfully stormed the mountain in skirmishing order. They were supported on the flanks by 1,400 African auxiliaries and levies that also drove off some Biyela people under inKosi Somopho kaZikhala camped close to the mountain. The uSuthu dislodged from the crest of Hlophekhulu were forced down to a narrow strip of land between the mountain and the White Mfolozi River, where their families and cattle were sheltering. In the hand-to-hand fighting and general rout, the uSuthu lost their cattle to their pursuers and abandoned the mountain entirely. The uSuthu casualties were heavy, with between 200 and 300 killed. The British lost two white officers, five of the African mounted men, and 55 of the African levies. The capture of Hlophekhulu restored British control in central Zululand and secured their lines of supply to Nkonjeni. This was the last major engagement of the uSuthu Rebellion. See also STRATEGY, BRITISH; STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

HLUBI kaMOTA MOLIFE. Hlubi kaMota Molife and his Sotho-speaking Tlokwa adherents migrated over the Drakensberg in 1867 to the Weenen-Estcourt area in northwestern Natal. Over the years, they proved loyal allies of the colonial authorities, and Hlubi repeatedly raised military units of good quality, which he personally led on campaign. They supported the Natal government during the Langalibalele Rebellion, and again during the Anglo-Zulu War. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Hlubi was appointed chief of the strategic territory at the confluence of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. As a result of the 2nd Partition of Zululand, Hlubi’s territory fell into the Reserve Territory. His men continued loyally to support the British during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, as they did again during the uSuthu Rebellion. See also HLUBI’S TROOP (MOUNTED BASUTOS); MOUNTED BASUTOS.
HLUBI PEOPLE. See LANGALIBALELE REBELLION.

HLUBI’S TROOP (MOUNTED BASUTOS). InKosi Hlubi kaMota Molife of the Tlokwa people had served effectively with Major Anthony William Durnford during the Langalibalele Rebellion in 1873, and in December 1878 he raised a troop of irregular horse from his adherents for the Natal Native Mounted Contingent. During the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of No. 2 Column and fought at Isandlwana. In the reorganization of February 1879, it became a troop in the Natal Native Horse and joined No. 4 Column, subsequently Wood’s Flying Column. It fought at Hlobane and Khambula, the reconnaissance in force across the White Mfolozi and Ulundi. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, the troop returned home and was disbanded.

HMS ACTIVE. A 3,078-ton, 270-foot corvette built of iron and sheathed wood and completed in 1873, the Active was stationed at the Cape of Good Hope during the Anglo-Zulu War. On 19 November 1878, it landed a Naval Brigade at Durban under Commander Captain H. J. F. Campbell consisting of 170 sailors and Royal Marine Light Infantry.

HMS BOADICEA. A 3,913-ton, iron-built corvette completed in 1877 during the Anglo-Zulu War, on March 1879 the Boadicea landed a Naval Brigade of 200 men under Captain T. W. Richards at Durban. On 11 June, the body of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been killed at the Tshotshosi River, was embarked on her for conveyance to Cape Town. See also HMS ORONTES.

HMS ORONTES. A troopship that had landed drafts in Durban on 4 June 1879 for all the British battalions and regiments fighting in the Anglo-Zulu War, the Orontes was specially prepared in Cape Town to take on the body of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from HMS Boadicea on 15 June for conveyance to England for burial. The Orontes anchored at Spithead on 10 July, and the coffin was transferred to the Admiralty yacht Enchantress. The prince was buried in the mortuary chapel at Chislehurst on 12 July.
**HMS SHAH.** Completed in 1873, this 5,700-ton frigate was built of iron and cased in teak. On learning of Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, it sailed from St. Helena with No. 8 Battery, 7th Brigade, Royal Artillery, and a company of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers). The Шаъ arrived in Durban on 6 March 1879 and with these reinforcements also landed a Naval Brigade of 400 men under Commander J. Brackenbury. Later in the Anglo-Zulu War, the Шаъ with General Garnet Joseph Wolseley and his staff aboard was forced to remain at the anchorage off Port Durnford during 2 and 3 July 1879 because they could not be landed through the heavy surf. The ship returned to Durban the next day, and Wolseley was forced to join the 1st Division, South African Field Force, by land.

**HMS TAMAR.** This 4,857-ton, iron-built troopship was built in 1863. During the Anglo-Zulu War, it brought the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment from Ceylon to Durban on 11 March 1879. When the City of Paris ran aground entering Simon’s Bay on 23 March, the 2nd Battalion, 21st Regiment (Royal Scots Fusiliers), was transferred to the Tamar. On the way to Durban with them, the Tamar rescued the shipwrecked troops on the Clyde.

**HMS TENEDOS.** This 1,755-ton corvette was built of wood in 1870. On the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, it sailed from the North American and West Indies station and on 6 January 1879 landed reinforcements at Durban for a Naval Brigade consisting of 50 sailors and Royal Marine Light Infantry.

**HORSES.** Horses were not indigenous to southern Africa. The Boers and other South African colonials generally rode the Cape Horse or Boereperd, a distinct breed that was a cross between horses imported to the Cape from Europe and Indonesia during the rule of the Dutch East India Company. They were accustomed to the local terrain, could survive by grazing the veld, and had overcome the endemic horse (or stallion) sickness, a disease caused by the trypanosome parasite injected by the bite of the tsetse fly. An even hardier variant of horse was the Basuto Pony. These tough little horses were ideal for patrolling and skirmishing and were used by Boer commandos.
(militia) and by all units of British irregular cavalry, as well as by mounted infantry.

British cavalry chargers found it very difficult to adjust to local conditions in Zululand. Not only did they have to recoup after the long sea voyage, but they would not graze and had to be fed on special forage out of the nose-bags they were accustomed to. They also found it difficult going in the local terrain and were very susceptible to horse sickness. Nevertheless, they were schooled to charge in battle with superb discipline. During the Anglo-Zulu War, they showed their worth at Ulundi.

The Zulu first began to acquire horses in the 1860s from white traders. Their price made horses more of a status symbol for rich amaKhosi (especially those with developed trading contacts with Natal) than a viable addition to the Zulu military. During the Anglo-Zulu War, some leaders regularly went mounted, and inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha skillfully deployed small bodies of horsemen as scouts and skirmishers, most notably against the British White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force. Zibhebhu used mounted riflemen to great effect during the 3rd Zulu Civil War in conjunction with white mounted mercenaries. See also QUARTER IN BATTLE; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

HOSPITALS IN ANGLO-ZULU WAR. See ARMY HOSPITAL CORPS; ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT; BEARER CORPS; NURSES, BRITISH.

HOWICK LAAGER. During the Anglo-Zulu War, on learning of Isandlwana, townspeople of the village of Howick in Colonial Defensive District No. III in the Natal midlands built this stone laager adjoining Ford’s Hotel to defend the government armory. It was never used.

HULETT’S STOCKADE. In late 1878, J. Liege Hulett, a prominent sugar planter on the Natal north coast, set about fortifying his estate at Kearsney in Colonial Defensive District No. VI with temporary works as a place of refuge for local farmers and their indentured Indian laborers during the coming Anglo-Zulu War. The Natal gov-
ernment saw Hulett’s stockade as a place to which the Border Guard might fall back if attacked by the Zulu but did not supply it with arms or ammunition. It never came under threat during the war.

IRREGULAR CAVALRY (IRREGULAR HORSE). During 19th-century campaigns in southern Africa, mounted troops were necessary for reconnaissance, vedette (sentinel) duties, patrols, and raids. Regular cavalry was most effective when shock action turned the enemy’s retreat into a rout, but irregular cavalry was generally more useful because they operated as mounted infantry, combining the horseman’s speed and range with the infantryman’s firepower. They fought dismounted except when in pursuit. During the Anglo-Zulu War, units of irregular horse maintained by the military authorities (as opposed to the Natal Mounted Volunteers maintained by the colonial government) were raised from white colonials (including many foreign nationals) living in the Cape and Transvaal. Most of these troopers were already well practiced as mounted infantry. African units of irregular horse (the Natal Native Mounted Contingent and the Natal Native Horse) were also raised in Natal for the Anglo-Zulu War. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, units of African irregular horse were again raised for service in Zululand.

IRREGULARS, ZULU. During the time of the Zulu kingdom, irregulars, not incorporated into the iButho system, usually supported a Zulu army operating in their locality, and they sometimes took full part in the battle. For example, during the reign of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, the iziYendane (who were tributary people from south of the Thukela River or from the western marches of the Zulu kingdom, and who were not part of a regular iButho) guarded the royal cattle posts and often took part in fighting. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the Kubheka people, Mbilini waMswati’s adherents, and abaQulusi irregulars played a major part in the campaign in northwestern Zululand. On the coast, thousands of Tsonga irregulars took part in the blockade of Eshowe and the battle of Gingindlovu.
During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, when the iButho system had largely broken down, regular amaButho were increasingly replaced by territorially based irregulars like the abaQulusi or emGazini, or by the local followings of particular amaKhosi.

**ISANDLWANA, BATTLE OF (1879).** The battle of Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War was the greatest Zulu victory over the forces of colonialism. It was also one of the heaviest defeats suffered by British troops during the small wars of the Victorian era. Early in the morning of 22 January 1879, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford marched out of the camp of No. 3 Column at the eastern base of Isandlwana Mountain to support a force under Major John George Dartnell operating about 10 miles to the southeast. This left a depleted garrison under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Burmester Pulleine to hold the camp.

Later that morning, when a Zulu force was reported approaching, Pulleine recalled most of the pickets and formed up the troops in front of the camp. After an hour, when no attack seemed to threaten, the troops fell out, and Brevet Colonel Anthony William Durnford reinforced the camp on Chelmsford’s order with 500 men from No. 2 Column, bringing the garrison up to 67 officers and 1,707 men (about half of whom were African levies). Durnford assumed command of the camp and moved out northeastward to intercept a Zulu force reportedly threatening Chelmsford’s rear. About midday, one of his mounted patrols stumbled upon the Zulu army of nearly 24,000 men under iNkosi Ntshingwayo kaMahole and iNkosi Mavumengwana kaNdlela concealed in the Ngwebeni valley only nine miles from the camp, which they had reached undetected by British patrols in the early hours of 22 January.

Without ritual preparation, and in relative disorder, most of the Zulu army were stung into action and began their advance on the camp along the Nyoni ridge. A strong reserve of about 3,000 men kept its discipline and followed at a distance on the Zulu right flank. The British formed an extended skirmishing line about half a mile in advance of the camp, both to command the dead ground and to support Durnford’s horsemen and other detached units as they fell back before the Zulu. The Zulu chest was pinned down by British fire, but
the horns extended to outflank the British line and raced around to enter the rear of the camp.

Realizing they were being enveloped, the British fell back on their camp, losing all cohesion in hand-to-hand fighting with the Zulu. Though harried, a few mounted men, including Lieutenant Teignmouth Melvill, who was attempting to save the queen’s color of the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment, broke southwestward through the Zulu encirclement to escape over the Mzinyathi River at Sothondose’s Drift. The Zulu were soon in command of the camp. Many of the British infantry conducted a fighting retreat in the same direction as the mounted fugitives but were all cut off and killed before they reached the Manzimnyama stream 1.5 miles away. The Zulu pillaged the camp and retired at nightfall when Chelmsford and his force finally marched back in battle order. No fewer than 1,000 Zulu died in the battle. The British and colonial troops lost 52 officers and 739 men, and the Natal Native Contingent lost 67 white noncommissioned officers and close to 500 men.

Private Samuel Wassall of the 80th Regiment (Staffordshire Volunteers) was awarded the Victoria Cross. There was no provision in 1879 for the medal’s posthumous award, but in 1907 the regulation was changed and the families of Melvill and Lieutenant Nevill Josiah Aylmer Coghill, both of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment, were sent the decoration. See also ISANDLWANA CAMPAIGN (1879); TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**ISANDLWANA, BURIAL OF BRITISH DEAD AT.** For several months, the bodies of the British troops killed at Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War lay unburied where they had fallen, much to the indignation of British soldiers and colonists alike. Major Wilsone Black, who was stationed at Rorke’s Drift, led two hurried patrols to the battlefield on 14 March and 15 May 1879, but his men were too few in number to carry out burials or defend themselves against possible Zulu attack. Pressure mounted on Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford to send a larger force to Isandlwana to perform the task, but the general was not prepared to take the risk before he had
sufficient cavalry for prior reconnaissance. British reinforcements continued to come in for the 2nd Invasion of the war, and on 19 May, Chelmsford dispatched a force from Landman’s Drift consisting of the Cavalry Brigade under Major-General Frederick Marshall and five companies of the 2nd Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment. On 21 May, the force reached Isandlwana and, without any Zulu interference, went about its gruesome task of burying soldiers in shallow graves marked by cairns. It retired that night to Rorke’s Drift with 40 unbroken wagons found on the battlefield.

Colonel Richard Thomas Glyn of the 24th Regiment had requested that the corpses of the men of his regiment be left undisturbed until they could be buried by their comrades in the presence of both battalions. Marshall honored the request, but it was not until 20 June that detachments of the 24th Regiment could be released from garrison duty at Rorke’s Drift to begin to perform the burial with the assistance of other troops stationed there. Over the next few months, patrols continued to find and bury bodies, also reburying in seemly fashion some of those hastily interred in May and June. Only in March 1880 could a party of the 60th Regiment (King’s Royal Rifle Corps) report that the task had been completed.

**ISANDLWANA CAMPAIGN (1879).** On 20 January 1879 during the opening days of the Anglo-Zulu War, the invading British No. 3 Column encamped at Isandlwana Mountain. The position was difficult to defend, but as Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford considered the camp only temporary, no attempt was made to fortify it. The same day, the Zulu army bivouacked at Siphezi Mountain, nearly 13 miles east of Isandlwana, but the British remained unaware of their presence. Chelmsford believed that a local Zulu force to the southeast under inKosi Matshana kaMondisa posed a threat to his line of supply. On 21 January, he accordingly sent out 150 colonial mounted troopers and about 1,600 men of the Natal Native Contingent (NNC) under Major John George Dartnell to reconnoiter. Matshana retired eastward before them, and that night Dartnell bivouacked on the Hlazakazi Heights about 10 miles from the camp. That same night, the main Zulu army moved northwest in small, undetected detachments to the Ngwebeni valley, about nine miles northeast of Isandlwana.
About midnight, there was a panic among the NNC on Hlazakazi, and Dartnell requested support. Chelmsford moved out of camp early on 22 January with about half the garrison under Colonel Richard Thomas Glyn to reinforce Dartnell. During the morning, Matshana’s men skirmished with the British on the Phindo Heights and withdrew steadily northeast toward Siphezi, drawing the British after them, away from the camp and its depleted garrison under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Burmester Pulleine.

Chelmsford received a message from Pulleine that the Zulu were advancing on the camp, but the general and his staff thought the camp could be in no danger, so they rode off to reconnoiter the column’s next campsite near the Mangeni River. Chelmsford was out of communication, and further messages that the camp was under attack failed to find him or were discounted. When Chelmsford finally moved back toward Isandlwana to investigate, he learned that the camp had fallen. He ordered all the troops operating in the area to concentrate, which they eventually were able to do three miles east of Isandlwana. Chelmsford advanced on the camp in the dark in battle formation, and the Zulu looting it retired to their bivouac in the Ngwebeni valley. Chelmsford’s men bivouacked among the dead at Isandlwana and withdrew before light next morning toward Rorke’s Drift to regroup in Natal. See also ISANDLWANA, BATTLE OF (1879).

ISANDLWANA MOUNTAIN. In the Zulu language, Isandlwana means “something like a little house,” which is how the Zulu perceived the distinctive mountain in southern Zululand at the base of which the Zulu army overran the camp of No. 3 Column during the Anglo-Zulu War. To the British, the mountain resembled the sphinx that, by sinister chance, was portrayed on the badge of the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment garrisoning the camp. See also ISANDLWANA, BATTLE OF (1879).

ISANDLWANA, SAVING THE BRITISH COLORS AT. To lose a color (regimental flag) to the enemy was the ultimate disgrace for a British regiment. When No. 3 Column invaded Zululand in the Anglo-Zulu War, the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment left its green regimental color (with its 12 battle honors) at Helpmekaar
and marched with the queen’s color only. The color was in the camp during the battle of Isandlwana. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Burmester Pulleine, who was in charge of the stricken camp, apparently instructed the adjutant of the 1st Battalion, 24th Regiment, Lieutenant Teignmouth Melvill, to save the queen’s color. Melvill, who was mounted, carried the color down the Fugitives’ Trail as far as the swollen Mzinyathi River, where he was swept downstream under Zulu fire. He lost his grip on the color and it was carried away. Melvill reached the Natal bank with the aid of Lieutenant Nevill Josiah Aylmer Coghill, but both were overtaken and killed by the Zulu. On 4 February, Major Wilsone Black of the 2nd Battalion, 24th Regiment, accompanied by a few of the mounted officers of the disbanded 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent, stationed at Rorke’s Drift, patrolled down the Natal bank of the Mzinyathi River from Rorke’s Drift and found not only the bodies of Melvill and Coghill but also the lost color wedged into rocks in the river. The following morning the color was trooped in front of an emotional general parade at Helpmekaar, where two companies of the 1st Battalion, 24th Regiment, were in garrison. Battle honors were not usually awarded for defeats, but on this occasion Queen Victoria, who later inspected the recovered color, made an exception.

IVUNA (NDUNU HILL), BATTLE OF (1888). British authority in northern parts of the Colony of Zululand collapsed following the debacle on Ceza Mountain during the uSuthu Rebellion. The uSuthu under King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo were consequently able to raid their opponents with impunity from their fastness on Ceza. They resolved to attack their archenemy, inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, who had been encamped since 31 May 1888 with about 800 of his Mandlakazi forces on Ndunu Hill in support of the resident magistrate of Ndwandwe District, Richard Hallowes Addison. The Mandlakazi camp was 900 yards east of the Ivuna Fort, held by only 50 Zululand Police. Huddled for protection from uSuthu raids 900 yards south of the fort next to the Mbile stream were umNtwana Ziwedu kaMpende’s adherents with their cattle.

On the night of 22 June 1888, about 4,000 uSuthu led by Dinuzulu conducted a night march from Ceza and soon after daybreak on 23
June took the Mandlakazi by surprise. The uSuthu attacked in traditional formation, their horns outflanking the outnumbered Mandlakazi, with the right horn cutting off their retreat to the fort. The uSuthu deliberately did not attack the fort, but the Zululand Police inside did its best to support the Mandlakazi with covering fire. The uSuthu pursued the routed Mandlakazi for five miles to the Mona River, rounding up all their cattle and those of Ziwedu’s adherents, who were hiding along the Mbile’s banks. The uSuthu then retired to Ceza with their booty. A mounted patrol of the Zululand Police succeeded in recapturing several hundred cattle. Nearly 300 Mandlakazi and seven of Ziwedu’s adherents died in the battle, with between 25 and 30 uSuthu, some by fire from the fort. Believing Ivuna now to be untenable, on 24 June the British evacuated the magistrate, garrison, and Mandlakazi survivors to Nkonjeni. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

**IVUNA CAMP.** During January 1888 and again in mid-May, British cavalry moved forward temporarily from their base at Nkonjeni to a camp near the Ivuna Fort to overawe the disaffected uSuthu and dissuade them from taking up their arms against the British administration. See also DRAGOONS, 6TH (INNISKILLING).

**IVUNA FORT.** The magisterial post of the Ndwandwe District of British Zululand at Ivuna consisted of the magistrate’s office, a heliograph station, and the adjoining fort. The circular earthwork fort with its loopholed, sandbagged parapet surrounded by a ditch was constructed in late 1887 and early 1888. Inside were huts for the small garrison of Zululand Police and a mess house for the white officers. During the uSuthu Rebellion, when on 23 June 1888 the uSuthu routed the Mandlakazi camped nearby on Ndunu Hill in the battle of Ivuna, they avoided attacking the fort, even though fired upon. British troops from Nkonjeni evacuated the fort the following day. On 7 August 1888, the Coastal Column and Martin’s Flying Column rendezvoused at the abandoned Ivuna Fort preparatory to their joint advance to the coast on 18 August. On 27 August 1888, the magistrate, Richard Hallowes Addison, reoccupied the post with the Zululand Police.
IXOPO LAAGER. There were plans in late 1878 to build a sod laager at Stuartstown, the seat of the Ixopo magistracy in Natal Colonial Defensive District No. IV, but nothing had been done by the time of Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War. An earthwork was then hastily thrown up at the magistrate’s office and the Wesleyan chapel, but it was never manned because no attack by the neighboring Griqua materialized.

IXOPO MOUNTED RIFLES. This was the only corps of the Natal Mounted Volunteers that was not called out for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. Instead, it remained in Colonial Defensive District No. IV to protect the southern border of Natal against a possible attack by the Griqua, which never occurred.

IXOPO NATIVE CONTINGENT. By February 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Natal colonial authorities had raised all the African levies they could from Colonial Defensive Districts I, VII, and VI and had to augment them with levies drawn from districts to the south. The Ixopo Native Contingent was raised in District IV and consisted of about 500 mounted men and about 800 infantry led by white officers under the command of Captain R.W.I. Walker. In March, it was stationed at strategic defensive positions in District VII above the Thukela valley. In May, it constructed and garrisoned the Wolf Trap Fort, and it took part in the transborder raid of 20 May. In June, after the Zulu raid at Middle Drift, it built and garrisoned Fort Cross and Fort Liddle. In late August, it returned home and was disbanded. Throughout its service, its discipline and morale were poor. It was issued with a number of rifles, was organized along traditional lines instead of British military ones, and was identified by a gray band with an orange stripe worn around the arm.

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JANTZE’S (JANTJE’S) NATIVE HORSE. Chief Mqundana (Jantze) of the Ximba people in southwestern Natal had supported the Boers of the Republic of Natalia against King Dingane kaSenzan-
gakhona and had served with Major Anthony William Durnford during the Langalibalele Rebellion. He was eager to participate in the Anglo-Zulu War, and his troop of irregular horse was mustered into the Natal Native Mounted Contingent and attached in December 1878 to No. 2 Column. They remained at Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive District No. VII when the rest of the Mounted Contingent reinforced No. 3 Column at Isandlwana, and they formed part of the garrison at Fort Cherry. A second troop was raised in early March, and the squadron joined the Eshowe Relief Column and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, the squadron joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in its advance to Port Durnford. On the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July, it served with Clarke’s Column during its march back to Natal and was disbanded in September.

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KAFFRARIAN RIFLES. Commandant Felix Schermbrucker, who had originally come to the Cape in 1856 with the British German Legion, raised a force of irregulars and African levies in the 9th Cape Frontier War. In October 1878, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford requested Schermbrucker to raise a force of infantry volunteers from the Eastern Cape, the majority of them of German stock. They joined No. 4 Column in December and proceeded to Luneburg, where they garrisoned the laager and Fort Clery. Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood was short of mounted men for his column, and in February 1879 marched Schermbrucker’s 40 men to the Khambula camp, where they were mounted. Part of the unit fought at Hlobane in Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s force and then at Khambula. On 30 April, their period of service expired, and most of the men returned home. Schermbrucker returned to Luneburg with the few men who remained to help protect the region. The unit was then known as Schermbrucker’s Horse, and it disbanded in September. The uniform was of black corduroy with a white puggaree around the wideawake hat. The unit was armed with Martini-Henry rifles.
**oKATHONGWENI STRONGHOLD.** This was the stronghold in the Nkandla Forest of the pro-uSuthu inKosi Godide kaNdlela of the Ntuli. On 22 May 1884, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Mounted Basutos drove out the Ntuli in the campaign to reassert the colonial administration’s control over the Reserve Territory.

**KHAKI UNIFORM, BRITISH.** The British began to adopt khaki for uniforms in India during the Indian Mutiny of 1857–1859, though its reception throughout the army was slow and reluctant. In South Africa, after the military disasters in the 1st Boer War against the rebel Boer marksmen, the British army was committed to fighting in future in khaki. Operations in Zululand during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion proved the exception, as it was believed that with the memory of the Anglo-Zulu War fresh in Zulu minds, the moral effect of wearing scarlet would outweigh the negligible danger from indifferent Zulu marksmen. In the event, the British troops skirmishing in Zululand in 1888 were the last in the British army to fight in scarlet. In 1897, khaki was adopted as service wear on all overseas postings. See also DRESS, BRITISH ARMY.

**KHAMBULA, BATTLE OF (1879).** The fortified base at Khambula of No. 4 Column, operating during the Anglo-Zulu War in northwestern Zululand under Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood, consisted of a wagon laager connected to an earthwork redoubt (Fort Khambula) and a smaller cattle laager. At midday on 29 March 1879, the advancing Zulu army of about 20,000 men (the veterans of the Zulu victory at Isandlwana supported by the abaQulusi iButho and local irregulars) under the command of inKosi Mnyamana kaNgqen gelele halted four miles southeast of the camp that was held by 2,086 troops, 132 of them African. Aware of the danger of attacking entrenched positions, King Cetshwayo kaMpende had instructed Mnyamana to draw the British into the open by threatening their line of supply, but the younger amaButho insisted on an immediate, direct assault. The Zulu army deployed with the intention of enveloping Khambula, but the right horn began an unsupported advance from the north, drawn on by mounted troops sent forward by Wood, and was repulsed. The Zulu were consequently unable to
complete their envelopment of the camp, whose northern and western salients remained unthreatened, thus enabling the British to concentrate against the main Zulu attack which unfolded from the south.

The Zulu drove the British from the cattle laager and threatened the wagon laager. Several British companies then sortied and drove the Zulu back at bayonet point, and the Zulu abandoned their assault from the south. Over the next two hours, they renewed the attack, first from the east and then from the northeast, but were repeatedly beaten back. When the Zulu attack slackened off, British infantry sortied once more, supported by the mounted troops. The exhausted Zulu were unable to rally, and their retirement turned into a rout. The mounted troops relentlessly pursued them eastward until night fell. The British lost 28 killed, the Zulu over 1,000. The fighting spirit of the Zulu army never recovered from this crushing defeat that marked the turning point in the war.

Sergeant-Major Learda, Natal Native Horse, and Sergeant E. Quigley and Private A. Page of the 1st Battalion, 13th (1st Somersetshire) Prince Albert’s Light Infantry, were awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal. See also TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

KHAMBULA CAMP. See FORT KHAMBULA.

iKHANDA. The amaKhanda, or military homesteads, scattered across Zululand served as the centers of royal authority in the far-flung districts of the kingdom and were presided over by representatives of the king in the form of members of the royal family or trusted izinDuna (royal officers). When serving the king, an iButho (regiment) was stationed at an iKhanda. These homesteads ranged from one at oNdini with nearly 1,500 izinDlu (huts) to small ones a tenth that size. Because of the materials of construction, amaKhanda were very susceptible to damage by fire. All were similar in layout. At the upper end was the isiGodlo, or royal enclosure, where the king or the king’s representative lived, with the members of his or her household. From either side of the isiGodlo swept two wings of huts, or izinHlangothi, housing the amaButho and surrounding the large, elliptical parade ground. At the upper end of the parade ground, in
front of the isiGodlo, was a cattle enclosure, or isiBayá, sacred to the king. There his councilors would consult, and he would perform the required rituals or ceremonies.

Nearly half the amaKhandá were concentrated in the valley of the White Mfolozi River in the heart of the kingdom; the rest were widely dispersed as regional centers of royal influence and mobilization points for cadets and local elements of the amaButhó. As centers of royal power, they were always prime military objectives of enemies, whether in the Voortrekker-Zulu War or the Anglo-Zulu War. In 1838, the Zulu themselves set fire to three major amaKhandá in the emaKhosini valley to forestall the advancing Boers. In 1879, the British burned all 13 central amaKhandá and 10 of the 14 regional ones. On his restoration following the 2nd Partition of Zululand, King Cetshwayo kaMpendé started rebuilding the amaKhandá in the Mahlabathini Plain, though on a smaller scale. They were still incomplete when they were destroyed again in 1883 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and were never revived.

**uKHandempemvu iButhó.** See uMcijo iButhó.

**kwaKHandempemvu iKhanda.** This iKhanda was in the Mahlabathini Plain, where the uMcijo iButho was stationed. It was one of the amaKhandá burned by the British following the battle of Ulundi in the Anglo-Zulu War.

**kwaKhangela iKhanda.** Originally established by King Dingane kaSenzangakhona, this was one of the nine amaKhandá in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

**emaKheni iKhanda.** In the 18th century, Ndaba kaPhunga, the inKosi of the then obscure Zulu people, built an umuZi (homestead) in the emaKhosini valley. It was used by his grandson, inKosi Senzangakhona kaJama, whose son, King Mpende kaSenzangakhona, rebuilt it as an iKhanda. Its name meant the “Perfumery” because it was here the king and his household were periodically anointed with sweet herbs. In August 1873, Cetshwayo kaMpende was proclaimed king there by the Zulu people prior to Theophilus Shepstone’s coronation.
of him. EmaKheni was one of the nine amaKhandá in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

esiKHLEBHENI iKHANDA. InKosí Senzangakhona kaJama built this iKhandá close to the kwaNobamba umuZi of his father, InKosi Jama kaNdaba, in the emaKhosini valley. It is still hallowed as the place where Senzangakhona was buried. This iKhandá was restored by his royal successors and presided over by Langazana, Senzangakhona’s fourth wife. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona placed the iNkatha there for safekeeping. It was one of the nine amaKhandá in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. Men of the uNokhenke and uMxhapho amaButho stationed there retired when they came under fire from Wood’s 9-pounder guns. They abandoned the iNkatha to the flames, and its loss was an enormous symbolic blow to the Zulu.

uKHOKHOTHI iBUTHO. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1838 from youths born about 1818. At Ncome during the Voortrekker-Zulu War, the inexperienced iButho was armed only with knobbed sticks and was kept in reserve east of the Ncome River, waiting to be deployed if the Zulu attack on the Boer laager succeeded. In 1841, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona incorporated it with the iNdabakawombe iButho.

umKHOSI. The Zulu king was the great rainmaker, and the fruitfulness of the crops depended on him. At crucial times of the agricultural years, he was strengthened with ritual medicines to ensure a good harvest. For the Zulu, one of the most important rituals was the umKhosi, or national first-fruits ceremony, celebrated annually at the king’s principal iKhandá in late December or early January when the full moon was about to wane. All the amaButho gathered at the district amaKhandá before proceeding to the king’s “great place” for the ceremonies. The amaDlozi (ancestral spirits) were invoked through sacrifice and their favor courted. The king, his amaButho, and his people were ritually purified, strengthened against evil influences, and bound together anew, and mystical confusion was sent
out among their enemies. The ceremonies would conclude after three days with a grand review of the amaButho in their festival attire, followed by the proclamation of the laws the king and the iBandla (royal council) had decided on.

**emaKHOSINI VALLEY.** The “Valley of the Kings” is south across the White Mfolozi River from the Mahlabathini Plain and is the most sacred spot in Zululand. The residences of the amaKhosi (chiefs) who preceded Shaka were built there, and they were constantly renewed during the period of the Zulu kingdom. During the reigns of Dingane kaSenzangakhona, Mpande kaSenzangakhona, and Cetshwayo kaMpande, the symbol of the nation, the iNkatha (sacred grass coil), was stored there in the esikhlebheni ikhanda. The Zulu rulers Zulu, Nkosinkulu, Mageba, Phunga, Ndaba, Jama, Senzangakhona, and Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo are buried there.

**isiKHULU.** See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

**umKHULUTSHANE iBUTHO.** King Dingane kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1833 from youths born about 1813. In the Voortrekker-Zulu War, it fought at eThaleni and Ncome, where it formed part of the right horn.

**KIMBERLEY DIAMOND FIELDS.** In 1866, diamonds were discovered at the confluence of the Vaal and Orange rivers, and a diamond rush followed. Britain annexed the territory in 1871 as Griqualand West, and the central site of the diggings was named in June 1873 after the secretary of state for colonies, John Wodehouse, 1st Earl Kimberley. By the late 1870s, Kimberley was second only to Cape Town as the biggest town in the subcontinent, and the diggings attracted thousands of migrant African laborers like the Pedi, who often used their pay to buy firearms. Because of the iButho system, no men were allowed to leave the Zulu kingdom to work at the diamond diggings until after the Anglo-Zulu War.

**KLIP RIVER REPUBLIC.** After the British annexation of Natal, there were Boers living in the wedge of territory between the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers who wished neither to trek to the highveld nor
to accept British rule. In January 1847, Andries Spies bought the territory from King Mpande kaSenzangakhona, but in terms of the boundary treaty with Britain of October 1843, it was no longer his to sell. Under British pressure, Mpande repudiated his agreement with Spies in July 1847, and in January 1848 the British asserted their authority over the territory, putting an end to the “Klip River Insurrection.” See also LADYSMITH; NATAL-ZULULAND BOUNDARY, 1843.

**KNIGHT’S LEVY.** See ENTONJANENI LEVY.

**KNOBBED STICK, ZULU.** For close fighting, some amaButho carried a heavy wooden knobbed stick, or iWisa (also called a “knobkerrie” in English and Afrikaans). It was also used to put badly wounded comrades out of their misery, or for execution. Lighter versions were employed during ceremonial dancing displays.

**KOPPIE ALLEEN.** See FORT WHITEHEAD.

**inKOSI.** See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

**KRANSKOP.** See NTUNJAMBILI.

**KUBHEKA PEOPLE.** The Kubheka people north of the Phongolo River in the Disputed Territory were what remained of various chiefdoms conquered by Shaka kaSenzangakhona and Dingane kaSenzangakhona whom King Mpande kaSenzangakhona had allowed to settle in the Ntombe River valley. In the Anglo-Zulu War, their inKosi, Manyonyoba kaMaqondo, owed King Cetshwayo kaMpande allegiance, and they took the field against the British with the abaQulusi and other irregulars of the region. On 26 January 1879, a mounted patrol from Luneburg worsted the Kubheka, captured much livestock, and forced them to take refuge in their caves along the steep hillsides of the Ntombe River. On 10–11 February, the Kubheka hit back with the aid of the abaQulusi and Mbilini waMswati’s adherents, and they ravaged the Luneburg farmlands. On 15 February, Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller of No. 4 Column raided the Kubheka caves in retaliation but did not succeed
in fully subduing them. On 25 March, a patrol from No. 4 Column again attacked the Ntombe valley inconclusively. During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, once Wood’s Flying Column began its march from Khambula, leaving only small garrisons behind, the Kubheka and other people in the region were emboldened to raid the Luneburg district thoroughly between 7 and 21 June. On 4, 5, and 8 September, Baker Russell’s Column and the Luneburg garrison attacked the Kubheka in their caves in the Ntombe valley, blowing up some of the caves with women and children inside. Kubheka resistance collapsed, and Manyonyoba surrendered on 22 September. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

KWAMAGWAZA (kwaMAGWAZA) FORT. See FORT ALBERT.

KWAMAGWAZA MISSION. See kwaMAGWAZA MISSION.

LAAGER, BOER WAGON. For defensive purposes and as a secure base for their commandos (militias) on campaign, the Boers of the Cape developed the wagon laager (encampment) and took the concept with them on the Great Trek. Wagons were drawn into a circle, rough triangle, or whatever shape best suited the terrain and natural features that might impede the enemy’s advance. The wagons were lashed together, end to end, with the shaft of each wagon fitting under the chassis of the next. Branches from thorn trees or wooden hurdles (veghekke or “fighting gates”) filled the gaps, and oxskins were stretched over the wheels. Noncombatants and livestock sheltered inside the laager. The defenders were positioned between each wagon and ideally fired in ordered rotation to keep up an uninterrupted rate of fire, supported sometimes by small cannon. Once they had broken the enemy’s attack, the defenders sallied out on their horses to turn the enemy’s retreat into a rout.

LAAGER, BRITISH MARCH. After their unlaagered camp was overwhelmed at Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the
British thereafter formed march laagers at every halt, which were a modification of the Boer wagon laager. The wagons were parked in echelon because it took too much time to maneuver them end to end, as was Boer practice. Formations of three mutually supporting laagers were preferred, but when a single square or oblong laager was formed, it was divided into compartments for livestock, soldiers, and headquarters. With a large force and a moderate convoy of wagons, the practice was to man a shelter trench two deep outside the wagon laager, into which the livestock was corralled with enough space between trench and wagons for the ammunition and African auxiliaries. With a small force and large convoy, a smaller perimeter was desirable to concentrate firepower, so the wagons themselves were manned. Some men fired through the spaces left between the spokes of the wagon wheels that had been packed with earth from the surrounding trench, and others fired from the wagons. It was always the practice to clear the bush and burn the grass around the laager to prevent the enemy using them as cover or setting them alight to endanger the wagons. If mounted troops were available, it was usual for them to sally out in a counterattack once the enemy’s assault faltered. See also individual British camps and laagers.

**Laager, Permanent Settler.** During the second half of the 19th century in Natal, settler committees or the colonial government erected permanent fortifications in time of peace against possible future danger, and usually termed them “laagers.” Large enough to accommodate the white settler families of the vicinity with their African retainers, wagons, and some livestock, they usually took the form of square enclosures built of dressed stone and mortar about 10 feet high, with bastions at opposite corners. Sometimes they were added to existing government buildings like magistrate’s offices or jails. See also individual colonial forts and laagers.

**Ladysmith.** The village of Ladysmith was proclaimed on 20 June 1850 as the administrative center of Klip River County in northern Natal. This was the region where dissident Boers had proclaimed their short-lived Klip River Republic. By the late 1870s, the village was well established, with a population of about 250 white settlers.
LADEYSMITH LAAGER. A laager, begun in 1861, whose walls linked together the magistracy buildings in Ladysmith, was in disrepair by 1878 when the Natal government gave orders for it to be renovated. On 23 February 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu War, it was designated a place of security for white settlers of Colonial Defen- sive District No. I in the event of a Zulu invasion. Although never threatened, the laager was manned by the Ladysmith Town Guard (incorporating the Klip River Rifle Association) and African levies until the end of May 1879. A detachment of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, was stationed there from April until September 1879, when the laager operated as its rear base for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

emLAMBONGWENYA iKHANDA. This iKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain was the home of King Mpande kaSenzangakhona’s mother, Songiya. Cetshwayo kam pande was crowned there as king by Theophilus Shepstone on 1 September 1871. After the battle of Ulundi in the Anglo-Zulu War, the British burned it along with all the other amaKhandha in the plain. See also CORONATION LAWS.

LANCE. The lance was a close-quarter cavalry shock weapon favored in pursuit. The lance used by the 17th (Duke of Cambridge’s Own) Lancers in the Anglo-Zulu War was of the 1868 pattern, with a nine-foot bamboo pole and triangular steel head.

LANCERS, 17TH (DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE’S OWN). Sent out as reinforcements for the 2nd invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Colonel Drury Curzon Drury-Lowe made up half the Cavalry Brigade attached to the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. During the advance, a detachment was based at Fort Marshall to protect the line forward. In May, the regiment took part in the patrol to Isandlwana to bury the British dead. A squadron saw action in the skirmish at Zungeni, and two squadrons participated in Brigadier-General Henry Evelyn Wood’s raid on the emaKhosini valley. At Ulundi, the regiment played a key part in the mounted pursuit. The regiment embarked in September for England.
The uniform consisted of a double-breasted dark blue tunic with white facings (in marching order, the white plastron front was reversed to show the blue side), dark blue breeches with a white stripe, and white accoutrements. In Zululand, the lancer’s helmet with a white plume was replaced by a white sun helmet.

LANDING-PLACES, ZULULAND. The Zululand coast offers no secure anchorages or harbors. The only practicable landing place the British identified during the Anglo-Zulu War was the open sandy beach at Port Durnford. Supplies and personnel were brought to shore in 40-foot surf-boats from ships anchored out to sea beyond the heavy surf. In northern Zululand, the shallow St. Lucia Bay provided a reasonable holding ground for anchoring, provided the wind was not blowing a gale from the south.

LANDMAN, KAREL PIETER (1796–1875). Landman was a prosperous stock farmer from the Uitenhage District of the Eastern Cape who in late 1837 led his party of Voortrekkers into the interior. They crossed over the Drakensberg in February 1838 soon after the Bloukrans Massacre. Although a cautious leader, Landman was also experienced in Cape frontier warfare. He was a member of the Vlugkommando and successfully defended the rearguard in the retreat at eThaleni. In May 1838, he occupied Port Natal (Durban) for the Voortrekkers and ensured the flow of necessary supplies. He was second in command of the Wenkommando and fought at Ncome. He almost led his force to disaster when ambushed by the Zulu at the battle of the White Mfolozi. He played an active role in the Volksraad of the Republic of Natalia. When the British occupied Port Natal in May 1842, Landman refused to take up arms against them and retired to farm in the Natal midlands.

LANDMAN’S DRIFT. This area on the west bank of the Mzinyathi River in Colonial Defensive District No. I is where the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, massed in May 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, constructing a depot and three earthwork forts to guard the stores. They were garrisoned by small detachments of the 2nd Division until September 1879.
LANGALIBALELE REBELLION (1873). In late 1873, relations broke down between Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu (1818–1889), the powerful inKosi of the Hlubi people who had lived in the foothills of the Drakensberg since 1849, and the Natal colonial government over the registration of firearms. Rather than suffer punishment, Langalibalele resolved to lead his people over the Drakensberg and out of Natal. Major Anthony William Durnford, with a small force of Natal Mounted Volunteers and Mounted Basutos, tried to intercept them on 4 November 1873 at the Bushman’s River Pass and was routed. The Natal government severely punished those Hlubi who remained in Natal, and Langalibalele was later captured and exiled for life to the Cape, where in 1881–1882 he shared his captivity with the deposed King Cetshwayo kaMpande.

LEE-METFORD MARK I RIFLES. Introduced in 1888, this bolt-action rifle was the first magazine rifle adopted by the British army, although it was not yet in use in Zululand during the uSuthu Rebellion.

LESOTHO. See BASUTOLAND.

iLOBOLO. When a Zulu man married, he handed over cattle or goods to his wife’s family to formalize the transaction and to compensate them for the loss of a productive member of their umuZi (homestead). Members of an iButho (regiment) given permission by the king to assume the isiCoco (headdress) and take a wife from a designated female iButho had to pay iLobolo, usually about three cattle, though the number varied according to the period and the status of the recipient.

LOGISTICS, BRITISH. The British knew that the basis for any successful campaign in Zululand depended on the accumulation of the necessary supplies and ammunition and on the organization of sufficient transport to carry them to the front. During the Anglo-Zulu War, transport eventually required 748 colonial horses, 4,635 mules, 27,125 oxen, 641 horse- and mule-carriages, 1,770 ox wagons, 796 ox carts, and 4,080 conductors and voorlopers. The inefficient and inexperienced Commissariat and Transport Department and Army
Service Corps barely proved adequate to the task. Many items were first brought to Durban by sea and then off-loaded by lighter across the harbor bar and stockpiled. Convoys loaded with ammunition, baggage, camping equipment, and rations then had to cover great distances over rudimentary tracks, across drifts (fordable points in a river) and dongas (dry riverbeds). Transport was also required for artillery and rocket batteries, engineering and signaling equipment, medical stores, camp kitchens, and shoeing smithies. Fodder had to be carried for cavalry mounts and for mules that could not subsist entirely on grazing, as could oxen and colonial horses. Depots for reserve supplies were established at intervals between the rear supply bases and forts or other forward encampments.

The scale of British operations in Zululand during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion was considerably smaller than in the Anglo-Zulu War, and the pressure much less on the reformed Commissariat and Transport Staff and Commissariat and Transport Corps. In any case, the logistical lessons of 1879 were taken to heart by the British operating in Zululand during the 1880s. The nature of the required transport had not changed, but there was a better understanding of how to employ it effectively. Fortified depots along the main lines of communication were established early. Tracks in Zululand were improving, and better knowledge of the country meant the best routes were selected. Nevertheless, tracks were still often impassable during the rainy season, and there were no bridges across the many dongas and rivers. In such conditions, transport still regularly broke down, making it difficult to bring up supplies. See also LANDING-PLACES, ZULULAND.

LOGISTICS, ZULU. The Zulu had no wheeled vehicles or draught animals. They marched to war carrying their supplies or living off the countryside. Until it reached enemy territory, a Zulu army marched in one great column, the amaButho ordered in terms of status, the most prestigious in the lead. Every man carried his shield rolled up on his back and had with him rations in a skin bag. IzinDibi, youths serving as carriers for men of status, accompanied the army, moving in the rear or a mile off its flanks; they also drove the cattle to feed the army. Some of the men of importance were also accompanied by young women carrying beer, corn, and milk; when these supplies
were exhausted, the young women returned to their homes, as did izinDibi who could not keep up. Then even the izinDuna (officers) would have to carry their belongings.

A Zulu army on the march rapidly consumed its supplies and rations. To spare its own civilian population, it slaughtered the cattle it brought with it and camped whenever it could at amaKhanda where there were stores of food. In enemy territory, an army foraged mercilessly, but even on its own soil it was usually forced to raid the grain and cattle of its own civilians. In turn, civilians did their best to remove their precious supplies from their imiZi before an army passed through. Sometimes a hungry army advanced in skirmishing order, driving wild game to the center to kill for food. Lack of water, especially in the dry months, and insufficient wood for cooking and warmth added greatly to an army’s privations.

Whether victorious or not, a Zulu army could not stay in the field after combat. There were the wounded to bring home and purification rituals to observe. Also, all supplies in the area of operations would have been consumed. If the enemy could not swiftly be brought to combat, a Zulu army had to be content with ravaging the enemy’s territory and then retiring with its booty.

There was a change during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion when contending Zulu forces made use of natural fastnesses to defend themselves from attack and subsisted by raiding the surrounding countryside for supplies. They could do so for as long as their enemies did not ravage around their strongholds and deny them supplies. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULU-LAND; STRATEGY, ZULU.

LONGCAST, HENRY WILLIAM (1850–1909). The orphaned Longcast was brought up at the Rev. Robert Robertson’s Anglican mission at kwaMagwaza in Zululand. In 1870, he married a Zulu convert to Christianity, thus compromising his position in settler society. In November 1878, he was appointed to Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s headquarters staff as interpreter and guide, remaining with him throughout the Anglo-Zulu War. He was present at Gingindlovu and Ulundi. In July 1879, he joined General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley’s staff in the same capacity. Longcast played an essential part in the search for the fugitive King Cetshwayo kaMpende. In September 1879, he accompanied the captive
king to the Cape and remained with him until January 1881. He then returned to kwaMagwaza. After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the restored Cetshwayo granted him land nearby as a reward for his services. In the 3rd Partition of Zululand, kwaMagwaza fell under Boer control in Proviso B, and Longcast and his family took refuge at the eThalaneni mission in the Reserve Territory. They remained there in poverty until his death. The British, who gained control of Proviso B in 1886, refused to recognize the land grant Cetshwayo had made him.

LONSDALE’S HORSE (MOUNTED RIFLES). Commandant Rupert LaTrobe Lonsdale had commanded Mfengu levies during the 9th Cape Frontier War. During the first stage of the Anglo-Zulu War, he was given command of the 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent. In the reorganization of forces after Isandlwana, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford ordered him to the Cape to recruit a unit of mounted irregulars. He raised four troops, three of which joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and advanced with it to Port Durnford. On the breakup of the 1st Division in late July, two troops joined Clarke’s Column and one Baker Russell’s Column. The latter took part in the final operations against the Kubheka in the Ntombe caves on 5 and 8 September. The unit mustered out in September. Uniforms were of yellow or brown corduroy.

LUBUYA, BATTLE OF (1839). Apprehensive about the future of the Zulu kingdom after his defeat in the Voortrecker-Zulu War and his cession of territory and livestock to the Boers in March 1839, King Dingane kaSenzangakhona planned to secure his position by carving a new kingdom out of the southern parts of the Swazi domain north of the Phongolo River. In the winter of 1839, he mobilized his remaining military resources and, as a preliminary to conquest, dispatched four amaButho under Klwana kaNgqengelele to build a strategic iKhanda called Mbelebele on the Nguthumeni ridge north of the sources of the Ngwavuma River in Swazi territory. Usually the Swazi retired to their mountain fastnesses when raided by the Zulu, but realizing that this time the Zulu intended conquest, they met them in battle under Mngayi Fakudze in the valley of the Lubuya stream. After a hard fight, the Zulu were forced to withdraw, leaving two amaButho dead in the field behind them. Dingane hurried two further
amaButho north to sustain the faltering campaign, but continued Swazi resistance resulted in his abandoning it in failure. The battle not only secured the Swazi from Zulu conquest but destroyed what remained of Dingane’s reputation and led to the 1st Zulu Civil War that dethroned him. See also STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**LUMBE MOUNTAIN.** This mountain in central Zululand is three miles to the southeast of Hlophekhulu Mountain across the White Mfolozi River. During the uSuthu Rebellion when the British stormed Hlophekhulu on 2 July 1888 and dislodged the uSuthu holding it, a supporting force of 205 British troops, two mountain guns, and 500 African levies under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Froom were stationed in support on Lumbe. They had been encamped there since 30 June to deter any uSuthu raids in that direction from Hlophekhulu.

**LUNEBURG LAAGER.** In 1869, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona permitted a community of German settlers of the Hermannsburg Mission Society to establish the tiny settlement of Luneburg deep within the Disputed Territory claimed by the Zulu. The settlers built a stone-walled *laager* around their church, and they took refuge there twice in November 1877 and once again in May 1878 for fear of Zulu attack. A further scare in October 1878 resulted in a detachment of troops being sent from the Utrecht garrison in the Transvaal to protect the settlers. The troops arrived on 19 October 1878, strengthened the laager, and fortified the adjoining cemetery. During the Anglo-Zulu War, succeeding garrisons of detachments from No. 4 and No. 5 Columns manned the laager until July 1879. In early January 1879, the settlers took refuge in the laager, and in February, March, and again in April there were fears of a Zulu attack. Settler apprehensions were only fully allayed in late September 1879 with the final Zulu submissions.

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**MABENGE HILLS LAAGER.** Following the victory at Tshaneni during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Boers concentrated at their Hlo-
bane laager. Fresh arrivals of white adventurers and landgrabbers, attracted by the possibility of sharing in the spoils of victory, swelled their numbers to nearly 800. To accommodate them, a new and larger laager was set up nearby at the Mabenge Hills on 20 July. King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo met them there on 16 August and granted them the land to form the New Republic.

MABHUDU-TSONGA CHIEFDOM. Relations between the Zulu and the Mabhudu-Tsonga, the dominant chiefdom across the trade route from the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay to Zululand, had been strained since the 1860s as both tried to control the lucrative trade and smaller chiefdoms of the region. The Mabhudu-Tsonga paid tribute to the Zulu but were content to see a diminution of their power. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the Zulu feared the Mabhudu-Tsonga would aid the British if they attempted a seaborne invasion from St. Lucia Bay or Delagoa Bay. In May 1879, King Cetshwayo kaMpende ordered the Mabhudu-Tsonga to come to his aid, but the regent, Muhena, listened instead to H. E. O’Neill, the British consul at Zanzibar, who persuaded him to support the British. When a fugitive after Ulundi, Cetshwayo did not seek refuge with the Tsonga chiefdoms, as he expected they would kill him or capture him for the British.

MACLEOD, NORMAN MAGNUS (1839-1929). MacLeod arrived in Natal in 1873 and earned his living as a hunter and government official. In October 1878, he was appointed border agent to the Swazi and civil and political assistant to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood at Utrecht. In November 1878 and repeatedly during the Anglo-Zulu War until August 1879, he made visits to King Mbandzeni waMswati and persuaded the Swazi not to join the Zulu but to remain British allies, though he could not induce them to intervene actively in the war until Zulu defeat was assured. As a justice of the peace, he also dealt competently with the Boers of the Utrecht, Wakkerstroom, and Lydenburg districts of the Transvaal, who were not reconciled to British rule and were cooperating with the Zulu in the Disputed Territory. After the Anglo-Zulu War, he raised Swazi auxiliaries for the renewed campaign against the Pedi in late 1879. He returned to Britain in 1880 and in 1895 became Chief of the Clan MacLeod of MacLeod.
MAFUNZI’S MOUNTED NATIVES. Natal Chief Hemuhemenu of the Funzi people in Colonial Defensive District No. III called out his fighting men in February 1879 for a mounted unit some 70 strong that mustered in Pietermaritzburg and was originally called the Umlaas Corps. Although well mounted, the men were armed with spears and were issued only a few firearms. They served with the Eshowe Relief Column and fought at Gingindlovu. They then served with the 1st Division, South African Field Force; after it was broken up, they joined Clarke’s Column in its march back to Natal. They disbanded in September.

kwaMAGWAZA FORT. See FORT ALBERT.

kwaMAGWAZA MISSION. The Rev. Robert Robertson founded the Anglican mission station at kwaMagwaza in 1860. Robertson abandoned the mission in August 1877, and the Zulu destroyed it during the Anglo-Zulu War. He abandoned it again in 1884 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War. See also FORT ALBERT.

MAHASHINI umuZI. This was one of umNtwana Ndbuko ka-Mpande’s imiZi in the Vuna valley, where the uSuthu were concentrated. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it was plundered between 6 and 9 June 1888 by the Mandlakazi while they were encamped on Ndunu Hill close by the Ivuna Fort.

MAHLABATHINI PLAIN. Overlooked from the south across the White Mfolozi River by the Mthonjaneni Heights, the Mahlabathini Plain was in the heart of the Zulu kingdom. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona established his principal amaKhanda there (his predecessor’s had been in the emaKhosini valley), and King Cetshwayo kaMpande followed suit. The British burned all the ama-Khanda in the plain during the Anglo-Zulu War. After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, Cetshwayo started rebuilding many of them on a smaller scale, but all were destroyed in the 3rd Zulu Civil War.

MALAKOFF TOWER. As a precaution against a Zulu incursion, in 1857 James Saunders, a prosperous sugar planter on the Natal north coast, erected a square, loopholed tower on a hill on the south bank
of the Tongate River overlooking his estate. By 1878, the tower was in ruins and was not used in the Anglo-Zulu War.

MANDLAKAZI. In 1819, inKosi Maphitha kaSojiyisa of the Mandlakazi, who was closely related to the Zulu kings, was named by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona as his viceroy of the territories in northeastern Zululand newly conquered from the Ndwandwe. Maphitha’s son inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha continued to carry equal weight in the kingdom, and it was vital for umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande in the 2nd Zulu Civil War to bring the Mandlakazi into the uSuthu camp. During the Anglo-Zulu War, they fought loyally against the British. As a result of the 1st and 2nd Partitions of Zululand, they formed the core of Zibhebhu’s chieftaindom and fought relentlessly against the uSuthu in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. Following their defeat at Tshaneni, they took refuge in 1884 in the Reserve Territory and only returned home in November 1887, when the administration of the British colony of Zululand assigned Zibhebhu a new location in the Ndwandwe District. During the uSuthu Rebellion, they steadfastly supported the British and used the opportunity to harry the uSuthu in their territory.

MANSEL, GEORGE. Mansel joined the Natal Mounted Police in 1874. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he survived Isandlwana. He was the commandant of the Reserve Territory Carbineers (RTC) from 1883 to 1887 and during the 3rd Zulu Civil War commanded at the battle of the Nkandla Forest. He continued in command when the RTC were renamed the Zululand Police on the British annexation of Zululand in May 1887. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he fought at Ceza and Hlophekhulu. On Zululand becoming a province of Natal in December 1897, he was made assistant commissioner of the Natal Police, eventually rising to chief commissioner.

MANYONYOBA kaMAQONDO. See KUBHEKA PEOPLE.

MANZIPHAMBANA STRONGHOLD. This traditional stronghold of the Cube people, deep in the Nkandla Forest, was where they successfully defended themselves against King Shaka kaSenzangakhona in the days of their inKosi Dlaba. During the 3rd Zulu Civil
War, when King Cetshwayo kaMpende escaped in July 1883 after the battle of oNdini, this is where Cube warriors initially conducted him for safety.

MAQONGQO HILLS, BATTLE OF (1840). In September 1839, umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona, fearing that his half-brother King Dingane kaSenzangakhona intended to kill him, fled across the Thukela River with 17,000 of his adherents and 25,000 cattle to seek refuge with the Boers of the Republic of Natalia. On 27 October 1839, Mpande struck an alliance with the Boers for a combined attack on Dingane. The Boers would establish Mpande as the Zulu king, and in return Mpande would cede them St. Lucia Bay and much cattle. The campaign opened on 14 January 1840. Mpande’s army led by inKosi Nongalaza kaNondela advanced into Zululand along the coast, making for Dingane’s new uMgungundlovu iKhanda at the Vuna River in northern Zululand. Mpande marched with the Boer Beeskommando of 308 armed men, 500 agterryers (African servants), and 50 wagons under Commandant-General Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius that followed the path of the Boers’ 1838 campaign across the Mzinyathi and Ncome rivers.

Dingane made futile diplomatic efforts to halt the invasion. Realizing he had to stand and fight, he withdrew 30 miles north from uMgungundlovu to Magudu Mountain, which dominates the plain eight miles south of the Phongolo River. His army, under veteran general inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi, took up a defensive position a mile to the southwest of Magudu on a group of rounded knolls in the open plain known as the Maqongqo Hills.

The Beeskommando, which was treating the campaign as a hunting expedition and was more concerned to capture cattle than to fight, had only just passed the Ncome battlefield on 29 January when Mpande’s forces clashed with Dingane’s 100 miles away to the north. It would have been more prudent for Nongalaza to have waited for the Boer commando to arrive with their invincible firearms, but Mpande wished to win the battle without their aid to loosen their political hold over him.

Each side at the Maqongqo Hills fielded about 5,000 men, who faced each other armed with spears and shields and arrayed in traditional chest and horns formation. The morale of Nongalaza’s men...
was higher, but even so the battle was fiercely contested and the issue long hung in doubt. Ndlela’s men started to take heavy casualties, and increasing numbers began to go over to the enemy. These defections decided the day, and Ndlela’s army withdrew. Nongalaza’s forces, who had also suffered considerable casualties, were reluctant to pursue the enemy with any vigor. They did finish off the wounded and killed women of Dingane’s household who did not manage to escape. Dingane fled across the Phongolo with only a few followers, but not before ordering Ndlela’s execution. His defeated amaButho dispersed home. The Beeskommando made contact with Nongalaza on 6 February, but in heavy rain and with horse sickness ravaging their horses, they decided to call off the campaign and returned home with 36,000 captured cattle. On 10 February, in their camp on the south bank of the Black Mfolozi River, they proclaimed Mpande king. See also TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

MARITZ, GERRIT (1797-1838). Maritz was a prosperous wagonmaker, businessman, and administrator from the town of Graaff-Reinet in the Eastern Cape. In September 1836, he led a party of Voortrekkers into the interior, where in January 1837 they reinforced the Voortrekkers under Andries Hendrik Potgieter in their confrontation with the Ndebele. Maritz decided not to stay on the highveld. His party joined Pieter Retief’s over the Drakensberg in November 1837 and established their Saailaer laager on a horseshoe bend of the Bushman’s River. Maritz was dubious about attempting to treat with King Dingane kaSenzangakhona and would not support Pieter Retief’s ill-fated efforts to do so. During the Bloukrans Massacre, Saailaer proved a bulwark against the Zulu attack.

After fighting in the Veglaer battle in August, Maritz moved from the Doornkop laager to the Sooi laager (“Sod laager”), between the Little Thukela River and Loskop. In the winter of 1838, disease struck the Voortrekkers in their laagers, and Maritz died on 23 September at Sooilaer.

MARITZBURG RIFLES. This was one of the three infantry corps in the Natal Volunteer Corps. It was not initially mobilized for service in the Anglo-Zulu War, but in the panic after Isandlwana, it helped
defend the Pietermaritzburg laager and mounted guard until the end of February 1879.

**MARSHALL, FREDERICK (1829-1900).** Commissioned in 1849, Marshall saw service in the Crimean War (1855). He was commanding officer of the 2nd Life Guards from 1864 to 1873 and was promoted major-general in 1877. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he proceeded to Natal in February 1879 to command the Cavalry Brigade attached to the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, during the 2nd Invasion of the war. He commanded at the burial of the dead at Isandlwana in May and at the unsuccessful skirmish at Zungeni. When the Cavalry Brigade was disbanded in July, General Garnet Joseph Wolseley placed him in command of advanced posts and lines of communication. He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1884 and knighted in 1897.

**MARTIN, RICHARD EDWARD ROWLEY (1847-1907).** Commissioned in 1867, Martin served in the 1st Boer War (1881). He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1886. In 1887, he was in command of the cavalry of the British Zululand garrison in the Colony of Zululand, based at Nkonjeni. In January 1888, he patrolled forward to support the civil authorities at Ivuna against the disaffected uSuthu. In August 1888, during the final stage of the uSuthu Rebellion, Martin led Martin’s Flying Column from Nkonjeni to Eshowe in a joint march with the Coastal Column in order to eliminate the last pockets of uSuthu resistance. In 1889, he assumed command of the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons and was promoted colonel in 1890. He was commandant-general of the British South Africa Company’s police during operations in South Africa in 1897 and was knighted in 1898.

**MARTIN’S FLYING COLUMN.** In the final stages of the uSuthu Rebellion, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Edward Rowley Martin, the officer commanding the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons stationed at Nkonjeni, formed a flying column consisting of 1,760 African levies (troops). It joined the Coastal Column at Ivuna on 7 August, and on 18 August marched back with it along the coast to Eshowe (which it reached on 30 August), dispersing the last few pockets of uSuthu resistance.
**MARTINI-HENRY MARK II RIFLE.** British infantry had carried the single-shot Martini-Henry Mark II rifle since 1874, when it replaced the Snider Enfield rifle, and continued to do so in Zululand through 1888. It weighed 9 lbs. and fired a .450-caliber, hardened-lead bullet of 1.1 ounces, with a muzzle velocity of 375 yards per second. A lever behind the trigger guard, when lowered, dropped the breech block, allowing the center-fire Boxer cartridge to be inserted into the chamber. The cartridge, which was covered with paper, was difficult to insert, and the thin rolled-brass case often became stuck when the chamber was fouled and heated by the black gunpowder propellant. Fouling also lodged easily in the rifled barrel with its seven deep, square-cut grooves. This significantly increased the already severe recoil, made the barrel too hot to touch, and affected accuracy, since the bullet would no longer spin properly.

The Martini-Henry lead bullet flattened on impact, causing massive tissue damage and splintering the bone lengthways. Its effect nevertheless depended on range and volume of fire. At close range (100–300 yards), two minutes’ fire at six shots per minute would only be 10 percent effective against a mass attack; at medium range (300–700 yards), effectiveness would decrease to 5 percent for four minutes’ fire at six shots per minute; at long range (700–1,400 yards), the effectiveness of six shots per minute over seven minutes would fall to 2 percent. At point-blank range (below 100 yards), a wall of fire could be impenetrable for a charging enemy if the troops were sufficiently concentrated. Thus a company of 100 men in close order, two deep, with a frontage of 40 yards, could maintain the necessary volume of 12 shots a minute per yard. Yet, as was demonstrated at Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, even at point-blank range, a skirmishing line with regulation intervals of at least four paces and as many as 10 could not develop the volume of fire necessary to deter a determined charge.

**kwaMATIWANE.** In 1829, inKosi Matiwane kaMasumpa of the Ngwane people returned a suppliant to the Zulu kingdom after the destruction of his migrating people by the forces of the Cape Colony. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona did not trust him and ordered his execution on a small rocky hill across the Mkumbane stream, 500 yards from the main entrance of his uMgungundlovu iKhanda. On
6 February 1838, an amaButho, on Dingane’s signal, dragged Pieter Retief and his companions to this hill of execution and clubbed them to death.

MATSHANA kaMONDISA. Matshana was the inKosí of the section of the Sithole people living south of the Mzinyathi River in a region that fell first into the Republic of Natalia and then British Natal. In 1858, Matshana ran afoul of the colonial authorities and fled to Zululand, where Cetshwayo kaMpende appointed him inKosí of the section of the Sithole living at the confluence of the Mzinyathi and Mangeni rivers and gave him two of his sisters in marriage. But King Cetshwayo’s advisers mistrusted Matshana’s connections with Natal, and at the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War, they were reluctant to entrust him with an important military command. So instead of joining the Zulu army marching to confront the No. 3 Column, he and his fighting men remained in his own district to the southeast of Isandlwana and skirmished with the British on 21–22 January 1879. The war thereafter largely passed him and his people by and he submitted on 20 August. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Matshana’s chiefdom fell under John Dunn; in the 2nd Partition it became part of the Reserve Territory. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Matshana’s levy supported the Mounted Basutos in 1884 against the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest. He managed to remain aloof during the uSuthu Rebellion but was not so fortunate during the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion), when many of his younger adherents supported the rebels. He was afterward tried for sedition but acquitted.

MAVUMENGWANA kaNDLELA (c. 1830–c. 1893). The younger brother of inKosí Godide kaNdlela, Mavumengwana was inKosí of a lesser section of the Ntuli people. During the 1st Zulu Civil War, he vacillated in his support of umNtwana M'pande kaSenzanga-khona, but on Mpande becoming king he grew in royal favor. He was enrolled in the uThulwana iButho and became a close associate of umNtwana Cetshwayo kaM'pande, serving with him in the Swazi campaign of 1847 and supporting him in the 2nd Zulu Civil War. During Cetshwayo’s reign, Mavumengwana was one of the greatest men in the kingdom, a prominent member of the iBandla
(royal council), and principal induna of the uThulwana. In the crisis before the Anglo-Zulu War, he was a leading member of the peace party in the iBandla. Nevertheless, Cetshwayo appointed him joint commander of the army in the Isandlwana campaign. After Isandlwana, Mavumengwana returned to his chieftdom and together with umNtwana Dabulamanzi kaMpande took command of the forces blockading the British in Fort Eshowe. At the battle of Gingindlovu, he held a lesser command, and after the defeat he returned home. By May 1879, Cetshwayo was losing confidence in his loyalty, but Mavumengwana did not surrender to the British until August. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was placed under John Dunn. After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, when his chiefdom fell into the Reserve Territory, he did not actively support Cetshwayo in the 3rd Zulu Civil War.

MAWA, CROSSING OF. See SOTHONDOSE’S DRIFT.

MBILINI waMSWATI (c. 1843–1879). Mbilini was a favorite son of King Mswati waSobhuza of the Swazi, but he lost the succession struggle in 1865. He fled to Zululand and put himself under the protection of umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande, who saw how he could use him to assert Zulu control in the Disputed Territory. From his umuzi at Tafelberg a dozen miles northeast of Luneburg, Mbilini built up a personal following and forged close relations with the nearby Kubheka and abaQulusi people. He raided Swazi and Transvaal Boers alike and threatened the Luneburg settlers. In 1877, he established a new umuzi at Hlobane out of range of Boer retaliation. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he employed his superior skills as a guerrilla leader against the British No. 4 Column. He engaged its forces at Zungwini and Hlobane in January 1879, raided the Luneburg settlement in February, overran a convoy from Derby at the Ntombe action in early March, and defeated the British at the battle of Hlobane later that month. After the battle of Khambula, the British asserted their ascendancy in the region and killed Mbilini in a skirmish on 5 April. See also MORIARTY, DAVID BARRY.

uMBONAMBI iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1863 from youths born about 1843. The shield
was black, or black with white spots or speckles. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it fought at Isandlwana, where it was on the left horn and was the first into the British camp. It also fought at Gingindlovu, where elements had been barracked at the original oNdini iKhanda to maintain the blockade of Fort Eshowe; at Khambula, where it fought on the left of the Zulu chest; and at Ulundi, where it attacked the southeastern corner of the British infantry square. A tiny detachment was also involved in the skirmish at the Tshotshosi River. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, elements were present at the battle of oNdini, where they formed part of the uSuthu chest.

kwaMbonambi iKhanda. This iKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain was one of King Cetshwayo kaMponde’s favorite residences. On the morning of 4 July 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, when he learned that Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford's forces had crossed the White Mfolozi River, Cetshwayo moved to kwaMbonambi from the emLambongwenya iKhanda, and he was there throughout the battle of Ulundi. When his lookouts informed him the battle was lost, he fled northward. Later that day, the British burned kwaMbonambi.

iMbube iButho. King Mpende kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1857 from youths born about 1837. The shield was black with white spots. The iMbube was apparently incorporated into the uDududu iButho. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it fought at Isandlwana on the right horn and at Khambula as part of the chest. At Ulundi, it attacked the southeast corner of the British infantry square. At the battle of oNdini during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, it was stationed nearby, at the kwaNodwengu iKhanda, and was caught up in the uSuthu rout before it could come into action.

Mbuyazi kaMponde (c. 1832–1856). A son of King Mpende kaSenzangakhona, umNtwana Mbuyazi was a rival of umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMponde for the succession, and for a time he was favored by the king. Supporters of Mbuyazi came to be called the iziGqoza, or “those who drop down like water from a roof,” signifying the steady trickle of support for Mbuyazi’s cause. But Cetshwayo was popular and gathered a faction around him, known as the uSuthu.
The issue was decided when Cetshwayo defeated Mbuyazi in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, crushing the iziGqoza at Ndondakusuka.

uMCIJO iBUTHO. King M parade kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1867 from youths born about 1848. The shield was black or dark brown with white markings down one side, or black with a white patch across the center. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it fought as part of the chest at Isandlwana, and elements stationed at the original oNdini iKhandla fought at Gingindlovu. At Hlobane, elements were detached from the main army marching on Khambula to cut off the British retreat. At Kambula, it formed the left horn, and at Ulundi it attacked the northwestern side of the British infantry square. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, elements made up part of the uSuthu right horn at the battle of oNdini.

MCKEAN, ALEXANDER CHALMERS (1852-?). Commissioned in 1871, McKean served in the 1st Boer War (1881) and was promoted to major in 1883. In 1886, he was detached from his garrison duties at Fort Napier to serve on the boundary commission that reported back on 25 January 1887 on the borders of the New Republic. He then served as subcommissioner for the Nqutu District in the Reserve Territory, becoming the resident magistrate when in May 1887 Nqutu became part of the colony of Zululand. During the uSuthu Rebellion, McKean raised a force of Mounted Basutos in his district in June 1887 and led them in the storming of Hlophekhulu. In early July, he formed and led the Eshowe Column in the relief of Fort Andries. Later in July, he formed the Coastal Column for pacification operations concluded in late August. In October 1888, he was promoted to brevet lieutenant-colonel and left South Africa to become assistant military secretary in Malta. He was promoted to brevet colonel in 1894 and retired in 1898. During World War I, he served as a base commandant.

MDLALOSE PEOPLE. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the Mdlalose people of northwestern Zululand bore the brunt of raiding by No. 4 Column and took to their places of refuge in the hills. By late August 1879, they had submitted to the British and in the 1st Partition of Zululand were placed under Inkosi Ntshingwayo kaMehole. In the
2nd Partition of Zululand, they were included in the restored King Cetshwayo kaMpondé's territory, and they rallied to the uSuthu cause in the 3rd Zulu Civil War. Their contingent was among the uSuthu forces routed at Msebe. In May–July 1883, they were involved in operations against the Ngenetsheni in the north, but after the uSuthu defeat at oNdini, many fled to the Reserve Territory for safety. In June 1884, they participated in the successful fighting against the Mandlakazi, but with the 3rd Partition of Zululand, they found themselves within the borders of the New Republic and reduced to labor tenants on the Boer farms. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

MDLETSHE PEOPLE. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, the pro-uSuthu Mdletshe people under inKosi Nkhowana kaMfuzi were assigned to the southeast of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha's chiefdom. They remained under his oppressive rule after the 2nd Partition of Zululand and were placed under it again when the authorities of British Zululand restored him to his chiefdom in 1887. During the uSuthu Rebellion, while Zibhebhu was encamped at Ivuna, they took advantage of his absence to raid the Mandlakazi, who retaliated. After Zibhebhu’s defeat at Ivuna, the Mdletshe burned Bangonomo, his main umuZi, and with the Hlabisa people ravaged his territory, assisted by opportunist Boers from the South African Republic. In mid-August, Zibhebhu struck back at the Mdletshe and Hlabisa, who withdrew toward St. Lucia Bay before retaliating. The raiding and counterraiding did not end until the British arrested Zibhebhu on 17 November 1888 and banished him from his chiefdom. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

MEDICAL ATTENTION, BOER. In case of illness, the Boers of the interior had for decades depended on their own folk-medicine and herbal remedies derived from 17th-century European practices and from the medicinal knowledge of local Africans. Some brought patent medicines with them on trek from the Cape, or bought medical ingredients from peddlers, or smouse. Women usually took on the role of amateur doctor and nurse for their families.
MEDICAL ATTENTION, BRITISH. By the 1870s, orderlies and bandsmen in the British army brought the wounded to field hospitals, where injuries were treated and dressed by trained medical personnel. Litters or mule-drawn ambulance wagons with springs were then used to take the wounded to base hospitals to convalesce. Standards of battlefield surgery had improved, but the real killers were infection and disease, and the causes for these were imperfectly understood. Typhoid and other gastrointestinal bacterial infections carried by water or food polluted with human feces continued to present the greatest risk to the health of men in camp. In the Anglo-Zulu War, more British soldiers died of disease than were wounded in action, by a ratio of three to two; the number invalided out through disease was greater than the number wounded, by a ratio of nearly six to one. See also ARMY HOSPITAL CORPS; ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT; BEARER CORPS; NURSES, BRITISH.

MEDICAL ATTENTION, ZULU. For uncomplicated flesh wounds, Zulu izaru, or traditional healers, administered a poultice to prevent inflammation and encourage healing. The poultices were made from leaves of the ubuHlungwana herb (Wadelia natalensis) or the powdered bulb of the uGodide (Jatropha hirsuta). Open wounds were tied up with grass. Fractures were set with splints, and certain herbs, particularly the powdered root of the uMathunga (Cyrtanthus obliquus), were rubbed into incisions made at the point of the breakage. Some izaru had the ability to open skulls crushed by blows and remove harmful bloodclots, and some could successfully amputate limbs. However, the Zulu had no effective means of dealing with the splintered bones and massive tissue damage and internal injuries inflicted by modern bullets. Those wounded by rifle fire in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the Anglo-Zulu War, the 3rd Zulu Civil War, and the uSuthu Rebellion seldom survived the march home, and had scant chance of recovery if they did.

MEHLOKAZULU kaSIHAYO (c. 1854-1906). The senior son of inKosi Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebe people, Mehlokazulu was a favorite inceku (personal attendant) of King Cetshwayo kaMzilikazi.
and a junior induna of the inGobamakhosi ibutho. In July 1878, several of Sihayo’s sons, led by Mehlokazulu, raided across the border from Zululand into Natal, provoking a crisis. But Cetshwayo would not surrender Mehlokazulu to the Natal authorities and instead put him under the protection of Mbilini waMswati. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Mehlokazulu fought at Isandlwana, Khambula, and Ulundi. After the war, he was handed over to the authorities in Natal for trial but was released by October 1879. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Mehlokazulu and his family were placed under Hlubi ka-Mota Molife and lost all local influence. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was active in securing Boer support for the uSuthu cause. He took advantage during the uSuthu Rebellion of Hlubi’s absence fighting with the British to attack his imiZi (homesteads). After the suppression of the rebellion, the Zululand authorities, in their attempt to reconcile the warring factions, recognized Mehlokazulu in 1893 as the inKosi of the Qungebe. He was drawn into the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion) against the colonial authorities and was killed at the battle of Mome Gorge on 10 June 1906.

MELVILL, TEIGNMOUTH (1842–1879). Commissioned in 1865, Lieutenant Melvill was appointed adjutant of the 1st Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment in 1873. In 1875, he proceeded to the Cape with his battalion and served throughout the 9th Cape Frontier War (1877–1878). During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was present at the storming of kwaSogekle and remained in camp with the Isandlwana garrison when the rest of No. 3 Column went out on its reconnaissance in force. At the climax of the battle, Melvill attempted to save the queen’s color by riding down the Fugitives’ Trail. He lost the color in the swollen Mzinyathi River, and he and Lieutenant Neville Josiah Aylmer Coghill, who had turned back to assist him, were killed on the Natal bank. In 1907, Melvill was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross.

MENIYA umuZi. Meniya was umNtwana Ndabuko kaMpande’s principal umuZi in the Vuna valley, where the uSuthu were concentrated. At the outset of the uSuthu Rebellion, it was raided on 25 April 1888 by the Zululand Police, who were collecting cattle
fines that Richard Hallowes Addison, the resident magistrate of the Ndewandwe District, had imposed against the uSuthu leaders.

**MERCENARIES.** Among the mercenaries active in southern Africa were white frontiersmen with the latest firearms and horses operating as mounted infantry. They early became an important military adjunct to Zulu armies. In the 1820s, King Shaka kaSenzangakhona used Port Natal (Durban) mercenaries in various campaigns. During the 2nd Zulu Civil War, John Dunn’s well-armed iziNqobo played a vital part at Ndondakusuka. In the chaotic conditions of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, mercenaries were particularly evident among the Mandlakazi forces, and their intervention was crucial at Msebe. They suffered defeat at Tshaneni at the hands of the uSuthu and the Boer mercenaries of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers, who were supporting the uSuthu in return for land and booty. Also functioning as a mercenary force was the Beeskommnado that operated in conjunction with umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona’s forces in the 1st Zulu Civil War. See also CANE, JOHN; COLENBRANDER, JOHANNES WILHELM; DARKE, HENRY GROSVENOR; ECKERSLEY, JOHN.

**Meyer, Lukas Johannes (1846–1902).** A field cornet in the Utrecht District of the South African Republic (SAR) from 1872, Meyer strongly opposed the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. He was wounded in the 1st Boer War (1880–1881). After the SAR regained its independence in August 1881, he was appointed magistrate of the Utrecht District from 1882 to 1884. In April 1884, he joined the group of mercenaries known as Dinuzulu’s Volunteers and was present when the Boers proclaimed Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo king on 21 May 1884. The following day, he was elected commandant of the Boer commando (militia) that played the decisive role in the battle of Tshaneni. He was elected president and commandant-general of the New Republic when it was proclaimed on 16 August 1884 and retained those posts until it was absorbed into the SAR on 20 July 1888. In 1893, Meyer was an elected member for Utrecht in the volksraad of the SAR and in 1899 became chair of the volksraad. During the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, he was an
only moderately successful commander, took no part in the guerrilla phase of the conflict, and worked for a negotiated peace.

MFEMFE iBUTHO. This was an Ngenetsheni iButho raised by umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe after the 1st Partition of Zululand in resumption of the prerogatives of the great amaKhosi preceding Shaka. It was named after kwaM femfe, one of his principal imiZi. The Mfemfe iButho fought the uSuthu throughout the 3rd Zulu Civil War, and it was part of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s army at oNdini.

kwaMFEMFE umuZI. UmNtwana Hamu kaNzibe’s “great place” was at kwaMfemfe in northwestern Zululand. Here he kept his own isiGodlo (private enclosure) in royal style and challenged King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s authority. It remained his seat when he was appointed one of the 13 chiefs in the 1st Partition of Zululand. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, it was the main Ngenetsheni military base for operations against the uSuthu and gave its name to the Mfemfe iButho.

uMGUNGUNDLOVU iKHANDA. In 1829, King Dingane kaSenzangakhona began the first iKhanda of this name in the emaKhosini valley in the heart of the Zulu kingdom: uMgungundlovu means “the place that encloses the elephant” or king, and it was Dingane’s great place. It consisted of 1,400–1,700 huts. Pieter Retief and a small party of Voortrekkers came there on 5 November 1837 to negotiate with Dingane, and they returned with a larger party on 3 February 1838. The next day, they signed a treaty with Dingane. But before they could leave on 6 February, Dingane ordered their execution, and they were killed at kwaMatiwane, a nearby hill. On 20 December 1838, after its victory at Ncome, the Wenkommando reached uMgungundlovu, which they found deserted and in flames. Before he withdrew north, Dingane had ordered it and two neighboring amaKhanda set on fire.

Dingane moved the focus of his kingdom north and in early 1839 began building a second, smaller uMgungundlovu in the valley of the Hluhluwe River. Malaria was prevalent, and Dingane then moved the iKhanda to a site on higher, healthier ground, just south of where the
Vuna River runs into the Black Mfolozi. There he set about rebuilding his authority. But in January 1840, his brother umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona along with Boer allies invaded Zululand during the 1st Zulu Civil War. Dingane fell back from uMgungundlovu to the Maqonggo Hills, where he was defeated. With his flight and death, the third and last uMgungundlovu was abandoned.

**MIDDLE DRIFT, RAID AT (1879).** On 25 June 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Zulu mounted an extensive raid across the Thukela River at Middle Drift into Natal in retaliation for raids into Zululand in April and May by colonial troops stationed along the border. The colonial and imperial border forces had intelligence of an impending Zulu raid but were nevertheless taken by surprise when it occurred. The Zulu forces were commanded by Bheje and Solinye, two izinDuna of the Ngcolosi people of the Natal side of the Thukela valley, who had defected to the Zulu in November 1878.

Under cover of early morning mist, a party of about 500 local Zulu under Bheje crossed in the vicinity of the hot springs above Middle Drift, brushed aside ineffective resistance by the Special Border Police, and ravaged the valley as far as the foot of Ntunjambili. There they were met by another force of 500 men under Solinye, who had crossed at Domba’s Drift below Middle Drift and likewise disposed of feeble resistance by the River Guard, devastating the valley as they went. The two groups then joined and ravaged all the country back to Middle Drift, where they crossed into Zululand with 678 cattle, 771 goats, and about 40 prisoners, leaving behind them 73 burned imiZi, destroyed food stores, and about 30 of the Natal border population dead. Some of the scattered Special Border Police and river guards were able to rally and harry the retiring Zulu, recovering some livestock. But the Zulu were gone before the Natal Native Contingent in garrison at Fort Cherry could be prepared for action. The arrangements for the defense of the Natal border against a Zulu raid had been tested and found sadly wanting. See also CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS; CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; STRATEGY, ZULU.

**MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, BRITISH.** During the Anglo-Zulu War, inadequate and inaccurate maps forced British commanders to rely on mounted reconnaissance patrols to provide information about
the terrain to be traversed and to locate military objectives. Information extracted from captured Zulu, volunteered by informants (usually Christian converts), or collected by spies was inevitably problematic and required expert evaluation. But the professional accumulation and analysis of intelligence was not adequately addressed in the late Victorian army, despite the establishment in 1858 of the Staff College at Camberley in Surrey. Moreover, the conservative Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, in command of operations, was reluctant to establish a staff along modern lines. He was content to depend on regular officers without specialist staff training, and on civilians who claimed some knowledge of Zululand. But his staff fatally underrated the fighting capability of the Zulu, despite Chelmsford’s attempts to supply his officers with information gleaned from settler observers about Zulu military organization and fighting methods.

General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, with his “advanced” military notions, took over command in July 1879 and insisted on appointing trained staff officers. They were too late to make an appreciable difference in the conduct of the Anglo-Zulu War, but their assiduous map-making and intelligence-gathering was of service to the British in Zululand during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, as were the reports submitted by officers on the conduct of the 1879 campaign. During the 1880s, the British had a continuous presence in Zululand and were able to gather intelligence about everything from the state of the roads to Zulu politics. The nature of internecine Zulu strife and the number of active collaborators meant that intelligence was much more freely available than in 1879. The widespread use of the telegraph also greatly speeded up the dissemination of intelligence. See also ARMY REFORM, BRITISH.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, ZULU. The Zulu had an absolute edge over their Boer or British adversaries when it came to intelligence gathering. It had always been standard procedure for the Zulu armies to send out considerable numbers of spies and scouts to keep their enemies under close observation and to report on their movements. In the major campaigns of the Voortrekker-Zulu War and Anglo-Zulu War, they had the advantage of knowing the terrain and having the support of the civilian population, which was more
than ready to volunteer information of hostile activity. Moreover, the Boers and British found it difficult to differentiate between their African levies, civilians, and spies posing as deserters or seeking employment as camp servants, and they suspected with good reason that Zulu envoys were also spying out their military dispositions. They consequently took stern measures against presumed spies, and they sent out mounted patrols to screen their movements from observation. These precautions were ineffective and could never prevent the Zulu from possessing considerable knowledge of their movements and dispositions. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Zulu spies were collecting intelligence as far afield as Natal, the Transvaal, and Delagoa Bay.

**MILITARY ORGANIZATION, BRITISH.** At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War and the campaigns in Zululand during the 1880s, a regiment of regular cavalry on overseas service consisted of eight troops (the standard tactical unit)—or four squadrons—nominally made up of 27 officers and 607 men, including a farrier and trumpeter for each troop. A battery of six guns was the Royal Artillery’s usual tactical unit, but it was often broken up into three divisions of two guns, each worked by two officers and 45 men. The standard infantry tactical unit was the battalion. On service, each battalion comprised a headquarters and eight companies, nominally made up of 30 officers and 866 men, though the establishment in the field was often considerably lower. A squadron of mounted infantry consisted of three officers and 110 men.

**MILITARY SYSTEM, ZULU.** See iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM; iBUTHO SYSTEM IN THE 1880s.

**uMNYAMA.** The Zulu believed that their world overlapped with the world of the amaDlozi, or ancestral spirits. This was expressed by a mystical force, uMnyama, which was darkness or evil influence, and was represented by the color black. It could be contagious in its most virulent forms. Because such pollution was a mystical rather than organic illness, it could be cured only by symbolic medicines. Death by violence, expressed as umkhoka, was an especially powerful form of uMnyama, as the killer was polluted. See also RITUAL
During Battle, Zulu; Ritual Preparation Before War, Zulu.

MNYAMANA kaNGQENGELELE (c. 1813–1892). King Shaka kaSenzangakhona made Ngqengelele kaMvulana, Mnyamana’s father, iNkosi of the Buthelezi people and his iNceku (personal attendant) and principal iNduna (official). King Mpande kaSenzangakhona appointed Mnyamana, who was enrolled in the uMkhulutshane iButho, to succeed to the chiefdom and in 1854 appointed him senior iNduna of the uThulwana iButho, in which eight of Mpande’s sons were enrolled. He supported umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, and on his accession King Cetshwayo made him his chief iNduna. Mnyamana was rich in cattle, and as a man of peace, he strongly urged against war with the British. Nevertheless, he did his duty in the Anglo-Zulu War and exercised overall command at Khambula. In mid-August 1879, Mnyamana negotiated his surrender with General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley but declined to be appointed a chief in the 1st Partition of Zululand.

Mnyamana was prominent in appealing for Cetshwayo’s restoration. As an ardent uSuthu partisan during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he led the Buthelezi repeatedly against the neighboring Ngenetsheni. After oNdini, he brought together the remnants of the uSuthu forces in the Ngome forest in northern Zululand, where they continued to resist until the end of 1883. After Cetshwayo’s death, he counseled King Dinuzulu kaMpande against making an alliance with the Boers that would cost the Zulu land, as indeed occurred with the proclamation of the New Republic. Always a political realist, Mnyamana acquiesced in the British annexation of Zululand in 1887 to prevent further turmoil. He and his adherents were consequently targeted by Dinuzulu’s forces during the uSuthu Rebellion, during which they took refuge with the British at Nkonjeni and formed Mnyamana’s Auxiliaries to assist in quelling the rebellion.

MNYAMANA’S AUXILIARIES. In May 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, iNkosi Mnyamana kaNgqengelele and his Buthelezi adherents took refuge with the British at the Nkonjeni camp after being raided by the uSuthu from Ceza Mountain. Richard Hallowes Addison, the resident magistrate of Ndwandwe District, raised a force of
600 Buthelezi, who became known as Mnyamana’s Auxiliaries, for
the unsuccessful attempt to arrest the uSuthu leaders on Ceza. Later
in June, they were among the force from Nkonjeni that evacuated the
garrison from Ivuna after the defeat of its Mandlakazi allies. They
then took part in the successful attack against the uSuthu on Hlo-
phekhulu Mountain. By late July, the uSuthu threat had dissipated
and the Buthelezi dispersed to their homes. They were armed with
their traditional spears and shields, though a few carried obsolete
muzzle-loading firearms.

Moriarty, David Barry (1837–1879). Commissioned in 1857,
Moriarty served in the Mediterranean, the Channel Islands, Ireland,
and India, where he fought in the Hazara campaign (1868). In 1870,
he was promoted to captain and joined the 80th Regiment (Stafford-
shire Volunteers) in 1876, proceeding with it to South Africa, where
he was stationed at Newcastle and then at Utrecht. In August 1878,
he took part in the campaign against the Pedi. During the Anglo-
Zulu War, he was stationed at Derby under Brevet Colonel Henry
Evelyn Wood’s command on convoy duties. He was in command of
the convoy that Mbilini waMswati overran in its encampment at the
Ntombe River and was killed in hand-to-hand fighting.

Mounted Basutos. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Hlubi ka-
Mota Molife of the Tlokwa was appointed one of the 13 chiefs. Over
the next decade, he and his mounted infantry (and some infantry
as well) repeatedly rallied to the British call for military assistance.
They were paid for out of the funds of the Zululand administration
(whether Reserve Territory or colony) and were dressed in an as-
sortment of blue or khaki frocks, usually with buff trousers and riding
boots or puttees, and wore brown slouch hats with a red puggaree
(scarf) around the hatband. Issued with carbines or rifles, they car-
ried their ammunition in leather bandoliers.

During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Mounted Basutos escorted the
fugitive King Cetshwayo kaMpondede to Esowes in October 1883.
In May 1884, 127 Mounted Basutos supported by infantry levies
were deployed by Andries Pretorius, the subcommissioner of Nqutu
in the Reserve Territory, to repel the uSuthu concentrating against
the district from the north. In late May and early June, the Basutos
were successfully redeployed in the western Nkandla Forest against the uSuthu concentrated there. During the uSuthu Rebellion, the Mounted Basutos were raised once again in June 1888, and 200 were stationed at Nkonjeni. A squadron of 140 men took part in the storming of Hlophekhulu. In July, they were redeployed to the coast, and 180 Mounted Basutos made up part of the Eshowe Column in the relief of Fort Andries, and subsequently of the Coastal Column during its pacification operations during August. In mid-August, when the Coastal Column was at Ivuna, the Mounted Basutos, who were dissatisfied because of lack of supplies and forage, lost discipline and raided all around. They were disbanded by 23 August.

**MOUNTED BURGHER FORCE.** This irregular body of volunteers, first raised in Natal in 1863, was based on the Boer commando (militia) system and was favored by the Dutch-speaking settlers of the rural areas of the colony. They were bound to respond when called out for service by the local field cornet of each ward into which the counties of Natal were divided. They supplied all their own equipment and found the formal, British-style discipline adopted by the Natal Volunteer Corps uncongenial. As they were not required to serve more than 20 miles from their own county, let alone outside the borders of Natal, they stood on the defensive during the Anglo-Zulu War and prepared to defend citizen laagers against Zulu attacks that never materialized.

**MOUNTED INFANTRY.** Experience gained during the 1870s prompted the British in South Africa to emulate the Boer commando (militia) concept of mounted infantry as an effective response to local conditions and as a useful substitute for regular cavalry in small wars. The major difference between cavalry and mounted infantry was that the latter would do the work of reconnaissance, screening, advance guard, sentry, and escort duty but would not be required to take part in a charge, which was left to the cavalry. The success during the Anglo-Zulu War in deploying a mounted infantry force detached from regular infantry was recognized, and after 1881 all infantry battalions in South Africa were required to train one company in mounted infantry work. During the 1880s, the British always deployed mounted infantry in operation in Zululand and after 1887
maintained two companies as part of the Zululand garrison. See also individual units; DRESS, BRITISH ARMY.

MOUNTED INFANTRY MUSTERED FROM 2ND BATTALION, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE REGIMENT. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, a company of mounted infantry mustered from the battalion in garrison at Fort Napier was stationed at Fort Northampton in the Reserve Territory from September 1884 until the end of the year.

MOUNTED INFANTRY MUSTERED FROM 1ST BATTALION, PRINCE OF WALES’S (NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT). In October 1887, following the British annexation of the Colony of Zululand, a company of mounted infantry mustered from the battalion in garrison at Fort Napier was posted to Nkonjeni in support of the civil authorities in the Ndewandwe District. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it took part in the unsuccessful assault on Ceza, and a detachment was part of the force that captured Hlopekhulu. It was disbanded in November 1888 when the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level.

MOUNTED INFANTRY MUSTERED FROM 1ST BATTALION, ROYAL SCOTS (LOTHIAN REGIMENT). In September 1888, during the final stages of the uSuthu Rebellion, two companies of mounted infantry were mustered from the battalion stationed in Zululand at Fort Curtis. One was moved forward to Entonjaneni and the other remained at Fort Curtis. On the withdrawal of the battalion in November to Natal where it was in garrison, the two companies of mounted infantry remained behind as part of the Zululand garrison.

MOUNTED INFANTRY MUSTERED FROM 1ST BATTALION, ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS. In October 1887, soon after the annexation of the Colony of Zululand, a company of mounted infantry mustered from the battalion in garrison at Fort Napier was stationed at Entonjaneni. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it moved forward to Nkonjeni in April 1888. It was part of the force repulsed at Ceza and was with the force on Lumbe Mountain sup-
porting the assault on Hlophekhulu Mountain. Between July and August, it joined the Eshowe Column and then the Coastal Column in their pacification operations. It was withdrawn to Natal when the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level in November.

**MOUNTED INFANTRY MUSTERED FROM 1ST BATTALION, WELSH REGIMENT.** During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, a company of mounted infantry was mustered from the battalion in garrison at Fort Napier and joined the Eshowe Column in September 1883. It remained in garrison at Fort Curtis until February 1884.

**MOUNTED INFANTRY, NO. 1 AND 2 SQUADRONS.** On the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, there were no regular British cavalry in South Africa, but two squadrons of mounted infantry were available. They had been formed during the 9th Cape Frontier War from various infantry regiments and mounted on regulation cavalry saddles on horses bought in South Africa. Each was armed with a Swinburn-Henry carbine and a bowie knife that attached to the muzzle. By the end of the war, the 2nd Squadron also had swords.

In early January 1879, No. 1 Squadron joined No. 3 Column. Most of the unit was away with the reconnaissance in force during the battle of Isandlwana, though 30 remained in camp as vedettes (sentinels). The depleted squadron retired with the remnants of No. 3 Column to Natal. No. 1 Squadron stayed in garrison at Helpmekaar until it left in mid-March to join No. 4 Column at Khambula. During the rout on Hlobane, it was with Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s force and fought the next day at Khambula, where it took part in the pursuit. It advanced with Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and took part in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and in the battle of Ulundi. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, it joined Baker Russell’s Column in its march to the Transvaal.

No. 2 Squadron joined the 1st Division, No. 1 Column, and fought at Nyezane. On receiving the news of Isandlwana, the squadron was sent back from Eshowe to Natal with all the other mounted forces in No. 1 Column. It then formed part of the Eshowe Relief Column and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, it joined the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force and advanced
with it to Port Durnford. With the breakup of the 1st Division in late July, it was attached to Clarke’s Column. In August, detachments were engaged in the pursuit and capture of King Cetshwayo kaMpande. It mustered out in October.

MPANDE kaSENZANGAKHONA (c. 1798–1872). UmNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona was spared by his half-brother King Dingane kaMpande when he seized the Zulu throne in 1828 and eliminated his other rivals. Mpande wisely kept a low profile during Dingane’s reign, but when Dingane was defeated in the Voortrekker-Zulu War and turned against potential rivals, he fled in September 1839 to take sanctuary in the Republic of Natalia. He struck an alliance with the Boers in the 1st Zulu Civil War whereby they recognized him as Zulu king in return for land. When the British imposed their rule over Natal, Mpande came to an agreement with them in 1843 over the boundaries of Zululand. Mpande’s policy was to remain on good terms with the British in order to foster trading relations and to check the claims of the Boers of the South African Republic to the Disputed Territory. To those ends, he encouraged a missionary presence from 1850 and curtailed disruptive Zulu campaigns against their African neighbors, particularly the Swazi. As he grew older, Mpande was threatened by impatient heirs to the throne, and the peace of the kingdom was shattered in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, when umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande defeated his major rivals. The succession was finally settled in May 1861 when Mpande recognized Cetshwayo as his heir and effective co-ruler. Thereafter his powers as king diminished steadily, and he died in September or October 1872; his death was kept secret until a smooth succession was secured. Mpande was buried at his kwaNodwengu iKhanda.

MPHUKUNYONI PEOPLE. The Mphukunyoni people under inKosi Somkhele kaMalanda dominated the remote northern coastal plain of Zululand. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Somkhele was appointed one of the 13 chiefs. After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, his chiefdom fell into King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s territory, and the Mphukunyoni strongly espoused the uSuthu cause. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, they and the Mandlakazi repeatedly raided each other. In March 1884, the Mphukunyoni beat off an attack by
inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s coastal allies, the Mthethwa, and threatened the Reserve Territory. During the uSuthu Rebellion, the Mphukunyoni again rallied to the uSuthu cause and on 30 June unsuccessfully attacked the British magistrate at Fort Andries in the battle of Ntondotha. On 30 July 1888, Somkhele and the Mphukunyoni surrendered to the Coastal Column. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; DUKUDUKU STRONGHOLD.

MPONDO PEOPLE. See GRIQUA AND MPONDO BORDERS WITH NATAL IN 1879.

iMPUNGA iBUTHO. See uMXHAPHO iBUTHO.

MPUNGOSE PEOPLE. See HLOPHEKHULU MOUNTAIN, BATTLE OF (1888).

MSEBE, BATTLE OF (1883). In late March 1883 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu decided to muster an army to invade the territory of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha to eliminate the threat he was posing to the restored King Cetshwayo kaMpande. On 29 March, the uSuthu army of 5,000 under the command of inKosi Makhoba kaMaphitha, organized into divisions according to allegiance to inKosi rather than by iButho, began its march toward Bangonono, Zibhebhu’s chief umuZi. Zibhebhu had only 1,500 Mandlakazi to face them, but they were well disciplined and many were mounted riflemen. They were bolstered by five or six white mercenaries under Johannes Wilhelm Colenbrander.

On the early morning of 30 March, the uSuthu advanced carelessly into the shallow valley of the Msebe stream, their ranks disordered and crowded with noncombatant izinDibi (carriers). The Mandlakazi were concealed in the long grass in traditional chest and horns formation, with the mounted riflemen on the right horn. When they unleashed their ambush, they surprised and outflanked the leading uSuthu contingents and put them to flight. The long column of uSuthu marching behind them put up a token resistance before joining the desperate rout. The pursuit lasted until sunset, with the mounted Mandlakazi ranging at will among the stampeding uSuthu, shooting their leaders. Makhoba and many uSuthu of high lineage were killed,
along with well over 1,000 of their men. The Mandlakazi lost only 10 men. The comprehensive rout of their army disrupted uSuthu strategy and forced them to build up fresh forces before resuming the conflict. See also STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

MTHETHWA PEOPLE. Mlandlela kaMbiya, iNkosi of the Mthethwa on the coastal plain, surrendered in good time during the Anglo-Zulu War and in the 1st Partition of Zululand was appointed one of the 13 chiefs. His had been one of the great chiefdoms preceding Shaka, and the Mthethwa resented Zulu overlordship. In the 2nd Partition of Zululand, they were unwillingly assigned to King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s territory. Under Mlandlela’s son, Sokwetshatha ka-Mlandlela, they stoutly resisted Cetshwayo’s authority in the 3rd Zulu Civil War and allied themselves with iNkosi Zibhebhu ka-Maphitha. In February and March 1884, they attacked the Mphukunyoni who supported the uSuthu, but when the Mphukunyoni counterattacked in late March, the Mthethwa had to seek temporary refuge in the Reserve Territory. During the uSuthu Rebellion, the Mthethwa came to the defense of the British magistrate at Fort Andries and helped defend the post against an uSuthu assault in the battle of Ntondotha. On 5 July, an attempt by Mthethwa levies to open a way between the fort and Eshowe ended in their being routed by the uSuthu and losing 40 men.

MTHONJANENI LAAGER. On 29 June 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and Wood’s Flying Column halted on the Mthonjaneni Heights overlooking the valley of the White Mfolozi River and built three laagers surrounded by a breastwork. When the joint force resumed its advance on oNdini on 30 June, it left a garrison at Mthonjaneni consisting of small detachments from every unit in the two forces. After the battle of Ulundi, the 2nd Division returned to the camp on Mthonjaneni on 5 July, Wood’s Flying Column joining them the next day. Violent rain between 6 and 8 July prevented any further movement, but on 9 July the joint force recommenced its withdrawal, and the laager was broken up. See also ENTONJANENI CAMP.
**MUNHLA HILL CAMP.** Wood’s Flying Column constructed this redoubt and lunette when it encamped at Munhla Hill between 25 May and 1 June 1879 during the *Anglo-Zulu War*. The column was advancing from *Khambula* by way of its camp at *Wolf Hill* to join with the 2nd Division, *South African Field Force*, for their advance on *oNdini*.

**MUSKETS.** The .750 caliber, 60-inch long, muzzle-loading flintlock-action Land Pattern Musket and its derivatives were in service with the British army from 1722 to 1838. The flintlock musket was then superseded by the percussion-lock smoothbore musket, which in turn gave way in the early 1850s to the rifled musket. Huge stocks of decommissioned muskets were bought up by arms dealers, who sold them to unsophisticated markets, especially in Africa. Tens of thousands entered *Zululand* from *Delagoa Bay* and *Natal* in the decades before the *Anglo-Zulu War*. These muskets had no sights, and their accuracy was low. Effective range was no more than 100 yards, and the rate of fire was generally about three rounds a minute. The musket was commonly known as the “Brown Bess” or “Tower musket,” after the mark of the Tower of London system that subcontracted manufacture to many gunsmiths.

**uMXPAPHO iBUTHO.** King *Mpande kaSenzangakhona* formed this *iButho* around 1861 of youths born about 1841. It carried shields of any color. In the *Anglo-Zulu War*, it formed the crack unit of the Zulu army at *Nyezane* and fought on the left horn. Smaller elements formed part of the Zulu chest at *Isandlwana*. The day before the battle of *Ulundi*, it played a prominent part in the ambush of the British of the *White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force*. At Ulundi, it attacked the northeast corner of the British infantry *square*. In the 3rd *Zulu Civil War*, elements made up part of the *uSuthu* chest at *oNdini*.

**NATAL.** During the *Anglo-Zulu War*, the transport steamer *Natal* anchored off *Port Durnford* on 11 July 1879 and remained there
until 4 September, when the captured King Cetshwayo kaMpande came on board from a surf-boat with the small party that was to share his exile. These included his long-standing companion and adviser Mkhosana kaZangqana, four young women of the royal household, and three male attendants. The Nátl arrived in Cape Town on 14 September, and the king and his party were transferred to the Cape Town Castle.

Natal, British Colony of. On 5 July 1842, the volksraad of the Republic of Natalia submitted to British authority, though a period of shared rule continued until October 1845. The “District of Port Natal” was annexed as a British dependency on 12 May 1843. On 31 May 1844, the district was annexed to the Cape Colony, being constituted on 30 April 1845 as a separate administrative district. The first lieutenant-governor of Natal, appointed by the governor of the Cape, took the oath of office on 12 December 1845. The Royal Charter of 15 July 1856 established Natal as a separate British colony. Pietermaritzburg was the capital, and Durban its port. On 31 May 1910, the Colony of Natal became a province of the Union of South Africa.

Natal Carbineers. One of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who were called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War, the Natal Carbineers were formed in 1855 and had seen service in Natal in 1856, 1858, 1861, 1865, and 1873, the last being the Langalibalele Rebellion. The 70 Carbineers joined No. 3 Column at Helpmekaar in December 1878 and advanced with it into Zululand, taking part in the skirmish at kwaSogekle on 12 January. Half the corps was absent with Major John George Dartnell’s reconnaissance in force when the remainder left in the camp at Isandlwana suffered heavy casualties in battle. The corps retired with No. 3 Column to Helpmekaar and spent the rest of the war on the Natal border, engaged in patrol work, cross-border raids, escort duty, and dispatch riding. It took part in the patrol of 21 May to begin the burial of the dead at Isandlwana and mustered out in July 1879. The uniform was of dark blue cloth with white trim (and black braid for officers), with white trouser-stripes, black riding-boots, and a white helmet with spike.
NATAL GARRISON. The permanent presence of a British garrison in Natal can be dated from May 1842, when British troops took possession of Port Natal (Durban). The garrison established its headquarters at Fort Napier in Pietermaritzburg on 31 August 1843, and a detachment continued to be stationed at the Durban Redoubt until 1897. On 12 August 1914, the last British battalion in garrison departed for service on the Western Front in World War I.

In its 71 years in Natal, the garrison did much to improve the infrastructure of Pietermaritzburg and made an important contribution to the sporting, social, and cultural life of white settlers in Natal. The garrison’s primary purpose, however, was to act as the local strategic reserve, ready to be deployed to maintain the colony’s internal security, to defend it from attack, and to secure wider imperial interests in the region when these obligations proved beyond the capabilities of locally raised colonial units. The colonial government contributed about 10 percent of the total imperial expenditure of maintaining the garrison.

The 1st Battalion, 45th (Nottinghamshire) Regiment, remained in garrison from 1843 until 1859, after which it became policy to relieve the garrison of one battalion every two to three years. The experiences of the Anglo-Zulu War and the 1st Boer War proved that the colonial forces were insufficient for Natal’s defense, so the establishment of the garrison was substantially increased after 1881, to make it the largest peacetime concentration of imperial troops in South Africa at that time. Until 1888, its strength consisted of a regiment of cavalry, a field battery of Royal Artillery, and three infantry battalions. In 1888, the three battalions of infantry were reduced to two, and in 1891 to one. The cavalry were withdrawn in 1899 and the artillery in 1898. There were also support units of Royal Engineers and medical, commissariat, and ordnance personnel. See also ZULULAND GARRISON.

NATAL HORSE. With the disbanding of the 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War and the reorganization of the other two NNC regiments, many underutilized white noncommissioned officers volunteered to form a new unit of irregular cavalry consisting of three troops totaling
about 150 men. They continued to wear their NNC uniforms with a hackle in their hats.

No. 1 Troop (de Burgh’s Horse) joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in April and proceeded with it to Fort Durnford. With the breakup of the 1st Division in July, it joined Clarke’s Column and mustered out in September.

No. 2 Troop (Cooke’s Horse) joined the Eshowe Relief Column in March 1879 and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, it joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and proceeded with it to Port Durnford. It disbanded on the breakup of the 1st Division in July.

No. 3 Troop (Bettington’s Horse) joined the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in late April and participated in the patrolling and raiding preparatory to the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. A small detachment formed the escort to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte on the patrol during which he was ambushed and killed at Tshotshosi. The troop took part in the skirmish at Zungeni and fought at Ulundi. It disbanded with the breakup of the 1st Division in July.

NATAL HUSSARS. Initially formed in 1865 and absorbing the Greytown Mounted Rifles in 1869, the Natal Hussars was one of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who were called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. In December, its 40 troopers joined the 1st Division, No. 1 Column, and fought at Nyezane. On 28 January, it returned from Fort Eshowe to Natal with the other mounted men of No. 1 Column. Until the corps was mustered out in July, it served by patrolling the border along the lines of communication between Fort Pearson, Stanger, and Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive Districts VI and VII and participating in cross-border raids. Its uniform was of dark green cloth, with green facings and black piping on the tunic and a double black stripe on the trousers. The helmet was white.

NATAL LIGHT HORSE. Drawn during the Anglo-Zulu War from the Frontier Light Horse and recruits originally detailed for that unit, the two troops of the Natal Light Horse (140 men) under
Captain W. Whalley took the field in May 1879, when they joined Wood’s Flying Column. A troop took part in the skirmish at Zun- geni and in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force, and both troops fought at Ulundi. After the battle, detachments garrisoned Fort Evelyn and Fort Albert until the withdrawal of the British troops from Zululand. Some elements might have joined the Frontier Light Horse when that unit was attached to Baker Russell’s Column. The unit’s uniform and equipment were similar to that of the Frontier Light Horse.

NATAL MOUNTED POLICE. The Natal Mounted Police (NMP), a permanent force of police created in 1874 to provide mobile defense for Natal, was organized along military lines. On 2 November 1878, on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, they were put under military command and took up position at Helpmekaar, where No. 3 Column was assembling. A detachment remained stationed at Harding in Colonial Defensive District No. IV to help the Ixopo Mounted Rifles defend the southern border of Natal, and another small detachment remained at Fort Durnford, the NMP’s headquarters. The majority of the NMP crossed into Zululand with No. 3 Column, taking part in the skirmish at kwaSogekle on 12 January. The greater part of the NMP was absent with Major John George Dartnell’s reconnaissance in force when the remainder left in the camp at Isandlwana suffered heavy casualties in the battle there. Three members of the NMP took part in the defense of Rorke’s Drift. The NMP retired with No. 3 Column to Natal, where a detachment remained at Rorke’s Drift while the rest took up position at Helpmekaar.

The NMP spent the rest of the war engaged in patrol work, cross-border raids, escort duty, and dispatch riding. In June, the NMP received recruits from England and Natal. In July, a detachment escorted General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley from Rorke’s Drift to the Mahlabathini Plain. One section then joined Clarke’s Column in the hunt for King Cetshwayo kaMponde, while another joined Baker Russell’s Column. In September, all the NMP returned to peacetime duties. Their black corduroy uniform faded on campaign to dark gray; after Isandlwana, when replacement clothing was scarce, the NMP were permitted to wear British infantry trousers.
NATAL MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, the 11 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers mustered 430 officers and men. On 26 November 1878, 10 of the corps, the majority of whose men had volunteered in October 1878 for active service in Zululand, were called out. The 11th corps, the Ixopo Mounted Rifles, remained in Natal to guard the southern border. The Volunteers mustered out in July 1879. See also NATAL VOLUNTEER CORPS.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 1ST BATTALION. Initially mustered for the Anglo-Zulu War as the 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), in the reorganization of February 1879 it became the 1st Battalion, NNC, under Commandant Alexander N. Montgomery. It was stationed at Fort Cherry in Colonial Defensive District No. VII until disbanded in October. It took part in border demonstrations and raids, but it was ineffective against the major Zulu counterraid at Middle Drift. In March, it built Fort Montgomery at Middle Drift, and detachments garrisoned the fort from late June until October.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 2ND BATTALION. Initially mustered for the Anglo-Zulu War as the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), in the reorganization of February 1879 it became the 2nd Battalion, NNC, under Major Harcourt M. Bengough. It remained at Fort Bengough in Colonial Defensive District No. I, where it was engaged in border demonstrations and raids. In May, it joined the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. During 13–21 May, it took part in extensive raids from Landman’s Drift to clear the countryside ahead of the advance. Detachments garrisoned Fort Newdigate and Fort Evelyn, and the battalion fought at Ulundi. After the breakup of the 2nd Division, it joined Baker Russell’s Column. On the way to the Transvaal and disbandment in October, detachments garrisoned Fort Cambridge and Fort George.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 3RD BATTALION. Initially mustered for the Anglo-Zulu War as the 3rd Battalion, 1st Regiment,
Natal Native Contingent (NNC), in the reorganization of February 1879 it became the 3rd Battalion, NNC, under Captain Charles E. Le M. Cherry and was stationed at Fort Cherry in Colonial Defensive District No. VII until disbanded in October. It took part in border demonstrations and raids, but it was ineffective against the major Zulu counterraid at Middle Drift.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 4TH BATTALION. Initially mustered for the Anglo-Zulu War as the 1st Battalion, 2nd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), in the reorganization of February 1879 it became the 4th Battalion, NNC, under Captain G. Barton. It joined the 1st Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. It then formed part of the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in its advance to Port Durnford. After the breakup of the 1st Division, it served with Clarke’s Column and was disbanded in October.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 5TH BATTALION. Initially mustered for the Anglo-Zulu War as the 2nd Battalion, 2nd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), in the reorganization of February 1879 it became the 5th Battalion, NNC, under Commandant W. Nettleton. It joined the 2nd Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. It then formed part of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in its advance to Port Durnford. Detachments garrisoned Fort Crealock and Fort Chelmsford and the camp at Port Durnford until the withdrawal of all British troops from the coast. It was disbanded in October.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT (INFANTRY). British regular infantry serving in Zululand during the Anglo-Zulu War were too valuable and scarce to be dispersed on garrison and convoy duty and were augmented by African levies (troops) intended for service in Zululand. In Natal, the lieutenant-governor had the right to exact isibhulo, or compulsory labor and military service, from Africans. Magistrates accordingly raised Africans for military service from the chiefs in the Native Reserves, encouraging recruitment with promises of captured cattle. The Natal Native Contingent (NNC) assembled in December 1878. For the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, it
was formed into three regiments of seven battalions. Each battalion consisted of 10 companies, with an initial nominal establishment of 1,100 officers and men. Three white officers and six white noncommissioned officers (NCOs) led each company, which consisted of one African officer, 10 African NCOs, and 90 men. Finding suitably qualified white officers and NCOs proved difficult. Many had to be recruited from the Cape or were seconded or former British officers (who were preferred for the senior command). Many knew no Zulu, and this led to great dissatisfaction among the men. In the reorganization of the NNC for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, regimental organization was abolished and the battalion became the highest military structure. Five battalions were created from the 1st and 2nd Regiments. The 3rd Regiment, disbanded after Isandlwana, was reassembled in April 1879 as the Weenen Contingent.

There was much settler resistance to Africans being issued firearms, so only the African officers and 10 noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in each company were issued with Enfield percussion rifles, and the rest of the men carried their traditional spears and shields. The white officers and NCOs were issued with Martini-Henry rifles. With the reorganization of the NNC for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, several hundred breech-loading Sniders and Martini-Henrys were issued to each NNC battalion in addition to the Enfields they already held. Poorly armed and ineffectually trained in unfamiliar British drill and tactics, the NNC proved of doubtful morale and effectiveness. It was primarily employed in providing border patrols, garrisons, and cattle guards. Sometimes it found itself in the front line of battle, as at Isandlwana, though in pitched engagements its primary task was to sally out of the prepared position once the Zulu were routed, as at Gingindlovu and Ulundi, and to dispatch the enemy wounded. See also individual units.

**NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 1ST REGIMENT.** The three battalions of the 1st Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), under Brevet Colonel Anthony William Durnford, joined No. 2 Column in December 1878 at Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive District No. VII for the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. When Durnford marched on 10 January to reinforce No. 3 Column, he took two companies of the 1st Battalion with him while the 2nd Battalion
followed after. After Isandlwana, where the detachment of the 1st Battalion was annihilated, the 2nd Battalion took up position at Fort Bengough in District I to defend the border from Zulu invasion. At Ntunjambili, the rest of the regiment built and garrisoned Fort Cherry to hold the middle border. The regiment was reorganized in February into the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Battalions, NNC.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 2ND REGIMENT. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the two battalions of the 2nd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), under Major Shapland H. Graves served initially with No. 1 Column, and the 1st Battalion took part in the battle of Nyezane as part of the column’s 1st Division. On 30 January, the regiment was sent back to Natal from Fort Eshowe, and in February 1879 it was reorganized into the 4th and 5th Battalions, NNC.

NATAL NATIVE CONTINGENT, 3RD REGIMENT. The two battalions of the 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), under Commandant Rupert La T. Lonsdale served with No. 3 Column in the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. The 1st Battalion took part on 12 January 1879 in the skirmish at kwaSogekle. Two companies from each of the battalions fought and died at Isandlwana; the rest of the regiment, except for a company of the 2nd Battalion stationed at Rorke’s Drift, was absent during the battle on the reconnaissance in force. The company at Rorke’s Drift deserted before the Zulu attacked, and the rest of the demoralized regiment deserted in the following days. The white noncommissioned officers subsequently formed the Natal Horse. In April, some of the African members of the 3rd Regiment were reassembled to form the Weenen Contingent.

NATAL NATIVE HORSE. Following Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War, the three troops of Sikali’s Horse who had taken part in the battle dispersed home, but the remaining two troops of the Natal Native Mounted Contingent in the battle, Hlubi’s Troop and the Edendale Horse, remained at Helpmekaar. On 20 February 1879, they were put under the command of Lieutenant W.F.D. Cochrane and reorganized as the Natal Native Horse. Fresh recruits were attracted, and in March some 130 troopers joined No. 4 Column, fight-
ing at Hlobane in Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s force and at Khambula. As part of Wood’s Flying Column for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, they took part in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and fought at Ulundi. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, they were disbanded.

**Natal Native Mounted Contingent.** In planning during 1878 for the Anglo-Zulu War, it was the British intention from the outset to raise irregular cavalry as well as infantry for the Natal Native Contingent. Keen and effective volunteers from the Natal Native Reserves and from the Christian community of Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg formed six troops for the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War: three troops of Sikali’s Horse and a troop each of the Edendale Horse, Hlubi’s Troop, and Jantze’s Native Horse. Maintained by the War Office and commanded by white colonial officers, they supplied their own horses but were armed with breech-loading carbines (some men also carrying traditional weapons) and were given uniforms of yellow or brown corduroy and brown broad-brimmed hats with a red puggaree. Only the Edendale Horse elected to wear the boots issued them; the rest rode barefoot, and Jantze’s Native Horse refused to wear the trousers issued them. Initially, all six troops formed part of No. 2 Column. All except Jantze’s Native Horse left Ntunjambili on 10 January 1879 to join No. 3 Column and fought at Isandlwana. Subsequently, the Natal Native Mounted Contingent was reorganized to form the Natal Native Horse and Shepstone’s Native Horse.

**Natal Native Pioneer Corps.** As an extension of the colonial government’s right to exact isiBhalo (compulsory service) from Africans in Natal, in 1878 it raised three companies of African Pioneers, each under five white and four black officers, to repair roads and drifts and to construct earthwork fortifications during the coming Anglo-Zulu War.

No. 1 Company under Captain J. Nolan served initially with No. 3 Column, and a detachment fought at Isandlwana. The company was then assigned to No. 4 Column. It marched with Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and was present at Ulundi. With the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July,
it was assigned to Clarke's Column and was disbanded in October. No. 2 Company under Captain G.K.E. Beddoes served with No. 1 Column. It was present at Nyezane and played a significant part during the siege of Eshowe in helping build the fort and in undertaking scouting duties. After the relief of Eshowe, it remained on the lower Thukela border and was disbanded in October. No. 3 Company under Captain W. Allen was assigned to No. 2 Column and remained at Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive District No. VII throughout the war. It helped in the construction of Fort Cherry and other earthworks and participated in border raids and demonstrations.

Native Pioneers were issued uniforms consisting of an outdated red military frock with facings removed, knee-length white cotton trousers, and a blue pillbox forage cap with a yellow band. Each man carried an implement such as a shovel or pickax; firearms were restricted to those with rank.

NATAL VOLUNTEER CORPS. Natal Ordnance No. 8 of 1854 provided for the establishment of a Volunteer Corps for the protection of the colony, and the Volunteer Ordnance of 1872 better defined its organization and regulations. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, the corps mustered about 750 officers and men and consisted of one artillery, three infantry, and 11 mounted corps. Drawn predominantly from the English-speaking colonists, the men elected their own officers and provided their own uniforms and horses, but they were issued with weapons and maintained by the government. They were required to train 20 days a year, and the government reserved the right to disband any corps that fell below 20 members. In October 1878, the majority of men volunteered for active service outside Natal in Zululand. On 26 November 1878, 10 of the 11 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers were called out. The Volunteers mustered out at the end of July 1879. During the uSuthu Rebellion, attempts in July 1888 to raise volunteers from the Natal Volunteer Corps to serve in Zululand with the Coastal Column met with little response and were abandoned.

NATAL VOLUNTEER GUIDES. In March 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford raised a force of 60 irregular cavalry to serve with the Eshowe Relief Column. They
were drawn from the various corps of the **Natal Mounted Volunteers** then stationed along the lower Thukela River. The contributing corps, named in order of strength of contribution, were the **Stanger Mounted Rifles**, Isipingo Mounted Rifles, **Durban Mounted Rifles**, **Victoria Mounted Rifles**, and **Alexandra Mounted Rifles**. The Natal Volunteer Guides fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, they served with the 1st Division, **South African Field Force**, along the lines of communication. In early July, they withdrew to the **Natal** border and were mustered out by the end of the month.

**NATAL–ZULULAND BOUNDARY (1843).** On 5 October 1843, the British in **Natal** and King **Mpande kaSenzangakhona** in Zululand recognized their respective sovereignties. The British abandoned previous Boer territorial claims as far north as the Black Mfolozi River, and the boundary between Natal and Zululand was fixed from the mouth of the Thukela River to its confluence with the Mzinyathi River, and then up its course to the **Drakensberg**. See also **BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND**; **BOUNDARY AWARD**; **NATALIA, REPUBLIC OF**.

**NATALIA, REPUBLIC OF.** King **Dingane kaSenzangakhona**’s doubtfully authentic cession of 4 February 1838 gave the Voortrekkers Port Natal (**Durban**) together with all the lands between the **Drakensberg** and the Indian Ocean bounded by the Thukela River to the north and the Mzimvubu River to the south. The Boers set up the Republic of Natalia under an elected **volksraad** with the capital at **Pietermaritzburg**. On 25 March 1839, a new treaty between Dingane and the Boers agreed to let them live unmolested south of the Thukela. **UmNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona** struck a military alliance with the Boers on 27 October 1839 against his half-brother, Dingane. In return for making him king, he agreed to cede **St. Lucia Bay** to Natalia. Following Dingane’s defeat in the 1st **Zulu Civil War**, Mpande also ceded the Boers all the land north of the Thukela up to the Black Mfolozi River. On 5 July 1842, Natalia submitted to British authority. See also **NATAL, BRITISH COLONY OF**.

**NATIVE FOOT SCOUTS (DUNN’S SCOUTS).** In December 1878 on the eve of the **Anglo-Zulu War**, **John Dunn**, King **Cetshwayo**
kaMpande’s white chief in southeastern Zululand, defected to Natal with all his adherents, many of whom had worked for him as hunters. In March 1879, he raised a force of about 250 Scouts who joined the Eshowe Relief Column and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, the Scouts served with the 1st Division, South African Field Force, until the division was broken up in July.

NAVAL BRIGADES. On 19 November 1878, a Naval Brigade from HMS Active landed at Durban under the command of Acting Captain HJF. Campbell consisting of 170 sailors and Royal Marine Light Infantry. It joined the 1st Division, No. 1 Column, at the lower Thukela River for the coming Anglo-Zulu War and was reinforced on 6 January 1879 by a contingent of 50 sailors and Royal Marines from HMS Tenedos. The Naval Brigade helped construct Fort Pearson and Fort Tenedos, built its own Naval Redoubt overlooking the lower Thukela River, fought at Nyezane, and was blockaded with No. 1 Column at Fort Eshowe. On 6 March, HMS Shah landed a Naval Brigade in Durban of 400 men under Commander J. Brackenbury, followed on 15 March by a further Naval Brigade of 200 men under Captain T. W. Richards from HMS Boadicea. These men were joined by a contingent furnished by HMS Tenedos in addition to the men already with No. 1 Column. The Brigade joined the Eshowe Relief Column, the contingents from HMS Shah and Tenedos fighting with the column’s 1st Brigade at Gingindlovu, and the contingent from HMS Boadicea and the detachments of Royal Marines from HMS Boadicea and HMS Shah with the 2nd Brigade. Detachments garrisoned Fort Pearson and Fort Tenedos during the Eshowe Relief Column’s advance. After the relief of Eshowe, the Naval Brigade joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and advanced with it to Port Durnford. On 21 July, it embarked at Port Durnford for Durban, where it rejoined the ships. See also ROYAL MARINE ARTILLERY.

NCOME, BATTLE OF (1838). After months of inconclusive fighting in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, in late November 1838 the Wenkommando under Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius advanced east from the Sooilaer (Sod Laager) near Loskop on the Little Thukela
River into Zululand to force a decisive battle with King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s army. On 15 December, the commando (militia) formed its 64 wagons into a laager on a spit of land between the Ncome River to the east and a donga (dry watercourse) to the south. This meant that the defenders, who consisted of 472 Boers, three white traders from Port Natal (Durban), and 120 Port Natal African levies under Alexander Harvey Biggar, could concentrate when attacked along the laager’s more vulnerable west and north faces. Crammed inside were some 700 oxen, 750 horses, 130 black wagon-drivers, and 200 grooms.

The Zulu army of between 12,000 and 16,000 under inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi and inKosi Nzobo kaSobadli advanced from the southeast before dawn on 16 December. The left horn of 3,000 younger amaButho came on in advance of the chest and right horn, crossed the Ncome south of the laager, and charged it from the west and north, attempting to envelop it. An uninterrupted rate of impenetrable fire from muskets and several small cannon shooting in ordered rotation repulsed the left horn, which broke and was pursued some way by Boer horsemen. The Zulu right horn then advanced on the laager, intending to cross the Ncome to the northeast of it. Fire from Boer horsemen posted along the river deflected this flanking movement, and the right horn veered to its left. Followed by the chest, it then attacked along the same route as the already defeated left horn. Despite repeated attempts, it was unable to break through the Boer zone of fire, and some Zulu units began to withdraw in disarray.

Pretorius and about 160 mounted men pursued them over several hours, scattering the Zulu in all directions. Their slaughter bloodied the waters of the Ncome, which the Boers renamed Bloedrivier, or Blood River. The Boers admitted to three wounded in the battle. Probably well over 1,000 Zulu were killed, but the Boer tally of 3,000 Zulu dead was likely exaggerated.

Their defeat at Ncome and the subsequent dispersal of their army crippled the Zulus’ ability to carry on the war. They were unable to resist the forced march of the Wenkommando that reached uMgungundlovu on 20 December, while Dingane withdrew north out of its range. See also RECONCILIATION, DAY OF; STRATEGY, BOER; STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.
iNDA\underbar{B}A\underbar{K}A\underbar{W}OM\underbar{BE}  \textit{iBUTHO}. King \textit{M}pande ka\textit{S}enzangakh\textit{ona} formed this \textit{iButho} around 1841 of youths born about 1821. The shield was white. During the 2nd \textit{Z}ulu \textit{C}ivil \textit{W}ar, it fought at \textit{Ndondkus\underbar{u}ka} on the right of the \textit{uSuthu} chest. Most of it remained in reserve at \textit{oNdini} during the \textit{Anglo-Zulu War}, though local elements fought at \textit{Nyezane}. At the time of the battle of \textit{Ulundi}, it was guarding King \textit{Cetshwayo kaM}pande at the \textit{kwaM bonambi iKhand\underbar{a}}.

\textit{kwaNDA\underbar{B}A\underbar{K}A\underbar{W}OM\underbar{BE} iKHAN}\underbar{DA}. This was one of the \textit{ama-Khand\underbar{a}} in the \textit{Mahlabathini Plain} burned by the British in the \textit{Anglo-Zulu War} after the battle of \textit{Ulundi}.

\textit{NDA\underbar{B}UKO kaM\underbar{P}ANDE} (c. 1843–1900). Enrolled in the \textit{uM bonambi iButho}, um\textit{Ntwana} Ndabuko was King \textit{Cetshwayo kaM}pande’s younger brother and supported him staunchly in the 2nd \textit{Zulu Civil War}. During the \textit{Anglo-Zulu War}, he fought at \textit{Isandlwana}. In the 1st Partition of \textit{Zululand}, he was placed under \textit{inK\underbar{o}si Zibhebhu kaMaphitha} and soon quarreled over the control of royal women and \textit{cattle}. He assumed the guardianship of um\textit{Ntwana} Dinuzulu \textit{kaM}pande and was prominent in leading appeals for Cetshwayo’s restoration. During the 3rd \textit{Zulu Civil War}, he led the \textit{uSuthu} at \textit{Msebe} and arrived too late with his contingent to join the battle of \textit{oNdini}. He then joined Cetshwayo in the \textit{Nkandla Forest}. After the king’s death in 1884, he once more became Dinuzulu’s guardian and effective leader of the \textit{uSuthu} until Dinuzulu came of age. Ndabuko deeply resented the imposition of the British administration in the Colony of Zululand, and his recalcitrant response was instrumental in the outbreak of the \textit{uSuthu Rebellion}. He was present at \textit{Ceza} and \textit{Ivuna}, then fled to the \textit{South African Republic} with the British suppression of the rebellion. In September 1888, he surrendered to the British. With other \textit{uSuthu} leaders, he was tried for high treason and public violence at \textit{Eshowe}. Found guilty in 1889, he was sent to St. Helena to serve his sentence of 15 years. In December 1897, Ndabuko was permitted to return to Zululand with the other prisoners.

\textit{NDEBELE KINGDOM}. In 1822, Mzilikazi kaMashobane, a Khumalo in\textit{K\underbar{o}si} owing allegiance to King \textit{Shaka kaSenzangakh\underbar{ona}}, fled
north over the Drakensberg to the highveld when Shaka threatened to attack him. There he established a new chiefdom in the vicinity of modern Pretoria, augmenting his Khumalo adherents with Sotho and Pedi people in the vicinity, and with other refugees from Shaka. He extended his kingdom and raided in all directions. In 1830 and 1832, Zulu armies sent by King Dingane kaSenzangakhona raided the Ndebele and this, compounded by constant Griqua and Kora mounted raids from the southwest, persuaded Mzilikazi in 1833 to move farther west to Mosega, on the Marico River, where the Ndebele displaced the Tswana chiefdoms in the area.

Mzilikazi modeled his state on the Zulu kingdom, with the iButho system as its central feature. He attempted to obtain firearms from traders and missionaries, but his armies still fought in the traditional Zulu style. The Ndebele were therefore no match for the Voortrekkers advancing into their territory in 1836. On 16 October 1836, Voortrekkers defeated the Ndebele at Vegkop. On 17 January 1837, a Boer commando (militia) took Mosega by surprise in a successful raid. Dingane took advantage of his old adversary’s misfortune, and in June 1837 a Zulu army raided Ndebele territory, weakening Mzilikazi further. In November 1837, the Boers struck again, worsting the Ndebele in a nine-day battle at eGabeni to the north of Mosega. Mzilikazi and the remnants of his people migrated north out of range of Boer and Zulu alike. They crossed the Limpopo River and created a new state in the Matopo Hills in what is now southwestern Zimbabwe. See also STRATEGY, BOER; STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

oNDINI, BATTLE OF (1883). In July 1883 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu, recovering from their crushing defeat at Msebe in March 1883, began preparing for an all-out assault from several directions simultaneously on their enemy, iNkosisi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha of the Mandlakazi. Threatened on all sides, Zibhebhu resolved to preempt the uSuthu. On 20 July, he concentrated about 2,400 Mandlakazi and 600 Ngenetsheni at his ekuVukeni umuZi along with 10 to 12 mounted white mercenaries. That night he led them on a march that brought them in the early morning to King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s oNdini iKhanda and took the uSuthu army of 3,600 men there entirely by surprise. The unprepared and
disorganized uSuthu did their best to take up positions a mile east of oNdini under the command of Ntuzwa kaNhlaka. A further uSuthu force at the kwaNodwengu iKhanda three miles to the west of oNdini was too far away to join the battle in time. The left horn of Zibhebhu’s force outflanked the uSuthu right that stampeded back in fear of being cut off, and the rest of the uSuthu line collapsed before Zibhebhu’s men could come to grips with them. A few uSuthu tried to make a stand in oNdini, but the rest fled in complete confusion. Zibhebhu’s left horn cut off their retreat to the White Mfolozi River, and the uSuthu contingent hurrying over from kwaNodwengu got caught up in the general rout. Another force of 1,500 uSuthu under umNtwana Ndabuko kaMpande that was marching toward oNdini from the north turned back about five miles short of oNdini when it saw the amaKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain in flames.

The uSuthu cause was entirely lost in the remorseless pursuit. Among the over 500 uSuthu dead were members of Cetshwayo’s family and 59 or more amaKhosi and men of influence from every part of the Zulu kingdom who were left defenseless when the fighting men fled. Their slaughter ended the old order in Zululand far more conclusively than had defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War. Cetshwayo and uSuthu survivors took refuge in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory, leaving Zibhebhu (who had lost only seven men in the battle) a free hand to raid and pillage in central and northern Zululand. See also STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

Ondini iKhanda. In 1855, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona ordered the first Ondini iKhanda to be built for umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande on the southern bank of the lower Mhlathuze River in southeastern Zululand as a means of separating him from umNtwa-na Mbuyazi kaMpande, his rival for the succession. Known also as Hlalangubo, it consisted of 640 huts. At the time of his coronation in 1873, King Cetshwayo started building the second Ondini in the Mahlabathini Plain as his “great place.” It contained between 1,000 and 1,400 huts. In the iSiGodlo (private enclosure), to conduct business he erected a four-roomed, wallpapered house with glazed windows, verandahs, and a thatched roof. As the Zulu “capital,” Ondini was the principal objective of the invading British columns in the Anglo-Zulu War. On 4 July 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of
the Anglo-Zulu War, the British infantry square halted a mile and a half west of it. The main Zulu reserve was quartered there, but its advance at the height of the battle of Ulundi was broken up by British artillery fire. At the end of the battle, the British shelled oNdini and then set about burning it. The Zulu, having stripped it bare, had also set fire to it and the British completed the job.

After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the restored Cetshwayo immediately set about building a third oNdini just to the east of the previous one. It was smaller in diameter but still contained 1,000 huts or more. It was not yet completed when on 21 July 1883, during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s forces caught the uSuthu forces quartered there by surprise. They formed up as best they could to the east of oNdini before being put to flight. Some of the uThulwana iButho tried to make a stand in oNdini but were cut off and killed. The victorious Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni set oNdini and the other rebuilt amaKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain ablaze.

NDLELA kaSOMPISI (?–1840). King Shaka kaSenzangakhona appointed Ndlela, who was connected through marriage to the Zulu royal house, inKosi of the Ntuli people in southern Zululand and raised him to high military command. When he usurped the throne in 1828, King Dingane kaSenzangakhona did not execute Ndlela as he did so many of Shaka’s other favorites, but appointed him his commander-in-chief and chief inDuna. In mid-1837, Ndlela led an inconclusive campaign against the Ndebele. When in late 1837 the Voortrekkers invaded Zululand, Ndlela persuaded Dingane to resist rather than negotiate, and to execute Pieter Retief and his party when they came to uMgungundlovu. During the ensuing Voortrekker-Zulu War, Ndlela led the Zulu at Veglaer, and he was in joint command of the army routed at Ncome. He commanded Dingane’s army in the 1st Zulu Civil War at the Maqongqo Hills. Ndlela escaped the rout wounded, but his defeat cost Dingane his throne, and his unforgiving master had him strangled.

iNDLONDLO iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1857 of youths born about 1837 and incorporated it into the uThulwana iButho. During the 2nd Zulu Civil War, it
fought at Ndondakusuka on the right horn of the uSuthu. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of the uncommitted reserve at Isandlwana, then went on to attack Rorke’s Drift. It fought with the chest at Kambula, and at Ulundi it attacked the northern side of the British infantry square.

iNDLUYENGWE iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1866 of youths born about 1846 and incorporated it into the uThulwana iButho. The shield was black with white spots on the lower half. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of the uncommitted reserve at Isandlwana and went on to Rorke’s Drift, where it was first to attack. At Kambula, it fought with the chest. Elements stationed at the isinPuseleni iKhanda fought at Gingindlovu. At Ulundi, it attacked the southwest corner of the British infantry square.

NDONDAKUSUKA, BATTLE OF (1856). During 1856, the rivalry for the Zulu succession between umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMponde and his half-brother umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMponde, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona’s favorite son, reached a crisis in the 1st Zulu Civil War. In late November 1856, Mbuyazi and his iziGqoza adherents, including men, women, children, and livestock, retreated toward the drifts across the lower Thukela River to Natal, while Cetshwayo advanced on them with an army of between 15,000 and 20,000 uSuthu. Mbuyazi had only about 7,000 fighting men, but he secured the aid of 35 Natal Frontier Police and about 100 African hunters and some white hunter-traders under John Dunn. These iziNqobo, as they were known, provided the iziGqoza with much-needed firepower. On 30 December, the uSuthu army encamped close to the iziGqozo. Mbuyazi hoped to move his people to safety in Natal across the Thukela, but the river was swollen with summer rains and impassable. Five white hunter-trader families were also caught on the Zulu side of the river but managed to make it to a small island in the middle.

On 1 December, the iziGqoza began gingerly to advance against the uSuthu while their noncombatants took shelter in the wooded stream beds flowing into the Thukela. Dunn’s iziNqobo fired on the uSuthu advance scouts, but it was close to dark and both sides
then withdrew for the night. Early the following rainy morning of 2 December, the two sides drew up in the traditional chest and horns formation. The uSuthu plan was for their right horn to get between the iziGqoza and cut them off from escape across the river while the chest (where the most experienced fighters were placed) and the left horn would encircle them. The iziNqobo were positioned on the iziGqoza left flank to prevent the uSuthu outflanking them and successfully drove back repeated assaults. Their attack failing on the right, the uSuthu moved their best units from the chest to the left horn and turned the iziGqoza right flank. The rest of the iziGqoza then lost heart and fell back. Their orderly retreat turned into a rout when they became entangled with the panicking noncombatants to the rear. A general flight to the river began, with the remnants of the iziNqobo trying to cover them.

On Cetshwayo’s orders, the uSuthu did not kill the terrified hunter-traders marooned on their island. Although Dunn escaped, most of the iziNqobo died, and the iziGqoza were massacred all along the north bank of the Thukela or perished in its crocodile-infested waters. The uSuthu showed no mercy, and Mbuyazi and five of his brothers were killed, as well as three-quarters of the noncombatants. Only about 2,000 of the iziGqoza warriors escaped to Natal. The uSuthu casualties are unknown, though their right horn suffered heavily from gunfire. The battle decided the Zulu succession in Cetshwayo’s favor. See also TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE ANGLO-ZULU WAR. Before the outbreak of war in 1879 and during the Anglo-Zulu War itself, King Cetshwayo kaMpende made repeated attempts to negotiate, sending emissaries to Natal, British forts, and the march laagers of the invaders in the field. But the British terms, as stated in the ultimatum of 11 December 1878, were emphatically not negotiable. For their part, Cetshwayo and his iBandla (royal council) wished for peace on terms acceptable to them, and their conditions changed in response to the course of the British invasion. Zulu peace overtures began with half-hearted fencing, followed by an attempt after Isandlwana to impose a settlement from strength, then increasingly desperate efforts to stem the British 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War as amaKhosi scrambled to submit, ending with Cetshwayo’s
final pleas for clemency. Negotiations were further complicated by the Zulu diplomatic convention whereby the king’s emissaries were dispatched merely to set up a meeting of leaders or to relay messages but had no plenipotentiary powers. Both sides, moreover, were not above using negotiations to string the other along while military preparations were being made.

Many important amaKhosi who were considering submitting to the British also opened up their own negotiations with them. The British were sympathetic to these overtures because it was part of their strategy to persuade the amaKhosi to abandon Cetshwayo’s cause, and they were prepared to offer them much more favorable terms than were available to the king.

**NEW GERMANY RIFLES.** See PINETOWN LAAGER.

**NEW REPUBLIC.** In return for their aid in defeating iNkosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha at Tshaneni during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo ceded the Boers of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers the northwestern two-thirds of Zululand (2,710,000 acres), which they proclaimed the New Republic. Its capital was the newly laid out village of Vryheid. The Boers divided the territory into 802 farms and reduced the remaining Zulu to labor tenants. Meanwhile, imperial Germany was showing interest in the Zululand coast, and the British feared they might attempt to link up with the landlocked Boers of the South African Republic through the New Republic. The British therefore asserted their claims to St. Lucia Bay on 21 December 1884 and intervened to stop the New Republic’s ambitious land claims of 1885 and 1886, which thrust provocatively toward the Zululand coast at the expense of Eastern Zululand, the territory nominally still ruled by Dinuzulu under Boer “protection.” In return for British recognition of the New Republic on 22 October 1886, the Boers agreed to limit their territorial claims and drop their attempt to impose a protectorate over Eastern Zululand. On 25 January 1887, a boundary commission completed the task of defining the New Republic’s borders. The New Republic did not possess the capacity to maintain itself as an independent state and on 20 July 1888 was incorporated into the South African Republic as the Vryheid District. Following the British defeat of the South African Republic in the
Anglo-Boer (South African) War, on 27 January 1903 the Vryheid District was annexed to Natal.

NEWCASTLE. On 31 March 1864, Newcastle was proclaimed the seat of the magistracy for the Newcastle Division in northern Natal. It was only with the arrival in 1877 of a British garrison of the 80th Regiment (Staffordshire Volunteers) at Fort Amiel to monitor developments in the recently annexed Transvaal Territory that the village began to expand. By the Anglo-Zulu War, when it fell into Colonial Defensive District No. I, it had a population of about 250 white civilians. See also NEWCASTLE LAAGER.

NEWCASTLE LAAGER. In late 1877, the Natal government ordered that the public buildings in Newcastle, including the courthouse, jail, magistrate’s office, and post office, be connected by a brick wall to form a laager for the protection of the townsfolk. During 1878, improvements were made to the fortifications, and arms and ammunition were stored for the use of the Town Guard. The laager was never remotely threatened during the Anglo-Zulu War, but in the panicked exodus after Isandlwana, few civilians were left to hold it, and its defense was in the hands of the African Newcastle Scouts and a few military convalescents until a small British garrison detached from Helpmekaar could be installed.

NEWCASTLE MOUNTED RIFLES. Formed in 1875, the Newcastle Mounted Rifles was one of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. In December 1878, they joined No. 3 Column at Helpmekaar with 36 troopers. Most advanced with the column into Zululand, though a handful declined to do so and remained in Natal patrolling the border. Those still with No. 3 Column took part in the skirmish at kwaSogekle. Half the corps was absent with Major John George Dartnell’s reconnaissance in force when the remainder left behind in the camp at Isandlwana suffered heavy casualties in the Zulu attack. The Newcastle Mounted Rifles retired with No. 3 Column to Natal, where it garrisoned Fort Pine between February and July 1879. It spent the rest of the war engaged in patrol work, cross-border raids, escort duty, and dispatch riding. It took part in the
patrol of 21 May that began the burial of the dead at Isandlwana. The uniform was of dark green cloth, with black facings and black trouser stripes, black riding-boots, and a white helmet.

**NEWCASTLE SCOUTS.** In the aftermath of Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, when the town of Newcastle had few defenders, a force of 50 mounted African levies was raised to patrol the region and was available to help defend the Newcastle laager. In April 1879, the Newcastle Scouts were incorporated into the Weenen Contingent.

**NEWDIGATE, EDWARD (1825–1902).** Commissioned in 1842, Newdigate saw service in the Crimean War (1854–1855) and the Red River Expedition (1870). In 1877, he was promoted to major-general. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he proceeded on special service to Natal in February 1879 with reinforcements. He took command of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and fought at Ulundi. Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford accompanied the 2nd Division and eclipsed Newdigate in his command. Newdigate afterward held home commands and was governor of Bermuda (1888–1892). He retired from the army in 1892 as a lieutenant-general.

**NGENETSHENI PEOPLE.** The Ngenetsheni lived in the far northwest of Zululand in the Disputed Territory. Their inKosi was the ambitious umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe, who opened negotiations with the British in late 1878 on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War and who defected to them in late February 1879 with many of his adherents. The fighting men among the Ngenetsheni were drafted into Wood’s Irregulars. King Cetshwayo kaMpande sent an impi (military force) after the disloyal Ngenetsheni and ravaged their district, contributing to the bitter animosities of the subsequent 3rd Zulu Civil War. Hamu was appointed one of the 13 chiefs in the 1st Partition of Zululand. His chiefdom incorporated Ngenetsheni territory as well as many uSuthu supporters, whose aspirations the Ngenetsheni were expected to suppress assiduously.

In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Ngenetsheni were inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s staunchest allies. Hamu had two strongholds on either
side of the Phongolo River as well as his base at kwaMfemfe, and between January and July 1883 the Ngenetsheni struck the uSuthu regularly from there and fought off their counterattacks. A strong contingent from kwaMfemfe reinforced the Mandlakazi at the battle of oNdini and in the aftermath worked with their allies to ravage uSuthu territory. On 29 April 1884, they defeated the Buthelezi in central Zululand. The tide turned once King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo concluded his alliance with the Boers in May 1884. In June, the Boers blockaded the Ngenetsheni in their strongholds during their Zululand campaign. After Tshaneni, the Boers induced them to surrender. When in August 1884 Dinuzulu granted the Boers land for the New Republic, the Ngenetsheni found themselves subject to the Boers and reduced to labor tenants.

iNGOBAMAKHOSI iBUTHO. King Cetshwayo kaMpande formed this iButho in 1873 from youths born in 1850 to 1853. The shield was a dark mottled brown with some white patches. It was Cetshwayo’s favorite iButho and the largest in the army. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it fought on the left of the Zulu chest at Isandlwana. Elements stationed at the old oNdini iKhanda fought at Gingindlovu. Elements were detached from the main Zulu army marching on Khambula to cut off the British retreat from Hlobane. At Khambula, it fought on the Zulu right, where its premature attack upset Zulu strategy. A tiny detachment was also involved in the skirmish at the Tshotshosi River. At Ulundi, it came closest to breaking through the British infantry square at its southwest corner. Elements fought for the uSuthu during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and at oNdini formed part of the uSuthu chest. In the uSuthu Rebellion, elements fought for King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo at Ceka and formed the uSuthu left horn at Ivuna.

emaNGWENI iKHANDA. Cetshwayo kaMpande established this iKhanda on the coastal plain just north of the Mhlathuze River, and he spent many years there while still an umNtwana. When he became king, it was the center of royal influence in the region, and was one of the principal objectives assigned the 1st Division, South African Field Force, during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. The British patrol that burned the iKhanda on 4 July 1879 found it deserted.
It consisted of 310 huts. The principal hut in the isiGodlo was built in European fashion, like Cetshwayo’s audience building at his oNdini iKhanda. It consisted of three rooms and had glass windows, wooden doors, whitewashed walls, and a thatched roof. On 19 July, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley met the local Zulu amaKhosi near the destroyed iKhanda and announced the end of the Zulu kingdom and his intention to break it up under nominated chiefs.

**emaNGWENI PEOPLE.** The people attached to the emaNgweni iKhanda on the northern Zulu coastal plain came to dominate the surrounding region and were fiercely loyal to the Zulu royal house. In the Anglo-Zulu War, emaNgweni irregulars clashed ineffectively with the advancing 1st Division, South African Field Force, and surrendered on 5 July 1879. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, they were assigned to the chiefdom of the Mthethwa inKosi Mlandelwa kaMbiya. In the 2nd Partition of Zululand, they fell into the restored King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s territory. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, they were very active in the uSuthu cause under their inDuna (leader), Somopho kaZikhala, against inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s coastal allies. During early 1884, they supported uSuthu operating from the Nkandla Forest by raiding the Reserve Territory from the north. During the uSuthu Rebellion, they helped cut off Fort Andries in June 1888 and attacked it in the battle of Ntondotha. Operations by the Eshowe Column and then by the joint Coastal Column and Martin’s Flying Column finally ended their resistance by late August 1888. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

**NHLAZATSHE MOUNTAIN.** A huge, flat-topped mountain with sheer cliffs in central Zululand north of the White Mfolozi River, Nhlanzatshe is a prominent landmark. During the Anglo-Zulu War, it featured repeatedly in Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s plans for the advance on oNdini, but no column actually went that way, though a patrol from Baker Russell’s Column reached it on 16 August 1879 during pacification operations. On 31 August 1881, Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, then acting high commissioner for southeast Africa, met representatives of the uSuthu faction and
their opponents at the foot of the mountain. He made it clear that the British would uphold the 1st Partition of Zululand and back the 13 appointed chiefs against the royalists. The uSuthu understood that they could expect no redress from the British, and many subsequently claimed that the 3rd Zulu Civil War effectively began that day.

**eNHLWENI umuZI.** When in July 1883 King Cetshwayo kaM pande took refuge in the Nkandla Forest after his defeat at oNdini in the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Luhungu of the Shezi people built him this umuZi close to secret caves where he could hide. In August, he was joined there by a number of his brothers and other supporters. The British resident magistrate in Zululand, Henry Francis Fynn Jr., visited him there on 13 October and persuaded him that to evade capture by iNkosí Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, he must put himself under British protection in Eshowe. After Cetshwayo’s death near Eshowe, his followers buried him on 10 April 1884 near eNhlweni, below the rolling slopes of Bhobhe Ridge in the Nkandla Forest. Luhungu became the guardian of the grave, and his descendants after him.

**NKANDLA FOREST.** With its deep gorges and steep ridges, the rainy Nkandla Forest between the middle Thukela and Mhlathuze rivers was always a place of mystery and legend for the Zulu, and a final refuge. The Cube people who lived there resisted King Shaka kaSenzangakhona’s direct conquest and were famed as workers of iron. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the fighting largely passed this impassable region by except for some patrols by Clarke’s Column. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, it fell into John Dunn’s chiefdom, and then into the Reserve Territory with the 2nd Partition of Zululand. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the defeated King Cetshwayo kaM pande took refuge there in late 1883. After his death and burial there, near the eNhlweni umuZi, the Nkandla Forest became the focus of uSuthu resistance to the British officials in the Reserve Territory. Reinforcements from the Natal garrison had to be called in to subdue them, and it was not until early September 1884 that the uSuthu finally gave up hostilities. During the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion), the forest provided the main base for the rebels. See also NKANDLA FOREST, BATTLE OF (1884).
NKANDLA FOREST, BATTLE OF (1884). During the 3rd Civil War, uSuthu forces took refuge in the Nkandla Forest after their defeat at the battle of oNdini in July 1883 and came into conflict with the colonial authorities in the Reserve Territory. After the burial of King Cetshwayo kaMpende in the Nkandla Forest in April 1884, the uSuthu became increasingly defiant, and Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner, decided he must bring them to heel. On 5 May 1884, Osborn encamped six miles east of the Nkandla Forest with a combined force of 3,000 African levies and 50 men of the Reserve Territory Carbineers (RTCs) under Commandant George Mansel. After some minor skirmishing with the uSuthu, a third of the levies deserted. Then, on the afternoon of 10 May, 1,000 uSuthu under umNtwana Dabulamanzi kaMpende attacked Osborn’s camp. The RTCs formed a firing line 300 yards in front of the camp and repulsed the uSuthu, killing about 100. Two of Mansel’s men were also killed. Believing erroneously that another force of uSuthu under Bhejana kaNomageje had outflanked him and was about to cut him off from his base at Eshowe, Osborn fell back with all his forces on Fort Chater and requested British reinforcements to subdue the uSuthu.

iNKATHA. The symbol of Zulu national unity and strength was the iNkathâ, a circular grass coil about a yard in diameter and the thickness of a man’s calf, wrapped in a python skin and bound with grass rope by the leading men of the Zulu nation. The Zulu believed it to have the mystical power of binding together, rejuvenating, and protecting the king and the nation. The iNkathâ consisted of stalks of grass brushed by the people and cattle as they passed; the body dirt (inSila) of the king, his ancestors, and his relations; bits of the captured iziNkathâ of defeated amaKhosi; the litter from the ground where the iBandla met to discuss the nation’s affairs; grass from the pits into which the amaButho vomited when they were being ritually purified, parts of powerful wild animals, and occult medicines. The powerful properties of the iNkathâ were transferred by the king to the people with the aid of the amaDlozi (ancestral spirits). When the king squatted on the iNkathâ, a mystical force was supposed to emanate from him that boosted the courage of the army in battle and prevented the amaDlozi of hostile groups from aiding the enemy. The iNkathâ was handed down from king to king, growing in size as it was added to. It was entrusted to one of the elder queens and
carefully guarded. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona placed it in the esiklebheni iKhanda in the emakhosini valley presided over by Langazana, inKosi Senzangakhona kaJama’s fourth wife. It remained there until 26 June 1879, when during a British raid in the Anglo-Zulu War, esiklebheni went up in flames. The Zulu keenly felt the iNkatha’s destruction and saw it as a portent of the kingdom’s ruin.

NKONJENI. In August 1887, British troops of the Zululand garrison of the Colony of Zululand moved forward from Eshowe to a camp at Nkonjeni, close to the disaffected uSuthu in Ndwandwe District, and were reinforced in October. During the uSuthu Rebellion, cavalry operated against the uSuthu from this base in May and June 1888, and loyalist Zulu and white traders raided by the uSuthu sought protection there. Additional troops from the Natal garrison moved up to Nkonjeni in June, and Colonel Henry Sparke Stabb made it his headquarters. Nkonjeni provided the base for the successful British assault on Hlophekhulu Mountain. On 1 August, Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth made Nkonjeni his headquarters for his pacification of northern Zululand. When the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level in September 1888, two-thirds of it remained stationed at Nkonjeni.

NKUNKWINI umuZi. This was one of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s imiZi (homesteads) in northeastern Zululand. On 30 March 1883 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu army advancing on Bangonomo torched the umuZi. Mounted Mandlakazi fired on them and drew them into the ambush set by Zibhebhu in the Msebe valley. On 14 August 1883, Zibhebhu mustered his forces, including white mercenaries, at the rebuilt umuZi for a successful two-pronged attack against the uSuthu on the northern coastal plain and in central Zululand.

kwaNOBAMBA iKHANDA. Originally an umuZi (homestead) built by inKosi Jama kaNdaba, it became the home of his successor, inKosi Senzangakona kaJama, who built his own new esiklebheni iKhanda close by. The sacred site was rebuilt as an iKhanda by royal successors and was one of the nine amaKhanda in the emakhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.
kwaNODWENGU iKHANDA. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona built the first iKhanda of this name in the Mahlabathini Plain. It contained about 500 huts. After 1843, it became his principal residence, and he died and was buried there in October 1872. He was succeeded as king by his son, Cetshwayo kaMpande, who built a second kwaNodwengu just south of his father’s abandoned iKhanda. On 17 January 1879, after their ritual preparations for war, the Zulu army marched out of kwaNodwengu for the opening campaign of the Anglo-Zulu War. The iKhanda also featured in the war’s climax. The Zulu know the battle of Ulundi as the battle of kwaNodwengu because that is the iKhanda closest to which the British infantry square halted. During the battle, the iNgobamakhosi and uVe ama-Butho made good use of the shelter it provided to advance to within 30 yards of the square. It also served as a rallying point for other Zulu units, and they kept up firing from its stockade. After the battle, the British burned it along with all the other amaKhanda in the plain.

Once Cetshwayo was restored to central Zululand by the 2nd Partition of Zululand, he rebuilt kwaNodwengu, though on a much smaller scale. When iNkosí Zibhebhu kaMaphitha surprised the uSuthu at the battle of oNdini in the 3rd Zulu Civil War, elements of several amaButho were quartered there, but they were too far away to join in the battle in time and got caught up in the general rout. After their victory, the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni forces burned kwaNodwengu and all the other rebuilt amaKhanda in the Mahlabathini Plain.

uNOKHENKE iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1865 of youths born about 1845. The shield was black, sometimes with white spots. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it fought on the Zulu right horn at Isandlwana and as part of the chest at Khambula and Gingindlovu, where elements had been barracked at the old oNdini iKhanda. A tiny detachment was also involved in the skirmish at the Tshotshosi River where Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was killed. At Ulundi, it attacked the northern side of the British infantry square. Elements fought for the uSuthu during the 3rd Zulu Civil War and at oNdini formed part of the uSuthu chest.
NONGALAZA kaNONDELA (b. c. 1805). Enrolled in the isiPhezi iButho, Nongalaza was a favorite of umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona, inKosi of the Nyandwini people and inDuna of the uHlomendlini iButho. During the Voortrekker-Zulu War, Nongalaza was commander of the Zulu army under Mpande’s nominal leadership that destroyed the Grand Army of Natal at the battle of the Thukela. During the 1st Zulu Civil War, he led Mpande’s army into Zululand and defeated King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s forces at the Mqongqo Hills. Mpande confirmed Nongalaza as his commander-in-chief and greatly enriched him. In the 2nd Zulu Civil War, Nongalaza, now an old man, loyally joined his master’s favorite son, umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpande, and barely survived the iziGqoza rout at Ndondakusuka by swimming the flooded Thukela River.

NONGQAYI. See RESERVE TERRITORY CARBINEERS; ZULULAND POLICE.

NONGQAYI FORT. In April 1883, following the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the paramilitary Reserve Territory Carbineers (or Nongqayi) were created to maintain order in the Reserve Territory. Construction of Fort Nongqayi was begun to the west of the incipient village of Eshowe to serve as their headquarters. With the annexation of the British Colony of Zululand in May 1887, the Nongqayi were officially renamed the Zululand Police and the fort remained their headquarters. It was strongly built of masonry with high, loopholed walls enclosing a parade ground and barracks. Square, crenellated towers were built at the four corners.

NONKWENKWEZIYEZULU STRONGHOLD. On 4 July 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, umNtwana Shingana kaMpande began assembling a force of about 1,000 uSuthu on Hlophekhulu Mountain in support of the uSuthu forces on Ceza Mountain and began raiding the country roundabout. Shingana’s stronghold on Hlophekhulu, known as Nonkenkweziyezulu, was on the rocky, wooded, southeastern side of the mountain overlooking a narrow strip of land between it and the White Mfolozi River that was densely covered in bush, and where his cattle, women, and children were collected.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE REGIMENT, 2ND BATTALION. Formerly the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment until renamed in 1881 by the Childers Reforms, the battalion formed part of the Natal garrison between 1880 and 1884. During 1880–1881, it made up part of the Natal Field Force throughout the 1st Boer War. In June 1884 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, two companies built Fort Northampton in the Reserve Territory and garrisoned it until late 1884. During the same period, the battalion also provided a company of mounted infantry.

iziNQOBO. In late November 1856 during the 2nd Zulu Civil War, umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpande requested the Natal border agent, Captain Joshua Walmsley, stationed just south of the Thukela River mouth, to support his iziGqoza forces against the advancing uSuthu army. Walmsley had no authority to do so, but he permitted his administrative assistant, John Dunn, to cross the Thukela on 28 November with 35 black frontier police trained in the use of horses and firearms, along with 100 of his African hunters. Dunn was joined by some white hunter-traders and their African assistants, and the whole force was called the iziNqobo, or “Crushers,” because of their firepower. On 2 December in the battle of Ndondakusuka, the iziNqobo were stationed on the iziGqoza left flank to prevent the uSuthu outflanking them. The iziNqobo repulsed the uSuthu right horn, but the battle was lost for the iziGqoza on the opposite flank. The iziNgobo tried to cover the iziGqoza retreat but became caught up in the rout and almost all were killed. Dunn was almost alone in escaping across the river.

iNSUKAMNGENI iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1862 from youths born about 1842, and it was possibly incorporated into the iQwa iButho. The shield was black with white markings lower down. During the Anglo-Zulu War, some elements fought at Nyezane, and at Ulundi it attacked the northeastern corner of the British infantry square.

NSUKAZI FORT. With the establishment of this fort on 9 August 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, the British increased their hold on the territory between Ceza and Ivuna previously dominated by
the uSuthu rebels. When the Coastal Column and Martin’s Flying Column left Ivuna on 18 August for the coast, the fort was abandoned in favor of the Ceza Camp farther north.

NSUKAZI LAAGER. On 1 June 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, troops from the British base at Nkonjeni, acting in support of the Zululand civil authorities attempting to arrest the uSuthu leaders on Ceza Mountain, formed a small laager of seven wagons close to inKosi M nyamana kaNgqengelele’s eNsukazi umuZi just south of the Black Mfolozi River. When the uSuthu repulsed the British the next day, the retreating British regrouped at the Nsukazi laager, which was held by Lieutenant R. B. Briscoe and 13 men, before retiring to Nkonjeni.

NTOMBE, ACTION AT (1879). During the Anglo-Zulu War, supplies for the British garrison stationed at Luneburg were forwarded from Derby in the Transvaal. On 7 March 1879, Captain David Barry Moriarty and a company-strength detachment were sent north to escort a convoy of 18 wagons carrying ammunition and supplies. By 9 March, the straggling convoy had closed up on the north bank of the swollen Ntombe River at Myer’s Drift. Two wagons got across, and Moriarty formed the rest into a sloppily arranged V-shaped laager on the north bank. He and 71 men remained to guard the laager while Lieutenant Henry Hollingworth Harward commanded 35 men on the south bank.

M bilini waMswati, the leader of Zulu irregulars in the vicinity, discerned a soft target. He concentrated about 800 men on Tafelberg, one of his fastnesses three miles northeast of Myer’s Drift, and on the evening of 11 March personally reconnoitered the British laager. Under cover of mist, his men attacked the sleeping laager on 12 March, firing a volley at 70 yards and then rushing in and overwhelming the defenders. On the south bank, the British detachment fired volleys to cover about a dozen fugitives crossing the river while Harward galloped to Luneburg for help. Sergeant Anthony Clarke Booth took command in his absence. To avoid being surrounded by the Zulu now crossing the river, Booth fell back in good order on Luneburg, halting once at Myer’s mission station and then at Rahbe’s farmhouse to
send volleys into the Zulu, driving them off. When Harward reached Luneburg, the garrison moved out to bring in Booth’s men and the fugitives they were escorting. For lack of mounted men, it was not possible to pursue Mbilini’s men, who retired to Tafelberg with 250 cattle and most of the contents of the wagons. The British lost an officer and 60 men, a civil surgeon, two white wagon conductors, and 15 black drivers, while 30 Zulu dead were found on the banks of the Ntombe. Mbilini’s successful blow demonstrated that the British had not yet effectively subdued northwestern Zululand, and that their lines of supply remained vulnerable to attack.

Sergeant Booth was awarded the Victoria Cross. Lieutenant Harward was court-martialed in February 1880 for deserting his men and resigned his commission. See also TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

NTONDOTA, BATTLE OF (1888). During the uSuthu Rebellion, Andries Pretorius, the resident magistrate of the Lower Umfolosi District in British Zululand, held his fortified post at the Ntondotha Hills (called Fort Andries) with a garrison of 40 Zululand Police. Two emaNgweni izinDuna, Somopho kaZikhala and Bhejana kaNomageje, who supported the uSuthu, cut off the fort’s communications with Eshowe to the south, and Pretorius secured the assistance of a local collaborator, inKosi Sokwetshatha kaMlandela of the Mthethwa, to help protect it with 300 of his men.

On 30 June 1888, the uSuthu inKosi Somkhele kaMalanda attacked the fort with 1,500–2,000 of his Mphukunyoni, supported by a few hundred of Somopho’s and Bhejana’s emaNgweni, mainly with the intention of getting at their Mthethwa enemies stationed there. Their assault was easily driven off by fire from the Zululand Police. The defenders suffered no casualties; the uSuthu losses are unknown but probably small. Nevertheless, the coastal uSuthu continued to interrupt Pretorius’s communications with Eshowe until the Eshowe Column relieved the fort on 9 July. See also STRATEGY, ZULU; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

NTSHINGWAYO kaMAHOLE (c. 1823–1883). Enrolled in the uDlambedlu iButho, Ntshingwayo was inKosi of the Khoza people and senior inDuna of the kwaGqikazi iKhanda. He was a great friend of
inKosi Mnyama kaNgqengele and second only to him in King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s iBandla (royal council). Nevertheless, Cetshwayo always held him in some suspicion for having favored the iziGqoza during the 2nd Zulu Civil War. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Ntshingwayo fought as the senior commander at Isandlwana and surrendered to the British in mid-August 1879. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was appointed one of the 13 chiefs. He was ambivalent about Cetshwayo’s restoration in the 2nd Partition of Zululand. Early in the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was attacked by the Buthelezi, who believed he had stolen many royal cattle. Ntshingwayo eventually decided to throw in his lot with the uSuthu. He was killed in the rout at oNdini.

NTULI PEOPLE. The Ntuli lived along the northern bank of the Thukela River. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, most were under the rule of Godide kaNdlela and Mavumengwana kaNdlela, two sons of inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi, who had been King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s chief inDuna. Both were initially absent from home commanding Zulu armies but were back by April when the Ntuli were holding the middle Thukela against raids from Natal. Mavumengwana’s section of the Ntuli played a part in the successful Zulu counterraid at Middle Drift in June 1879. Theirs was a sector the British had never penetrated in any depth during the Anglo-Zulu War, and the younger amaButho in particular were loath to submit. It was not until Clarke’s Column marched through the region in September 1879 that the Ntuli finally all surrendered. By the 1st Partition of Zululand, the Ntuli were placed in John Dunn’s chiefdom. They strongly supported the uSuthu, and they resented being consigned to the Reserve Territory by the 2nd Partition of Zululand. After many uSuthu took refuge in the Nkandla Forest after their defeat at oNdini during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Ntuli joined the fray but were swiftly defeated by the Mounted Basutos. They took no part in the uSuthu Rebellion, though they could not avoid disastrous involvement in the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion). See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

NTUNJAMBILI. This huge, rocky spur of the Drakensberg ends precipitously on the southern side of the Thukela River, overlooking
the river valley at Middle Drift. It was known to Natal settlers and the British as Kranskop.

**NTUNJAMBILI, RAID AT (1838).** In March 1838 during the Voor-trekker-Zulu War, the Voortrekkers who were laagered in western Zululand joined with the settlers of Port Natal (Durban) to mount a joint campaign against King Dingane kaSenzangakhona. The intervention of the Port Natal settlers in the conflict was not necessary but opportunistic, although revenge for their compatriots in Pieter Retief's party whom Dingane had executed in February 1838 was a motive. On 13 March 1838, John Cane advanced with a force of 2,100 colored retainers and African adherents from Port Natal to mount a raid into Zululand across the middle Thukela River in the vicinity of Ntunjambili, or Kranskop. They destroyed several large imiziziphi belonging to inKosi Sothobe kaM pangalala and inKosi Nombanga kaNgidli, then returned to Port Natal on 2 April with nearly 6,000 cattle and a few hundred women and children captured for the benefit of their labor and the ilobolo they would attract when married off. Cane's force had met little opposition because the Zulu cattle guards had been summoned away by Dingane to repel the anticipated Voortrekker offensive. The ease of their success fatally induced the Port Natal settlers into the rash campaign that culminated in the disastrous battle of the Thukela the following month. See also CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

**umNTWANA.** See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

**umNUMZANE.** See POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.

**NUNN, HERBERT.** Nunn moved into umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe's chiefdom in the 1860s as his resident white trader and adviser, supplying him with firearms and trade goods. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he helped Hamu defect to the British in March 1879. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was a newspaper correspondent in Zululand.

**NURSES, BRITISH.** Along with the reinforcements sent out to the Anglo-Zulu War after Isandlwana were seven nurses under Su-
perintendent of Nurses Jane Deeble. All had trained at the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley. They were accompanied to Durban by a doctor and another seven nurses from the privately funded Stafford House South African Aid Society. In addition, the Bishop of Natal, William Colenso, provided six nuns to act as nurses. These nurses, including any other civilian volunteers, worked in the base hospitals in Natal and not in the field hospitals. See also MEDICAL ATTENTION, BRITISH.

NYATHI HILL LAAGER. On 21 May 1884, Boers of the mercenary force known as Dinuzulu’s Volunteers crowned Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo at their Nyathi Hill laager and promised him military aid in the 3rd Zulu Civil War in return for vast land concessions. See also NEW REPUBLIC.

NYEZANE, BATTLE OF (1879). On 22 January 1879, on the same day as the battle of Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War, the British No. 1 Column under Colonel Charles Knight Pearson, advancing along the coastal road to Eshowe from the lower Thukela River, fought its way through an ambush laid by close to 6,000 Zulu under inKosi Godide kaNdlela who had marched from oNdini on 17 January and been reinforced along the way by smaller local contingents. No. 1 Column was in two divisions, with the leading division escorting a straggling convoy of 50 wagons. As it began to ascend the track along a long spur running up a range of hills north of the Nyezane River, the Zulu attacked. Godide’s plan was to engage the front of the column while the two horns enveloped it. When the British observed Zulu moving on Wombane, the eastern of the two hills flanking the track (the Zulu would call this the battle of Wombane), African levies were sent forward to disperse them. This movement dislocated Zulu plans, for the left horn was provoked into a premature attack before the chest and right horn were ready to commit themselves.

The Zulu left horn rushed down Wombane and engaged the British column in extended order while the British deployed to repel them in a skirmishing line. Pearson sent forward the troops at the head of the column with the artillery to take up position on a knoll higher up the spur and rake the Zulu position with fire. Meanwhile, the convoy closed up and stopped. The Zulu left horn made an orderly with-
drawal before the British skirmishing line. Those attempting to retire across the Nyezane were intercepted by elements of the British 2nd Division now coming up, bringing the total British forces engaged to 73 officers and 2,047 men, 860 of whom were African levies. After the retreat of their left horn, the Zulu right horn began a tentative advance supported by the chest but was pinned down by British fire. The British then counterattacked, seizing the heights before them and taking the dominating crest of Wombane. With the loss of the key to their position, the Zulu dispersed in fairly good order under British artillery fire to a hill four miles to the north. They, and the Zulu non-combatants who had been watching the battle from the surrounding hills, dispersed when the British resumed their advance on Eshowe. The British lost two British officers and three soldiers, and five white officers and five black troops of the African levies. The Zulu dead numbered 300 or more. See also TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

iNYONEMHLOPE iBUTHO. InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha raised this iButho in his chiefdom after the 1st Partition of Zululand in resumption of the prerogative of the great amaKhosi who preceded Shaka. Its members wore distinctive black feathers in their head-dress. It fought throughout the 3rd Zulu Civil War; in the uSuthu Rebellion, it formed the chest of the Mandlakazi at Ivuna.

iziNYOSI iBUTHO. Originally called the uJubingqwanga, this iButho was formed by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona around 1828 from youths born about 1808. King Dingane kaSenzangakhona renamed it the iziNyosi. The shield was a speckled gray. In the Voortrekker-Zulu War, it formed part of the chest at Ncome.

NZOBO kaSOBADLI (?–1840). Along with InKosi Ndlela kaSompi-si, Nzobo was one of King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s two most prominent izinDuna. He was influential in persuading Dingane not to negotiate with the Voortrekkers, and to execute Pieter Retief and his party at uMgungundlovu. During the Voortrekker-Zulu War, Nzobo led the Zulu army that defeated the Vlugkommando at eThaleni, but he jointly commanded much less successfully at Ncome. To
shore up the tottering Zulu kingdom, he urged Dingane to execute umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona as a rival to the throne. When the Boer Beeskommando and Mpande’s army jointly invaded Zululand in the 1st Zulu Civil War, Dingane sent Nzobo to the Boers to make terms. The Boers, hating him for his part in Retief’s execution, threw him into chains, and Mpande, who was with the Beeskommando, urged them to show him no mercy. On 31 January 1840, the Boers convened a court-martial and sentenced him (and his fellow envoy) to death by firing squad.

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OFTEBRO, OMMUND CHRISTIANSEN (1820-1893). In 1851, Oftebro joined Bishop Hans Paludin Smith Schreuder at the Norwegian Missionary Society station at Empangeni in Zululand. He was initially friendly with King Cetshwayo kaMpende, but by the late 1870s he believed the king was hindering the conversion of the Zulu. Consequently, Oftebro acted as a British agent, reporting adversely on Cetshwayo from his mission station at Eshowe. He abandoned Eshowe in 1878. After the Anglo-Zulu War, he established a mission station in the hills overlooking the Mahlabathini Plain from the north. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he tried to mediate between the parties. After the battle of oNdini, he gave refuge to members of Cetshwayo’s family at his mission.

OLIVIERSHOEK LAAGER. The Natal government made plans in mid-1878 to create a laager at Oliviershoek in the foothills of the Drakensberg (in what was later designated Colonial Defensive District No. II) by connecting the magistrate’s office and jail by an earthwork. The plans were not put into effect during the Anglo-Zulu War until March 1879 because it was believed that if threatened by a Sotho incursion over the Drakensberg from Basutoland (which never materialized), most settlers would prefer to take refuge at the Strydpoort laager closer to Estcourt.

ORANGE FREE STATE. During the Great Trek, Voortrekkers entered the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers in 1836 and
attempted to set up an independent state. However, in 1848, the British defeated the Boers at Boomplaats and annexed the territory as the Orange River Sovereignty. The British government then went through a period of imperial retrenchment and, by the Bloemfontein Convention signed on 23 February 1854, granted independence to the 13,000 white inhabitants of what became the Republic of the Orange Free State, or Oranje-Vrijstaat, with its capital at Bloemfontein. The Orange Free State went to war with Britain in 1899, and after its defeat in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, it became a province of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

ORDNANCE STORE DEPARTMENT. The department was formed in 1875 when the former Control Department, created in 1870, was broken up during the Cardwell Reforms. At the outset of the Anglo-Zulu War, the small number of staff available proved unequal to the task of supplying the British forces in the field with the equipment and stores that passed through the main depots in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and (from May 1879) Dundee. Additional personnel including officers, clerks, storeholders, artificers, and military laborers were sent out in March and July from Britain. During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, detachments were distributed along the lines of communication and at every military post and depot. By the end of the campaign, the department was operating efficiently, and once the troops withdrew, it had to collect and dispose of the surplus stores and equipment. The blue tunic had dark blue facings and scarlet edgings.

OSBORN, MELMOTH (1834–1899). Osborn came to Natal from England in 1849 and in 1854 entered the Natal Government Service, becoming resident magistrate of Newcastle from 1867 to 1876. He accompanied Sir Theophilus Shepstone to the Transvaal in 1877 as secretary for native affairs. After the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was appointed British resident in Zululand from March 1880 to December 1882. In April 1883, he became resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory, and in June 1887 the resident commissioner and chief magistrate of the Colony of Zululand. From his first appointment to Zululand, Osborn showed himself a disciple of Shepstone’s school of colonial administration in his determination
to limit the pretensions of the Zulu royal house and to establish indirect rule through British magistrates. His extreme bias against the uSuthu and his inefficiency and deleteriousness as an administrator were detrimental to the situation in the Reserve Territory during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, and later led directly to the uSuthu Rebellion. He escaped censure because that would have been an admission of the culpability of the Zululand officials, something that the governor, Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, and the Colonial Office were anxious to avoid. As a result, Osborn was permitted to carry on as resident commissioner until he retired in 1893 with a knighthood.

**OSBORN’S LEVIES.** During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Melmoth Osborn raised 3,000 African levies (troops) against the threat the uSuthu posed to the Reserve Territory. Between February and June 1884, small bodies of levies were stationed along its northern border, from the coast to opposite the Nkandla Forest. John Dunn commanded the coastal levies, and Lieutenant Richard Hallowes Addison commanded those farther inland. A further 1,600 levies under Martin Oftebro (son of the missionary Ommund Christiansen Oftebro) were concentrated east of the Nkandla Forest, and 1,500 more under F. Galloway, the superintendent of roads, were to the southwest of them, to protect the Natal border. On 5 May 1884, Osborn concentrated a force east of the Nkandla that included 3,000 levies. After some minor skirmishing with the uSuthu, a third of the levies deserted. On 10 May, the remainder repelled an uSuthu attack on their camp in the battle of the Nkandla Forest but then fell back on Fort Chater. Dunn’s coastal levies failed to reinforce them for fear of the uSuthu forces concentrating near the mouth of the Mhlathuze River. Galloway’s levies made up part of the force that established the strategic Fort Yolland to the east of the Nkandla Forest. The last of the levies were disbanded in October with the submission of the uSuthu in the Reserve Territory.

The levies wore the usual Zulu dress of the time; to distinguish them from their foes, they wore (as levies had in the Anglo-Zulu War) a red cloth tied around the head. They were armed with their traditional spears and shields, though a few carried obsolete muzzle-loading firearms.
OX WAGON. From the late 17th century, a wagon drawn by oxen harnessed in pairs (ossewa) was the preferred form of transport in southern Africa for traders, hunters, missionaries, and explorers who used it as a mobile home. The Voortrekkers of the 1830s employed a sturdily constructed wooden wagon long in proportion to its breadth. From its shape, it was known as a kakabeenwa, or jaw-bone wagon. The four spoked, wooden wheels had iron rims, and the two at the back were considerably larger than those in front. Most of the load-carrying and living area was covered in a canvas canopy supported by wooden hoops. The driver sat in front, in the open, on a wooden chest (wakis) and drove the span of 8–16 oxen (normally of the “Africander” strain of the “Sanga” breed) by calling to each by name or urging them on with a whip. The two most powerful oxen were yoked either side of the disselboom, or shaft, and the rest were yoked in pairs to a trektou, a long chain or leather rope, attached to the disselboom. A young African boy (voorloper) led the front pair of oxen by a thong attached to their yoke, and the rest followed.

The kakabeenwa carried some 3,960 lbs, and this was not sufficient for later transport riders who earned a living bringing heavy goods up from the coast to the interior. In 1860, a bigger, flat ox wagon was devised, with back wheels only slightly bigger than those in front, which could carry up to 9,900 lbs. The living quarters were beneath a half-tent at the rear of the wagon. It was drawn by a span of 10–16 oxen yoked as for the kakabeenwa. Rather than sitting on the wagon, the conductor, or driver, walked beside the oxen, urging them on with calls and a whip.

Oxen had to be regularly rested and given time to graze. In the most favorable conditions, a wagon could not travel more than 12 miles a day. During the Anglo-Zulu War, they often covered no more than three. See also LAAGER, BOER WAGON; TRANSPORT CONVOYS, BRITISH.

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PADDAFONTEIN LAAGER. See PIETERS LAAGER.
PEARSON, CHARLES KNIGHT (1834–1909). Commissioned in 1852, Pearson saw service in the Crimean War (1854–1855). He was promoted to colonel in 1872 and in 1876 sailed in command of the 3rd Regiment (East Kent, The Buffs) to form the Natal garrison. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he surrendered his regimental command to lead No. 1 Column from January to April 1879, when he commanded at Nyezane and at the blockade of Eshowe. After the relief of Eshowe, he was placed in command of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, until invalided home in May. He was knighted and promoted to major-general. He was later governor of the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley (1880–1884) and commanded troops in the West Indies (1885–1890). He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1891 and retired from the army in 1895.

PEDI PEOPLE. In the late 1820s, Sekwati woaThulare consolidated a kingdom dominated by the northern Sotho-speaking Pedi people in the mountainous territory of what would later be the northeastern South African Republic (SAR). In 1851, King Mpande kaSenza-ngakhona conducted an inconclusive campaign against the Pedi, who retired to their fastnesses. In May 1876, war broke out between the Pedi, ruled since 1861 by Sekhukhune woaSekwati (c. 1814–1882), and the SAR. The Boer campaign came to an ignominious halt in February 1877 and was a major excuse for the British annexation of the Transvaal in April 1877. The British opened a fresh campaign against the Pedi in April 1877, but that too proved inconclusive, and operations ceased in October 1878. The British believed that the Pedi only dared resist them because Sekhukhune and King Cetshwayo kaMpande were in alliance. The two rulers did maintain regular diplomatic contact, but no military agreement was ever formed between them, and Cetshwayo did not receive the active Pedi support he hoped for during the Anglo-Zulu War. At the conclusion of that campaign, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley renewed operations against the Pedi and defeated them by December 1879.

PENNEFATHER, EDWARD GRAHAM (1850–?). Commissioned in 1873, Pennefather was on special service in the Anglo-Zulu War with the Cavalry Brigade attached to the 2nd Division, South African
Field Force, and fought in the skirmish at Zungeni. He joined Baker Russell’s Column and took part in the mounted search for the fugitive King Cetshwayo kaMpende. He fought in the 1st Boer War (1881) and was promoted to captain in 1881 and major in 1885. In 1884–1885, he served with the Bechuanaland Expedition. Stationed in 1887 in the Colony of Zululand with the cavalry of the Zululand garrison based at Nkonjeni, in early 1888 he made frequent patrols of the uSuthu imizi near Ivuna in support of the civil authorities. On the outbreak of the uSuthu Rebellion, he was in command of the British forces supporting the civil authorities on Ceza and ably covered their retreat. He was in command of the cavalry at Hlophe- khulu that supported the assault. Pennefather was promoted to brevet lieutenant-colonel in 1888. He retired from the army in 1895 and was appointed inspector general of police for the Straits Settlement.

**PERCUSSION CAPS.** In 1807, the Rev. Alexander Forsyth (1769–1843) patented the use of fulminates of mercury, which ignites when struck, as a primer for firearms in place of gunpowder, which requires external fire for detonation. His percussion cap, coated with fulminates of mercury and placed over the fire hole, replaced the flintlock mechanism and produced a much more reliable, all-weather ignition system that greatly speeded up the process of fire because the priming charge and main charge exploded nearly simultaneously.

Initially developed for sportsmen, percussion caps were mass produced from 1822 and were slowly introduced into European armies. In the late 1830s, the flintlock mechanism of muskets began to be replaced by the percussion lock. In the early 1850s, percussion-lock rifles replaced muskets until they in turn were superseded in the 1860s by breech-loading rifles.

**isiPHEZI iKHANDA.** The main Zulu army marching against the British No. 3 Column at the outset of the Anglo-Zulu War encamped for the night of 18 January 1879 at isiPhezi, an iKhanda in the Mphembheni valley to the southwest of oNdini.

**PHOTOGRAPHY.** Photography was still in its early stages during the Zulu wars. The breakthrough came only in 1888 with celluloid-roll film. Until then, cameras were neither efficient nor easily portable.
By the 1870s, a dry plate or gelatin emulsion process enabled plates to be stored ready for many months, and it did away with the need for special vans in which to develop the glass plates before the sensitizing chemicals dried. Even so, only laboriously posed pictures were possible because of the slow exposure time, and those photographers who risked their fragile and bulky equipment on campaign had to be content with static shots of people and landscapes. After the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, professional photographers from Natal compiled commercially successful commemorative albums of the campaign, notably James C. Lloyd of Durban, J. W. Buchanan and George T. Ferneyhough of Pietermaritzburg, and Benjamin Kisch with studios in both towns.

**PIETERMARITZBURG.** The Pieter Retief party of Voortrekkers identified the site of the future city of Pietermaritzburg in January 1838. Named after the Voortrekker leaders Retief and Gerrit Maritz, it was being laid out by October 1839 in the typical grid pattern adopted by the Boers in emulation of their towns in the Cape. Long, straight streets were connected by cross streets, and the blocks were divided into rectangular plots (erven) irrigated by water furrows. Plots were laid aside for a market square, church, and public buildings. Pietermaritzburg was the seat of the short-lived Boer Republic of Natalia, and it continued after 1842 as the capital of British Natal, with Fort Napier, cathedral, government house, and administrative precinct. It was also the commercial hub of the Natal midlands. Its population in the early 1880s was about 6,000 white settlers, 750 Indians, and over 3,000 Africans.

**PIETERMARITZBURG JAIL.** In the panic after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the substantial jail in Pietermaritzburg, which had been built in 1861 with high brick walls, but which was outside the perimeter of the Pietermaritzburg Laager, was prepared for defense. Officials from the nearby government house were to have taken refuge there in an emergency that never arose.

**PIETERMARITZBURG LAAGER.** When during the Anglo-Zulu War news of Isandlwana reached Pietermaritzburg on 24 January 1879, the white citizens hastily improvised a laager for their protection,
to be defended primarily by the City Guard and Natal Rifle Association. When completed in mid-February, the laager consisted of a number of substantial buildings, such as the government building of 1871 that housed the supreme court and the legislative council, and the Presbyterian church of 1852. They were made defensible with loopholes in the walls and with the fitting of reinforced and loopholed doors and shutters. These buildings anchored connecting barricades of sandbags and boxes filled with earth that formed the perimeter. The people of Pietermaritzburg never resorted to the laager, and it was dismantled in July 1879.

PIETERS LAAGER (PADDAFONTEIN LAAGER). When Boer farmers in northern Natal close to the Mzinyathi River (in what would later be Colonial Defensive District No. 1) became dissatisfied in late 1877 with the Natal government’s plans for their defense in case of a Zulu attack, they built this small, stone-walled laager with two opposing bastions. It was understood that this laager was for the Boer settlers and Fort Pine for the British. At the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War, a few Boers did take refuge at the laager for a short time, but most of them went to Fort Pine, and Pieters Laager was soon abandoned.

PINETOWN DEFENSE GUARD. See PINETOWN LAAGER.

PINETOWN LAAGER. In the panic following Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, a laager was built around Murray’s Hotel in the village of Pinetown in the hills northwest of Durban in the Colonial Defensive Subdistrict of Durban. It was constructed by the Natal Railway Department of 200 railway lengths set into the ground with 4,000 timbers dropped in between, and it was properly loopholed, with two flanking bastions. The Pinetown Defense Guard and New Germany Rifles were to have manned it, but both of these volunteer groups were disbanded in mid-March 1879, and the laager (which was never remotely threatened by the Zulu) was abandoned.

PIVAAN LAAGER. This stone laager on Potgieter’s farm in the Disputed Territory antedated the Anglo-Zulu War. In late 1877 and again in 1878, Boer families took refuge here when conflict with the Zulu seemed to be brewing. In May 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu
War, a small force of Dutch burghers was encamped nearby. In June, they left it for the proximity of Fort Lawrence.

**POINT LAAGER.** In the panic after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, there was concern in Durban that the designated places of refuge in the Durban Town Laager were not sufficient for the number of settler women and children, Indians, and Africans who had flocked into the town. In mid-February 1879, it was decided to erect barricades across the Point beyond the harbor works and railway line to create a defensible laager large enough to accommodate them and to provide a last line of defense should it became necessary to evacuate the town and take to the ships. The Durban Volunteer Artillery took up position with two field guns behind the palisade. By April, all fear of a Zulu attack had dissipated and the barricade was dismantled.

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU.** Colonial commentators regularly characterized the Zulu kingdom as despotic and arbitrary, but the king was constrained by traditional law and custom as well as by difficulties of communication and control over the kingdom’s large distances. The basis of the king’s power was the *iButho* system (age-grade regiments), through which he harnessed the productive and military potential of his subjects, but there was always the danger that *amaButho* would give their first loyalty to local hierarchies, and in the absence of anything approaching a developed bureaucracy, the king had to delegate regional potentates some powers. In practice, authority ran from the king through chiefs, or *amaKhosi*, of decreasing degree down to the individual homestead (*umuZi*) heads, or *abaNumzane*. At the top of the political pyramid below the king were the *izKhulu*, the great ones, who were royal princes, or *abaNtwana*, senior members of the royal house who could function as *amaKhosi*, and major hereditary *amaKhosi* incorporated into the kingdom but still maintaining their regional power bases. More tightly under the king’s control than the *izKhulu* were the *iz-inDuna*, state officials he appointed to command the *amaButho*, preside over *amaKhanda* (royal military and administrative centers), or rule like *amaKhosi* over districts where there were no strong claims of hereditary authority. The king rewarded these men well, and they
remained amenable to royal will, as they knew that their power and wealth depended on the king’s favor. The king also relied upon iziNcéku, confidential royal attendants and advisers who exercised much influence. The king could only make policy by consulting an inner core of prominent advisers, the umKhándlu. The king chose one among them as his chief iNduna, or prime minister and commander in chief. Once the umKhándlu reached a policy decision, it would be aired at a fuller meeting of councilors, the iBandla, and then made known to the people at the umKhosi (first-fruits ceremony). The king did retain the ultimate decisions over life and death and in this regard could overrule his advisers. Punishment of miscreants took the form of execution or cattle fine, as there was no such thing as prison in Zululand. Much depended on the personality of each individual monarch when it came to the actual exercise of power. Some, like King Dingane kaSenzangakhona, had much their own way. Others, like King Mpande kaSenzangakhona, were more amenable in the hands of their councilors.

PORT DURNFORD. On 23 June 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, patrols from the 1st Division, South African Field Force, confirmed that Port Durnford just north of the mouth of the Mlalazi River was an open sandy beach where the surf broke with less violence than elsewhere along the coast. It was thus considered practicable for the landing of supplies from decked surf boats, and the 1st Division moved forward to encamp there on 28 June. Between 2 and 4 July, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley made several attempts to land there to take personal command in Zululand, but he was unsuccessful on account of the heavy surf and had to return to Durban. Stores continued to be landed when weather permitted and supplied Baker Russell’s Column and Clarke’s Column between July and September. After his capture, King Cetshwayo kaMpande was embarked on 4 September 1879 at Port Durnford to be taken to captivity in Cape Town. On 10 January 1883, Cetshwayo landed at Port Durnford on his restoration following the 2nd Partition of Zululand.

PORT NATAL. See DURBAN.
PORT ST. JOHN’S. On 4 September 1878, the Mpondo chiefs ceded this potential port at the mouth of the Mzimvubu River to Britain. A British garrison was established here, and Port St. John’s was annexed to the Cape in 1884.

POST CART. The post cart service, with its posting houses, instituted in 1860, was the most rapid means of transport in Natal. The two-wheeled cart, drawn by two or three pairs of horses, carried not only mailbags but five passengers and a driver. During the Anglo-Zulu War, officers made much use of it, despite its extreme discomfort. See also TRANSPORT, BRITISH.

POSTAL RUNNERS. African postal runners were employed during the Anglo-Zulu War, 3rd Zulu Civil War, and uSuthu Rebellion to carry letters and parcels between British camps in bags or little boxes. Official dispatches or express letters (such as those sent by special correspondents) were fixed into a cleft stick and held high to indicate their importance. Magistrates in the colony of Zululand in the 1880s used relays of runners to send reports to Eshowe. The average speed of a runner was four miles per hour.

POTGIETER, ANDRIES HENDRIK (1792–1852). A farmer from the Eastern Cape, Potgieter led a party of Voortrekkers north into the interior at the end of 1835. At Vegkop in October 1836, his laagered party repulsed a Ndebele attack. In January 1837, he and Gerrit Maritz led a successful retaliatory commando (militia) against the Ndebele at Mosega. Between 4 and 12 November, Potgieter and Petrus Lafras Uys attacked the Ndebele again at eGabeni and drove them north into what is now Zimbabwe. A powerful personality and natural leader, Potgieter could not cooperate easily with the leaders of other Voortrekker parties, and he particularly resented Pieter Retief’s popularity. He favored settling in the lands north across the Vaal River and developing trade with Delagoa Bay; those who supported Retief preferred the lands of the Zulu kingdom and Port Natal (Durban) as their outlet to the sea. Nevertheless, in March 1838, Potgieter came to the aid of the Voortrekker parties after the
Bloukrans Massacre in the Voortrekker-Zulu War. Because he would not subordinate himself to Uys, who had also brought a commando down from the highveld, he agreed in April to joint command of the Vlugkommando, which was ambushed at eThaleni. Accused of cowardice in the battle, the indignant Potgieter and his followers withdrew to the highveld, where he became involved in setting up fractious and short-lived communities that were all subsumed in 1852 into the independent South African Republic.

POTGIETER’S FARM LAAGER. During the Anglo-Zulu War, a small detachment of No. 4 Column moved from the camp at Khambula on 21 April 1879 to the Widow Potgieter’s farm in the Disputed Territory to mine coal from an exposed seam. They built a circular stone laager for their 28 wagons. They rejoined No. 4 Column in early May 1879.

POTSPRUIT CAMP. This camp was established in Colonial Defensive District No. VII during the Anglo-Zulu War as the assembly point between December 1878 and early January 1879 for No. 2 Column and for the four corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers joining No. 1 Column. In April 1879, these Natal Mounted Volunteers moved back to Potspruit after the relief of Eshowe, before being relocated on 15 May to the Doornhoek Camp.

PRETORIA. Founded in 1855 and named after the Voortrekker leader Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius, the town became the capital of the South African Republic on 1 May 1860.

PRETORIA CONVENTION. See BOER WAR, 1ST.

PRETORIUS, ANDRIES WILHELMUS JACOBUS (1798–1853). By August 1838, fortunes in the Voortrekker-Zulu War were at low ebb for the Voortrekkers laagereed in the foothills of the Drakensberg, and they sent a deputation to seek aid from Pretorius, a gifted organizer and experienced commando (militia) leader from the Graaff-Reinet District of the Eastern Cape. In 1837, Pretorius had made a reconnaissance of the regions occupied by Voortrekker parties and had taken part in the fighting against the Ndebele. He
then returned home to organize a party to trek over the Drakensberg. On 22 November 1838, Pretorius arrived ahead of his main party, and at Sooilager on the Little Thukela River, the Voortrekkers elected him chief commandant. Pretorius planned the punitive expedition against King Dingane kaSenzangakhona and led the Wenkommando to victory at Ncome, where he was wounded in the hand during the pursuit. He played a prominent part in the negotiations leading to the peace concluded with Dingane on 25 March 1839. As chief commandant, he led the Beeskommando in January 1840 in support of umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona in the 1st Zulu Civil War and proclaimed Mpande king on 10 February 1840.

Pretorius found his dominant position in the Republic of Natal under attack from envious colleagues in the volksraad, but in May 1842 they called on him to repulse the British occupation of Port Natal (Durban). He defeated the British at Congella and besieged them in Smith’s Camp, but when the garrison was relieved, he retreated after a skirmish on 26 July 1842 and influenced the volksraad into submitting to British sovereignty. In August 1842, he resigned as commandant-general and retired to his farm. When many Voortrekkers left British Natal in 1843, Pretorius stayed on but eventually found British rule unacceptable. In February 1848, he left Natal for the interior, and he succeeded in securing British recognition of the independent South African Republic by the Sand River Convention of January 1852.

PRINCE OF WALES’S NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT, 1ST BATTALION. Formerly the 64th Regiment until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion formed part of the Natal garrison between 1887 and 1890. In October 1887, four companies and two Gatling guns were stationed at Fort Curtis and a detachment stationed at St. Paul’s as part of the augmented Zululand garrison in the new British colony of Zululand. In June 1888 during the uSuthu Rebellion, detachments were posted forward to kwaMagwaza, Etonjaneni, and Nkonjeni. In July, two companies joined the Eshowe Column relieving Fort Andries. In November 1888, the battalion was withdrawn from Zululand. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it provided a company of mounted infantry.
PRINCE OF WALES’S VOLUNTEERS (SOUTH LANCASHIRE REGIMENT), 2ND BATTALION. Formerly the 82nd Regiment until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion formed part of the Natal garrison between 1884 and 1887. Between February and November 1884 during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, three companies with two Gatling guns reinforced the garrison at Fort Curtis as a precaution against uSuthu operations in the Reserve Territory.

PRINCESS LOUISE’S ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS, 1ST BATTALION. Formerly the 91st Regiment (Princess Louise’s Argyllshire Highlanders) until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion had been stationed in South Africa since 1879, when it fought in the Anglo-Zulu War. It formed part of the Natal garrison between 1883 and 1885. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, a company formed part of the Etshowe Column in September 1883 and was reinforced by another company to garrison Fort Curtis. In May 1884, they built Fort Chater, where they remained to stiffen Osborn’s levies defending the Reserve Territory against the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest. In July, they erected Fort Yolland nearer to the Nkandla Forest and remained in garrison in the Reserve Territory until November 1884.

PROVISO B. On 22 October 1886, the New Republic, in return for British recognition, ceded control over a block of territory in central Zululand, known as Proviso B. Boers who had already laid out farms there were allowed to retain ownership of them. When Proviso B was annexed by the British on 19 May 1887 as part of the Colony of Zululand, the Boer farmers were permitted to stay in possession even though the rest of Zululand was not thrown open to white settlement.

PULLEINE, HENRY BURMEISTER (1839-1879). Commissioned in 1855, Pulleine was posted to stations in England, Mauritius, Burma, India, Malta, and Gibraltar. In 1875, he was stationed at the Cape and promoted to brevet lieutenant-colonel in 1877. He saw service in the 9th Cape Frontier War (1877–1878), when he raised and commanded two units of mounted irregulars. In September 1878, he
was appointed commandant of Durban, then of Pietermaritzburg, and in January 1879 president of the Remount Depot. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he was with No. 3 Column, and Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford left him in command of the camp at Isandlwana on 22 January 1879. Pulleine was killed in the battle, probably in its final stage when the British were attempting to conduct a fighting retreat toward the Mzinyathi River.

isinPUSELENI iKHANDA. In late March 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, noting the preparations for an advance being made by the Eshowe Relief Column, the Zulu began to reinforce the forces blockading Eshowe to contest its advance. Some 1,500 of the iNdluyengwe iButho were quartered at isinPuseleni, an iKhanda close to oNdini in southeastern Zululand, where other amaButho were stationed.

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oQEKESENNI iKHANDA. This was one of the amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley burned on 26 June 1879 by Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

iziQU. These carved, strung, interlocking wooden beads were worn by Zulu men around the neck or upper body. They were made of wood from the willow tree, which was associated with the amaDlozi (ancestral spirits) and thus treated with reverence. IziQu were worn as ritual protection against uMnyama (evil influence) by men who had killed in battle or had participated in the hlomula ritual, particularly in the period of great vulnerability before the full ritual that followed combat. Wearing iziQu was seen as an indication of a man’s bravery and military prowess.

QUARTER IN BATTLE. The Zulu never gave quarter in battle, and they killed the wounded afterward. Women generally were not allowed to escape alive, on the grounds that they bore fighting men. Cattle fared better than did the enemy, for they were the prized booty of war. The Zulu, most of whom could not ride, also tended to kill
their enemies’ horses, reducing their dangerous mobility. The Voortrekkers were no more predisposed than the Zulu to take prisoners, and they were merciless when making mounted sorties from their laagers. The British in the Anglo-Zulu War took a small handful of prisoners in battle for the purposes of military intelligence but generally gave no quarter when in hot pursuit. The Natal Native Contingent regularly killed all the wounded they could find on the battlefield, and British regulars and colonials usually did so too. The British usually did not kill noncombatants, although they did not spare belongings or dwellings.

abaQULUSI iBUTHO. See abaQULUSI PEOPLE.

abaQULUSI PEOPLE. The people attached to the ebaQulusini iKhanda established by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona came to dominate the surrounding region of northwestern Zululand. They fell under the direct rule of the royal house and regarded themselves as a separate group. The men formed a distinct iButho drawn only from the specific locality. Their special connection to the royal house made them its most loyal adherents. In the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the abaQulusi iButho fought in the very center of the uSuthu chest at Ndondakusuka. During the Anglo-Zulu War, King Cetshwayo kaMpande entrusted the abaQulusi with the defense of northwestern Zululand, where they faced Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s forces. On 20 January 1879, they repulsed Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller at Zungwini Mountain, though Wood retaliated successfully in subsequent days. During February, British raids from Khambula Camp discomfited the abaQulusi, who retired deeper into Zululand, though not without successful retaliatory raids into the Ntombe valley. On 12 March, they participated in the successful overwhelming of a British convoy from No. 5 Column at Ntombe Drift. AbaQulusi irregulars were prominent in routing the British at Hlobane, and many of them and elements of the abaQulusi iButho fought at Khambula, where the irregulars suffered particularly heavily in the rout. Once Wood’s Flying Column began its advance in June during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, abaQulusi irregulars became active again in the northwest. After the battle of Ulundi, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley feared the abaQulusi
might attempt a last-ditch resistance, and **Baker Russell’s Column** was dispatched to pacify them. However, they only surrendered between 30 August and 3 September on receiving the captive Cets- 

wayo’s secret orders to do so.

In the 1st Partition of Zululand, Wolseley deliberately placed the abaQulusi under the collaborationist umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe to suppress their royalist loyalties. With Cetswayo’s restoration following the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the abaQulusi swiftly struck at their Ngenetsheni oppressors and at other local enemies during the 3rd Zulu Civil War. A contingent fought at **Msebe** and continued to skirmish with the Ngenetsheni from April to July 1883. A contingent was with umNtwana Ndabuko kaMpende’s forces that retreated at oNdini before becoming engaged in the battle. They continued to resist the anti-uSuthu forces in the broken fighting after oNdini and in 1884 played an important part at Tshaneni in cutting off the Mandlakazi flight. As a result of the 3rd Partition of Zululand, the abaQulusi found themselves within the New Republic and under Boer rule, but during the **uSuthu Rebellion** they nevertheless rallied to King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo on Ceza Mountain, and their irregulars took part in the repulse of the British. At Ivuna, they formed the uSuthu right horn when they came under fire from the Ivuna Fort. Their support for Dinuzulu dwindled away during July and August 1888 as the British reasserted their control of northwestern Zululand, though they were the last of the uSuthu to disperse from Ceza. See also **KUBHEKA PEOPLE; MBILINI waMSWATI.**

**ebaQULUSINI iKHANDA.** King Shaka kaSenzangakhona established the ebaQulusini iKhanda for the abaQulusi iButho on the northern flank of Mashongololo Mountain just east of **Hlobane Mountain** in northwestern Zululand to guard the frontier against the Ndwandwe, Khumalo, and Swazi people and to serve as a focus for royal authority in the region. He placed it under the command of his influential sister Mnkabayi. On 1 February 1879, Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller led a raid from Kambula Camp and burned it. See also **abaQULUSI PEOPLE.**

**QUNGEBE PEOPLE.** On the eve of the **Anglo-Zulu War,** King Cetshwayo kaMpende ordered the fighting men of the Qungebe
people who lived opposite Rorke’s Drift to assemble at kwaSogekle, the stronghold of their inKosi Sihayo kaXongo, to resist the British invaders. On 12 January, men of No. 3 Column stormed kwa-Sogekle, and for the rest of the war the Qungebe kept to their places of refuge, staying away from the border and the danger of British raids. In August, they began drifting back to their homes. In terms of the 1st Partition of Zululand, they were placed in Hlubi kaMota Molife’s chieftdom. As a result of the 2nd Partition of Zululand, they found themselves in the Reserve Territory. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, they rallied under Mehlokazulu kaSihayo to the uSuthu cause in the Nkandla Forest, and they reinforced the uSuthu army in central Zululand that went on to defeat the Mandlakazi at Tshaneni. In June 1888, during the uSuthu Rebellion, when it seemed the Qungebe might again rally to the uSuthu cause and begin operations in the Nkandla Forest, the British took their leaders into preventive custody.

**iQWA iBUTHO.** King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1860 from youths born about 1840. It was possibly incorporated into the uDududu iButho. The shield was black or red and white. During the Anglo-Zulu War, elements fought at Nyezane. At Ulundi, it attacked the northern side of the British infantry square.

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**RAAFF’S TRANSVAAL RANGERS.** The unit was originally raised in 1878 by Commandant Pieter Edward Raaff (a veteran of earlier frontier wars against the Sotho and Pedi) for the unsuccessful British campaign against the Pedi. In November 1878, Raaff went to the Kimberley diamond fields to raise recruits for the coming Anglo-Zulu War from tough diggers, both white and colored. He raised further recruits in Pretoria and then joined No. 5 Column. During February 1879, the Rangers (who numbered about 130 men) took part in the patrols mounted against the Zulu in northwestern Zululand, notably the raid against the abaQulusi on Talaku Mountain on 15 February. When in late February No. 5 Column was placed
under Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s command, the Rangers joined his forces at Khambula. A squadron formed part of Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force at Hlobane and fought the next day at Khambula. During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the Rangers advanced with Wood’s Flying Column, and a squadron took part in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and in the battle of Ulundi. After the breakup of Wood’s Flying Column in late July, the Rangers joined Baker Russell’s Column in its march to the Transvaal, a detachment garrisoning Fort George. They were disbanded in September. Uniform was erratic, made of yellow, brown, or black corduroy, often mixed with civilian items of clothing.

**RAILWAY, NATAL.** Railway building began in a very small way in Natal in 1860, and in 1875 a narrow, flexible 3 foot, 6 inch gauge was adopted as suitable in the hilly terrain. In 1879, the only railway toward the Zulu border ran the short distance north from Durban to Saccharine Station (Mount Edgecombe) on the sugar-producing north coast. The extension did not reach the Thukela River until 1898. Inland, the railway from Durban had reached Botha’s Hill by 1879 but would not extend to Pietermaritzburg until 1880 or Ladysmith until 1886. Consequently, during the Zulu wars, the railway was of little use in bringing up troops or supplies to the front.

**RECONCILIATION, DAY OF.** The Voortrekkers attributed their crushing victory over the Zulu at Ncome during the Voortrekker-Zulu War to divine intervention in response to a covenant made with God on 9 December 1838, which they repeated every evening until the battle was won on 16 December. They vowed that if they defeated the Zulu, they and their descendants would keep the anniversary of the battle as a day of thanksgiving to God. The covenant and victory at Ncome became cornerstones of Afrikaner nationalism. With the Union of South Africa in 1910, 16 December was proclaimed a public holiday. It was called Dingaan’s Day until 1952, when the Afrikaner-dominated National Party government renamed it the Day of the Covenant, changing it in 1979 to the Day of the Vow. At the Ncome site, a large stone monument of a wagon was erected on 16 December 1947 to the Voortrekker victory, followed on the anniversary in 1971
by an impressive laager of bronze-plated, life-size wagons. For the Zulu people, the battle became a symbol of Afrikaner domination and racial ideology. After 1994, the new democratic government decided to redress the imbalance. The public holiday was renamed the Day of Reconciliation, and on 16 December 1998 a new monument, shaped like the horns of a Zulu battle formation, was opened across the river from the laager of bronze wagons. It is dedicated to the brave Zulu who fell in the battle defending their independence, and it incorporates a museum exhibiting Zulu material culture.

**Regiment, 3rd (East Kent, The Buffs), 2nd Battalion.** During late 1878, the battalion (which had formed part of the Natal garrison since 1876) was concentrated on the lower Thukela River at Fort Williamson and Thring’s Post from previous scattered postings around Natal. It was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel H. Parnell and was brought up to full strength with the arrival of three companies from Mauritius. During November, it built and garrisoned Fort Pearson. In the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, a few detached personnel took part in the battle of Rorke’s Drift. As part of No. 1 Column, eight companies fought in the battle of Nyezane. Six companies formed part of the garrison of Fort Eshowe, and the remaining two that had escorted a convoy back from Eshowe to the lower Thukela garrisoned Fort Tenedos. These two companies joined the 1st Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. The battalion subsequently took part in the coastal operations of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, and on the breakup of the 1st Division on 23 July 1879 returned to Natal. In November, the battalion embarked for the Straits Settlement. Tunic facings were buff.

**Regiment, 4th (King’s Own Royal), 2nd Battalion.** The battalion under the command of Colonel Edward William Bray arrived in the field soon after Isandlwana and spent the Anglo-Zulu War in reserve as supply troops and in garrison duties along the lines of communication. Detachments served for periods at Fort Amiel, Balte Spruit, Fort Clery, Conference Hill, Helpmekaar, Fort Lawrence, the Luneburg laager, Fort Moore, and Potgieter’s Farm laager. On 8 September, the Luneburg garrison snuffed out
Zulu resistance on Mbilini’s mountain. Passing through the Transvaal, the battalion embarked in February 1880 for India. Tunic facings were blue.

REGIMENT, 13TH (1ST SOMERSETSHIRE) PRINCE ALBERT’S LIGHT INFANTRY, 1ST BATTALION. During the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel P.E.V. Gilbert, which previously had been engaged in operations against the Pedi in the Transvaal, formed part of No. 4 Column and fought at Khambula. Detachments periodically garrisoned the Balte Spruit laager, Luneburg laager, Potgieter’s Farm laager, and Fort Tinta. Under the command of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. L. England, it formed part of Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and fought at Ulundi. It retired with Wood’s Flying Column to St. Paul’s, then proceeded directly to Natal and embarked in August for England. Tunic facings were blue.

REGIMENT, 21ST (ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS), 2ND BATTALION. Sent out from Ireland as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, and made up to strength with 300 volunteers from other units, the battalion under the command of Colonel William P. Collingwood arrived in Natal in March 1879. Leaving two companies to garrison Fort Napier, it made up part of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and fought at Ulundi. During the advance, detachments garrisoned Fort Marshall and Fort Newdigate and built Fort Ulundi. On the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July, the battalion proceeded to service in the Transvaal, where it formed the Pretoria garrison and saw action in the 1st Boer War. Tunic facings were blue.

REGIMENT, 24TH (SECOND WARWICKSHIRE), 1ST BATTALION. The battalion under Colonel Richard Thomas Glyn, stationed at the Cape since January 1875, had most recently seen action in the 9th Cape Frontier War. In the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the battalion formed part of No. 3 Column and garrisoned the Helpmekaar Fort. Five companies were annihilated at Isandlwana. Detached personnel were present at the defense of
**Rorke’s Drift.** During the 2nd Invasion of the war, the reinforced battalion was incorporated into the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and detachments garrisoned the Balte Spruit laager, Fort Newdigate, and the Mthonjaneni laager. It participated in the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force. During the battle of Ulundi, it was kept in reserve and garrisoned the White Mfolozi Camp. With the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July, the battalion returned to Natal and embarked in late August 1879 for England. Tunic facings were grass green.

**REGIMENT, 24TH (SECOND WARWICKSHIRE), 2ND BATTALION.** The 2nd Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry James Degacher arrived at the Cape in March 1878 and saw action in the 9th Cape Frontier War. In the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of No. 3 Column. One company was annihilated at Isandlwana, while six more companies were absent on reconnaissance. A further company defended Rorke’s Drift. Detachments garrisoned the rebuilt fort at Rorke’s Drift and Fort Melvill. During the 2nd Invasion of the war, the battalion formed part of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and detachments garrisoned Fort Jones, Landman’s Drift, and Fort Whitehead along the line of communications. The scattered battalion had reassembled in Natal by September 1879, and it embarked for Gibraltar in January 1880. Tunic facings were grass green.

**REGIMENT, 25TH (KING’S OWN BORDERERS).** The regiment was stationed at the Cape between 1840 and 1842. Five companies were sent by sea in June 1842 to relieve the Durban garrison being besieged by the Boers of the Republic of Natalia.

**REGIMENT, 27TH (INNISKILLING), 1ST BATTALION.** The battalion formed part of the Cape garrison and fought in the 6th and 7th Cape Frontier Wars of 1835 and 1846–1847. In May 1842, a detachment occupied Durban and was defeated at Congella. It was besieged in Smith’s Camp by the Boers of the Republic of Natalia until relieved in June by the 25th Regiment (King’s Own Borderers).
REGIMENT, 45TH (NOTTINGHAMSHIRE), 1ST BATTALION.
In July 1843, a detachment of the battalion reinforced the British garrison in Durban. It then marched to Pietermaritzburg in August 1843 and commenced the construction of Fort Napier, the new headquarters of the Natal garrison. The battalion remained in garrison at Fort Napier until 1859.

REGIMENT, 57TH (WEST MIDDLESEX). Sent out from Ceylon as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Mansfield Clarke joined the 2nd Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. Its men suffered much from sickness. After the relief of Eshowe, it formed part of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, and helped construct Fort Chelmsford. Advancing as far as Port Durnford, on 23 July it became part of Clarke’s Column and reoccupied the Mahlabathini Plain. Detachments were involved in the pursuit and capture of King Cetshwayo kaMpende. The regiment marched with Clarke’s Column for Natal in September and embarked in November for England. Tunic facings were yellow.

REGIMENT, 58TH (RUTLANDSHIRE). Sent out from England as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, in early May 1879 the regiment under Colonel R. C. Whitehead joined the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, concentrating at Landman’s Drift, leaving a detachment at the Durban Redoubt. During the advance, it built Fort Whitehead and Fort Evelyn, which it garrisoned, and it fought at Ulundi. On the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July, the regiment built and garrisoned Fort Victoria for Clarke’s Column. From mid-August, it sent detachments to garrison Fort Marshall and Landman’s Drift. The regiment evacuated Zululand in early September. It remained in South Africa and formed part of the Natal garrison from 1880 to 1884. It fought in the 1st Boer War as part of the Natal Field Force. As a consequence of the Childers Reforms, on 1 July 1881 it was renamed the 2nd Battalion, Northamptonshire Regiment. Tunic facings were black until 1881, when they became white.
REGIMENT, 60TH (KING’S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS), 3RD BATTALION. Sent out as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under Colonel W. L. Pemberton joined the 2nd Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, it formed part of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, under Brevet Colonel A. Tufnell and was initially occupied in constructing Fort Chelmsford and in convoy duties, during which time it suffered much from sickness. Advancing as far as Port Durnford with the 2nd Division, on 23 July it became part of Clarke’s Column and reoccupied the Mahlabathini Plain. Detachments were involved in the pursuit of King Cetshwayo kaMpende. It marched with Clarke’s Column for Natal in September and reached Pietermaritzburg in October, where it formed part of the Natal garrison at Fort Napier until 1880. It then joined the Natal Field Force and saw action in the 1st Boer War. The dark rifle-green tunic had scarlet facings.

REGIMENT, 72ND (DUKE OF ALBANY’S OWN HIGHLANDERS). The regiment was stationed at the Cape between 1828 and 1840 and fought in the 6th Cape Frontier War of 1835. In 1838–1839, it temporarily occupied Durban.

REGIMENT, 80TH (STAFFORDSHIRE VOLUNTEERS). The regiment took part in the annexation of the Transvaal in April 1877 and built the Utrecht Fort and Fort Amiel as bases for operations there. During 1878, the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel C. Tucker was engaged in operations against the Pedi in the Transvaal. By the end of the year, it was scattered in small detachments over the Transvaal and Natal. In early January 1879, it concentrated at Derby in the Transvaal, where during the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War it formed the sole regular infantry component in No. 5 Column. In mid-February, the regiment marched with No. 5 Column to Luneburg, where the column was attached to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s command on 26 February. The five companies of the regiment garrisoned Fort Clery and the Luneburg laager and were engaged in escorting convoys from Derby. On 12 March, Mbilini waMswati overwhelmed a detachment at the Ntombe River. On 9 April, the regiment was relieved and joined
Wood’s Flying Column at Kambula for the 2nd Invasion of the war. Between late April and late May, a detachment was stationed at the Doornberg to cut wood for fuel, where it also built Fort Ayr. The regiment fought at Ulundi. When Wood’s Flying Column was broken up in late July, detachments of the regiment were again scattered, only reuniting in February 1880 for embarkation to England. Tunic facings were yellow.

REGIMENT, 88TH (CONNAUGHT RANGERS). The regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Lambert landed at the Cape in July 1877 and took part in the 9th Cape Frontier War. Detachments were then posted at King William’s Town on the Cape’s eastern frontier, Cape Town, St. Helena, and Mauritius. Following Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the four companies at the Cape were concentrated in Natal, with a detachment garrisoning the Durban Redoubt. They remained in reserve during the relief of Eshowe, while a further company was brought from St. Helena and another from Mauritius. At the beginning of May, the six companies joined the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. They were initially engaged in escorting convoys and loading provisions, then took part in the advance to Port Durnford, detaching garrisons at Fort Chelmsford and Fort Napoleon. When General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley redistributed the British forces in late July, he broke the regiment up into detachments at Fort Eshowe, Fort Chelmsford, and Fort Crealock to supply the units of Wood’s Flying Column retiring to Natal. The regiment was ordered back to Natal in early August and embarked for India in October. Tunic facings were yellow.

REGIMENT, 90TH (PERTHSHERE VOLUNTEERS LIGHT INFANTRY). The regiment under the command of Brevet Colonel R. M. Rogers landed at the Cape in January 1878. After service in the 9th Cape Frontier War, it was concentrated by late 1878 in Utrecht, where it formed part of No. 4 Column. During the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, it took part in the skirmishes at Zungwini Mountain and fought prominently in the battle of Kambula. During the 2nd Invasion of the war, the regiment formed part of Wood’s Flying Column and fought at Ulundi. When General Sir
Garnet Joseph Wolseley redistributed the British forces in Zululand, the regiment was stationed at St. Paul’s from 15 July until the end of September. It embarked in October for India. Tunic facings were buff.

REGIMENT, 91ST (PRINCESS LOUISE’S ARGYLLSHIRE HIGHLANDERS). Sent out as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Bruce was made up to active strength with 400 volunteers from other units. It joined the 1st Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. It then formed part of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force. Until mid-June, it was employed on convoy duty. It then took part in the advance, leaving detachments at Fort Napoleon and Port Durnford. It built Fort Argyll, which it garrisoned until mid-September, when it returned to Natal for embarkation to Cape Town and Mauritius. The scarlet serge doublet had yellow facings.

REGIMENT, 94TH. Sent out as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sydenham Malthus was made up to active strength with 350 volunteers from other units. It joined the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, South African Field Force, at Dundee and built fortifications at Conference Hill while two detached companies built and garrisoned Fort Froom. The regiment then took part in the advance and fought at Ulundi. When in late July General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley redistributed the forces in Zululand, the regiment was assigned to Baker Russell’s Column. On its march to Luneburg, it helped build Fort Cambridge, Fort George, and Fort Piet Uys. On 5 September, it took part in the attack on the Kubheka in the caves in the Ntombe valley before proceeding to the Transvaal to join in renewed operations against the Pedi. Thereafter it formed part of the Transvaal garrison and fought throughout the 1st Boer War. Tunic facings were grass green.

REGIMENT, 99TH (DUKE OF EDINBURGH’S LANARKSHIRE). During the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W.H.D.R. Welman joined the 2nd Division, No. 1 Column. It fought at Nyezane,
and three companies were among the garrison blockaded at Fort Eshowe. Three companies that had been left behind in Natal to garrison Durban, Stanger, and Fort Tenedos, including two that were sent back from Eshowe in January 1879 with a convoy of wagons, formed part of the 1st Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Fort Eshowe, the regiment was stationed at the lower Thukela and formed part of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force. Convoy duties occupied the regiment until the end of July, and detachments garrisoned Fort Crealock and Fort Chelmsford. With the breakup the 1st Division in late July, detachments were stationed at Fort Napier, the Durban Redoubt, Fort Froom, Fort Melvill, Fort Pearson, and Port St. John’s until the regiment embarked in December for Bermuda. Tunic facings were grass green.

REPUBLIEK NATALIA. See NATALIA, REPUBLIC OF.

RESERVE TERRITORY. On 11 December 1882 by the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the British government agreed to the restoration of King Cetshwayo kaMpende to the central portion of his former kingdom. The southern portion of Zululand between the Thukela and Mhlathuze rivers, formerly John Dunn’s and Hlubi kaMota Molife’s chiefdoms in terms of the 1st Partition of Zululand, was excluded from his control. Known as the Reserve Territory, it was put under British protection and administered by a resident commissioner assisted by white officials recruited from Natal ruling through Zulu amaKhosi. Order was enforced through a small Zulu paramilitary force, the Reserve Territory Carbineers. The Reserve Territory was intended as a military buffer for Natal against independent Zululand and as a sanctuary for those Zulu who wished to avoid Cetshwayo’s rule. On 19 May 1887, the Reserve Territory became part of the British Colony of Zululand.

RESERVE TERRITORY CARBINEERS. In 1883, with the establishment of the Reserve Territory under colonial administration after the 2nd Partition of Zululand, Commandant George Mansel raised the Reserve Territory Carbineers (RTC), a paramilitary police force recruited from the Zulu to maintain law and order under white
officers. About a third of its complement was mounted, and its head-quarters were outside Eshowe at Fort Nongqayi. They wore khaki frocks and white trousers with khaki puttees above bare feet; those who were mounted wore boots. They carried either a carbine or rifle. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, 50 were among Melmoth Osborn’s forces that engaged the uSuthu on 10 May 1884 in the battle of the Nkandla Forest. With the submission of the uSuthu in the Reserve Territory, in November 1884, the RTC replaced the British garrison at Fort Yolland. In May 1887, when the Reserve Territory became part of the Colony of Zululand, the RTC was reconstituted as the Zululand Police.

RETIEF, PIETER (c. 1780–1838). Retief was a farmer in the Grahamstown District of the Eastern Cape, where despite constant financial troubles brought on through gambling and land speculation, he gained a considerable reputation as a commandant in the 6th Cape Frontier War. He led a party of Voortrekkers onto the highveld in February 1837. At the Vet River on 17 April, various Voortrekker parties voted Retief governor of the United Laagers, angering Andries Hendrik Potgieter, whom he supplanted as chief commandant. While Potgieter continued into the interior, Retief led other parties to the Drakensberg passes in early October 1837 and encamped at Kerkenberg. Retief then visited Port Natal (Durban) to gain the traders’ support and proceeded on 5 November to visit King Dingane kaSenzangakhona at uMgungundlovu. Retief agreed to recover Zulu cattle raided by Sekonyela, chief of the Mokotleng Tlokwa in the Caledon River valley, in return for a vague promise of land on which to settle. Retief sent word to the Voortrekkers at Kerkenberg to come over the mountains and camp in Zulu territory while he led a commando (militia) to recover the cattle. Retief returned to his Doornkop laager on 11 January 1838 before bringing the cattle to Dingane for his reward. Other Voortrekker leaders, especially Gerrit Maritz, warned him against falling into a trap. Retief was confident of success, and on 3 February he arrived with his commando at uMgungundlovu. Dingane assented to a document ceding the Voortrekkers territory on 4 February, but on 6 February he ordered the execution of Retief and his party just as they were about to depart. They were dragged off to kwaMatiwane, and Retief
had to witness his comrades being clubbed to death before his turn came. On 21 December 1838, the members of the *Wenkommando* found their remains and buried them in a mass grave at the base of kwaMatiwane.

**REVOLVERS.** British officers on campaign in *Zululand* in the 1870s and 1880s carried privately owned double-action revolvers, usually either the Mark II Adams model of 1872 or the Webley Royal Irish Constabulary model of 1867, using .450-caliber, center-fire ammunition. They were not accurate at more than 25 yards. It was not until 1900 that the British army insisted that officers carry .455 Webley revolvers. The troopers of the *Natal Volunteer Corps* carried the Webley Royal Irish Constabulary pattern revolver, as did the officers of the *irregular cavalry* units raised in South Africa.

**RICHMOND LAAGER.** In February 1878, the *Natal* government ordered the erection of a stone laager in the village of Richmond in what would be designated *Colonial Defensive District* No. IV. It was well supplied with arms before the outbreak of the *Anglo-Zulu War*, but it was never manned.

**RIETVLEI LAAGER.** This stone-walled laager with flanking bastions was begun in June 1878 on the initiative of local farmers at Riet Vlei in what would be designated *Colonial Defensive District* No. VII, the only post on the British line of communications between *Greytown* and *Estcourt*. It was not fully completed at the outbreak of the *Anglo-Zulu War*, and after *Isandlwana* most of its potential defenders abandoned it and fled the district.

**RIFLE ASSOCIATIONS, NATAL.** In 1862, in the wake of the Invasion Scare of 1861, Rifle Associations were formed by settlers in some areas of *Natal* for the purpose of defense. They attempted to train with some regularity and were encouraged to purchase *rifles* and ammunition from the government at a nominal cost. During the *Anglo-Zulu War*, the Klip River, Natal Coast, Natal, Umvoti, and Weenen County Rifle Associations mobilized to help defend, respectively, the *Ladysmith*, *Durban*, *Pietermaritzburg*, *Greytown*, and *Estcourt* town laagers.
RIFLES, BREECH-LOADING. Breech-loading rifles had a long genesis, but it was not until the 1860s that technology overcame problems such as the escape of gas at the breech, bolt-actions that tended to jam, and brittle firing pins. Improved breech-loading rifles made it possible not only to fire more rapidly and accurately, but to do so while kneeling or lying down. This encouraged open-order skirmishing tactics. Firing while standing was confined to old-fashioned, close-order formations in defense, like the infantry square, and was adopted only against enemies with inferior armaments, such as the Zulu in the Anglo-Zulu War. See also MARTINI-HENRY MARK II RIFLE; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY.

RIFLES, PERCUSSION-LOCK. In 1853, the British War Department approved the Enfield rifled musket for use in the army. It remained in service until 1867, when many were decommissioned and bought up by arms dealers, who then sold them. Thousands entered Zululand and the Boer republics in the decade before the Anglo-Zulu War. These rifles used a .577 ball in a paper cartridge with a charge of black powder. The cartridge was forced down the 39-inch barrel, with its three grooves of rifling, and was fired by a percussion-lock mechanism. The rifle had adjustable ladder rear sights and an effective range of no more than 300 yards. The rate of fire was about three rounds a minute. See also PERCUSSION CAPS.

RIFLES, VOLLEY FIRE. At medium to long range (300–1,400 yards), the British in the Anglo-Zulu War favored rifle volley fire over independent fire because, at that distance, the enemy appeared as a dense mass with no individual targets, and it was easier to control the rate of fire and prevent wastage of ammunition. The unceasing volleys carried out by each section in turn, up and down the line, also had a distinct psychological effect on the enemy. Volley firing set up a thick pall of smoke, so another reason for firing by section was to allow time for the obscuring smoke to clear. See also MARTINI-HENRY MARK II RIFLE; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY.

RITUAL DURING BATTLE, ZULU. In battle, a ritual the Zulu followed was to hlonala, or for many amaButho to stab an enemy who had already died courageously. This practice was connected with
the hunt, where it was performed only when a fierce and dangerous animal like a lion had been overcome. Killing a foe in battle, as well as participating in the hlomula ritual, severely contaminated the amaButho with uMnyama (dark or evil force). It was thus necessary to undertake many ceremonies to achieve ritual purification. One was to slit open the belly of a slain foe so that uMnyama would not affect the killer and make him swell up like the dead. The killer would also put on items of the dead man’s apparel in place of his own—which would have been contaminated by the harmful influences of the victim’s blood—in order that he might zila, or observe the customary abstentions after a death until ritually cleansed. He would also put on a string of iziQu to guard against uMnyama until purification. See also RITUAL PREPARATION FOR WAR, ZULU; RITUAL ON RETURN FROM WAR, ZULU.

RITUAL PREPARATION FOR WAR, ZULU. AmaButho, when about to go to war, needed to be ritually purified of uMnyama (dark or evil force) and strengthened against it. They caught and killed bare-handed a black bull from the royal herds upon which all the evil influences in the land had been ritually cast. Diviners known as izAngoma cut strips of meat from the bull, and treated them with black symbolic medicines to strengthen the amaButho and bind them together in loyalty to their king. The strips of meat were then roasted on a fire of wood collected by the amaButho the previous day. The izAngoma threw the strips up into the air and the amaButho, who were drawn up in a great circle, caught and sucked them. Meanwhile the izAngoma burned more medicines and the amaButho breathed in the smoke and were sprinkled with the cinders. Then, in order finally to expel all evil influences, each iButho drank a pot of medicine, and a few at a time took turns to vomit into a great pit. The ritual vomiting was also intended to bind the amaButho in their loyalty to their king. Some of the vomit was added to the great iNkatha (sacred coil) of the Zulu nation. The following day, the amaButho went down to any running stream to wash, but not to rub off the medicines with which they had been sprinkled. With the completion of these rituals, the amaButho (who had undergone a symbolic death) could no longer sleep at home nor have anything to do with girls or women, since they had now taken on a dangerous state of uMnyama. While the amaButho
were thus setting themselves apart from ordinary life and dedicating themselves to war, the king called pairs of favored amaButho into the royal cattle enclosure to boast of their courage and to issue ritual challenges to outdo one another in the coming campaign. See also RITUAL ON RETURN FROM WAR, ZULU.

**RITUAL ON RETURN FROM WAR, ZULU.** After returning from war, amaButho could not immediately report to the king nor resume normal domestic life because they were highly contagious with uMnyama (dark or evil force). They were separated for four days from their companions in special imizizi and fed on cattle captured in battle. Daily, they washed ritually in a river and returned to ncinda, which is to suck symbolic medicine from the fingertips and spit it in the direction of enemies in order to gain occult ascendancy over the vengeful spirits (amaDlozi) of war victims, the blood from whose fatal wounds formed a dangerous bridge between the living and the spirit world. On the final day, the izAngoma completed the ritual purification by sprinkling the amaButho with medicines before they presented themselves in the royal isiBaya before the king. There they exchanged accounts of the fighting and repeated the ritual challenges made before setting out to war. The king duly praised some individuals for bravery, humiliated others for cowardice, and honored and rewarded the iButho that had most distinguished itself. See also RITUAL DURING BATTLE, ZULU; RITUAL PREPARATION FOR WAR, ZULU.

**RIVER GUARDS.** See BORDER GUARD, NATAL.

**ROADS IN ZULULAND.** Roads, where they existed in Zululand, were no more than rudimentary unsurfaced wagon tracks made by traders and hunters that frequently crossed unbridged dongas (dry watercourses), rivers, and streams. Drifts across these were usually adequate except when the rivers were in spate during the rainy season from September to March, or when the cuttings became churned up with heavy traffic. On campaign in Zululand between 1879 and 1888, the British installed ponts (ferries operated by ropes) where a river was wide and usually full, or crossed it with a trestle and pon-
toon bridge. At the lower Thukela River below Fort Pearson, both systems were in operation during the Anglo-Zulu War. See also LOGISTICS, BRITISH.

ROBERTSON, ROBERT (1830–1897). An Anglican missionary in Natal since 1854, in 1860 Robertson began building a mission at kwaMagwaza in south-central Zululand once King Mpande ka-Senzangakhona opened Zululand to missionary endeavors. He made few converts, however. Disillusioned by the traditionalist King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s growing antagonism to missionaries, he began actively to canvass for British intervention in the kingdom. Sir Bartle Frere, anxious to find justifications for his planned war against Zululand to further the cause of confederation, seized on Robertson’s letters for his propaganda machine. Robertson fled Zululand in August 1877. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he served as Anglican chaplain with No. 1 Column, being present at Nyezane and throughout the siege of Eshowe. After the war, he returned to kwaMagwaza and in the late 1880s and early 1890s established two further Anglican missions in Zululand.

ROCKETS. The British employed rockets with explosive heads in the Anglo-Zulu War primarily for their supposed demoralizing effect on the enemy. In flight, the rockets made a hideous shrieking sound, and their passage was marked by a thick trail of white smoke and yellow sparks. Hale’s rocket, approved in 1867, came in both 24-pounder and 9-pounder versions. Instead of a stick for stability, it had three flanges at the vent, which caused it to spin in flight. It was fired by a hand-lit fuse from a V-shaped trough on a stand, though in 1879 the Naval Brigade continued to use the pre-1868 rocket tube, which was more suitable for shipboard service. The effective range was no more than 1,300 yards and the accuracy was very poor.

RORKE’S DRIFT, BATTLE OF (1879). The small British garrison holding No. 3 Column’s depot at Rorke’s Drift defended the post against a heavy Zulu attack following the defeat of the British at Isandlwana on 22 January 1879 in the opening stages of the Anglo-Zulu War. The Zulu referred to the engagement as the battle
of kwaJimu after James Rorke, who had originally established his trading store at the drift across the Mzinyathi River before it became a Swedish mission station in January 1878.

On 22 January, mounted fugitives from Isandlwana brought word to Rorke’s Drift that 3,000–4,000 Zulu of the reserve under umNtwa-na Dabulamanzi kaMpande that had not been engaged with the rest of the Zulu army at Isandlwana were crossing the Mzinyathi in two columns. Their objectives were to ravage the plain between the river and the Helpmekaar Heights to the south, snatch the depot full of tempting supplies, and generally prove their prowess. Upon their advance, the irregular horse watching the river crossings and the 200 African levies at the depot fled toward Helpmekaar. Left to defend the post were eight British officers and 131 men, 35 of whom were sick in the mission house that had been converted into a hospital. Lieutenant John Rouse Merriott Chard of the Royal Engineers, the senior officer present, realized that the defensive perimeter he had hastily thrown up connecting the hospital, commissariat store (formerly the church), and stone-walled cattle kraal was too large to hold. He ordered it halved by building a barricade of biscuit boxes across the enclosure, but the barricade was not completed when the Zulu attacked, nor were the sick yet evacuated from the hospital outside the reduced perimeter, so the entire perimeter had to be thinly manned.

The Zulu assault was poorly coordinated, thus allowing the defenders to concentrate their forces where necessary. A Zulu detachment came around the southern side of Shiyane Mountain (the Oskarsberg) and attacked the southern and western sides of the post. Repulsed by cross-fire and in hand-to-hand fighting, they took cover. They were followed by the main Zulu force, which launched a series of assaults on the hospital and northwestern perimeter. The British drove them back in intense hand-to-hand fighting. Some Zulu sharpshooters took up position on the rocky ledges of Shiyane overlooking the post, and kept up a harassing fire. As dusk fell, the Zulu began to extend along the northern perimeter beyond the cover of the bush where they had regrouped after each failed assault. Chard decided he must withdraw to the shorter perimeter behind the line of biscuit boxes. As the British fell back, the Zulu occupied the hospital while its garrison retired room by room in desperate fighting, and it was set alight. Encouraged by this success, the Zulu attacked the stone cattle kraal on the east-
ern side of the perimeter. Believing that their defenses would soon be breached, the British built a redoubt out of two heaps of mealie-bags as a final defense overlooking the kraal. The Zulu, unsettled by their heavy losses and unfamiliar night fighting, held back from further full-scale assaults but maintained their positions. They kept up a heavy fire until around midnight, after which it eventually died away.

At daybreak on 23 January, the Zulu began withdrawing because they were aware that the remnants of No. 3 Column were approaching from Isandlwana. The members of this relieving force killed all the Zulu wounded or exhausted they found in the vicinity. Probably about 600 Zulu died, as well as 17 members of the British garrison.

The gallant defense of Rorke’s Drift did much to compensate for the British disaster at Isandlwana, and awards were generously handed out. Those winning the Victoria Cross were Lieutenant Chard; Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead, 1st Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment; Surgeon James Henry Reynolds, Army Medical Department; Acting Assistant Commissary James Langley Dalton, Commissariat and Transport Department; Corporal William Wilson Allan, 2nd Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment; Corporal Christian Ferdinand Schiess, Natal Native Contingent; and Privates Frederick Hitch, Alfred Henry Hook, Robert Jones, William Jones, and John Williams, all of the 2nd Battalion, 24th Regiment. Those awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal were Color Sergeant Frank Bourne, 2nd Battalion, 24th Regiment; Corporal M. McMahon, Army Hospital Corps; 2nd Corporal F. Attwood, Army Service Corps; Wheeler J. Cantwell, Royal Artillery; and Private W. Roy, 1st Battalion, 24th Regiment. See also RORKE’S DRIFT FORT; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU; STRATEGY, ZULU.

RORKE’S DRIFT FORT. In early January 1879 during the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, No. 3 Column established a depot at Rorke’s Drift, a Swedish mission station on the Natal bank of the Mzinyathi River. The church was turned into a commissariat store and the missionary’s house into a hospital. A pont (ferry operated by hauling on ropes) was established at the drift. When No. 3 Column advanced into Zululand on 11 January, it left a small garrison to
guard the depot. On the afternoon of 22 January, being warned of the Zulu advance on the post after the battle of Isandlwana, the garrison improvised a defensive perimeter consisting of a breast-high barricade of mealie bags connecting the loopholed store and hospital, two wagons, and the stone-walled cattle kraal. When part of the garrison fled at the Zulu approach, this perimeter became too large to defend; it was halved by building a barricade of biscuit boxes across the enclosure. At the height of the battle the defenders turned two heaps of mealie bags into a redoubt for final defense.

On the morning of 23 January, the remnants of No. 3 Column returned to Rorke’s Drift from Zululand and immediately enlarged and improved the improvised fortifications, pulling the thatch off the roof of the storehouse and clearing the perimeter for a clear field of fire. On 29 January, the enlarged garrison at the post began to fortify it properly. They replaced the barricades with strong, loopholed stone walls eight feet high that connected the kraal and storehouse in a rectangular enclosure. The troops were crammed inside the perimeter and suffered much sickness. In early March, they were permitted to pitch their tents outside the fort, although they still came in to sleep. In April, the troops abandoned the fort for the newly built Fort Melville nearby. See also RORKE’S DRIFT, BATTLE OF.

ROWLANDS, HUGH (1829–1909). Commissioned in 1849, Rowlands served in the Crimean War (1854–1855), where he won the Victoria Cross at Inkerman. He then served in the West Indies and India until he became commandant of the Transvaal in 1878 and commanded during the unsuccessful campaign against the Pedi in late 1878. On special service during the Anglo-Zulu War, Colonel Rowlands commanded No. 5 Column until 26 February 1879, when he left for Pretoria to take defensive measures against a possible Boer uprising. In May, he succeeded Colonel Charles Knight Pearson as commander of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, South African Field Force, in charge of the line of communications. He retired in 1896 as full general after holding commands in England, India, and Scotland. He was knighted in 1898.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, H BATTERY, 4TH BRIGADE. The battery of field artillery was ordered out to South Africa in 1884 and formed
part of the Natal garrison until 1893. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, a division with two 9-pounder guns and a Gatling gun formed part of the Etshowe Column that was stationed at Fort Curtis in the Reserve Territory between September 1883 and November 1884. When the garrison was reduced with the submission of the uSuthu in the Nkandla Forest, two Gatling guns remained at Fort Northampton. During the uSuthu Rebellion, a detachment of two 7-pounder mountain guns was sent forward in June 1888 from Natal to Nkonjeni, and during the assault on Hlophekhulu it made up part of the supporting force on Lumbe Mountain. Between 23 July and 30 August, the detachment formed part of the Coastal Column. When in November 1888 the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level, the detachment was stationed at Fort Curtis. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, M BATTERY, 6TH BRIGADE. Sent out from England as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the field battery of six 7-pounder guns under the command of Major W. H. Sandham joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and advanced to Port Durnford. It took part in the patrol that burned the oNdini iKhanda on 6 July. On the breakup of the 1st Division at the end of July, the battery returned to Natal. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, N BATTERY, 5TH BRIGADE. After service in the 9th Cape Frontier War, the field battery of six 7-pounder guns under the command of Brevet Colonel Arthur Harness joined No. 3 Column for the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. Two of its guns were lost at Isandlwana; the remaining four, which had been out with the reconnaissance in force on 22 January, retired to Rorke’s Drift and then to Helpmekaar, where they remained until 17 April. The battery, now reinforced to full strength, joined the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in the 2nd Invasion of the war. A section took part in the patrol to Isandlwana to bury the British dead. Two guns were detached to garrison Fort Newdigate and Fort Evelyn, and the remaining two gave covering fire to the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and fought at Ulundi. The battery joined Baker Russell’s Column on 5 August and halted at
Fort George. When the column was broken up on 10 September, the battery proceeded to the Transvaal, where it formed part of the Transvaal garrison and fought throughout the 1st Boer War. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, N BATTERY, 6TH BRIGADE. Sent out from England as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the field battery of six 9-pounder guns under the command of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel F. T. Le Grice joined the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, at Landman’s Drift. During the advance, two guns formed part of the patrol by Wood’s Flying Column that burned the amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley. The battery gave support to the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and fought at Ulundi. When the 2nd Division was broken up in late July, two guns joined Clarke’s Column after temporarily forming part of the garrison of Fort Albert. In September, they marched with the column to Natal; the remaining four guns returned to Natal through the Transvaal. The battery embarked in October for India. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, O BATTERY, 6TH BRIGADE. Sent out from England as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the field battery (without guns) under the command of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Duncan joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, and was based at Fort Chelmsford to supply advancing troops with ammunition, later advancing to Port Durnford. When the 1st Division was broken up at the end of July, the battery accompanied Clarke’s Column and retired with it to Natal in September.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, NO. 8 BATTERY, 7TH BRIGADE. Sent out from England as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the division of two 7-pounder guns of garrison artillery under the command of Major H. L. Ellaby served with the 1st Division, South African Field Force, between April and August 1879. It was stationed in succession at Fort Pearson, Fort Tenedos, and Fort Crealock, undertaking convoy duties. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.
ROYAL ARTILLERY, NO. 10 BATTERY, 7TH BRIGADE. Sent out from Mauritius as reinforcements for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the half-battery of garrison artillery with three 7-pounder guns under Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Owen was reorganized on arrival as a Mounted Gatling Field Battery (the first of its kind in the British army) with two Gatling guns. The battery joined Wood’s Flying Column at Munhla Hill on 26 May 1879. It was temporarily stationed at Fort Newdigate but was back with the column to help cover the retreat of the White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force and to fight at Ulundi. When General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley reorganized the forces in Zululand at the end of July, the battery was assigned to Clarke’s Column and returned with it to Natal in September. At the end of October, it embarked for Mauritius, and it later served with the Natal Field Force in the 1st Boer War. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, NO. 11 BATTERY, 7TH BRIGADE. The battery of garrison artillery under the command of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. G. Tremlett served in several detachments throughout the Anglo-Zulu War. During the 1st Invasion of the war, a rocket detachment of three 9-pounder rocket-troughs under Brevet Major F. B. Russell served with No. 2 Column and was overrun at Isandlwana. A division of two 7-pounder guns under Lieutenant W. N. Lloyd served with No. 1 Column, fought at Nyezane, and was blockaded in Fort Eshowe. During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the same division served with the 1st Division, South African Field Force. During the 1st Invasion, two divisions of four 7-pounders under Tremlett served with No. 4 Column, skirmishing at Zungwini in January 1879 and fighting at Khambula in March. At Hlobane, half a rocket battery under Tremlett was deployed with Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force, and the other half under Captain A. J. Bigge with Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s force. Tremlett’s two divisions then served with Wood’s Flying Column in the 2nd Invasion and fought at Ulundi. When the forces in Zululand were reorganized at the end of July, the battery returned to Natal. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.
ROYAL DURBAN RIFLES. One of the three infantry corps in the Natal Volunteer Corps, the Royal Durban Rifles was not initially called up for service in the Anglo-Zulu War. In the panic after Isandlwana, its 30 men were first stationed at the Mngeni River on the northern approaches to Durban and then from the end of January were at the Eastern Vlei near the Durban Redoubt until they stood down in early March.

ROYAL ENGINEERS. Detachments served throughout the Anglo-Zulu War. No. 2 Company arrived in Natal from England in late 1878, served with No. 1 Column, fought at Nyezane, and served throughout the blockade of Eshowe. After the relief of Eshowe, it joined the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in May and constructed the twin redoubts at Conference Hill. On the march to oNdini, it helped construct Fort Evelyn. During the battle of Ulundi, it formed part of the garrison holding the camp at the White Mfolozi. After the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July 1879, it joined Baker Russell’s Column on its march to the Transvaal and built Fort Cambridge on the way.

No. 5 Company under Captain W. Parke Jones arrived in Natal from England in late 1878 and was part of No. 3 Column, but it had got no farther than Helpmekaar when the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke’s Drift (where detached Royal Engineers were present) were fought. The company then built and helped garrison the fort at Helpmekaar until in May it joined Wood’s Flying Column for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and was present at Ulundi. In late July, it built St. Paul’s Redoubt.

Detached Royal Engineers with No. 4 Column built fortifications at Balte Spruit and fought at Kambula. The 30th Company joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, built the trestle bridge and pontoon across the lower Thukela in May, and advanced with the division to Port Durnford. On the breakup of the division, it joined Clarke’s Column in its march back to Natal. See also FORTIFICATIONS IN NATAL AND ZULULAND; ROADS IN ZULULAND.

ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS, 1ST BATTALION. Formerly the 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion formed part of the Na-
tal garrison between 1886 and 1888. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it provided a company of mounted infantry.

ROYAL MARINE ARTILLERY. The section of the Royal Marine Light Infantry of the Naval Brigade that marched with No. 1 Column in the Anglo-Zulu War and fought at Nyezane served two 7-pounder guns, a Gatling gun, and a 24-pounder rocket tube. The marines of the Naval Brigade with the Eshowe Relief Column served two 9-pounder guns, four 24-pounder rocket tubes, and a Gatling gun under the command of Captain A.L.S. Burrowes and fought at Gingindlovu. The guns then joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in its advance to Port Durnford. See also ARTILLERY, BRITISH.

ROYAL MARINE LIGHT INFANTRY. A section of marines under Captain T. W. Dowding landed in Durban on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War as part of the Naval Brigade drawn from HMS Active and HMS Tenedos. The marines joined the 1st Division, No. 1 Column, fought at Nyezane, and were blockaded in Fort Eshowe. A further contingent of marines from HMS Boadicea and HMS Shah under Major J. Phillips marched with the 2nd Brigade, Eshowe Relief Column, and fought at Gingindlovu. After the relief of Eshowe, they joined the 1st Division, South African Field Force, in its march to Port Durnford and returned to their ships on 21 July.

ROYAL SCOTS (LOTHIAN REGIMENT), 1ST BATTALION. Formerly the 1st Regiment until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion formed part of the Natal garrison between 1888 and 1891. In July 1888, during the final stages of the uSuthu Rebellion, six companies of the battalion were stationed in British Zululand at Fort Curtis. In August, three companies garrisoned the Nsukazi Fort, and in September all the companies in Zululand were consolidated at Entonjaneni. In November, the infantry companies were withdrawn from Zululand. The battalion also provided two companies of mounted infantry.

RUSSELL, BAKER CREED (1837-1911). Commissioned in 1855, Russell saw service in the Indian Mutiny (1857–1859) and the 2nd
Asante War (1873–1874), when he became a brevet lieutenant-colonel. He was a member of General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley’s Ashanti Ring and was Wolseley’s assistant military secretary on Cyprus in 1878 before accompanying him on special service to South Africa in the last stages of the Anglo-Zulu War as a member of his staff. Between July and September 1879, he was in command of Baker Russell’s Column and pacified central and northwestern Zululand. The column then proceeded to the Transvaal and concluded the campaign against the Pedi in November 1879. Russell was promoted to brevet colonel and knighted. He next served in the Egyptian campaign of 1882. A series of home commands followed, and he retired in 1904 as a lieutenant-general.

RUSSELL, JOHN CECIL (1839–1909). Commissioned in 1860, Russell served in the 2nd Asante War (1873–1874). In 1878, he was on special service in the Transvaal with the local rank of lieutenant-colonel and took part in the unsuccessful operations against the Pedi. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he served as commander of No. 1 Squadron, Mounted Infantry, in No. 3 Column. He was away skirmishing during the battle of Isandlwana. In March 1879, he transferred to No. 4 Column and overcautiously led one of the forces assaulting Hlobane. He fought at Kambula the next day. Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood attempted to shift the blame for the Hlobane debacle onto Russell, and he was ignominiously transferred to Pietermaritzburg as commandant of the Remount Establishment. He subsequently held commands in India and England, and he retired in 1898 as a major-general.

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SAAILAER. See MARITZ, GERRIT.

SAND RIVER CONVENTION. See SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

iSANGQU iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1852 from youths born about 1832. The shield was
black. In the 2nd Zulu Civil War, it formed part of the uSuthu right horn at Ndondakusuka. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it was part of the right horn at Isandlwana and of the chest at Kambula. At Ulundi, it attacked the southeastern corner of the British infantry square. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, elements fought on the uSuthu side. At oNdini, they were stationed nearby at the kwaNodwengu iKhanda and were caught up in the uSuthu rout before they could come into action.

SCHERBRUCKER’S HORSE. See KAFFRARIAN RIFLES.

SCHREUDER, HANS PALUDAN SMITH (1817–1882). A Norwegian Lutheran missionary in Zululand from 1851, Schreuder was consecrated bishop in the Church of Norway in 1866, but he broke with the Norwegian Missionary Service in 1872 and launched an independent mission in Zululand, centered at Ntumeni. When the missionaries withdrew from Zululand in 1877, he took up position at his Natal station, kwaNtunjambili, near Ntunjambili (Kranskop), overlooking the middle Thukela River. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he served the British as an important source of intelligence through continuing contacts with King Cetshwayo kaMpende and through information furnished by his Christian converts still in Zululand. Schreuder, who prided himself on his knowledge of Zulu affairs, took great umbrage when General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley would not heed his counsel concerning the 1st Partition of Zululand.

SEKETHWAYO kaNHHLAKA (c. 1814–1883). Enrolled in the imVo-kwe iButho, Sekethwayo was inKosi of the Mdlalose people and an isiKhulu (hereditary chief). He was a member of King Cetshwayo kaSenzangakhona’s iBanda (council) and was a leading advocate in 1878 of negotiating with the British to avoid war. During the Anglo-Zulu War, he made it known to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood that he wished to submit, but Cetshwayo sent a force into his territory in mid-January 1879 to ensure he did not. Sekethwayo and the Mdlalose remained uncommitted to the war, and he surrendered in August to Baker Russell’s Column. In the 1st Partition of Zululand, he was appointed one of the 13 chiefs but remained loyal to Cetshwayo and was active in appealing for his restoration. During
the 3rd Zulu Civil War, his Mdlalose rallied to the uSuthu cause. His brother Ntuzwa kaNhlaka was in command at oNdini, where Sekethwayo was caught up in the rout and killed.

SEKHUKHUNE woaSEKWATI. See PEDI PEOPLE.

SEKONYELA. See RETIEF, PIETER.

SHAKA kaSENZANGAKHONA (c. 1787–1828). King Shaka is still revered today as the founder of the Zulu nation. His father was Senzangakhona kaJama, inKosi of the Zulu people who owed allegiance to the Mthethwa, one of the major chiefdoms then fighting to dominate the region of southeastern Africa that would later become the Zulu kingdom. About 1794, Shaka was driven into exile and eventually entered the service of Dingiswayo kaJobe, the Mthethwa inKosi. In 1816, with Dingiswayo’s support, Shaka seized the Zulu chieftainship from his brother. In 1817, the Ndwandwe chiefdom defeated the Mthethwa and attacked the Zulu. Shaka responded by improving his military capability and fully institutionalizing the iButho system. He finally defeated the Ndwandwe in 1819 and incorporated their territory. He consolidated his hold over other neighboring chiefdoms through diplomacy when he could, or through conquest if they resisted. His armies levied tribute from the subordinate chiefdoms along the uncertain borders of the Zulu kingdom proper, and they regularly raided more distant peoples for booty. In 1824, white traders and hunters established a settlement at Port Natal (Durban) with Shaka’s permission. They had firearms, and Shaka increasingly relied on them as mercenaries. Shaka faced opposition from rivals within the royal house and from dissident members of chiefdoms incorporated into the Zulu state. Even his amaButho, exhausted by incessant campaigns, began to turn against him. As part of a wider conspiracy, his half-brothers abaNtwana Mhlangana kaSenzangakhona and Dingane kaSenzangakhona assassinated him on 24 September 1828 at kwaDukuza, his principal iKhanda.

SHEPSTONE, JOHN WESLEY (1827–1916). A resident magistrate in Natal from 1864, Shepstone was appointed acting secretary for native affairs in 1877 (replacing his elder brother, Sir Theophilus
Shepstone, who had become administrator of the Transvaal). He delivered the British ultimatum to the Zulu emissaries on 11 December 1878. After the Anglo-Zulu War, he advised General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley on the 1st Partition of Zululand. He became resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory in January 1883, but his blatant antagonism toward the uSuthu led to disorders, and in April 1883 he resumed his position as acting secretary for native affairs in Natal.

SHEPSTONE, SIR THEOPHILUS (1817-1893). Shepstone was the Natal diplomatic agent to the native tribes (1845–1855) and then secretary for native affairs in Natal (1856–1876). He was knighted in 1876. On 18 April 1877, he annexed the South African Republic in the drive toward the British confederation of South Africa and was appointed administrator of the Transvaal Territory. In March 1879, he resigned the post. He left public service in 1880. Shepstone was a fervent promoter of British paramountcy in southern Africa, and he intervened directly in Zulu affairs to that end, most notably when he imposed the coronation laws on King Cetshwayo kaMpondede in 1873 and broke with him at the Conference Hill meeting in 1877. In 1878, he advised Sir Bartle Frere on framing the ultimatum prior to the Anglo-Zulu War, and General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley later consulted him on the 1st Partition of Zululand. He was a determined advocate of indirect rule whereby real power was transferred from traditional chiefs to white, “civilizing” officials. A loyal school of Natal administrators emerged under him that wished to extend the “Shepstone system” to Zululand and that saw the Zulu monarchy as an inimical institution that should be suppressed. Although retired, Shepstone retained considerable influence over British policy toward Zululand during the 1880s. He was consulted over the 2nd Partition of Zululand and came briefly out of retirement in January 1883 to supervise Cetshwayo’s restoration. With the annexation of the colony of Zululand, the new governor, Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, relied heavily on him to frame its regulations and select its officials.

SHEPSTONE’S NATIVE HORSE. The three troops of Sikali’s Horse that had failed to reassemble in February 1879 after their losses at Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War re-formed in April under the command of Captain Theophilus Shepstone Jr., formerly
the commander of the **Natal Carbineers**. The Ngwane people made up the bulk of the unit, but they were joined by new recruits from the Christian Edendale community and by a further contingent from the Christian community at Driefontein near **Ladysmith** who had been unhappy serving with **Carbutt’s Border Rangers**. In May, about 120 Shepstone’s Horse joined the 2nd Division, **South African Field Force**, and took part in the patrolling and raiding ahead of the advance in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War. They participated in the skirmish at **Zungeni**, and a detachment helped garrison the **laager** on the **Mthonjaneni** Heights while the rest fought at **Ulundi**. After the breakup of the 2nd Division in late July, they served with **Baker Russell’s Column** and disbanded in September.

**SHEZI PEOPLE.** See **eNHLWENI umuZI**.

**SHIELD, ZULU.** Zulu men used a small shield (**uMgabelomunye**) for dancing, a slightly larger one (**iGqoka**) for courting, and a sturdier one (**iHawu**) for everyday protection. The war shield (**isiHlangu**) belonged to the king and was a valuable item, since only two could be cut from the hide of a single cow. They were stored in an **iKhanda** and issued to the **amaButho** when they served the king. In King **Shaka kaSenzangakhona**’s time, the shield reached from foot to chin, but a wieldier version measuring some 40 by 20 inches, the **uMbumbuluzo**, came increasingly into use after the 1850s and continued to be carried during the wars of the 1880s. During the **Anglo-Zulu War**, full-sized shields were carried by **amaKhosi** as a sign of distinction, and by some veteran **amaButho**. The shields carried by members of an **iButho** were originally of identical color and patterning to distinguish one **iButho** from another. By the 1870s, the Zulu kingdom no longer had the **cattle** resources to maintain this practice fully, though the convention was generally maintained of white shields for married **amaButho** and black or red ones for unmarried **amaButho**. The shield was effective against bladed weapons but offered little protection against **firearms**.

**SHINGANA kaMPANDE (c. 1838–1909).** Enrolled in the **uDloko iButho**, umNtwana Shingana was King **Cetshwayo kaMpende**’s half-brother and supported him in the 2nd **Zulu Civil War**. After
the 1st Partition of Zululand. Shingana was prominent among the uSuthu in petitioning for Cetshwayo’s restoration. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was a commander at both Msebe and oNdini. After Cetshwayo fled to the Nkandla Forest, Shingana kept up uSuthu resistance from central Zululand. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he defied the British from Hlophekhulu Mountain, from which they drove him in July 1888. He surrendered on 6 November, and the Special Court of Commission for Zululand sentenced him to 12 years’ imprisonment on St. Helena. He was allowed to return to Zululand in December 1897.

imiSHOKOBEZI. These white cow-tail decorations that Zulu ama-Butho tied below the knee or above the elbow came in the 1880s to symbolize the conditions of civil strife that prevailed. Shokobeza meant to rebel and referred originally to those uSuthu who after the 2nd Partition of Zululand crossed out of the Reserve Territory and white man’s rule in 1883 to serve King Cetshwayo kaMpande in his restored territory. The imiShokobezi became the emblem of the uSuthu in the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion and was worn in battle to distinguish them from other factions whose dress was otherwise very similar.

ekuSHUMAYELENI umuZI. This was Mnyamana Ngqengelele’s principal umuZi, located on the Sikhwebezi River in north-central Zululand. At the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, King Cetshwayo kaMpande took shelter there for a month in July 1879 while he tried fruitlessly to negotiate with the British. Throughout the 3rd Zulu Civil War, it was the chief rallying point of Mnyamana’s Buthelezi people, who supported the uSuthu. In March 1883, the uSuthu army mustered there before the disastrous Msebe campaign, and again in December for an abortive offensive against inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, which he forestalled with a preemptive strike. In June 1884, the uSuthu army gathered there for the campaign in conjunction with the Boers that culminated in the victory at Tshaneni. On 25 August, the Boers joined the uSuthu at ekuShumayeleni for a renewed offensive against Zibhebhu, but he and his people took refuge in the Reserve Territory. During the uSuthu Rebellion, Mnyamana remained loyal to the British administration. In late May 1888, the
uSuthu on Ceza raided his ímiZí along the Sikhwebezi River, including ekuShumayeleni. The Buthelezi abandoned their ímiZí and took refuge with the British at Nkonjeni until they regained control of the area in August.

SIHAYO kaXONGO (c. 1824–1883). Sihayo was inKósi of the Qungebe people and an inDuna of the íNdabakawombe iButho. He was a special favorite of King Cetshwayo kaM pande and a member of his iBándla (council). But when several of Sihayo’s sons crossed the border into Natal in one of the incidents leading up to the Anglo-Zulu War, the other iBándla members excoriated him. The British No. 3 Column destroyed his kwaSogekle umuZí in the first action of the Anglo-Zulu War. In August 1879, inKósi Mnyamana kaNgqengelele, who blamed Sihayo’s family for provoking the war, confiscated all his cattle and impoverished him. Sihayo was evicted from his chiefdom in the 1st Partition of Zululand and placed under Hlubi kaMota Molife. He supported uSuthu appeals for Cetshwayo’s restoration. As a result of the 2nd Partition of Zululand, he came under colonial rule in the Reserve Territory, and the Qungebe came into conflict with Hlubi’s Tlokwa people during the 3rd Zulu Civil War. Sihayo joined Cetshwayo in his territory and was killed in the rout at the battle of oNdini.

SIHAYO’S SONS’ BORDER INCIDENT. In July 1878, at a crucial moment when Bartle Frere was pondering how best to deal with what he conceived of as the Zulu threat to his planned confederation of South Africa, an incident on the border between Natal and Zululand gave him the leverage he needed to put pressure on King Cetshwayo kaM pande and justify punitive action. Two adulterous wives of inKósi Sihayo kaXongo of the Qungebe fled over the Mzinyathi River near Rorke’s Drift into Natal. When Mehlokazulu kaSihayo, his senior son, learned they were living close to the border, he crossed over twice on 28 July 1878 with two of his brothers and an armed party, abducted the wives, and shot them dead. Natal settler opinion was outraged, and the Natal government demanded that the ringleaders be surrendered for trial in Natal. Sihayo was one of Cetshwayo’s favorites, and he was very loath to comply. By November, as war increasingly threatened, the Zulu leadership came
erroneously to believe that the issue of the surrender of Sihayo’s sons was at the root of their deteriorating relations with the British. Leading members of Cetshwayo’s iBandla (council) consequently urged him to give up Sihayo’s sons, but Cetshwayo would not, fearing that to do so would be to forfeit his authority to his great amaKhosi. Instead, he encouraged Mehlokazulu and his brothers to flee to Mbilini waMswati in the Disputed Territory for sanctuary. After the delivery of the British ultimatum on 11 December 1878, Cetshwayo’s iBandla continued to believe that if Sihayo’s sons were surrendered, as the ultimatum required, the British would drop their other demands. In the end, the iBandla did not take action to hand them over because of the strong feeling in Zululand, especially among the younger amaButho, that Cetshwayo should not appease the British in any way. See also DEIGHTON AND SMITH, BORDER INCIDENT.

SIKALI’S (ZIKHALI’S) HORSE. The Ngwane people in the foothills of the Drakensberg had suffered defeat and expulsion by the Zulu kings and so in December 1878 enthusiastically raised three troops of irregular horse for the Natal Native Mounted Contingent in the coming Anglo-Zulu War. They formed part of No. 2 Column and fought at Isandlwana, dispersing after the battle. They failed to reassemble in February when the Mounted Contingent was being reorganized because they believed the government had not compensated them adequately for their losses, and because they insisted on being led by a white officer they trusted. The government met their concerns and they were re-formed as Shepstone’s Native Horse for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

eSIQUAKENI iKHANDA. UmNtwana Dabulamanzi kaM pande, who was directing the blockade of Fort Eshowe during the Anglo-Zulu War, was also the inDuna (commander) of the eSiqwakeni iKhanda near eNtumeni Hill to the west of the British fort. It consisted of 50 huts and provided the base for the Zulu raiding the British garrison’s cattle. On 1 March 1879, Colonel Charles Knight Pearson decided to attack it with 450 men. As the British approached, the Zulu abandoned the iKhanda. The British burned it but were expertly harassed by 500 Zulu under Dabulamanzi when they withdrew to their fort.
kwaSISHWILI CAMP. On 10 August 1879, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley formed camp at kwaSishwili, close to oNdini, which the British had burned after the battle of Ulundi at the climax of the Anglo-Zulu War. His purpose was to obtain the submission of the great amaKhosi (chiefs) of Zululand, organize the capture of the fugitive King Cetshwayo kaMpande, and impose a final peace settlement. Between 14 and 26 August, most of the amaKhosi of central and northern Zululand who had not already submitted came into camp to do so. The captive Cetshwayo passed through the camp on 31 August on his way to exile. On 1 September, the Zulu amaKhosi accepted Wolseley’s term for the 1st Partition of Zululand in a ceremony there, and on 4 September 1879 Wolseley and his staff left for Utrecht.

SITHOLE PEOPLE. See MATSHANA kaMONDISA.

SMALL WARS. As early as the North American campaigns of the 18th century, the British had learned that in fighting highly mobile enemies over broken terrain, they could no longer rely on their dense columns and line formations but had to be prepared to deploy into skirmishing order. This lesson tended to be forgotten in subsequent years and had to be relearned in the colonial campaigns conducted in the late Victorian period. The requirements of these “small wars” waged by professional soldiers against “savage” irregulars were certainly very different from those demanded in contemporary, full-scale operations such as the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871).

Initiative, improvisation, and flair were required in the small wars waged in inhospitable terrain against diverse kinds of enemy with differing levels of military expertise and employing a wide variety of tactics. Experience in these small wars served to confirm the general shift in the British army away from the dense formations employed as late as the Crimean War (1854–1856) toward a greater emphasis on open-order tactics and flexibility necessary for patrols, ambushes, and skirmishes. What made this possible was the extensive rearment of the British army during the last three decades of the 19th century. The introduction of breech-loading rifles increased the rate of fire and allowed soldiers to fire from a kneeling or prone posi-
tion, so they could make the most of the terrain and natural cover. Early forms of machine guns and improved *ordnance* significantly enhanced the weight of firepower available. And regular colonial campaigns provided the opportunity for testing and improving this weaponry.

Success in operations depended on maintaining the initiative by adopting a vigorous offensive *strategy* that sought out the enemy and brought him to battle. Carefully planned *logistics* and good intelligence were essential (though in operations in *Zululand* the reality fell far short of the ideal). The objective was to deliver a decisive blow to the enemy and to prevent the campaign degenerating into debilitating guerrilla operations. Unfortunately for *civilians*, it was also standard practice in small wars of conquest to destroy crops and dwellings and to run off livestock in order to induce *submissions* and to deny supplies to the enemy forces.

**SMITH’S CAMP.** On 4 May 1842, Captain Thomas Smith, in command of 263 British troops from the *Cape*, encamped in Port Natal (*Durban*) on the flat land between the Eastern Vlei and the Berea Ridge and immediately began constructing a roughly triangular entrenched wagon *laager*, called Smith’s Camp. Smith’s mission was to occupy *Natal*, currently held by the Boers as the Republic of *Natalia*. Once the Boers repulsed his advance at *Congella* on 23 May, Smith fell back and further improved the defenses of Smith’s Camp with two batteries at opposite angles. The tents were inside the laager and the livestock in a kraal outside. The men took shelter in a trench inside the camp behind the wagons. The Boers laid siege to the camp from 31 May until its relief on 25 June 1842. Four Boers were killed in the siege and 31 British died, mainly of disease. Today Smith’s Camp is often confused with the subsequent *Durban Redoubt* built on the site.

**SMOUSE.** Most Boers who trekked into the interior of southern Africa in the 1830s and 1840s had the skills necessary to maintain their wagons and *firearms*, but they depended on *smouse*, traveling traders, to supply commodities they could not produce themselves, such as gunpowder, *percussion caps*, clothing materials, tea, coffee, and sugar.
SMYTH, HENRY AUGUSTUS (1825–1906). Commissioned in the Royal Artillery in 1843, Smyth saw service in the Crimean War (1855–1856). He served in Bermuda, Nova Scotia, Corfu, India, and Britain, where he commanded the Woolwich Garrison and Military District from 1882 to 1886. He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1886. On 23 January 1888, he was appointed the general officer commanding in South Africa, and on 28 June he took personal command of the British forces operating in Zululand during the uSuthu Rebellion. He regained control of central Zululand with the capture of Hlophekhulu, and of the southern coastal area by sending in the Eshowe Column to relieve Fort Andries. He next moved forward from Nkonjeni into northwestern Zululand, compelling the uSuthu to abandon Ceza, while the Coastal Column advanced to Ivuna. Smyth accompanied Martin’s Flying Column in its joint march back to Eshowe with the Coastal Column. Satisfied that the rebellion was suppressed, on 7 September Smyth and his staff sailed for Cape Town. During the course of the campaign, he came into conflict with the governor of Zululand, Arthur Elibank Havelock, over the parameters of civil and military authority. He later acted as governor of the Cape (1888–1889) and was appointed governor of Malta (1890–1893). He was knighted in 1890 and promoted to general in 1891. See also CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS.

kwaSOGEKLE umuZI. This was inKosi Sihayo kaXongo’s principal umuZi, nestled under cliffs on the eastern side of the Batshe River valley. British detachments of No. 3 Column burned it on 12 January 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War after worsting the Qungebe in a sharp skirmish.

SOMHLOLO kaMKHOSANA. See BIYELA PEOPLE.

SOMKHELE kaMALANDA (c. 1840–?). Somkhele was inKosi of the Mphukunyoni people and a first cousin of King Cetshwayo kaMpende. He dominated the Zulu north coast and lived in semi-royal style in his own huge umuZi. He was also an isiKhulu (hereditary chief) and an inDuna (officer) of the uThulwana iButho. Somkhele was averse to fighting the Anglo-Zulu War and was among the coastal leaders who surrendered on 4 July 1879 to the 1st
Division, **South African Field Force.** In the 1st Partition of **Zululand,** he was appointed one of the 13 chiefs, but in the 2nd Partition his chiefdom fell into Cetshwayo’s restored territory. In the 3rd **Zulu Civil War,** he rallied firmly to the **uSuthu** cause. Suffering reverses, he took refuge in his stronghold in the **Dukuduku** Forest. During the **uSuthu Rebellion,** his followers attacked **Fort Andries** in June 1888 in the battle of **Ntondotha,** but in July he swiftly surrendered to the **Eshowe Column** and was fined 1,800 **cattle.** In 1889, the **Special Court of Commission for Zululand** sentenced him to five years’ imprisonment. He was released in 1890 and his cattle fine reduced by 799 head.

**SOMOPHO kaZIKHALA.** A Mthembu inKosi (hereditary chief) and senior inDuna (headman) of the **emaNgweni** people, Somopho was personally close to King **Cetshwayo kaMpende** and his was head gunpowder manufacturer and chief armorer. During the **Anglo-Zulu War,** Somopho was one of the Zulu commanders blockading the British in **Fort Eshowe,** and he was the senior commander at **Gingindlovu.** He surrendered to the 1st Division, **South African Field Force,** on 4 July 1879. In the 1st Partition of **Zululand,** he was placed reluctantly under inKosi Mlandlela kaMbiya of the **Mthethwa** people, but after the 2nd Partition of Zululand he found himself in the restored Cetshwayo’s territory and joined the **uSuthu** cause in the 3rd **Zulu Civil War,** operating especially against the Mthethwa. During the **uSuthu Rebellion,** he joined with **Bhejana kaNomageje,** another inDuna of the emaNgweni, in operating against Andries Pretorius, the resident magistrate of the Lower Umfolosi District, and attacked **Fort Andries.** The **Eshowe Column** ravaged his territory in July 1888, and Somopho took refuge in the Nhlati Hills in the northern coastal district, where he was attacked in late August by **Martin’s Flying Column** and fled to the **Dukuduku** fastness. He did not surrender until 1890, when the High Court of Zululand sentenced him to two years’ imprisonment.

**SOOILAER.** See **MARITZ, GERRIT.**

**SOTHO BORDER WITH NATAL IN 1879.** In late 1878, there were concerns that the Sotho chiefdoms in **Basutoland** abutting **Colonial**
Defensive District No. II might take advantage of the coming Anglo-Zulu War to raid Natal in conjunction with the Zulu. In October 1878, messengers from King Cetshwayo kaMpande to the Sotho chiefs Letsie, Masopha, and Molapo were detained in Natal, and in December Cetshwayo sent mounted messengers to Molapo. In late January 1879, after the war had broken out, rumors were rife in Natal that Zulu messengers were making their way along the Drakensberg to the Sotho chiefs as well as to Mpondo chiefs south of Natal. From March 1879, the district authorities ran regular patrols along the foot of the Drakensberg. There was some alarm in late March that some of the Phuti people of Moorosi, who were in rebellion against the Cape’s administration in Basutoland (imposed in 1871), might come over the passes into Natal, but the threat did not materialize. See also Griqua and Mpondo Borders with Natal in 1879.

Sothondose’s Drift. This drift across the Mzinyathi River was where the British survivors of the battle of Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War tried to cross the swollen river on the afternoon of 22 January 1879, and it has been known to the British ever afterward as Fugitives’ Drift. The Zulu named it after Sothondose kaMalusi, the Nxumalo inKosi, who in June 1843 crossed the Mzinyathi there to find refuge in Natal with many other Zulu notables and up to 3,000 adherents. They were all malcontents who had fallen out with King Mpande kaSenzangakhona and had thrown their support behind his ambitious and last surviving half-brother umNtwana Gqugqu kaSenzangakhona. Gqugqu’s execution on Mpande’s orders was the signal for their flight, which is commonly known as the “Crossing of Mawa” after Mpande’s influential aunt Mawa, who joined the fugitives.

South Africa Medal. See Awards.

South African Field Force, 1st Division. On 13 April 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the No. 1 Column at Fort Pearson and the Eshowe Relief Column at the Gingindlovu Camp were restyled the 1st and 2nd Brigades respectively of the 1st Division, South African Field Force of 7,500 men under Major-General Henry Hope Crealock. April was spent
methodically bringing up supplies, bridging the lower Thukela River, strengthening Fort Pearson and Fort Tenedos, building Fort Crealock and Fort Chelmsford as advanced posts, and identifying Port Durnford as a landing place for supplies. By 20 June, the 1st Division was concentrated at Fort Chelmsford and advanced across the Mlalazi River, where it started Fort Napoleon on 25 June. By 1 July, it was encamped at Port Durnford and was sending out patrols to raid the countryside and induce Zulu submissions. Its slow progress allowed the Zulu to ignore its presence and concentrate on facing Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s advance from the northwest with the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. On 4 July, a patrol burned the emaNgweni iKhanda across the Mhlathuze River, and another destroyed the old oNdini iKhanda on 6 July. On 5 June, most of the local amaKhosi submitted to Crealock at his camp at the lower drift of the Mhlathuze. On 19 July, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley received the formal surrender of the coastal amaKhosi near emaNgweni. Wolseley broke up the 1st Division on 23 July and formed Clarke’s Column out of those units he did not send back to Natal.

SOUTH AFRICAN FIELD FORCE, 2ND DIVISION. On 13 April 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, the command of the 2nd Division (to which the Cavalry Brigade was attached on 8 April) was given to Major-General Edward Newdigate. The 2nd Division of 5,000 men was made up of the troops already stationed in the Utrecht District of the Transvaal Territory and of the reinforcements recently landed in Durban. It concentrated at Dundee, which Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford selected over Helpmekaar as its main depot because it offered better access to supplies and superior communications, and because it avoided the road by way of Isandlwana and the still unburi ed dead. On 2 May, the 2nd Division moved forward to Landman’s Drift accompanied by Chelmsford and his staff. Between 13 and 21 May, it sent forward many patrols to reconnoiter a suitable route to the oNdini iKhanda and mounted extensive raids to clear the countryside of Zulu before it resumed the advance. A reconnaissance in force to Isandlwana on 21 May in cooperation with the Rorke’s Drift garrison began the burial of the dead. On 31 May, the 2nd Division advanced to Koppie Alleen and built Fort Whitehead as its forward base. The following day, while
on patrol, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte of France was killed in a skirmish at the Tshotshosi River.

The 2nd Division resumed its advance on 3 June and effected its junction with Wood’s Flying Column advancing from Khambula. The mounted men from the joint column had an unsuccessful encounter with Zulu irregulars on 5 June at Zungeni Mountain. The joint column continued the advance up the Ntinini valley before halting from 7 to 17 June to escort convoys of supplies and to raid the countryside to clear it of Zulu. The joint column resumed its advance on 18 June. It moved slowly and methodically, reconnoitering ahead, laagering every night, and building fortified depots (Fort Newdigate, Fort Marshall, and Fort Evelyn). On 27 June, the joint column reached the Mthonjaneni Heights, where it laagered on 29 June. The following day, it marched down toward the Mahlabathini Plain and on 2 July constructed a fortified camp on the banks of the White Mfolozi. White Mfolozi Reconnaissance in Force on 3 July barely escaped a Zulu ambush. On 4 July, the joint column fought as an infantry square at Ulundi and routed the Zulu.

Short of supplies and confident that Zulu resistance was over, Chelmsford decided to withdraw rather than advance to consolidate his victory. On 5 July, the 2nd Division returned to Mthonjaneni, followed by Wood’s Flying Column the next day. Rain between 6 and 8 July prevented further movement until 9 July, when Wood’s Flying Column withdrew toward St. Paul’s. On 10 July, the 2nd Division began its march back to Natal by the way it had come and was formally broken up on 26 July near Fort Marshall. Some units remained in garrison at various posts in Zululand until convoys could bring out all unconsumed supplies, and the rest returned to Durban for embarkation.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC. On 17 January 1852, by the Sand River Convention, the British recognized the independence of the 15,000 Voortrekkers who had settled north of the Vaal River, and who in September 1853 adopted the title of the South African Republic, or Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (SAR) for their new state with its capital at Pretoria. The British hoped thereby to reduce their strained financial and military commitments in southern Africa while setting up a buffer state to cushion their coastal colonies against the
unrest in the interior. For its part, the SAR set about parceling out the land into large farms, building up Afrikaner identity, and creating a society based on white racial supremacy in which Africans were reduced to labor tenants and servants. The fledgling republic continued to be troubled by internal divisions and to be involved in a constant struggle for survival against hostile African neighbors. Cut off from direct access to the sea by British Natal and the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, the SAR also failed to push through the Disputed Territory to a potential port on the Zululand coast. The SAR’s undiversified economy remained based primarily on stock farming and it stagnated, while the Boers’ isolation led to cultural and intellectual impoverishment.

In the late 1870s, British policy toward southern Africa changed, and a drive began to force the confederation of the region’s white-ruled states. On 12 April 1877, Britain annexed the bankrupt SAR as the British Transvaal Territory, but in December 1880, the Boers rose in rebellion. In the 1st Boer War, the British failed to defeat the Boers. By the Pretoria Convention of 3 August 1881, the Transvaal gained independence under nebulous British “suzerainty.” After defeat in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, the SAR again lost its independence. In 1910, it was incorporated into the Union of South Africa as the Transvaal Province.

SPEAR, ZULU. The principal Zulu weapon was the spear or umKho-nto (still popularly called the “assegai” after the Arab term for the weapon), of which there were some 10 varieties. The deadliest was the short-handled, long-bladed stabbing spear, the iKlwa, introduced by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, probably a refinement on a weapon already familiar in the region. It was wielded at close quarters, and an underarm stab aimed at the abdomen was followed by ripped withdrawal. This operation required considerable skill and practice. In addition to the iKlwa, an iButho usually carried two or three throwing spears with long shafts (iziJula). These were also used for hunting and could find their target at up to 30 yards. The making of spears was a specialized task that was concentrated among blacksmiths in the regions of the Nkandla Forest and Black Mfolozi River. The spears, as a national asset, belonged to the king, who distributed them to his amaButho.
SPECIAL ARTISTS. With photography in its infancy, “special artists” (a term first used of artists commissioned by the Illustrated London News to cover the Crimean War) were required by the British illustrated papers to supply pictures of wars to boost their circulation. Experienced artists could capture action and movement that the camera could not, and in order to scoop their rivals in the field, the special artists vied with each other to send their sketches back as quickly as possible for completion by staff artists in Great Britain. In the process, the original sketch was often transformed to conform to the conventions of contemporary war illustrations, and images might be subtly distorted by staff artists unfamiliar with the foreign places and people depicted. The illustration was then traced in reverse onto a wood block, engraved, and a facsimile in copper made for printing, a process that might further alter the work of the artist in the field. In the Anglo-Zulu War, 3rd Zulu Civil War, and uSuthu Rebellion, newspapers often made use of skilled soldiers or colonists to supplement the drawings of the professional journalists. See also SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS.

SPECIAL BORDER POLICE, NATAL. In November 1878, the Natal government raised a small force of about 100 Special Border Police consisting of local Africans under appointed white border agents and positioned them along the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers in Colonial Defensive Districts I, VI, and VII. Their function during the Anglo-Zulu War was to gather intelligence and monitor the movement of individuals to and from Zululand, rather than to deter a Zulu incursion into Natal. They were disbanded in October 1879.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS. War correspondents, a self-consciously glamorous elite among journalists who sometimes became public celebrities, were known as “special correspondents” and were always in hectic competition to bring the news to their own newspapers ahead of their rivals. Only the national papers could afford the costs of supporting them and their expensive telegraphed reports, and provincial newspapers made do with reprinting their lengthy dispatches appearing in the major papers. Special correspondents identified with the British army and its ethos and enjoyed an ill-
defined, quasi-officer status on campaign. They often took the stereotypical line about savage foes and the justice of the British cause, and although the free press in Britain and the colonies meant that their reports were uncensored, they exercised some self-censorship to preserve the army’s honor and the public’s faith in it. Relations between special correspondents and military commanders usually depended on the extent to which the journalists’ reporting of the conduct of a campaign was favorable, and canny commanders cultivated them to ensure a positive press. Special correspondents could act as stringers for a number of newspapers, and newspapers looked beyond full-time correspondents to draw on reports from British officers, colonial officials, and ordinary settlers affected by the war. In 1879, after the battle of Isandlwana turned the Anglo-Zulu War into international news, the number of special correspondents increased. The Natal newspapers covered the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, but these conflicts elicited little interest in the British press and no special correspondents were sent out to Zululand. See also FORBES, ARCHIBALD (1838–1900); SPECIAL ARTISTS.

SPECIAL COURT OF COMMISSION FOR ZULULAND. With the collapse of the uSuthu Rebellion, the British put the arrested rebels on trial. The Colonial Office and the Natal judiciary agreed that Zululand officials, who would normally have tried them, could not be regarded as impartial. Consequently, the trial that commenced in Eshowe on 15 November 1888 was convened as a Special Court of Commission for Zululand under the presidency of Walter Wragg, senior judge of the Supreme Court of Natal, and two other members. The trial of the ringleaders for high treason and public violence began on 13 February 1889 and ended on 27 April. Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, Ndabuko kaMpande, and Shingana kaMpande were all found guilty. In the belief that it might prove inflammatory if they served their sentences (confirmed on 18 December) in British Zululand or Natal, they were held instead on the remote Atlantic island of St. Helena.

SPIES. See MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, BRITISH; MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, ZULU.
SQUARE, INFANTRY. By the late 19th century, the infantry square, which was originally developed as a means of all-round defense against cavalry, was obsolete on the battlefields of Europe and North America. However, it retained its value in small wars as a defensive formation against overwhelming numbers of enemy attempting to envelop the troops prior to engaging in hand-to-hand combat. Squares were difficult to maneuver on the march, especially when the ground was uneven, and were very vulnerable to enemy fire, although poor Zulu marksmanship made this a small risk in the Anglo-Zulu War. The corners of a square were vulnerable because of a loss of fire from the ranks of infantry forming the sides, and they were normally reinforced with artillery. If a square was penetrated by the enemy, it was liable to be thrown into complete confusion, so the objective was to hold the enemy at bay at some distance by laying down an impenetrable barrier of volley-fire. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the British successfully deployed an infantry square at Ulundi. See also TACTICS, BRITISH; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

ST. LUCIA BAY. A large, shallow, enclosed bay on the north coast of Zululand into which the Mkhuze River drains, St. Lucia Bay provided a reasonable holding ground for anchoring, provided the wind was not blowing a gale from the south. On 27 October 1839, umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona struck an alliance with the Boers for a combined attack on King Dingane kaSenzangakhona. In return for their making him king, Mpande undertook to cede them St. Lucia Bay and much cattle. This cession fell away when the British and Mpande agreed on the Natal-Zululand border on 5 October 1843. When Germany later showed an interest in the Zululand coast, the British feared they might attempt to link up with the landlocked South African Republic through the newly established New Republic. The British therefore asserted their claims to St. Lucia Bay on 21 December 1884. When the British annexed the Colony of Zululand in May 1887, St. Lucia Bay became part of the Lower Umfolosi District. See also LANDING PLACES, ZULULAND.

ST. PAUL’S. St. Paul’s Anglican mission station, situated on the great Nkwenkwe spur overlooking the coastal plains to the south, was a strategic point on the winding track between Eshowe and the heart of
Zululand. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Baker Russell’s Column began a small earthwork redoubt there on 28 July 1879 to guard its depot when it was drawing supplies from Port Durnford. It was garrisoned until the column reached the Transvaal in early September 1879. In October 1887, the post was again garrisoned by a detachment of the Zululand garrison of the Colony of Zululand to secure the main route from Eshowe to the Ndwandwe District. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it provided a camp for troops moving forward to central and northern Zululand. With the suppression of the uSuthu Rebellion, the small garrison was withdrawn in September 1888.

STABB, HENRY SPARKE (1835–1888). Stabb fought in the Indian Mutiny (1857), served as a major on special service in the Anglo-Zulu War with the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and was present at Ulundi. He was subsequently president of a board for the investigation and settlement of claims made by colonists for losses suffered during the Anglo-Zulu War. In March 1880, he was in command of the party that, on Queen Victoria’s wishes, erected a memorial cross at the site of the death of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. In September 1886, Stabb was appointed a colonel on the staff in Natal, and in May 1887 he commanded troops in Natal and Zululand. He was in command during the uSuthu Rebellion until Lieutenant-General Henry August Smyth, the general officer commanding in South Africa, took personal command of operations in June 1888. Under Smyth’s orders, Stabb successfully stormed Hlophekhulu and regained control of central Zululand. Stabb died in Pietermaritzburg in October 1888 of a heart attack.

STANGER LAAGER. In mid-1878, the Natal government sanctioned the construction of a loopholed, stone-walled laager at the little village of Stanger (in what was later designated Colonial Defensive District No. VI) as a place of security for the local settler population. A small existing post begun in early 1878 was included in the enclosure as an armory. The laager was adjacent to the jail, which likely formed part of the perimeter. In December 1878, a detachment of No. 1 Column garrisoned the laager to secure its line of communication between the lower Thukela River and Durban. In the panic after Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, the settlers crowded
into the laager, but confidence was soon restored and they returned home.

**STANGER MOUNTED RIFLES.** Formed in 1875, the Stanger Mounted Rifles was one of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers who were called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. It mobilized in December 1878 and joined No. 1 Column at Fort Pearson, leaving a few men behind at the Stanger laager for defense duties. It fought at Nyezane as part of the 1st Division. On 28 January, it returned from Fort Eshowe to Natal with the other mounted men of No. 1 Column. Until the corps of about 50 men was mustered out in July, it continued to serve by patrolling the border along the lines of communication between Fort Pearson, Stanger, and Ntunjambili (Kranskop) in Colonial Defensive Districts VI and VII. In March, nearly half its men volunteered for active service in the Natal Volunteer Guides. The uniform was of dark blue cloth with an edging of black braid and yellow piping. The helmet was white.

**STRATEGY, BOER.** By the 18th century, Boer commandos (militia) on the Cape frontier had institutionalized an effective strategy for attacking African foes. The Boers took this strategy with them on the Great Trek into the interior of South Africa in the 1830s and consistently applied it in Zululand from 1838 onward. The very first encounters in the Voortrekker-Zulu War confirmed for the Voortrekkers that if they drew together in their wagon laagers for protection, they could withstand even the heaviest Zulu assaults. Based on their experience in the Cape Frontier Wars, the strategy was then to send out a retaliatory mounted commando to engage the Zulu, destroy their property, and capture or recover livestock. The disaster that befell the Vlugkommando at eThaleni demonstrated that it was too dangerous to seek out the Zulu on their own ground with only a mounted commando, and that a commando should advance with supply wagons that could be drawn up to form a defensive laager. The laager would also form a secure base deep in enemy territory for punitive raiding expeditions.

In late 1838, this strategy allowed the Wenkommando to defeat the Zulu army, destroy their principal amaKhanda, drive King
Dingane kaSenzangakhona away to the north of his kingdom, and capture huge numbers of cattle. This punitive strategy was limited, for it stopped short of conquest and was content with forcing the Zulu king to permit the Voortrekkers to settle in part of his kingdom. In the 1st Zulu Civil War, the Beeskommando that advanced in support of umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona applied the same methods to secure a political outcome. In promoting their claims to the Disputed Territory in 1861, the Boers set up their laagers and threatened to send out commando raids. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the Boers who supported the uSuthu in their Zululand campaign of 1884 once again operated as commandos from laagers in Zulu territory, and they bartered their military aid for captured livestock and the territory that formed the New Republic.

STRATEGY, BRITISH. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the British essentially followed the principles behind the conduct of small wars. Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford wished at all costs to avoid debilitating guerrilla operations and hoped to end the campaign swiftly with a series of pitched battles. In dividing his invading army into several columns converging on the oNdini iKhanda, he correctly calculated that the Zulu would be enticed into confronting them in the open field, where British tactical superiority would prove overwhelming. His related strategy was to induce the Zulu people to submit through the systematic destruction of their means of subsistence, coupled with reasonable terms if they abandoned resistance. While the main British striking force was engaged in Zululand, the Natal border region was left vulnerable to Zulu counterattack, but Chelmsford calculated that it could be defended sufficiently while the war was won in Zululand itself. The British debacle at Isandlwana only temporarily unhinged this strategy, and it was resumed once the British were sufficiently reinforced for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War.

During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, the prime objective of British forces in Zululand was to establish fortified bases that could be held against any attack and from which offensives could be mounted. It was equally important to secure the vulnerable lines of communication over the large territory with its broken terrain. The soundness of this limited strategy was underscored
during the uSuthu Rebellion when, despite some initial local setbacks, the British remained in a strong position to counterattack effectively from their bases. As in the later stages of the Anglo-Zulu War, flying columns were efficacious in inducing submissions through punitive measures against civilians combined with negotiations, and they were also used to break up lingering concentrations of resistance. See also FORTIFICATIONS IN NATAL AND ZULULAND; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS.

**STRATEGY, ZULU.** Zulu strategy from the time of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona was to concentrate the amaButho at a major iKhanda and then to march into the enemy’s territory, living off the countryside as they advanced. The primary objectives were to capture the enemy’s cattle and drive the enemy from the territory he occupied. The preferred way of doing so was to crush enemy forces in battle. If the enemy would not be drawn into battle, the Zulu would compel him to evacuate his lands by destroying his means of survival. The Zulu would burn his imizi and fields, plunder his grain stores, and drive off his livestock. If, like the Swazi, the enemy avoided battle and took refuge with families and livestock in impregnable strongholds, then the invaders might have to be content with plunder before withdrawing. Although considerable hardship attended those sheltering in a stronghold, it was even more difficult for an army to maintain itself in a countryside it had ravaged. Stalemate was the consequence of this sort of campaign, and minor skirmishing between full-scale operations also fell short of the primary objective of driving the enemy out. Only a pitched battle could deliver conclusive results.

In the Voortrekker-Zulu War and in the 1st and 2nd Zulu Civil Wars, Zulu armies sought the decisive encounter of pitched battle. What made these campaigns different from earlier ones was that they were conducted on Zulu soil instead of in the territory of the enemy. In all three cases, the issue was decided in battle. The situation was somewhat different for the Zulu in the Anglo-Zulu War, for the kingdom was invaded by a number of columns simultaneously deploying unprecedented armed might. While Zulu irregulars in northwestern Zululand resorted to their strongholds and conducted a war or raid and counterraid, the amaButho pursued the conventional strategy of seeking out the enemy and forcing a pitched battle. It seems
King Cetshwayo kaM pande’s plan was to win enough victories to stall the British invasion and force a negotiated peace. However, the British were not to be budged from their objective of dismantling the kingdom. The Zulu, who found it difficult for logistical and ritual reasons to sustain a campaign over many months, played into British hands by insisting on conventional set-piece battles. A more effective defense would have been to use guerrilla tactics on a wider scale than merely in the northwest. But this was not the way the amaButho were honor-bound to fight, and they sought conclusions on the open battlefield.

The 3rd Zulu Civil War, fought between Zulu forces aided by white mercenaries or Boer allies, saw much raiding, ravaging, and taking refuge in strongholds. Nevertheless, in traditional fashion, pitched battles ultimately decided the issue, causing the collapse of the enemy’s forces. The leaders then took flight, and great tracts of territory were abandoned to the victors.

While a traditional strategy proved effective against other Zulu in the 3rd Civil War, the uSuthu lacked coherent or viable strategic objectives in the uSuthu Rebellion. The Anglo-Zulu War had taught them the futility of taking on the British in the open field or of attacking prepared defenses. In 1888, they might raid British collaborators and the British lines of communication from the strongholds where they had concentrated, but the British soon isolated them there and then evicted them. Any guerrilla resistance was scotched by the rapid movement of British flying columns. The uSuthu fighters were able to operate out of neighboring Boer territory because the South African Republic turned a blind eye on their activities, but since no concrete aid was forthcoming, this was of limited benefit. The uSuthu uprising was too limited in scale and scattered in action to ever cohere sufficiently for a viable strategy to evolve.

STRYDPOORT LAAGER. This square, stone-walled laager with opposing bastions was built in 1878 in Colonial Defensive District No. II by local farmers. It served throughout the Anglo-Zulu War as the base for the Upper Tugela Defense Corps and was where they stored their arms and ammunition.

SUBMISSIONS, ZULU. During the Anglo-Zulu War, several ama-Khosi who were not in favor of fighting entered into negotiation
with the British to submit, but their intentions were thwarted by the intervention of King Cetshwayo kaM'pande or local loyalists. In the west and southeast of Zululand, where the British military presence was most heavily felt on civilians in accordance with the ruthless practices of small wars, negotiation and submission followed an accelerating pattern during the course of the war. The far northwest maintained a die-hard resistance until Baker Russell’s Column enforced surrender. The southern border region, which the fighting had largely bypassed, submitted with the passage of Clarke’s Column. Great districts of east, central, and northern Zululand, although never entered by the British, submitted soon after the battle of Ulundi, when the war was clearly lost. This variegated pattern of submission can be explained by the pragmatic efforts of the amaKhosi to salvage what they could of their local power from national defeat. Indeed, some saw opportunities for personal aggrandizement in the collapse of centralized royal authority. Since it was British strategy to detach them from the king’s cause, they offered the amaKhosi indulgent peace terms that left their local prerogatives intact and exploited their ambitions to impose the 1st Partition of Zululand.

During the period of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, military defeat and deteriorating conditions for civilians in the endemic conflict induced the warring parties to submit to Boer rule in the New Republic, or to British rule in the Reserve Territory and subsequently the British Colony of Zululand. With the outbreak of the uSuthu Rebellion, most amaKhosi stayed loyal to the British because continued submission meant security. In contrast to the easy terms that accompanied submission in the Anglo-Zulu War, those who rebelled were subjected to severe penalties once they surrendered. This time the British were not looking for collaborators in a political solution, but for obedient subjects in their new colony.

SURRENDER, ZULU. See SUBMISSIONS, ZULU.

uSUTHU. Originally, uSuthu was the war cry and collective name for umNtwana Cetshwayo kaM'pande’s followers in the 2nd Zulu Civil War. The name was derived from the large Sotho-type cattle his supporters in the Zulu army had captured from the Pedi in the campaign of 1851. It became the national cry when he became king
in 1872, and it was uttered by the amaButho at the great festivals and in battle. After Cetshwayo’s defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War and his subsequent exile, the term came to denote all those who still adhered to the royalist cause. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, his faction in the relentless struggle against the Mandlakazi was called the uSuthu, as were those who joined King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo in the uSuthu Rebellion against British rule.

uSUTHU REBELLION (1888). In 1887, King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo and the uSuthu found it humiliating and irksome to cooperate with the colonial administration of freshly annexed British Zululand. To curb the uSuthu, in November 1887 the Zululand officials (in a disastrous policy decision) restored their remorseless enemy inKosi Zibhebhu kamaphitha and his Mandlakazi adherents to his former chiefdom in the Ndwanwe District, from which he had fled at the end of the 3rd Zulu Civil War. The size of his territory was increased so that it encompassed many uSuthu imiZi, and this inevitably sparked unrest. By April 1888, the uSuthu were in open rebellion, defying the paramilitary Zululand Police, the regular troops of the Zululand garrison, their Mandlakazi allies, and other African auxiliaries. The scale of operations was small, with the uSuthu never raising an army of more than 4,000 and the Mandlakazi no more than 800. British troops in Zululand finally numbered just under 1,000, with about 2,000 African auxiliaries.

On 2 June, the uSuthu repulsed a British force at Ceza Mountain. On 23 June, they routed the Mandlakazi at Ivuna. The British withdrew south of the Black Mfolozi River to regroup under Lieutenant-General Henry Augustus Smyth. They also lost control of the coastal region, where on 30 June the coastal uSuthu attacked Fort Andries in the battle of Ntondotha and then blockaded it.

Rapidly reinforced, the British went on the offensive. On 2 July, a force under Colonel Henry Sparke Stabb drove the uSuthu under Dinuzulu’s uncle umNtwana Shingana kaMpande from Hlophekhulu Mountain and regained control of central Zululand. On 9 July, the Eshowe Column under Major Alexander Chalmers McKean relieved Fort Andries and then returned to Eshowe, burning uSuthu imiZi on the march. In late July, a new Coastal Column under Major McKean marched up the coast again, enforcing submissions, while
Martin's Flying Column from Nkonjeni reestablished civil authority in northwestern Zululand. On the night of 6 August, Dinuzulu disbanded the uSuthu still on Ceza Mountain and sought refuge in the South African Republic. The two flying columns then rendezvoused at Ivuna and between 18 and 30 August marched together back to Eshowe, subduing the last pockets of uSuthu resistance. During August and September, some fighting continued in northeastern Zululand between the uSuthu and Mandlakazi, but by the end of September, General Smyth considered the rebellion over. On 2 November, the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal levels.

oSUTHU umuZi. In 1884, King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo built oSuthu, his chief umuZi, in the Vuna valley, where his adherents were concentrated. On 26 April 1888, 1,000 uSuthu amaButho gathered there under umNtwana Ndbabuko kaM pande and intimidated a force of 80 Zululand Police into failing to execute warrants of arrest issued by Richard Hallowes Addison, the resident magistrate of Ndwandwe District, against four uSuthu taking refuge there. The standoff signaled the beginning of the uSuthu Rebellion. The oSuthu umuZi was plundered between 6 and 9 June 1888 by iNkos Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s Mandlakazi. On his return to Zululand in 1898 after imprisonment on St. Helena, Dinuzulu rebuilt oSuthu in a mixture of traditional izinDlu and European-style dwellings.

SWAZI KINGDOM AND THE ANGLO-ZULU WAR. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the Zulu were concerned that their antagonist Swazi neighbors to the north might use the opportunity to intervene on the side of the British. In fact, the Swazi were determined not to do so until they were certain of British victory. In late 1878, King Mbandzeni waMswati brushed off the overtures repeatedly made by Norman Magnus MacLeod, the Swazi border commissioner, to persuade the Swazi to invade northern Zululand to protect the flanks of Nos. 4 and 5 Columns. Following the Zulu victory at Isandlwana, the Swazi became even charier of making a firm commitment to the British cause and remained on the defensive behind their own borders. After Ulundi and King Cetshwayo kaM pande’s flight, the Swazi were at last prepared to cross the Phongolo and to operate with Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. George Patrick Hyde Villiers,
who was advancing on Luneburg with troops from the Transvaal and with umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe's Ngenetsheni. Reluctant to commit their army too deeply in Zululand, the Swazi were content to raid Zulu imiZi along the Phongolo before being recalled on 24 August 1879.

**SWAZI KINGDOM, ZULU INVASIONS OF.** Like the Zulu kingdom, the Swazi kingdom to its north across the Phongolo River was a conquest state that arose in the 1830s. It was in chronic conflict with its powerful southern neighbor. When threatened by a Zulu raid, the Swazi took to the natural defenses of their mountainous kingdom. In this way, they thwarted Zulu raids dispatched by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona in 1827 and 1828, and by King Dingane kaSenzangakhona in 1836. In 1837, Dingane recruited 30 white mercenaries under John Cane from Port Natal (Durban) in a further raid against the Swazi, and this time the hunters’ guns led to greater success. After the Boer victory at Ncome in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, Dingane attempted to carve out a new kingdom north across the Phongolo to put space between him and the Voortrekkers. In the winter of 1839, he made a serious attempt to conquer the southern half of the Swazi kingdom, but the Swazi defeated him at the battle of Lubuye and forced him to abandon the project.

A dynastic dispute in Swaziland in the 1840s gave King Mpande kaSenzangakhona a fresh opportunity for Zulu intervention. One claimant, Mswati waSobhuza, secured the military assistance on 27 July 1846 of the Ohrigstad Boers (in what would later be part of the South African Republic) in return for ceding them a massive stretch of territory in northwestern Swaziland. They defeated Malambule waSobhuza, the claimant supported by Mpande, and pursued him into northwestern Zululand. This gave Mpande his casus belli, and his amaButho invaded Swaziland in early 1847. Baffled by Swazi irregular warfare and Boer firepower, the Zulu withdrew in July 1847. In 1848, Mpande invaded again. This time, Mswati had no Boer support because they had switched it to another royal claimant, Somcuba waSobhuza. Mswati therefore submitted to the Zulu king and paid tribute for a while, but Mpande had to stop short of outright conquest because the British in Natal were concerned at the growth of Zulu power and threatened military intervention.
In 1852, Mswati rose up against Zulu control, and Mpande responded with a major raid that swept the country clean of cattle. Fearing a massive influx of Swazi refugees, the Natal government put pressure on Mpande to withdraw, and Mswati was able to start consolidating his hold over his kingdom. Mpande contemplated new raids in 1858 and 1862, but internal conflicts in Zululand and British disapproval prevented him.

On his accession in 1872, King Cetshwayo kaMpende was ardent for a fresh Swazi campaign to blood his younger amaButho and to acquire booty. But Swazi power had grown in the 20 years since the last Zulu invasion, and many of his councilors advised against a new attempt. Most importantly, they were concerned that the British were consistently opposed to wars that might destabilize the region, and they hoped to secure British support in the long standoff over the Disputed Territory with the Boers. Consequently, when Cetshwayo planned Swazi campaigns in 1874, 1875, and 1876, he was dissuaded on every occasion.

**SWORD, BRITISH CAVALRY.** Cavalry troopers carried the 1864-pattern sword, with a single-edged, slightly curved, 35-inch blade in a steel scabbard, and a sheet steel guard. In 1882, there were modifications to the guard and scabbard design, and a stronger blade was introduced in 1885. Between 1856 and 1912, heavy cavalry officers carried the 1856-pattern sword, with its three-quarter basket guard, in steel. Light cavalry officers carried the 1822-pattern sword, with its three-bar hilt, until they adopted the heavy cavalry pattern in 1896.

**SWORD, BRITISH INFANTRY OFFICERS.** British officers in Zululand carried the 1822-pattern infantry sword, with a gilt half-basket guard and with a “Wilkinson” blade in a steel scabbard introduced in 1866. This sword remained in service until 1892. Officers in Highland regiments carried the 1865-pattern broadsword.

**SWORD, COLONIAL MOUNTED TROOPS.** Colonial mounted officers carried the 1822-pattern, light British cavalry officer’s sword.

**SWORD, NAVAL OFFICERS.** The 1856-pattern naval sword was similar to that worn by British infantry officers, but the gilt hilt was
solid, with a lion’s head on the pommel, and the scabbard was of black leather.

**Sword, Royal Artillery Officers.** The sword, prescribed in 1855, was of the same pattern as the 1822 light cavalry sword, except for a difference in the pommel.

**Sword, Royal Engineers Officers.** The sword was identical with that of the heavy cavalry officer’s sword of 1856, except the hilt was of gunmetal instead of steel.

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**Tactics, African Infantry Levies.** The prime task of African infantry levies (troops) in the Anglo-Zulu War was to support other troops, undertake patrol and garrison duties, and guard cattle. In battle, they were to pursue the flying enemy, unofficially dispatch the wounded, and round up abandoned livestock. During the uSuthu Rebellion, they were sometimes given a more active role in combat: outflanking the uSuthu and cutting off their retreat as the British troops attacked.

**Tactics, Boer.** See Commando System, Boer.

**Tactics, British Infantry.** In countering highly mobile enemies in small wars, it was necessary for the British army to be able to work in loose skirmishing order, making the most of terrain and natural cover. By the late 1870s, emphasis was placed on attacking in depth, with a battalion deploying two companies as skirmishers, two further companies in line some distance behind in support, and the remaining four companies in line behind them. During the 9th Cape Frontier War, the British employed the extended skirmishing line with supports against the Ngqika and Gcaleka Xhosa in running fire-fights over broken terrain. However, it was equally essential on occasion to concentrate firepower and present a solid line to a rapidly advancing enemy.
At Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu War, the dispersed firing line with no adequate supports could not put up enough firepower to stem the enveloping Zulu mass attack over open ground. After Isandlwana, the British opted for concentration over dispersal, and troops were placed in close order in prepared, all-around defensive positions (whether forts, laagers, or infantry squares) in order to give maximum effect to the concentrated fire of rifles, artillery, and Gatling guns.

During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, the British realized that they were no longer confronted by mass Zulu attacks. Rather, encounters took the form of running skirmishes in which the British attempted to dislodge the Zulu from their mountain strongholds without being outflanked. In these circumstances, the trend toward even more flexible attack formations proved appropriate. While the first line dominated the enemy with its firepower, the second advanced in support, charging through the first at the enemy with the bayonet. The third line either pursued the broken enemy or covered the retreat of the first two if repulsed. The battle of Hlophekhulu was a classic demonstration of these tactics.

TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS. Mounted troops in the Anglo-Zulu War were required for long-range reconnaissance and vedette (sentry) duties, patrolling the lines of communications, and drawing the enemy into range of prepared infantry positions. They were also deployed to strike unexpectedly against Zulu concentrations, destroy their imiZi and provisions, and capture their livestock. Irregular cavalry, operating as mounted infantry, were particularly effective in these duties, but regular cavalry were most useful for shock action with sword and lance when they issued from the prepared infantry position and turned the Zulu withdrawal into a rout. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, all mounted troops, whether regular cavalry, mounted Zululand Police, or irregular cavalry, operated as mounted infantry, scouting and skirmishing and dismounting in action to make more effective use of their firearms. The single instance of cavalry shock action took place at Ceza in June 1888.
**TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.** The tactical unit of the Zulu army was the *iButho*. Zulu battle tactics formalized under King Shaka kaSenzangakhona persisted with little modification up to the Anglo-Zulu War. Once a Zulu army neared the enemy, the single column in which it had been marching normally split into two divisions that continued to advance parallel to and in sight of each other. Bodies of scouts, about 500 strong, preceded each division in extended order by about 10 miles. These small advance guards moved provocatively in the open, sometimes even driving cattle, with the intention of drawing the enemy onto the main army. Once the enemy was located, the Zulu commander, who had been appointed by the king, consulted with his officers. When the decision was taken to engage, the army was drawn up into a circle, or *umKhumbi*, and rituals were performed to prepare for combat. The commander and his staff then took up position on high ground some distance from the battlefield, which allowed them to escape if the battle was lost, and they directed operations from there by runner.

The Zulu conventional tactic dating back to Shaka or before was to outflank and enclose the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting with stabbing spear or clubbed stick. This tactic had been successful against other African armies in the wars of Shaka’s reign, and it continued to be so in the internal strife of the 1st and 2nd Zulu Civil Wars. In the Voortrekker-Zulu War, the Zulu were repeatedly repulsed at the Boer wagon laagers, but they twice defeated the invading whites in the open field. Thus when the British invaded 41 years later in the Anglo-Zulu War, the Zulu believed they could win against whites carrying firearms if they could force them to give battle in the open field outside their defenses. Besides, their tradition as an aggressive, conquering people demanded honorable frontal assault and hand-to-hand combat. Night attacks and ambushes might be resorted to, but the desired battle was by daylight, in the open field.

In executing their standard tactical maneuver, the army was divided into four divisions in a formation likened to an ox. The *isiFuba*, or chest, which consisted of veteran married amaButho, advanced slowly, while the flanking *izimPondo*, or horns, of younger amaButho were rapidly sent out. One horn made a feint, while the other, trying to remain concealed by the terrain, moved with greater speed...
to join the less advanced horn. The chest then charged the surrounded enemy and destroyed him in close combat. The umuVá, or loins, kept seated in reserve, with their backs to the enemy, in order not to be provoked into precipitate action. They supported an engaged iButhó in difficulties, or they pursued the fleeing enemy. A reserve of youths, or a very young, untried iButhó, might be held back to be sent in later for support, pursuit, or rounding up captured cattle.

The Zulu did not advance in a solid mass but came on rapidly in lines of skirmishers several ranks deep, advancing in short rushes and making good use of cover. They only concentrated when about to engage in close combat, hurling their throwing spears or discharging their firearms to distract the foe as they charged. Imbued with their heroic military ethic, each man vied to be first among the enemy, and rival amaButhó, spurred on by the ritual challenges exchanged earlier before the king, contended to gain the honors. See also LOGISTICS, ZULU.

TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU. In the decade following the Anglo-Zulu War, the traditional Zulu tactics of envelopment and close combat seemed unaffected by the disasters of 1879 and were resolutely pursued in the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion. Nevertheless, some familiar elements in the Zulu tactical repertoire began to be given more prominence, particularly by inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, the most innovative Zulu commander of the time. He repeatedly made good use of ambush and surprise, including night marches. He also fielded mounted riflemen (including white mercenaries) to devastating effect against the uSuthu flanks in battle. The uSuthu tried to emulate his tactics, but with less flair and effect. Perhaps because the heroic ethos of the iButho system had faded by the 1880s, all Zulu forces were more prepared than previously to adopt flexible skirmishing tactics, making better use of cover and mobility. A regular feature of operations in the 1880s (as it had been in northwestern Zululand in the Anglo-Zulu War) was the repeated use of natural fastnesses, not only as strongholds to be defended against attack but as secure bases for small parties raiding for cattle and supplies from the surrounding countryside. In the 1880s, the previous tactical unit of the iButhó that numbered up to several thousand
strong was replaced by the iViy0 of no more than 60 men, underlining the real change in the scale of warfare in Zululand since the end of the Anglo-Zulu War.

**TELEGRAPH.** The telegraph line was essential for communication between London and colonial officials, military commanders, and special correspondents in South Africa. In 1878, the nearest points to South Africa of the international telegraph system were in the Cape Verde Islands or Madeira, where the transatlantic cable, which had been laid from Brazil to Europe in 1874, touched land. The weekly mail steamer took at best 16 days between Cape Town and Madeira. Cape Town was linked overland to Durban by telegraph cable in April 1878, and Durban had been connected to Pietermaritzburg since 1864. Telegrams to the Zululand front during the Anglo-Zulu War had to be carried by dispatch rider. In 1879, a cable already existed from London to Bombay via Aden; a few months after the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, a new link was established down the east coast of Africa from Aden via Zanzibar and Delagoa Bay to Durban, thus directly connecting South Africa with London. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion, Pietermaritzburg was connected to Eshowe by telegraph, and from there temporary telegraph lines kept military headquarters in communication. See also MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, BRITISH; ROADS IN ZULU-LAND.

**TETELEKU’S MOUNTED NATIVES.** During the Anglo-Zulu War, Chief Teteleku of the Phumuza people in Colonial Defensive District No. III raised and led a unit of irregular mounted horse that from April 1879 periodically garrisoned various posts in Colonial Defensive District No. I, including the magistracy at Umsinga, the Helpmekaar Fort, and Fort Melvill. It participated in patrols and raids across the border, also in May assisting in the burial of the dead at Isandlwana. A detachment accompanied the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War and then joined Baker Russell’s Column. On 4 September, they were involved in an operation to clear the Kubheka out of their caves in the Ntombe valley and disgraced themselves by butchering the prisoners.
**eTHALENI, BATTLE OF** (1838). After the **Bloukrans Massacre** in February 1838 at the outset of the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, the Voortrekkers in western **Zululand** (numbering about 640 men, 3,200 women and children, and 1,260 colored servants) drew together in **laagers** for protection. In March, they agreed with the settlers at Port Natal (**Durban**) to take joint retaliatory action against the Zulu, and on 6 April the Voortrekkers sent a **commando** (militia) toward **uMgungundlovu**, King **Dingane kaSenzangakhona**’s principal **iKhanda**.

The commando soon divided into two sections because rivalry between the leaders made a single command unacceptable. **Andries Hendrik Potgieter** commanded 200 men and **Petrus (Piet) Lafras Uys** 147. They took no wagons, intending to move fast and surprise the Zulu as they had the **Ndebele** in the 1837 campaign. But the Zulu were fully aware of the commando’s advance and set an ambush on the far side of the Mzinyathi River near the source of the Mhlathuze River and the eThaleni Hill. On 10 April, the commando sighted a herd of **cattle** being driven as a decoy between two hills leading to a rocky basin seamed with deep dongas, and they imprudently gave pursuit. The Zulu force, under the command of **Nzobo kaSobadli**, was several thousand strong, with a division posted on each of the two hills. A third remained at some distance to cut off the commando’s retreat. Uys’s force dismounted and attacked the Zulu division sitting among the rocks on the northernmost of the two hills. The Zulu then deliberately fell back, drawing Uys’s men, who had remounted, into the rocky basin. In their reckless pursuit, the Boers broke into small groups and were attacked on all sides by the Zulu. Meanwhile, Potgieter’s force had moved halfway up the broken terrain of the southern hill and then prudently withdrawn. The Zulu charged down, and Potgieter and his men fled. The third Zulu division tried to cut them off, but Potgieter’s men evaded them. Uys’s force, left in the lurch and surrounded, conducted a fighting retreat for nearly two hours over the broken country, alternately dismounting, firing, and retiring until they eventually joined up with Potgieter’s force.

Uys and his son Dirkie, age 14, died fighting, as did seven other Boers in his party. Only one of Potgieter’s men was killed. The Boers also lost 60 pack **horses** and most of their baggage. Zulu casualties are unknown, but they must have been fairly high, as they were con-
fronting organized Boer fire. The defeat of the Vlugkommando, or Flight Commando as it was derisively dubbed, caused fresh consternation among the Voortrekkers. It also exacerbated dissension in the Boer camp. Potgieter, openly accused of cowardice, withdrew across the Drakensberg with his followers to the highveld. See also COMMANDO SYSTEM, BOER; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

THRING’S POST FORT. In May 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, Captain George Lucas, commander of Colonial Defensive District No. VI, built this earthwork fort as a stronghold for his Border Guard.

THUKELA, BATTLE OF (1838). The Port Natal (Durban) settlers, hoping to repeat the success of their raid of March 1838 at Ntunjambili in support of the Voortrekkers also sending in punitive expeditions against the Zulu during the Voortrekker-Zulu War, mounted a large expedition in April. Robert Biggar, John Cane, and John Stubbs led out 16 white settlers, 30 colored retainers, and 400 African retainers all armed with muskets, as well as several thousand African auxiliaries carrying spears and shields in support. The strategic objectives of this “Grand Army of Natal” were hazy. On reaching the southern banks of the lower Thukela, they decided after rancorous debate to make a sudden foray across the river, even though little intelligence of the situation on the Zulu bank was available. In fact, several amaButho were waiting for them, under the nominal command of umNtwana Mopause kaSenzangakhona and actual leadership of Nongalaza kaNondela and Madlebe kaMgedeza.

The “Grand Army” crossed the Thukela lower drift early on the morning of 17 April and overran and burned Ndondakusuka, a large umuZi. The Zulu army then advanced rapidly from the north in two columns either side of the hill overlooking Ndondakusuka. They surrounded Biggar’s force and cut it off from retreat to the Thukela. Those Port Natalians with muskets made a stand near the umuZi with some success, but when the African auxiliaries found themselves cut off from the musketeers by the Zulu advance, they panicked. To save themselves, they threw off the white calico that distinguished them from the Zulu, who otherwise were similarly dressed and armed. The musketeers could no longer make out who was the enemy, and this
added to the confusion of the fierce hand-to-hand fighting. Biggar, Cane, and all except four of the settlers, two or three coloreds, and a handful of African auxiliaries died where they stood or were herded down to the river to be speared or drowned as they attempted to cross. Zulu losses are unknown, although the musketeers seem at first to have done much execution among the Zulu who charged them.

Several survivors brought word of the disaster to Port Natal, and the settlers were able to take refuge on the Comet, anchored in the bay, before the Zulu army swept down on the settlement on 24 April and sacked it. See also TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

uTHULWANA iBUTHO. King Mpande kaSenzangakhona formed this iButho around 1854 of youths born about 1834. The shield was white with small red spots. In the 2nd Zulu Civil War, it formed part of the uSuthu right horn at Ndondakusuka. In the Anglo-Zulu War, it formed part of the uncommitted reserve at Isandlwana and went on to attack Rorke's Drift. It fought with the chest at Khambula and attacked the southern side of the British infantry square at Ulundi. Elements fought with the uSuthu in the 3rd Zulu Civil War and were part of the uSuthu chest at oNdini.

TLOKWA PEOPLE. See HLUBI’S TROOP (MOUNTED BASUTOS); MOUNTED BASUTOS.

TOLLBOSCHE LAAGER (INGAGANE LAAGER). In early 1878, local settlers began work on a stone laager on Crown Land in what was later designated Colonial Defensive District No. 1. But they could not come to an agreement with the Natal government over terms for tenure and financing. Indignant as a result of the dispute, the settlers abandoned work in late 1878 on the nearly completed laager. The only purpose the laager filled during the Anglo-Zulu War was as a rendezvous in January 1879 for settlers trekking out of the district for the safety of the Transvaal or Orange Free State.

TOWN GUARD, DURBAN. In November 1878, a Town Guard with elected officers was organized in Durban for the defense of the town in case of Zulu attack in the coming Anglo-Zulu War. The pos-
sibility was not taken seriously by the people of Durban until after Isandlwana, when the Town Guard was assigned to defend specified buildings that constituted part of the Durban Town laager. The perceived Zulu threat soon receded, and by early March 1879 the Town Guard stood down, though as a reserve unit it retained its arms until early September.

**TOWN GUARD, LADYSMITH.** In early January 1879, a Town Guard was organized for the defense of the Ladysmith laager during the Anglo-Zulu War. Its complement included townsfolk and members of the Klip River rifle association. The Town Guard and Carbutt’s Rangers who were stationed in Ladysmith were too few to hold the laager, so William James Dunbar Moodie, the resident magistrate, raised a native contingent to supplement the defenders. However, the settlers were suspicious of them and insisted they stay in reserve outside the laager. With the buildup in May of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, for the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, military units entered Ladysmith and the Town Guard became irrelevant, finally standing down in July.

**TOWN GUARD, NEWCASTLE.** In early January 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the citizens of Newcastle formed a Town Guard, but it was not large enough to defend the Newcastle laager. Fort Amiel, on the hill above the town, was initially held only by a few military convalescents, so until February when reinforcements arrived, the Town Guard presented no potential deterrent to the Zulu. All danger of a Zulu incursion had passed by April, when the Town Guard stood down.

**TRANSPORT, BRITISH.** For lack of railways, proper roads, and navigable rivers, the only feasible form of transport for the British in Zululand during the Anglo-Zulu War, 3rd Zulu Civil War, and uSuthu Rebellion was animal drawn. The ox wagon was the preferred type, but it was very slow because oxen required eight hours a day to graze and a further eight to rest. Nevertheless, oxen could carry heavy loads over poor roads more efficiently than other draught animals, though mules were also extensively used, as were horses. In 1879, the British employed as many as 15 different varieties of
wagons and carts. The draught animals and vehicles were obtained from Natal, the Cape, and the Boer republics or as far afield as North Africa and South America. The disadvantage of herding together so many beasts was the spread of contagious diseases that carried off great numbers. Local wagon owners made enormous profits in 1879 selling or leasing them to the military, and wagon drivers and team leaders demanded rates far above the normal for their services. During the Anglo-Zulu War, the British ultimately required a transport establishment of 748 horses, 4,635 mules, 27,125 oxen, 641 horse or mule carriages, 1,770 ox wagons, 796 ox carts, and 4,080 conductors and voorlopers (team leaders).

TRANSPORT CONVOYS, BRITISH. Battalion transport during the British campaigns in Zululand consisted of eight wagons carrying officers’ personal baggage, the men’s accoutrements, reserve ammunition, tents, camping equipment, and rations. Transport was also required for artillery and rocket batteries, engineering and signaling equipment, medical stores, camp kitchens, shoeing smithies, and fodder for cavalry chargers. Transport convoys moved very slowly over the difficult terrain (often no more than three miles a day) and had to halt at regular intervals to establish forward depots for reserve supplies, and to allow wagons to move back and forth between depots and rear supply bases until they were filled. After Isandlwana during the Anglo-Zulu War, wagon trains laagered at every halt, reducing the time on the march by at least an hour a day. Convoys required protection on the march, particularly on the flanks, and forward mounted patrols to give warning of enemy movements. Because a single wagon in full span extended 60 yards, trains of several hundred wagons stretched out dangerously, especially where tracks up steep hills or across rivers and dongas caused bottlenecks. In open country, wagons could move eight abreast, making them easier to escort effectively. See also TRANSPORT, BRITISH.

TRANSVAAL. See SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

TRANSVAAL BURGHER FORCE. On the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, the British tried to recruit Transvaal Boers, but most of them resented the recent British annexation of the Transvaal and did not
come forward. Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood had some success in the Utrecht and Wakkerstroom Districts along the Zulu border where Pieter Lafras Uys Jr. joined No. 4 Column with a force of some 45 local farmers experienced in commando (militia) operations. They played a significant part in patrolling and raiding northwestern Zululand, including the raid of 15 February against the Kubheka in the Ntombe valley. Fighting at Hlobane with Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force, Uys was among the many casualties. Most of the survivors did not remain at Khambula to defend the camp next day but returned after the battle. On 5 April, they elected Adriaan Rudolph as their new commandant, and when Wood’s Flying Column commenced its advance in the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, they remained behind, based at Fort Lawrence to patrol the border area between Balte Spruit and Luneburg. They disbanded in September. In commando fashion, they wore civilian clothes and rode their own horses, though the British military provided firearms and ammunition.

TRANSVAAL TERRITORY. See SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

TSHANENI, BATTLE OF (1884). In May 1884, in the last stages of the 3rd Zulu Civil War, the uSuthu under King Dinuzulu ka-Mpande entered into an agreement with the Boers infiltrating northeastern Zululand whereby the Boers were promised land in return for aid against the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni. In early June, the uSuthu gathered an army of more than 6,000 near the ekusumayeleni umuZi under Dinuzulu’s command. They were joined there by a commando (militia) of 100–120 Boers under Commandant Lukas Johannes Meyer, and by about 20 mounted volunteers from Luneburg under Adolf Schiel, Dinuzulu’s secretary and political adviser.

To avoid falling into an ambush like the uSuthu army had at Mshebe in 1883, the joint force scouted ahead as they pushed eastward through Mandlakazi territory. On the afternoon of 5 June, they reached its furthest extremity, where the Mkhuze River flows through a poort (narrow pass) in the Lubombo Mountains. InKos Zibhebhu kaMaphitha had fallen back there with all his women and children and cattle. To defend them, he had only about 3,000 men and three or four white mercenaries. He placed all the noncombatants and
livestock on a spur north of the Mkhuze River and positioned the bulk of his fighting men on the slopes of Tshaneni Mountain, believing the dense thorn bush would impede the Boer horsemen. The rest of his men he drew up in a deep donga in advance of the Mandlakazi right.

The uSuthu advanced in traditional chest and horns formation, with Schiel’s volunteers supporting the left horn and Meyer’s commando supporting the chest and right horn. While the uSuthu left successfully engaged the Mandlakazi at the donga, the charging Mandlakazi rolled up the uSuthu right horn and forced it back on the chest. The Boers fired fusillades from the saddle over the heads of the wavering uSuthu and drove the Mandlakazi back. The Mandlakazi then gave way, making for the river and their families on the other side, but the uSuthu cut them off, pinned them against the river, and slaughtered them there. Zibhebhu and some of his men made their escape across the river and were joined by those noncombatants who could outpace their pursuers. The Boers suffered no casualties, and the uSuthu losses are unknown. Mandlakazi losses must have been significant, with six of Zibhebhu’s brothers dying in the rout. The victorious uSuthu and Boers captured as many as 60,000 head of cattle. Their victory ensured that their defeated foes could not reestablish themselves in their old territory, and in September Zibhebhu was left with no option but to find sanctuary in the Reserve Territory with 6,000 Mandlakazi. See also BOERS AND THE ZULULAND CAMPAIGN OF 1884; CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; TACTICS IN 1880s, ZULU.

TSHOTSHOSI SKIRMISH (1879). The death while on patrol during the Anglo-Zulu War of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the prince imperial of France, caused considerable consternation. The prince was attached as an additional aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s staff during the 2nd invasion of the war. On 1 June 1879, he joined a patrol of six mounted irregulars and a guide under Lieutenant Jahleel Brenton Carey who were to select a suitable camping ground for the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, along the banks of the Tshotshosi River. The area was believed free of Zulu combatants, and the patrol off-saddled at a deserted umuZi (Zulu homestead) on the riverbank. Meanwhile a Zulu
patrol of 30–60 men spotted the British party from Mhlungwane Hill to the southeast and, moving along a deep donga (dry watercourse) opening into the Tshotshosi, came undetected to within 15 yards of the umuZi. When the guide with the British patrol detected enemy movement, Bonaparte, who was exercising effective command of the patrol, gave the order to move out. The Zulu fired two ragged volleys and charged. The British panicked, threw themselves as best they could into their saddles, and galloped for their lives. Carey made it back to Chelmsford’s camp at Thelezi Hill and reported on the incident. Two troopers, the guide, and Bonaparte were killed by the Zulu. The British found the prince’s body the next day, and his embalmed corpse was returned to England for burial. In March 1880, Major Henry Sparke Stabb erected a memorial stone cross, paid for by Queen Victoria, to mark the spot where Bonaparte had fallen. His death further tarnished Chelmsford’s already sullied military reputation. Carey was court-martialed for his discreditable part in the affair.

TSONGA PEOPLE. To the south and west of the Mabhudu-Tsonga chiefdom, and north of the Hluhluwe and Mkhuzi rivers, were various small Tsonga chiefdoms that had a strong cultural and tributary relationship with the Zulu state. The more southerly of these chiefdoms were expected to assist the Zulu in war as irregulars, since they were not part of the iButho system. As war approached in 1878, the Tsonga, who supplied labor to Natal and were allowed safe passage through Zululand in return for a payment to the king, began leaving Natal for home, though many stayed on in southeastern Zululand to fight for King Cetshwayo kaMpende during the Anglo-Zulu War. Nearly 3,000 Tsonga irregulars fought at Gingindlovu, and some were present at Ulundi.

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ULTIMATUM CRISIS. Sir Bartle Frere, the British high commissioner for South Africa, believed that in order to bring about the confederation of the subcontinent, it was necessary to break the military power of the Zulu kingdom. During the course of 1878, he seized on
minor border incidents in July and October along the Mzinyathi and Thukela rivers and in the Disputed Territory to provide the necessary justification for punitive action. By September, Frere’s naval and military commanders were preparing for war against Zululand. The alternative of taming Zulu power through diplomatic means was never seriously explored because Frere doubted if any verbal Zulu undertaking would be binding unless a British force was maintained on the border to ensure compliance.

Consequently, Frere’s ultimatum to King Cetshwayo kaMpande, which he drafted with the advice of Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne Bulwer, required (among other stipulations) that the Zulu iButho system be abolished and the king submit himself to the authority of a British resident. Since such requirements would have subverted the social, economic, and political structure of the Zulu kingdom, it was never supposed that Cetshwayo would comply without a fight. Sir Michael Edward Hicks Beach, the British colonial secretary, faced with a fresh war in Afghanistan and strained relations with Russia, tried to put on the brakes. But Frere kept his superiors in the dark while he hurried on his plans without their prior sanction. He took this risk because he believed the war would be swift and decisive and that the results would exonerate him.

The Zulu, who previously had tried to maintain good relations with the British as a counterweight to Boer ambitions, could not fathom the change in British policy and the reasons behind their menacing military buildup in the last months of 1878. Cetshwayo made frequent attempts to resolve the crisis, but Frere brushed these aside. On 11 December 1878, Cetshwayo’s representatives were summoned to the Natal side of the Thukela River at the Lower Drift to hear John Wesley Shepstone, the acting secretary for native affairs in Natal, deliver the long-delayed boundary award that was followed and negated by the impossible terms of the ultimatum. Though given 30 days in which to comply, Cetshwayo had no alternative but armed resistance if he were to maintain Zulu independence. He therefore mobilized his armies for the coming Anglo-Zulu War and allowed the ultimatum to expire unanswered.

ULUNDI, BATTLE OF (1879). The British called it the battle of Ulundi, after oNdini, King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s principal
iKhanda, and celebrated it as the engagement that terminated the Anglo-Zulu War. The Zulu referred to it as the battle of kwaNodwengu, after the iKhanda nearest which it was fought, or as oCwecweweni, the battle of the corrugated-iron sheets, because the flash of weapons in the tight British formation gave the impression they were fighting from behind iron shields.

On 29 June 1879, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s combined force of the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and Wood’s Flying Column formed a triple laager on the Mthonjaneni Heights overlooking oNdini and the other amaKhanda clustered in the Mahlabathini Plain below. The Zulu amaButho had been slowly concentrating there over the past month for a last-ditch defense of their kingdom. With only a minimum of baggage, Chelmsford marched down to the south bank of the White Mfolozi, where on 2 July he formed a double laager commanded by Fort Ulundi. Before dawn on 4 July, Chelmsford marched his force of 5,170 men (1,005 of them African) to a favorable position facing the oNdini iKhanda that the White Mfolozi Reconnaissance in Force had identified the previous day.

The British formed an infantry square four ranks deep interspersed with artillery. The Zulu amaButho, 15,000–20,000 men under umNtwana Ziwedu kaMpende, loosely surrounded the square and were drawn onto it by the British irregular horse. Meanwhile, a force of 5,000 Zulu moved toward Fort Ulundi across the White Mfolozi held by 622 troops under the command of Colonel William Bellairs, but they melted away without attacking it, in order to join in the general battle. Unable to break through the concentrated fire to come to grips with the British, and with their reserve advancing out of oNdini in a dense column broken up by artillery fire, the Zulu began to withdraw. The British then unleashed a mounted counterattack conducted by the cavalry, mounted infantry, and irregular horse that, supported by artillery fire, turned the Zulu retreat into a rout.

While the Natal Native Contingent killed the Zulu wounded, the British systematically burned all the amaKhanda in the plain before withdrawing to their camp. The Zulu amaButho, acknowledging that they had been decisively defeated in the open field, dispersed, never to re-form. Cetshwayo fled north, his power irrevocably broken. The British lost 13 killed, the Zulu an estimated 1,500. Distinguished
Conduct Medals went to Color Sergeant J. Phillips, 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment, and Gunner W. Moorhead, Royal Artillery. See also TACTICS, AFRICAN INFANTRY LEVIES; TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

UMLALAZI CAMP. On 23 July 1888 during the usuthu Rebellion, Major Alexander Chalmers McKean formed the Coastal Column at this camp close to the Zululand coast, preparatory to marching north to enforce the submissions of the usuthu.

UMVOTI LAAGER (FORT MIZPAH). Local Boer farmers of Colonial Defensive District No. VII built this square, stone-walled laager with two opposing bastions in late 1878, without receiving any Natal government support. During the Anglo-Zulu War, it was briefly occupied in late January 1879 after Isandlwana, but it was abandoned on 12 February for lack of defenders. It was used again during the Zulu Uprising of 1906 (Bhambatha Rebellion).

UMZINTO LAAGER. This stone-walled laager, commenced in February 1878 on the orders of the Natal government, abutted the magistrate’s office at the village of Umzinto in what was subsequently designated Colonial Defensive District No. V. It was completed by the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War and stocked with rifles and ammunition, but it was never occupied.

UPPER TUGELA DEFENCE CORPS. In December 1878, Boer farmers in Colonial Defensive District No. II close to the Drakensberg formed a local defense corps under elected leaders, with their base at the Strydpoort laager. In late February 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, they were put on the alert for fear of action by the Phuti, who were in rebellion in Basutoland against the Cape authorities, and they patrolled the border with the Weenen Yeomanry. By April, all fears of Zulu or Sotho attack had dissipated and they stood down.

UTRECHT DISTRICT. In the 1820s, the Zulu kingdom extended its sway up the valleys of the Mzinyathi and Ncome rivers, dislodging the Hlubi and Ngwane chiefdoms. Thereafter, the Zulu were the
dominant power in the region and extracted tribute from the people who remained, but Zulu control was never complete over this territory on the periphery of the kingdom. Thus in September 1854, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona was prepared to cede the wedge of land between the Mzinyathi and Ncome rivers to Boer settlers, who set up their insecure Utrecht Republic. On 6 November 1859, the Utrecht Republic submerged itself into the South African Republic as the Utrecht District. As the Utrecht settlement grew, so the Boers sought to extend their land claims east into Zululand, and this was the genesis of the Disputed Territory. At the time of the Anglo-Zulu War, there were 248 whites in the little village of Utrecht and 1,352 in the district as a whole, of whom 375 were men of military age. On 27 January 1903, following the British defeat of the South African Republic in the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, the Utrecht District was annexed to the Colony of Natal.

**UTRECHT FORT.** In December 1877, preparatory to operations against the Pedi in the northeastern Transvaal Territory, men of the 80th Regiment (Staffordshire Volunteers) built a military earthwork fort in the village of Utrecht next to the existing Utrecht laager. Its perimeter protected a number of commissariat sheds. Throughout the Anglo-Zulu War, the fort protected the main depot from which No. 4 Column and subsequently Wood’s Flying Column drew their supplies.

**UTRECHT LAAGER.** A decrepit, stone-walled settlers’ laager existed in the village of Utrecht on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, adjoining the Utrecht Fort. In December 1878, the local settlers made clear that they were not prepared to defend it should the Zulu make a raid.

**UTRECHT, VILLAGE OF.** See Utrecht District.

**UYS, PETRUS (PIET) LAFRAS, JR. (1827–1879).** Uys was a son of the Voortrekker leader Petrus Lafras Uys Sr. The Uys family acquired farms in the Republic of Natalia, but after the British annexation of Natal, Piet Uys was among those who in 1847 settled in what became the Utrecht District of the South African Republic. On the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn...
Wood, whose No. 4 Column was based at Utrecht, tried to raise a burgher force from the Boers of the district. Most remained resentful of the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, and only Uys, his family, and associates came forward. He was motivated by the vulnerability of his border farms, his desire for revenge against the Zulu for the death of his father and brother Dirkie Uys at eThaleni in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, and his desire to acquire land in the Disputed Territory. He and his Transvaal Burgher Force proved very effective in scouting and raiding. They formed part of Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force raiding Hlobane Mountain on 28 March 1879. During the rout, Uys was killed at the bottom of Devil’s Pass. Dismayed, his men abandoned the British camp at Khambula before the Zulu assault the following day.

UYS, PETRUS (PIET) LAFRAS, SR. (1797–1838). A prosperous farmer from the Uitenhage District of the Eastern Cape, Uys gained a military reputation on the volatile Cape frontier and was chosen in 1834 to lead a kommissietrek, or scouting mission, to Port Natal (Durban) to ascertain whether the region was suitable for farming. His favorable report persuaded many of his neighbors to join his party of Voortrekkers, which set out for the interior in April 1836. In November 1837, Uys responded to a request by Andries Hendrik Potgieter to aid him with a commando (militia) in defeating the Ndebele. Uys was jealous of Pieter Retief and skeptical of his judgment in negotiating with King Dingane kaSenzangakhona, so he did not move his party over the Drakensberg to join him. However, after the Bloukrans Massacre in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, Uys brought a commando to the survivors’ aid. Because he would not subordinate himself to Potgieter, who had also brought a commando down from the highveld, Uys agreed in April to joint command of the Vlugkommando, which was ambushed at eThaleni. When Uys was mortally wounded, his 14-year-old son, Dirkie Uys, rode back to save him and was killed at his side.

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uVE iBUTHO. King Cetshwayo kaMpande formed this iButho around 1875 from youths born about 1854–1855. The shield was
either black or brown. On the eve of the **Anglo-Zulu War**, it was incorporated into the iNgobamakhosi iButho. During the war, it fought on the left of the Zulu center at Isandlwana. Elements were detached from the main Zulu army marching on Khambula to intervene at Hlobane. At Khambula, it fought on the Zulu right horn with the iNgobamakhosi, where their premature attack upset Zulu strategy. At Ulundi, it came closest to breaking through the British infantry square at its southwest corner.

**VEGLAER (VECHTLAAGER), BATTLE OF (1838).** During the **Voortrekker-Zulu War**, the Zulu were encouraged by their victories in April 1838 at eThaleni and Thukela. They took the offensive in August 1838 in a campaign designed to destroy the Voortrekker invaders once and for all. Under the command of Ndlela kaSompisi, about 10,000 of the more experienced amaButho marched from uMngundlovu toward the Boer laager, the Gatslaer, on a low ridge called the Gatsrand in the valley of the Bushman’s River. There a number of Boer parties had come together for mutual protection under **Johan Hendrik (Hans Dons) de Lange**. The Gatslaer was shaped in a rough triangle and consisted of a double line of 290 wagons, lashed together, with small cannon at the apex. It enjoyed a generally good field of fire, but dongas (dry watercourses) to the east and west offered cover to assailants. Because the Boers had dug trous-de-loup (pits) to entrap an enemy crossing the river on the southeastern side of the laager, the Zulu would call the battle emaGebeni, or Place of the Pits.

The Zulu hoped to take the laager by surprise, but on 13 August, herd boys caught sight of the Zulu scouts and there was time for the Boers to prepare. The noncombatants took cover in a spear-proof shelter made of wagons and boards in the middle of the laager. One division of the Zulu forded the Bushman’s River below the laager; the rest advanced directly from the east and swung around to the west, encircling the laager. The Zulu attacked in waves, probing one point of the defenses after another. A few Zulu carried firearms captured in previous engagements and kept up a constant fire. The Boers, who numbered only about 75 fighting men, with some women dealing out powder and bullets, had to move repeatedly to reinforce the sectors of the perimeter under attack, but they managed to maintain an impenetrable wall of fire. The Zulu attack faltered at midday, and
de Lange led out a mounted sortie. The Zulu withdrew downstream and encamped for the night.

Early on 14 August, de Lange made a mounted sortie and drew the Zulu into the laager’s zone of fire. The Zulu retreated, having failed to set the laager alight with burning grass plaited around hurled spears. But they rounded up all the Boers’ cattle and other livestock and drove them east into Zululand. That night, the Boers again stood to arms, but the Zulu did not attack. On 15 August, the Zulu decided to withdraw without renewing the assault. The Boers attempted to harry their retreat, but their horses were too weak for lack of fodder inside the laager to carry up the pursuit for long. Not a single defender of the laager was killed, and Zulu losses are unknown.

The battle of Veglaer or Vechtlager (fight laager), as the Boers called it, confirmed that the all-around defensive position was the key to success over the Zulu. As for the Zulu, the laager’s successful defense had baffled their every effort and they fell back on the defensive, awaiting the next move by the Boers. See also COMMANDO SYSTEM, BOER; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**VERULAM LAAGER.** In September 1878, this brick-walled laager encompassing the jail and courthouse in the village of Verulam in what would be designated Colonial Defensive District No. VI was commenced on the orders of the Natal government. It was to be defended by the Verulam Defence Guard. Despite some alarms after Isandlwana, the laager was never manned during the Anglo-Zulu War.

**VICTORIA CROSS.** See AWARDS.

**VICTORIA MOUNTED RIFLES.** Formed in 1862, the Victoria Mounted Rifles was one of the 10 corps of Natal Mounted Volunteers called out in November 1878 for active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. It was mobilized in December 1878 and joined No. 1 Column at Fort Pearson. It advanced into Zululand with the column and fought at Nyezane as part of the 1st Division. On 28 January, it returned from Fort Eshowe to Natal with the other mounted forces of the column. Until the corps of 50 men was mustered out in
July, it served by patrolling the border along the lines of communication. The uniform was of dark blue cloth, with scarlet braid edging and piping and with broad scarlet trouser stripes. The helmet was white with a white metal spike.

VILLIERS, THE HON. GEORGE PATRICK HYDE (1847–1892). Commissioned into the Grenadier Guards in 1867, Villiers performed staff duties in England and India and served in the 2nd Afghan War (1878) before arriving in South Africa in May 1879 as a lieutenant-colonel on special service to serve in the Anglo-Zulu War with the 2nd Division, South African Field Force. In August 1879, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley appointed him special commissioner to inKosi Hamu kaNzibe with orders to cooperate with Baker Russell’s Column in the pacification of northwestern Zululand. Villiers’s Column advanced from Derby to Luneburg and was broken up on 8 September. The following day, Wolseley appointed Villiers to chair a boundary commission to demarcate the 13 chiefdoms created in the 1st Partition of Zululand. Villiers submitted his final report in December 1879 and left Zululand to become military attaché successively in St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. In 1889, he was given the command of the 1st Battalion, Grenadier Guards.

VILLIERS’ COLUMN. While Baker Russell’s Column was at Fort George during late August 1879 in the final stage of the Anglo-Zulu War, General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley ordered Lieutenant-Colonel George Patrick Hyde Villiers to advance from Derby with a motley force of 300 Mounted Burghers and 700 Ngenetsheni and Swazi allies to catch the Zulu of northwestern Zululand between the two columns and enforce their submission. Villiers’s African troops had little stomach for military action and fortunately met no resistance before they reached Luneburg on 25 August. They were keen for loot and comprehensively devastated the countryside between the Phongolo and Bivane rivers. On 8 September, Wolseley broke up the ill-disciplined force, whose pillaging had played some part in convincing the Kubheka of the Ntombe valley finally to submit.

iviyo. See iBUTHO, STRUCTURE AND SIZE OF.
VLUGKOMMANDO. The Vlugkommando, or Flight Commando, was the derisive name given to the Boer commando (militia) under Andries Hendrik Potgieter and Petrus (Piet) Lafras Uys Sr. that the Zulu ambushed and routed on 10 April 1838 at eThaleni during the Voortrekker-Zulu War.

VOORTREKKER. See GREAT TREK.

VOORTREKKER-ZULU WAR (1838-1839). On 3 February 1838, Pieter Retief and his commando (militia) arrived at the umGungundlovu iKhanda to negotiate a treaty with King Dingane kaSenzangakhona to permit his party of Voortrekkers to settle in his kingdom. Dingane greatly feared the intruders with their firearms and horses and was persuaded by his advisers that he must destroy them while he still could. So on 6 February, he ordered the execution of Retief and his men, an act that the Boers never forgave. In the Bloukrans Massacre on 16–17 February, the Zulu army overran many Voortrekker encampments in the foothills of the Drakensberg (the region later known as Weenen, or Weeping) before being driven off. In March, the Voortrekkers and Port Natal (Durban) settlers agreed on a joint offensive against Dingane. A commando (later known as the Vlugkommando) led by Petrus Lafras Uys Sr. and Andries Hendrik Potgieter advanced toward umGungundlovu, but the Zulu under Nzobo kaSobadli ambushed and defeated them on 10 April at eThaleni in central Zululand. Seven days later, the Zulu under umNtwana Mpaende kaSenzangakhona routed the “Grand Army of Natal” under Robert Biggar at the Thukela, and the Zulu army went on to sack Port Natal between 24 April and 3 May, while the settlers took refuge on the Clyde in the bay. Determined to finish off the white invaders, between 13 and 15 August the main Zulu army under inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi repeatedly attacked the Voortrekkers in the Gatslaer under Johan Hendrik (Hans Dons) de Lange. They finally retired defeated in what came to be known as the battle of Veglaer, unable to storm a prepared position defended by gunfire.

The Boers now counterattacked, and on 27 November the Wenkommando under Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius (whom the Boers had elected their chief commandant) began its advance toward umGungundlovu from the Sooilaer laager near Loskop on
the Little Thukela River. It was joined on 3 December by the Port Natal contingent. On 9 December, the Voortrekkers made a covenant with God at Danskraal on the Wasbankspruit in return for victory over the Zulu. The laagered Wenkommando routed the main Zulu army under Ndlela and Nzobo at Ncome on 16 December. Continuing its advance into Zululand, on 26 December the Wenkommando encamped on the Mthonjaneni Heights above the valley of the White Mfolozi River. The next day, a commando under Karel Pieter Landman and Port Natal forces under Alexander Biggar raided the valley and were ambushed and routed by the Zulu. On 28 December, the commando burned three amaKhanda in the emaKhosini valley. On 1 January 1839, they captured 5,000 cattle. The following day, the Wenkommando withdrew to the Sooilaer laager, which it reached on 8 January, and the campaign ended. On 25 March, the Voortrekkers concluded a peace with Dingane and began settling south of the Thukela River in the Republic of Natalia, while the Zulu king tried to restore his kingdom’s fortunes to the north at the expense of the Swazi kingdom. See also RECONCILIATION, DAY OF.

**VOS’S NATIVES.** This small force of African levies (troops) raised in the Transvaal during the Anglo-Zulu War served with No. 5 Column. They took part in the raid of 15 February against the abaQulusi on Talaku Mountain. When No. 5 Column was attached in late February to Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s command, Vos’s Natives apparently were incorporated into Wood’s Irregulars.

**VRYHEID.** On 13 August, the volksraad (legislature) of the New Republic resolved to establish a capital for their new state. On 23 September, the name Vryheid, or Freedom, was adopted, reflecting the Boers’ aspiration for self-government. The tiny village was laid out southwest of Zungwini Mountain in the typical grid pattern adopted by the Boers wherever they settled. See also PIETERMARITZBURG.

**ekuVUKENI iBUTHO.** InKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha raised this iButho of Mandlakazi in his chiefdom after the 1st Partition of Zululand, in resumption of the prerogative of the great amaKhosi who preceded Shaka. Zibhebhu named it after one of his principal imiZi.
It participated in the victories at Msebe and oNdini during the 3rd Zulu Civil War but was defeated at Tshaneni. During the uSuthu Rebellion, it formed the Mandlakazi left horn at Ivuna and was routed. See also ekuVUKENI umuZi.

**ekuVUKENI umuZi.** On 20 July 1883, threatened by uSuthu advances on all sides during the 3rd Zulu Civil War, inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha mustered his forces at ekuVukeni, his umuZi on the eastern slope of the Nongoma ridge in the southwest of his chiefdom, for his successful preemptive strike at oNdini. On 14 December 1883, the uSuthu concentrated at ekuShumayeleni for an attack on ekuVukeni, but Zibhebhu forestalled them with another preemptive strike.

**VUMANDABA kaNTATI (c. 1818–1883).** Enrolled in the uMkhulu-lutshane *iButho*, Vumandaba likely took part in the Voortrekker-Zulu War. During the reign of King Mpande kaSenzangakhona, he became a trusted *iNceku* (personal attendant) of the king. He stayed aloof in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, and King Cetshwayo kaMpande confirmed him as *iNceku* on his accession in 1873. Vumandaba was prominent in the Zulu delegation that heard the British ultimatum on 11 December 1878. As the senior *iNduna* (officer) of the *uMcijo iButho* he fought at Isandlwana. After the 2nd Partition of Zululand, he rallied to the uSuthu cause. In the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he was killed in the rout at oNdini.

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**WAAIHOEK, TREATY OF.** See DISPUTED TERRITORY.

**WAGON.** See OX WAGON.

**WAKKERSTROOM DISTRICT.** The Wakkerstroom District of the South African Republic lay north of the Utrecht District, abutting the Zulu kingdom and the Swazi kingdom. It was first settled by whites in 1853, and only by 1859 did it have enough settlers to
be proclaimed a district. Thereafter it steadily attracted immigrants because it was the healthiest district for horses and was excellent for wool farming.

**WEATHERLEY’S BORDER HORSE.** In late 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Augustus Weatherley (1830–1879) began recruiting volunteers in the Transvaal for a unit of 60 mounted irregulars (initially called Weatherley’s Border Lances) to fight in the Anglo-Zulu War. In early February 1879, a troop joined No. 5 Column. When No. 5 Column fell under Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood’s command later that month, Weatherley’s troop joined No. 4 Column at Khambula. They fought at Hlobane with Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force, and Weatherley (along with his 14-year-old son Rupert) was among the killed. The survivors fought at Khambula next day, but shortly afterward they left the camp for Pretoria and disbanded. The uniform seems to have been of corduroy with a red sash and a white hat.

**WEENEN CONTINGENT.** In April 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Border Guard in Colonial Defensive District No. I was reinforced by the Weenen Contingent from District II. The contingent was made up of reassembled members of the 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent (NNC), which had been disbanded after Isandlwana, and of the reassigned Newcastle Scouts. It was mustered in traditional African fashion and no longer organized along standard British military lines as the NNC had been, but its morale remained poor.

**WEENEN MASSACRE.** See BLOUKRANS MASSACRE.

**WEENEN YEOMANRY.** A small Natal Mounted Volunteer unit formed in 1876 from among English-speaking settlers in Weenen County (later Colonial Defensive District No. II), the Weenen Yeomanry had its headquarters at Weston. In February 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, it was called upon to patrol the border with Basutoland in conjunction with the Upper Tugela Defense Corps. It mustered out in July 1879 and ceased to exist.
WELSH REGIMENT, 1ST BATTALION. Formerly the 41st Regiment until renamed in 1881 as a result of the Childers Reforms, the battalion was ordered out to South Africa in 1881 to reinforce the Natal Field Force in the last stages of the 1st Boer War. It then formed part of the Natal garrison until 1886. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, five companies (one of which was mustered as mounted infantry) formed part of the Etshowe Column in September 1883 and were stationed at Fort Curtis. By September 1884, this force was reduced to two companies that remained as part of the garrison of the Reserve Territory until May 1886.

WENKOMMANDO. The Wenkommando, or Winning Commando, was the name given to the Boer commando (militia) led by Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius that defeated the Zulu at the battle of Ncome on 16 December 1838 during the Voortrekker-Zulu War. It withdrew after its setback in the battle of the White Mfolozi on 27 December.

WESTERN VLEI REDOUT. In the panic after Isandlwana, the Durban laager was fortified against possible Zulu attack during the Anglo-Zulu War. The northern approaches to the town were guarded by the Durban Redoubt, and the eastern and southern approaches were protected by the sea, but there was no fortification to defend the western approaches. Accordingly, on 5 February 1879, a gang of convicts built a redoubt on rising ground overlooking the Western Vlei, where guns or troops could be positioned if the need arose. It never did.

WESTON. In February 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, St. John’s Church at Weston in Colonial Defensive District No. II was designated a defense post for local settlers. Plans were made to loophole the walls and erect a sod enclosure if an emergency arose, and arms and ammunition were stored there. It never became necessary to erect the planned defenses.

WHITE MFOLOZI, BATTLE OF (1838). After its victory at Ncome in the Voortrekker-Zulu War, the Wenkommando pushed deeper into Zululand, one of the objectives of its punitive expedi-
tion being to recover the livestock previously captured from the Boers by the Zulu. On Christmas Day 1838, the Boers seized an apparent Zulu spy, Bhongoza kaMefu, near their laager at uMgungundlovu. He was in fact a decoy and persuaded the Boers that all of King Dingane kaSenzangakhona’s cattle were in the valley of the White Mfolozi River to the north. Accordingly, on 26 December the Boers moved their camp to the Mthonjaneni Heights overlooking the river and the Mahlabathini Plain. On 27 December, Bhongoza guided about 300 mounted Boers under Karel Pieter Landman, as well as about 70 Port Natal (Durban) Africans on foot under Alexander Biggar, down into the valley close to where the uPhathe stream flows into the White Mfolozi through a rocky kloof (ravine). The Boers mistook Zulu creeping among the rocks and bushes with shields on their backs for cattle, and they were taken by surprise when on a signal the Zulu attacked them from all sides. Landman wanted to make a stand, but Johan Hendrik (Hans Dons) de Lange persuaded him that the only feasible course was to break out onto the open ground across the river. The Zulu did not press home their attack, and the mounted Boers fell back west across the Mahlabathini Plain, alternately firing and retiring, followed by the straggling Port Natal contingent.

When the Boers reached the White Mfolozi again, where the Mkhumbane stream flows into it from the south, they tried to cross but were ambushed by an iButho lying in wait for them. Four Boers were killed, as were Alexander Biggar and almost the entire Port Natal contingent. The mounted Boers broke through and were closely pursued until they regained their camp 14 miles away. Zulu losses are unknown, but the Boers quite unrealistically claimed they had killed 1,000.

Their setback persuaded the Boers that they had achieved all they could on their punitive expedition, and the Wenkommando withdrew early in the new year. The Zulu gained some consolation from their success, but they realized only a stalemate had been achieved and that it was necessary to negotiate a peace with the Voortrekkers. See also COMMANDO SYSTEM, BOER; TACTICS, AFRICAN INfantry LEVIES; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

**WHITE MFOLOZI CAMP.** See FORT ULUNDI.
WHITE MFOLOZI RECONNAISSANCE IN FORCE (1879). During the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, about 500 mounted troops of **Wood’s Flying Column** under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller crossed the White Mfolozi River on 3 July 1879 to reconnoiter a suitable position to fight the subsequent battle of **Ulundi** in the **Mahlabathini Plain**. They were lured forward by mounted Zulu scouts and fell into an ambush of several thousand Zulu that inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha had skillfully laid between the kwaNodwengu and oNdini amaKhanda. Buller’s men only narrowly extricated themselves with support from covering artillery and infantry fire from **Fort Ulundi** and the British double laager on the south side of the river. Three British troopers were killed, and there were many considerable acts of bravery in rescuing men who were unhorsed or wounded. The Victoria Cross was awarded to Captain Lord William Leslie de la Poer Beresford, 9th Lancers, and Commandant Henry Cecil Dudgeon D’Arcy and Sergeant Edmund O’Toole of the **Frontier Light Horse**. The Distinguished Conduct Medal went to Sergeant-Major Simeon Kambule, **Edendale Horse**. See also TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

WILLIAMSTOWN LAAGER. On the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War, the jail in the little settlement of Williamstown in **Colonial Defensive District** No. VI began to be fortified on the orders of the Natal government as a place of refuge for local settlers. A laager was completed by March 1879. A small number of arms and ammunition were stored there, but the post was never occupied.

WOLF HILL. When advancing from Khambula during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, to effect a junction with the 2nd Division, **South African Field Force**, Wood’s Flying Column threw up entrenchments when it encamped at Wolf Hill between 12 and 25 May 1879.

WOLF TRAP FORT. In March 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War, the Ixopo Native Contingent from **Colonial Defensive District** No. IV in the south of Natal arrived in District VII to reinforce the troops guarding the Natal border with Zululand. In May, to defend their
camp, they built the stone-walled Wolf Trap Fort (in local parlance, a “wolf” is actually a hyena). They occupied the fort until 26 August, when they returned home.

**WOLSELEY, SIR GARNET JOSEPH (1833–1913).** Wolseley entered the army in 1852 and saw service in the 2nd Anglo-Burmese War (1852–1853), Crimean War (1855–1856), Indian Mutiny (1857–1858), and 2nd China (Opium) War (1860–1861). He suffered many wounds, but his military reputation was secured. He led the Red River Expedition in Canada (1870) and was knighted. He commanded in the 2nd Asante War (1873–1874) that was regarded as a model campaign, and he was promoted to major-general. His hand-picked staff officers, known as the Ashanti Ring or Wolseley Ring, formed a group in the British army that supported him over issues of army reform. In 1875, he was appointed administrator of Natal to forward the cause of confederation in South Africa. In 1878, he was promoted to lieutenant-general and appointed high commissioner and governor-general of Cyprus. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Wolseley was sent out in May 1879 on special service as high commissioner in southeastern Africa, governor of Natal and the Transvaal, and commander-in-chief of the forces in South Africa with the local rank of general. He arrived too late for the battle of Ulundi but sent in columns to pacify Zululand in July–September. His expedient 1st Partition of Zululand proved a recipe for civil war.

In December 1879, Wolseley brought the war against the Pedi in the Transvaal to a successful conclusion. He commanded in the Egyptian campaign of 1882, was promoted to full general, and was created Baron Wolseley of Cairo. He next commanded the Gordon Relief Expedition (1884–1885), in which he did not enjoy the success of his previous campaigns. He was elevated to Viscount Wolseley in 1885. Throughout his career, and in his many staff appointments, Wolseley pursued the reform of the British army. In 1894, he was created field marshal, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army the following year, but his health was in sad decline and he retired in 1900.

**WOLSELEY’S ZULULAND SETTLEMENT.** See ZULULAND, 1ST PARTITION OF.
WOMEN, BOER. See BLOUKRANS MASSACRE; DRESS, BOER WOMEN; LAAGER, BOER WAGON; MEDICAL ATTENTION, BOER; eTHALENI, BATTLE OF; VEGLAER, BATTLE OF.

WOMEN, NATAL SETTLER. See FORT NAPIER; POINT LAAGER.

WOMEN, ZULU. See iBUTHO SYSTEM DURING THE ZULU KINGDOM; CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND; inDLU; DRESS, ZULU WOMEN; inGXOTA; iKHANDA; LOGISTICS, ZULU; MAQONGQO HIILS, BATTLE OF; NDABUKO kamPANDE; NDONDAKUSUKA, BATTLE OF; NONKWENKWEZIYEZULU STRONGHOLD; NTunjambili, RAID AT; POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ZULU; QUARTER IN BATTLE; RITUAL PREPARATION FOR WAR, ZULU; TSHANENI, BATTLE OF; umuZI.

WOOD, SIR HENRY EVELYN (1838–1919). Commissioned in 1852 into the Royal Navy, Wood saw service in the Crimean War (1854–1856) before transferring into the army in 1855. He fought in the Indian Mutiny (1858–1860) and in 1859 was awarded the Victoria Cross. He attended Staff College in 1863. He served next in the 2nd Asante War (1873–1874), was made brevet colonel, and became a member of the Ashanti Ring, a group of officers supporting General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley. In 1878, Wood commanded a column in the 9th Cape Frontier War. He was on special service as a brevet colonel in command of No. 4 Column during the 1st Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War when his forces skirmished actively with the Zulu in northwestern Zululand. His crucial victory over the main Zulu army at Khambula effaced his significant defeat at Hlobane the previous day. During the 2nd Invasion of the war, he commanded Wood’s Flying Column with the local rank of brigadier-general and was present at Ulundi. He was knighted at the end of the war. In February 1881, he took command in the last stages of the 1st Boer War with the local rank of major-general and reluctantly concluded a peace in March on the instructions of the Liberal government. While acting high commissioner for South Africa in 1881, he presided over the meeting at Nhlezatshe Mountain that upheld the 1st Partition
of Zululand. He was confirmed as major-general in 1881. In 1882, he served in the Egyptian campaign and was appointed sirdar of the Egyptian army, resigning in 1885. He then held home commands and was promoted to general in 1895. He was adjutant-general at the Horse Guards from 1897 until his retirement in 1901. He was created field marshal in 1903.

WOOD’S FLYING COLUMN. On 13 April 1879, Brigadier-General Henry Evelyn Wood’s forces at Khambula (3,200) were restyled Wood’s Flying Column, which was to cooperate with the 2nd Division, South African Field Force, in its advance on the oNdini iKhanda from the northwest. Wood began his movement on 5 May by way of Wolf Hill and Munhla Hill and effected his junction with the 2nd Division on 3 June at the Tshotshosi River. On 5 June, mounted men of the Flying Column and the 2nd Division encountered the Zulu in a skirmish at Zungeni Mountain. The joint column halted from 7 to 17 June at the Ntinini River to bring up supplies and sent out extensive patrols to clear the area of Zulu. The joint advance resumed on 18 June. On 20 and 24 June, the Flying Column sent out mounted patrols to skirmish with the Zulu. On 26 June, Wood led a strong patrol into the emaKhosini valley and destroyed nine amaKhandha. On 2 July, the joint column formed a double laager and built Fort Ulundi on the south bank of the White Mfolozi. The next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller led the White Mfolozi Reconnaissance in Force into the Mahlabathini Plain. The force, consisting of mounted men of Wood’s Flying Column, narrowly escaped from a Zulu ambush.

The Flying Column formed the advance portion of the infantry square at the battle of Ulundi on 4 July, and its mounted men charged out of the front of the square during the pursuit. After the battle, the Flying Column remained on Mthonjaneni between 6 and 8 July while Buller raided south to kwaMagwaza. On 9 July, it started retiring to St. Paul’s, where General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley broke it up on 31 July. Those units required for the final pacification of Zululand became Baker Russell’s Column.

WOOD’S IRREGULARS. In late 1878, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford authorized the raising of African levies (troops) in the
Transvaal for No. 4 Column and for them to be maintained like other imperial troops. For the most part, the levies, many of them of Swazi origin, were labor tenants on white farms pressed into service by the landdroste (magistrates) of the Wakkerstroom and Utrecht Districts. Two battalions of about 700 men under white officers were formed and were organized along less formal lines than was the Natal Native Contingent. The 1st Battalion served with Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller’s force at Hlobane, and the 2nd Battalion with Lieutenant-Colonel John Cecil Russell’s, both suffering heavy casualties. The contingent of umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe’s Ngenetsheni, who had defected to the British in March and joined Wood’s Irregulars, was also with Russell’s force. Wood’s Irregulars were indifferent at the way in which the white troops had abandoned them during the rout, and most defected, leaving only a handful to fight at Kambula. Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood succeeded in reassembling some of the unit and it marched with Wood’s Flying Column during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, fighting at Ulundi. The Irregulars then dispersed.

Many of Wood’s Irregulars wore full Swazi war panoply and retained their elaborate headdresses in battle. They carried shields and spears, and 10 men per company received percussion firearms. All wore a strip of colored cloth around the head or upper arm to differentiate them from the Zulu. The Wakkerstroom men’s cloth was red and white, the Utrecht men’s blue and white, and the Ngenetsheni’s red or yellow. See also FAIRLIE’S SWAZI.

WOOD’S SCOUTS. In November 1878, Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood recruited African scouts from the Luneburg district and allocated six men to each company of the 90th Regiment (Perthshire Volunteers Light Infantry) to perform outpost duties. They served with the regiment until the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, first in No. 4 Column, and then in Wood’s Flying Column.

– X –

ekuXEDINI umuZI. This umuZi of inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was strategically placed 10 miles east of his ekuVukeni umuZi in
the southwest of this chiefdom. He regularly mustered his forces here during the 3rd Zulu Civil War for operations against the uSuthu.

XHOSA PEOPLE. See CAPE FRONTIER WARS.

– Z –

imiZI. See umuZi.

umuZI. Tens of thousands of scattered imiZi, or homesteads, each looking like a tiny village, dotted the Zulu countryside. Self-sufficient and supported by its own grazing and agricultural land, each umuZi was the home of an umNumzane, or married headman, and his wives and their children. A headman usually had two or three wives, but a man of wealth and status might have as many as a dozen. Every umuZi was circular and built on sloping ground for drainage, with the main entrance at the bottom of the incline. The izinDlu, or huts, which should be seen as separate rooms in a single home, were arranged hierarchically in a crescent, with the Dlu of the chief wife at the top and the others dropping progressively in status, so those of retainers or dependents were nearest the entrance.

The izinDlu surrounded the isiBaya, a kraal or cattle-fold, with its protective palisade, where the amaDlozi, or ancestral shades, were believed to dwell and where sacrifice was made to them. Deep pits with funnel-shaped mouths were dug in the isiBaya to store grain and seed-corn during winter, and to conceal them from raiders. The storage huts for beer, vegetables, and grain were usually built between the izinDlu and the outer palisade surrounding the entire umuZi.

On the death of an umNumzane, his umuZi would break up, or segment, and each of his sons would have the right to establish his own umuZi. In practice, though, during the time of the Zulu kingdom, the iButho system regulated the creation of new imiZi through the control of the process of marriage. These imiZi were the basis of Zulu social and economic life, and the basic objective of the iButho system was to extract male and female labor from them, as well as food, for the benefit of the Zulu state. In time of war, these imiZi, constructed of combustible materials, were very vulnerable to the looting of their
grain stores and livestock, and they were easily burned by armies intending to defeat their inhabitants or drive them away. See also CATTLE, ZULU; CIVILIANS IN WARTIME ZULULAND.

**ZIBHEBHU kaMAPHITHA (c. 1841–1904).** Enrolled in the **uMxhapho iButho**, Zibhebhu succeeded in 1872 as the **iNkosini** of the **Mandlakazi** people. He supported his cousin, **umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande**, in the 2nd Zulu Civil War but subsequently exerted his regional authority to flout royal control and forged strong trading contacts with the colonial world. He advised against war with Britain but nevertheless fought throughout the **Anglo-Zulu War**. The senior **iNduna** (officer) of the **uDloko iButho**, he was wounded at **Isandlwana** and was one of the junior commanders at **Khambula**. He commanded the mounted scouts who drew the British **White Mfolozi reconnaissance in force** into an ambush.

Zibhebhu submitted to the British on 26 August 1879 and was appointed one of the 13 chiefs in the 1st Partition of **Zululand**. Thereafter he collaborated with the British to suppress the aspirations of the deposed royal house. In the 2nd Partition, he received an enlarged territory in northeastern Zululand as a counterweight to King **Cetshwayo kaMpande**’s restored territory in central Zululand. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, Zibhebhu used his innovative military skills to defeat the **uSuthu** at **Msebe** and finally crush them at **oNdini**. Following these victories, Zibhebhu ravaged uSuthu territory. In 1884, King **Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo**, in alliance with the Boers, defeated Zibhebhu at **Tshaneni** and forced him to take refuge with his people in the **Reserve Territory**.

Following their annexation of the Colony of Zululand, in November 1887 the British restored Zibhebhu to his chiefdom. In January 1888, the resident magistrate of the Ndwandwe District of the British Colony of Zululand, **Richard Hallowes Addison**, assigned Zibhebhu and his Mandlakazi a greatly enlarged location to cow the neighboring uSuthu. Addison assisted Zibhebhu in evicting 5,000 uSuthu living within the new boundaries, and despite a reduction of the size of the location in April 1888, this action greatly embittered the uSuthu and contributed materially to the outbreak of the **uSuthu Rebellion**. Zibhebhu supported the British forces, but Dinuzulu surprised and routed him at **Ivuna**. With the suppression of the rebellion, the British finally accepted that their ally Zibhebhu was a
threat to the future peace of Zululand. In 1889, he and his followers were resettled in southern Zululand. In 1898, the colonial authorities allowed Zibhebhu to return to his old chiefdom as part of a general settlement of the warring Zulu factions. See also BOERS AND THE ZULULAND CAMPAIGN OF 1884; BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND.

**ZIWEDU kaMpanDE (c. 1834–?).** Enrolled in the uThulwana iButho, umNtwana Zi wedu was King Cetshwayo kaMpande’s favorite half-brother and second in status among the abaNtwana only to Hamu kaNzibe. During the Anglo-Zulu War, Zi wedu was the senior Zulu commander at Ulundi and surrendered to the British on 16 August 1879. He was placed under iNkosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha in the 1st Partition of Zululand and was active in promoting Cetshwayo’s restoration. During the 3rd Zulu Civil War, he joined in the uSuthu offensive against Hamu. After the uSuthu defeat at oNdini, he continued the struggle against the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni from the Nkandla Forest until 1884. During the uSuthu Rebellion, he remained loyal to the British administration and was raided in retaliation by the uSuthu under King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo. He took refuge with his adherents at the Ivuna magistracy and suffered heavy losses of cattle during the battle there. He and his people were evacuated to Nkonjeni and left British protection in August 1888 with the final suppression of the rebellion.

**ZUID-AFRIKAANSCHE REPUBLIEK.** See SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

eZULANENI. On 4 June 1879 during the 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, a patrol of Baker’s Horse from Wood’s Flying Column had a slight skirmish with a force of Zulu quartered in this cluster of four imizi belonging to iNkosi Sihayo kaXongo, about 400 yards to the west of Zungeni Mountain. Three wagons and an ammunition cart, captured from the British at Isandlwana, were parked outside one of the imizi. The following day, irregular horse under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller put eZulaneni to the torch but were forced to withdraw under effective Zulu fire. See also ZUNGENI MOUNTAIN SKIRMISH.
ZULU BORDER WITH NATAL IN 1879. The British offensive into Zululand during the Anglo-Zulu War left British territory vulnerable to Zulu counterthrusts, especially in the broken terrain of the Natal frontier, where a Zulu raid would be less easily detected and countered than in the open country of the Transvaal. Settlers were additionally in dread of a Zulu raid because they feared it might spark off an uprising among colonial Africans. All the colonial authorities could do for defense was to hold the laagers in the towns and countryside and raise a force that eventually numbered over 8,000 African part-time levies and border guards in the border districts (in Natal, these were Colonial Defensive Districts I, VI, and VII) to dissuade the Zulu from raiding the farmlands between the fortified points. Otherwise, it was hoped that the frontier rivers, which would be unfordable in the rainy season between January and March (except at the drifts, which could be guarded), would act as a deterrent.

The panic after Isandlwana exposed the vulnerability of the border region with Zululand, which is why the lieutenant-governor of Natal, Sir Henry Gascoyne Bulwer, so vehemently opposed Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford’s decision in March 1879 to adopt the “active defense” along the border. Chelmsford ordered the Natal forces to create a diversion in favor of the Eshowe Relief Column by demonstrating along the border line and raiding into Zululand itself, thereby (in theory) forcing the Zulu to abandon the border zone and securing Natal from invasion. Accordingly, the colonial forces in District VII demonstrated on 24 March and raided on 2 and 3 April, and those in District VI demonstrated on 27 March. To divert the Zulu from his developing 2nd Invasion of the Anglo-Zulu War, Chelmsford ordered more raids. On 20 May, a substantial raid was launched from District VII, and another on 28 May from District VI. Bulwer’s fears that these raids would achieve little and only provoke retaliation was borne out by the successful Zulu counterraid at Middle Drift on 25 June, which proved the frontier defenses sadly wanting. It was fortunate for the colonial border region that the war came to an end before the Zulu attempted further raids. See also BORDER GUARD, NATAL; CIVIL–MILITARY RELATIONS.

ZULU CIVIL WAR, 1ST (1840). In September 1839, umNtwana Mpande kaSenzangakhona fled with his adherents to the Republic
of Natalia in fear that his half-brother King Dingane kaSenzangakhona was intending to order his death. On 27 October 1839, Mpande struck an alliance with the Boers to mount a joint campaign against Dingane. In return for their making him king, he agreed to cede them the lands south of the Thukela River as well as St. Lucia Bay. On 14 January 1840, Mpande’s army under Nongalaza kaNondela and the Boer Beeskommando under Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius invaded Zululand. The Boers had not advanced farther than the Ncome River when on 29 January Mpande’s forces engaged and destroyed Dingane’s army under inKosi Ndlela kaSompisi at the battle of the Maqongqo Hills in northern Zululand. Dingane fled, and on 10 February the Boers recognized Mpande as Zulu king.

ZULU CIVIL WAR, 2ND (1856). In 1839, King Mpande kaSenzangakhona had acknowledged his son umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpande as his heir. Yet Mpande increasingly feared Cetshwayo’s growing power and popularity and from 1852 began to foster the claim of his favorite son, umNtwana Mbuyazi kaMpande, to succeed him. Mpande tried to separate the rival abaNtwana by placing Mbuyazi and his followers, the iziGqoza, in northern Zululand and Cetshwayo and his uSuthu following in southern Zululand. In a bid to settle the issue by force of arms, the two abaNtwana challenged each other to a mock hunt at the confluence of the Black and White Mfolozi rivers, but at the last moment the iziGqoza lost their nerve and withdrew. To help Mbuyazi, in November 1856 Mpande allocated him a tract of land in southeastern Zululand where the king’s personal influence was greatest, and which was close to Natal, where Mbuyazi could flee for sanctuary, or from where he might secure military support. Mbuyazi did gain the assistance of John Dunn and his force of gunmen known as the iziNqobo, but Cetshwayo pursued Mbuyazi with an uSuthu army much larger than that of the iziGqoza and forced it and its civilian dependents against the swollen Thukela River. On 2 December 1856, the uSuthu utterly destroyed the iziGqoza and their iziNqobo allies at the battle of Ndondakusuka, killing Mbuyazi and five of his brothers. Mpande was left with no choice but to accept Cetshwayo as his successor, and Cetshwayo subsequently secured his position by purging further potential rivals.
ZULU CIVIL WAR, 3RD (1883–1884). In terms of the 2nd Partition of Zululand, the British returned the exiled King Cetshwayo ka-Mpande to the central portion of his former kingdom in January 1883. Fighting immediately broke out between his uSuthu adherents and their principal opponents in northern Zululand, umNtwana Zibhebhu kaMaphitha’s Mandlakazi and umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe’s Ngenetsheni. On 20 March, Zibhebhu, supported by white mercenaries, routed the uSuthu army at Msebe. After more inconclusive fighting, on 21 July Zibhebhu routed the uSuthu army at oNdini. Cetshwayo took refuge in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory and was followed there by many uSuthu. During August and September, Zibhebhu and Hamu ravaged central and coastal Zululand while Boers from the South African Republic began to occupy northwestern Zululand. In late September, the Etshowe Column, drawn from the Natal garrison, moved into the Reserve Territory to support the African levies, raised by Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner, to maintain order. On 15 October, Cetshwayo took refuge with the British in Eshowe while chaotic fighting continued across Zululand with the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni still in the ascendant.

Cetshwayo died on 8 February 1884 and was succeeded by his minor son Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo under the guardianship of his uncles. On 2 May, Dinuzulu met the Boers at Hlobane Mountain to negotiate an alliance, and on 21 May a committee of the Boer mercenaries known as Dinuzulu’s Volunteers proclaimed him king of the Zulu and promised him military assistance against Zibhebhu in return for land. On 5 June, the Boers and uSuthu routed Zibhebhu at Tshaneni Mountain in northeastern Zululand and went on to ravage Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni territory. Zibhebhu and his adherents took refuge in the Reserve Territory. On 16 August, the Boers proclaimed the New Republic, incorporating the land ceded them by Dinuzulu, and made claim to a “protectorate” over the rest of Zululand outside the Reserve Territory (Eastern Zululand). Meanwhile, in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory, where many uSuthu were concentrated under umNtwana Dabulamanzi kaMpande and were resisting British authority, Osborn and his levies, supported by British troops, conducted military operations until the uSuthu submitted in late August. The fighting ended for the time being, but
the bitter animosities that divided the uSuthu and their foes remained deeply seated and resurfaced during the uSuthu Rebellion of 1888.

The scale of military operations in the 3rd Zulu Civil War was much smaller than in the Anglo-Zulu War, when the Zulu had fielded armies of over 20,000. In no battle of the civil war did the combined forces of both uSuthu and Mandlakazi exceed 9,000 combatants. The British deployed no more than about 600 regular troops and 300 mounted African auxiliaries, as well as several thousand untrained levies. See also NHLAZATSHE MOUNTAIN.

ZULU INVASION SCARE (1861). The Invasion Scare that so galvanized settler society in Natal in 1861 was inextricably linked with the issues of the Zulu succession and the Disputed Territory. In June 1861, umNtwana Cetshwayo kaMpondé repudiated his cession of March 1861 of land east of the Ncome River to the Boers of the Utrecht District in return for handing over some rivals to the Zulu throne. The Boers moved into the territory anyway, took up defensive positions in their laagers, and called on the South African Republic for military assistance. Cetshwayo began mobilizing his amaButho (regiments) to prevent the Boers’ making good their claim. The Natal colonists, who were suspicious of his intentions after Cetshwayo’s destruction of rival claimants to the throne in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, jumped to the conclusion that he was planning to invade Natal to seize umNtwana Mkhungo kaMpande, another rival to the throne, who in 1857 had taken refuge in the colony under the protection of Bishop John William Colenso. The British troops of the Natal garrison rushed to the border and built fortified bases, while the frontier farmers trekked away to the security of the towns. Cetshwayo misunderstood this military activity as preparation for a British invasion of Zululand in favor of his rival. So in July 1861, he withdrew his amaButho from the Disputed Territory and concentrated them along the Natal border. Since neither side wanted a confrontation, the crisis subsided by August 1861. But the Invasion Scare caused Cetshwayo to lose the crucial opportunity to deal immediately and decisively with the Boers settling in the Disputed Territory, and the issue would continue to destabilize relations in the region until the Anglo-Zulu War.
ZULU KINGDOM. The Zulu kingdom lasted only a little over six decades in the 19th century before being overthrown in war, broken into pieces, consigned to civil war, and eventually annexed piecemeal by its rapacious colonial neighbors. It was founded in the second decade of the 19th century by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, who brought it to its greatest extent by the late 1820s through conquest and diplomacy. He was assassinated by his half-brother and successor Dingane kaMpende, who was defeated in the Voortrekker-Zulu War and then overthrown in the 1st Zulu Civil War by his half-brother Mpande kaSenzangakhona. Mpande managed with some success to balance his reduced kingdom between the competing ambitions of his colonial neighbors in Natal and the South African Republic, but when these coalesced in the reign of his son Cetshwayo kaMpende, who had secured his succession in the 2nd Zulu Civil War, the kingdom fell to invasion during the Anglo-Zulu War. The 1st Partition of Zululand effectively marked the demise of the kingdom, although it pursued a diminishing half-life in the 1880s during the 2nd and 3rd Partitions and the 3rd Zulu Civil War, until Cetshwayo’s son and successor Dinuzulu kaMpende was deposed by the British with the failure of the uSuthu Rebellion. The region generally comprising the historic Zulu kingdom is also referred to loosely as “Zululand.”

ZULU UPRISING OF 1906 (BHAMBATHA REBELLION). The economy of Natal went into recession after the Anglo-Boer (South African) War, and the imposition of a poll tax on an African peasantry already deeply resentful of colonial rule led to armed resistance in February 1906. The uprising in the Natal midlands was no sooner put down by the Natal militia when Bhambatha kaMancinza, a Zondi inKosi in the southern part of the province of Zululand, began guerrilla operations with support from other local chiefdoms from a base in the Nkandla Forest. Their forces were finally defeated with heavy losses on 10 June 1906 at Mome Gorge. Bhambatha was killed, as was inKosi Mehlokazulu kaSihayo. The Natal troops then withdrew from Zululand. Further outbreaks followed in Maphumulo in northeastern Natal, and operations continued until August. King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo was subsequently imprisoned for harboring rebels.
The Natal militia put down the uprising ruthlessly. As many as 4,000 Africans were killed in the struggle, as were about 24 whites.

ZULULAND. It is difficult to say what territory precisely comprises Zululand, for its boundaries have changed substantially over the years through treaty, partition, and administrative reorganization. At its furthest extent, when in the second decade of the 19th century the power of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona was at its height, Zulu dominance extended over all the lands from the Drakensberg in the west to the Indian Ocean in the east, in the north from the southern reaches of what are now the states of Swaziland and Mozambique, across the present-day Province of KwaZulu-Natal in the Republic of South Africa, to the borderlands of the Province of the Eastern Cape in the south. Yet Zululand does have a historic heartland in the northern part of KwaZulu-Natal between the Phongolo River to the north, the Thukela River to the south, and the Mzinyathi River to the west. This was the area generally referred to as “Zululand” from the early 1840s onward. See also BOUNDARY AWARD; DISPUTED TERRITORY; KLIP RIVER REPUBLIC; NATAL–ZULULAND BOUNDARY; NEW REPUBLIC; PROVISO B; RESERVE TERRITORY; UTRECHT DISTRICT; ZULU KINGDOM; ZULULAND, BRITISH COLONY OF; ZULULAND, 1ST PARTITION OF; ZULULAND, 2ND PARTITION OF; ZULULAND, 3RD PARTITION OF.

ZULULAND, 1ST PARTITION OF (1879). Following defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War and the capture of King Cetshwayo kaMpenda, on 1 September 1879 the Zulu āmaKhosi (chiefs) assembled at General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley’s camp at kwaSishwili accepted the peace terms he laid down. The Zulu monarchy was suppressed, and the former kingdom was fragmented into 13 chiefdoms, each under a chief appointed by Wolseley. Although formally independent, these chiefs accepted the arbitration of a British resident official.

In devising the partition, Wolseley was following the instructions of the British government to avoid the expense and responsibility of direct annexation but to ensure the security of Zululand’s British-rulled neighbors. Wolseley knew that by abolishing the Zulu monarchy he was also fatally emasculating the centralized iButho system.
on which it rested. None of the appointed chiefs would command anything approaching the military power previously deployed by the Zulu kings and so would no longer pose a military threat. These appointed chiefs would also be insecure in their authority and fear a resurgent Zulu royal house. They could thus be counted on to collaborate with the British to stifle royalist ambitions, and Zululand would be kept as weak and divided as desired.

With this in mind, Wolseley apportioned the two strategic chiefdoms along the southern border of Zululand with Natal to chiefs considered reliable. Both Hlubi kaMota Molife and John Dunn had fought on the British side in the Anglo-Zulu War, both were aliens in Zululand, and their chiefdoms would act as a buffer between Natal and possibly less amenable appointed chiefs to the north of them. In northern Zululand, where royalist supporters, or the uSuthu, were particularly strong, Wolseley appointed two powerful and ambitious Zulu magnates as chiefs to suppress them: umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe of the Ngenetsheni and inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha of the Mandlakazi. In central Zululand, sandwiched between these four chiefs, Wolseley appointed nine others on account of their record of collaboration with the British, or their early submission. Many had no hereditary status in their new chiefdoms and would find it hard to assert any authority.

Wolseley’s pragmatic scheme to neutralize Zululand by dividing it against itself rapidly and inevitably provided a recipe for disastrous internecine conflict. See also BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND; ZULULAND, 2ND PARTITION OF; ZULU CIVIL WAR, 3RD.

ZULULAND, 2ND PARTITION OF (1882). The uSuthu and other victims of the 1st Partition of Zululand soon began to draw together to resist their oppressors, particularly umNtwana Hamu kaNzibe and inKosi Zibhebhu kaMaphitha. They first took the route of negotiations. In May 1880, and again in April 1882, the uSuthu sent deputations to Pietermaritzburg to petition for the restoration of the monarchy. At a meeting at Nhlazatshe on 31 August 1881, Major-General Evelyn Wood, the acting high commissioner for southeast Africa, confirmed that the British intended to uphold the settlement.
Sporadic fighting broke out in late 1881 between the uSuthu and the enemies, but both sides drew back from a major clash.

Meanwhile, the exiled King Cetshwayo kaMpande petitioned the Colonial Office repeatedly to be restored to Zululand, and his pleas bore fruit when officials began to admit that the 1st Partition was breaking down. In August 1882, they permitted Cetshwayo to travel to London to plead his cause. The colonial secretary, the Earl of Kimberley, was under pressure from Natal officials who feared a reunited Zululand, and he believed he had an obligation to the 13 appointed chiefs. Accordingly, Cetshwayo was pressured to assent on 11 December 1882 to terms for his restoration that he found deeply disappointing. His authority was confined to the central portion of his former kingdom, including Hamu’s and eight other former chiefs’ territories, under the supervision of the British. He was hemmed in to the northeast by Zibhebhu, who was awarded an enlarged chiefdom that included the uSuthu heartland. To the south, as a further check against Cetshwayo’s ambitions, a Reserve Territory was created out of John Dunn’s and Hlubi kaMota Molife’s chiefdoms as a military buffer for Natal and as a sanctuary for those Zulu who wished to avoid living under Cetshwayo’s authority. It was to be administered by officials recruited from Natal.

The 2nd Partition proved even more disastrous than the 1st, for Cetshwayo’s return to Zululand in January 1883 only intensified the simmering conflict between the uSuthu and their foes, and the 3rd Zulu Civil War immediately broke out. See also BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND.

ZULULAND, 3RD PARTITION OF (1884). In return for their aid in defeating the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni in the climax to the 3rd Zulu Civil War, on 16 August 1884 King Dinuzulu kaMpande ceded to the Boers of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers all of northwestern Zululand (2,710,000 acres), which they proclaimed the New Republic. See also BOUNDARIES AND COLONIAL CONTROL IN ZULULAND.

ZULULAND BOUNDARY COMMISSION. See BOUNDARY AWARD.
ZULULAND, BRITISH COLONY OF. Alarmed by growing turbulence in the New Republic and in Eastern Zululand, Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner of the Reserve Territory, took the initiative and on 5 February 1887 informed King Dinuzulu ka-Mpande that British protection had been extended over Eastern Zululand. The British government, faced by the accomplished fact, annexed Eastern Zululand, the Reserve Territory, and Proviso B on 19 May 1887 as the British Colony of Zululand. For reasons of economy, the governor of Natal also became the governor of Zululand and was represented in Eshowe by the resident commissioner. Administratively, Zululand was divided into six magisterial districts under white magistrates. Order was kept through the locally recruited Zululand Police. The skeleton administrative machinery was financed by a hut tax. The British District of Ingwavuma was incorporated into the Colony of Zululand on 15 July 1895, and the British protectorate of Tongaland (Amaputaland) followed on 24 December 1897. See also ZULULAND, PROVINCE OF.

ZULULAND GARRISON. Zululand was in the sphere of responsibility for the Natal garrison, and it deployed a part of its strength to garrison military posts in the Reserve Territory between September 1883 and May 1887 or to undertake military operations during the 3rd Zulu Civil War. With the annexation of the British Colony of Zululand in May 1887, small detachments from the Natal garrison constituted the Zululand garrison and were concentrated at Fort Curtis. During the uSuthu Rebellion, the Zululand garrison was reinforced by the Natal garrison and moved forward to Entonjaneni, Nkonjeni, and other bases. On 2 November 1888, the Zululand garrison was reduced to its “normal” level of a squadron of cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry at Fort Curtis and Entonjaneni. A small garrison continued to be stationed at Fort Curtis until 1899.

ZULULAND POLICE. On the annexation of the British Colony of Zululand in May 1887, the paramilitary Reserve Territory Carbineers (RTC) were restyled the Zululand Police (ZP), or Nongqayi, and were maintained by the Zululand administration. Retaining the same uniforms and weapons as the RTC and their headquarters at Nongqayi Fort, their numbers were increased to 250 men under
commandant George Mansel and white subinspectors. The ZP were posted to the six new magisterial posts in British Zululand to protect the white magistrates and enforce their authority. However, by late 1887 it was clear that they required the support of British troops from the Zululand garrison to keep the uSuthu in check. On 26 April 1888, a menacing gathering deterred a force of 80 ZP from effecting the arrest of contumacious uSuthu leaders at oSuthu, and this failure hastened open hostilities. During the uSuthu Rebellion, a force of 50 ZP was repulsed when trying to arrest the uSuthu leaders on C eza. Fifty of them stationed at Ivuna fired on the uSuthu when they bypassed the fort to defeat the Mandlakazi, and they were evacuated to Nkonjeni. A small contingent stationed at Fort Andries fought off an uSuthu attack in the battle of Ntondotha, while those stationed at Nkonjeni took part in the successful assault of Hlophekhulu. The ZP remained concentrated at Nkonjeni during the pacification operations of later July and August, and once the Zululand garrison was reduced to its normal level, they were redistributed by December 1888 to six posts around the colony.

ZULULAND, PROVINCE OF. On 30 December 1897, the Colony of Zululand was annexed to the colony of Natal and administered as Natal’s Province of Zululand until all of Natal became a province of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910.

eZULUWINI umuZI. On 4 April 1879, the day after the relief of Eshowe during the Anglo-Zulu War, and while Colonel Charles Knight Pearson was supervising the evacuation of Fort Eshowe, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford and 225 men from the Eshowe Relief Column destroyed umNtwana Dabulamanzi kaM-pande’s eZuluwini umuZi (homestead) at eNtumeni, which had escaped burning in Pearson’s earlier, inconclusive raid of 1 March. Dabulamanzi and 40 Zulu kept up ineffective fire from a neighboring hill while the British completed their mission.

ZUNGENI MOUNTAIN SKIRMISH (1879). On 5 June 1879, during the joint advance in the Anglo-Zulu War of the British 2nd Division, South African Field Force, and Wood’s Flying Column on the oNdini iKhandu, some 300 irregular horse from Wood’s Flying
Column under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller made a reconnaissance toward Zungeni Mountain. Coming into contact with a Zulu force of about 300 men stationed at eZulaneni, a cluster of four large imiZi on the side of the mountain to the east of the Ntinini stream, they charged and scattered them, put eZulaneni to the torch, and then withdrew under fire from the Zulu, who were shooting at them from under cover and trying to outflank them. Some 500 regular cavalry of the Cavalry Brigade attached to the 2nd Division, who were in support under Major-General Frederick Marshall, were eager for action and unnecessarily charged toward eZulaneni. The cavalry became caught up in the difficult terrain and fell back under brisk fire from the Zulu working around their flanks. The cavalry were finally extricated under the covering fire of the irregular horse. One British officer was killed, and a later British reconnaissance found 25 Zulu corpses. See also TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.

ZUNGWINI MOUNTAIN SKIRMISHES (1879). At the outset of the Anglo-Zulu War, King Cetshwayo kaMpande ordered the abaQulusi people of northwestern Zululand to make a stand against No. 4 Column, and Brevet Colonel Henry Evelyn Wood realized he would have to defeat them to secure his lines of supply. On 20 January 1879, Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Henry Buller led 104 irregular cavalry out from Fort Tinta to reconnoiter Zungwini Mountain, seven miles to the west of Hlobane Mountain, where Mbilini waMswati had reinforced the abaQulusi under their senior inDuna, Msebe kaMadaka. Buller captured an umuZi on the southeastern spur, but the 1,000 defenders on the summit, most of whom had firearms, then advanced in traditional formation in disciplined skirmishing order. The two horns threatened to outflank Buller, who had to retreat across the White Mfolozi River, where he made a stand, driving the abaQulusi back. On 22 January, Wood led out a strong patrol of infantry and irregular horse and captured much livestock on Zungwini without encountering resistance. However, on seeing several thousand Zulu near Ntendeka Mountain, four miles to the east, he rapidly retired. On 24 January, Wood advanced again with a strong patrol and artillery, surprising the abaQulusi and Mbilini’s
forces still between Zungwini and Ntendeka, scattering and killing about 50. Wood was unable to pursue his advantage because on receiving news of Isandlwana, he withdrew to Kambula. See also TACTICS, BRITISH INFANTRY; TACTICS, BRITISH MOUNTED TROOPS; TACTICS UP TO 1879, ZULU.
Glossary

In accordance with current practice, Zulu words, which appear in italics in the text, are alphabetized under the root word rather than under the prefix.

agterryer. black “after-rider” or servant who accompanies his Boer master on horseback on a journey or to war

isAngoma (pl. izAngoma). diviner inspired by ancestral spirits

assegai. spear

iBandla (pl. amaBandla). royal council of state

isiBaya (pl. iziBaya). enclosure for livestock where ceremonies are performed

isiBhalo. compulsory labor and military service required of Africans living in the Colony of Natal

Boer. Dutch- (later Afrikaans-speaking) white settler

iButho (pl. amaButho). Zulu age-grade regiment of men or women; member of age-group; warrior

commando. Boer militia

conductor. driver of team of oxen pulling a wagon

uDibi (pl. izinDibi). youth who serves as a carrier or cattle handler with the army

iDlozi (pl. amaDlozi). ancestral spirit

inDlu (pl. izinDlu). hut

donga. dry, eroded watercourse, running only in times of heavy rain

drift. shallow, fordable point in a river

inDuna (pl. izinDuna). officer appointed by inKosi or king to a position of command in the state or army; headman; councilor; military officer

isiFuba (pl. iziFuba). “chest” or center of army
isiGodlo (pl. iziGodlo). king’s or inKosi’s private enclosure at upper end of his iKhanda or umuZi; women of king’s establishment

ingxotha (pl. izingxotha). heavy brass armlet conferred as mark of distinction by king

herneutermes. large hunting-knife

uHlangothi (pl. iziHlangothi). wing of iButho or section of iKhanda where it is quartered

isiHlangu (pl. iziHlangu). war shield

isij ula (pl. izij ula). throwing spear

kappie. large sunbonnet worn by Boer women

iKhanda (pl. amaKhanda). royal military and administrative center and where amaButho are stationed to serve the king

umKhoka (pl. imiKhoka). ritual defilement

umKhosi (pl. imiKhosi). annual “first-fruits” ceremony

isiKhulu (pl. iziKhulu). chief of high hereditary status in the political hierarchy of the kingdom

umKhumbi (pl. imiKhumbi). circular assembly of men, especially amaButho

kisklere. Sunday-best clothes

klapbroek. trousers with a front flap

kloof. a deep ravine or valley, usually wooded, or a gorge between mountains

iKlwa (pl. amaKlwa). stabbing spear

knobkerrie. knobbed stick carried by a Zulu man

kop or koppie. prominent hill or peak

inKosi (pl. amaKosi). king; hereditary chief

kraal. enclosure for livestock

laager. defensive formation of parked wagons, but also any defensive enclosure, whether of barricades, masonry, bricks, or turf

landdroos. magistrat

iLobolo. cattle handed over by man’s family to formalize a marriage transaction

loopers. small leather cartridges of buckshot

mealie. maize; Indian corn

uMnyama. spiritual force of darkness or evil influence

impi (pl. iziImpi). military force; army; battle

iNceku (pl. iziNceku). king’s or inKosi’s personal attendant and adviser
nek. mountain pass
iNkatha (pl. iziNkatha). sacred grass coil, symbol of the Zulu nation
umNtwana (pl. abaNtwana). prince of the royal house; child of the king
umNumzane (pl. abaNumzane). married headman of an umuZi
iNyanga (pl. iziNyanga). traditional healer; herbalist
uPondo (pl. izimPondo). horn or wing of army
goort. narrow pass between mountains
puggaree. scarf worn around the hat and sometimes falling down behind to keep off the sun
sanna. general name given by Boers of the 1830s to the large variety of muzzle-loading firearms they carried
umShokobezi (pl. imiShokobezi). cow-tail decorations worn by ama-Butho; in the 1880s, the insignia of the uSuthu, or royalist faction
snaphaan. flintlock
span. team of draught animals
spruit. a tributary watercourse
trek. to make an arduous journey overland, often in permanent migration
umuVa (pl. imiVa). reserve force of army
veld. open, uncultivated grasslands
iViyo (pl. amaViyo). section or company of an iButho
vlei. marsh
volksraad. legislative assembly of a Boer republic
voorlaaier. muzzle-loader
voorloper. leader on foot of a team of oxen pulling a wagon
Voortrekkers. Boer pioneers who, dissatisfied with British rule, left the Cape Colony in the late 1830s for the interior of South Africa
iWisa (pl. amaWisa). knobbed stick
umuZi (pl. imiZi). family homestead of huts under an umNumzane
ukuZila. to observe ritual abstinence
Bibliography

CONTENTS

Introduction 333
Works of Reference 338
   Encyclopedias and Dictionaries 338
   Biographical Registers 338
   Guides to Historic Sites in Natal and Zululand 339
   Source Guides 340
General Histories Relating to Natal and Zululand 340
   Select General Histories 340
   General Histories of Natal and Zululand 340
Films and Documentaries on Zulu History 342
Zulu Kingdom 343
   Zulu Histories of Zululand and Recorded Zulu Oral History 343
   Zulu Kings 343
   Formation of the Zulu Kingdom 344
   Zulu Society, Economy, and Political Structure 345
   Zulu Religion 346
   Zulu Military System 347
   Transfrontiersmen 348
Voortrekker-Zulu War 348
   Printed Collections of Archival Materials 348
   Boers and the Great Trek 348
   War of 1838–1840 349
British Army and the Conduct of Small Wars 352
   Late Victorian Army and Society 352
   British Army and the Cardwell Reforms 352
   British Military Doctrine 353
   British Campaigning in Africa During the Victorian Era 353
Histories of the Anglo-Zulu War 354
   Printed Collections of Archival Materials 354
Official History 354
General Histories of the Anglo-Zulu War 355
Firsthand Narratives of the Zulu Campaign 356
War Correspondents and Newspaper Reports 357
Collections of Campaign Paintings and Drawings 358
Eyewitness Accounts from Within the Zulu Kingdom 358
Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War 359
   General Analysis 359
   Confederation 359
   Relations Between the Zulu Kingdom and Its Neighbors 359
   Britain and the Transvaal 360
   Sir Bartle Frere and the Making of a War 360
   Colenso Critique of the War 361
Zululand Campaign of 1879 362
   Critique of Chelmsford’s Conduct of the Campaign 362
   1st Invasion (No. 2 Column and No. 3 Column) 362
       General 362
       Isandlwana 363
       Rorke’s Drift 365
   Coastal Campaign (No. 1 Column, the Eshowe Relief Column,
   and the 1st Division, South African Field Force) 366
   Campaign in the Northwest (No. 4 Column, No. 5 Column,
   and Wood’s Flying Column) 367
   2nd Invasion (the 2nd Division, South African Field Force,
   and Wood’s Flying Column) 368
   Death of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte 369
   Zulu Peace Overtures 369
   War on the Borders 369
   Capture of Cetshwayo, the 1st Partition of Zululand, and Pacification 371
Impact on the Zulu of the Anglo-Zulu War 371
British Military System During the Zululand Campaign 372
   Army Organization, Regulations, Tactical Training, and Intelligence 372
   Weapons, Uniforms, and Decorations 373
       General 373
       Weapons 373
       Uniforms and Accoutrements 374
       Awards, Honors, and Memorials 374
   Signaling and Telegraph 374
   Transport and Supply 375
   British and Colonial Fortifications 375
Colonial Defense 376
INTRODUCTION

The sources for the Zulu Wars of 1838–1888 are very unevenly weighted. By far the greatest number relates to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. As befitted a major colonial war at the height of the Victorian era, a stream of published contemporary eyewitness accounts, reminiscences, and critiques followed hard on its heels, lending human interest and controversy to the official published documents. After this initial outpouring, the torrent of publications rapidly dwindled and by the end of the 19th century had pretty well dried up as new colonial wars captured the public’s attention. Interest resurfaced in the mid-20th century and has maintained a gathering momentum in the 21st century, presenting the reader with both scholarly works pioneering new directions of research and with more derivative (if not repetitive) works of popular history. The Voortrekker-Zulu War of 1838–1840 has not spawned nearly so large a literature as has the Anglo-Zulu War, and much of it is necessarily in Dutch or Afrikaans, thus closing it to most English readers. This literature generally betrays a strong ideological coloring because the Boers saw their victory over the Zulu as God’s unmistakable sanction that provided the justification for racial domination and, in due course, for apartheid. Zulu historians today, who strongly reject this reading, are currently forging an Afrocentric interpretation of the events of 1838–1840. In contrast to the two wars already mentioned, the 3rd Zulu Civil War and the uSuthu Rebellion of 1883–1888 have only gained the attention of a handful of historians. Both conflicts, perhaps, were too small in scale, local in scope, and complicated in detail to find a wide audience. Nevertheless, the consequences of the wars of the 1880s were extremely far-reaching for the Zulu themselves, and at the time they elicited a limited, if strong, polemical literature by perceptive commentators.

The archival records essential for researching the history of the Zulu Wars are scattered among repositories in South Africa and the United Kingdom. The
major South African collections of private papers and unpublished official papers are housed in the KwaZulu-Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg Repository; the National Archives of South Africa: Pretoria Depot; the Killie Campbell Africana Library and the Local History Museum in Durban; the Africana Library, Brenthurst Library, and William Cullen Library in Johannesburg; and the Cape Town Archives. In the United Kingdom, the official papers are to be found in the National Archives at Kew. The widest collection of private military papers (including the Chelmsford Papers) is held in the National Army Museum, Chelsea, though there are also significant collections in the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; Rhodes House, Oxford; and the Regimental Museum of the Royal Welsh (formerly South Wales Borderers), Brecon. The latter museum also holds large collections of artifacts relating to the British army in Zululand, as does the National Army Museum. In South Africa, the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, Ulundi; the Voortrekker Museum and Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg; the Killie Campbell Collections and the Old Court House Museum in Durban; the Talana Museum, Dundee; and the Fort Nongqayi and Zululand Historical Museum, Eshowe, are essential for viewing Zulu, Boer, and British material culture. The sites of two royal Zulu amaKhanda (royal military homesteads) have been excavated by archaeologists and partially restored. Both have small museums attached: namely, the Mgungundlovu and oNdini Open Air and Site Museums. Three battlefields are also served by small museums: the Blood River Heritage Site and Ncome Museum and Monument Complex; the Isandlwana Museum and Battle Site; and the Shiyane/Rorke’s Drift Interpretative Center.

Fortunately for those studying the Zulu Wars, a considerable quantity of the primary archival material is available in printed form. For the 1838–1840 period, there is John Bird’s invaluable compilation The Annals of Natal 1495–1845, 2 vols. (1885); Basil Leverton’s Records of Natal, 3 vols. (1989, 1990, and 1992); and H. S. Pretorius and D. W. Kruger’s Voortrekker Argiefstukke 1829–1849 (1937). The extensive published British Parliamentary Papers relating to South Africa cover the entire period 1838 to 1888 and are an invaluable resource for official dispatches and reports. Those Parliamentary Papers relating to the Anglo-Zulu War have been reprinted in an archival collection edited by John Laband and Ian Knight, Archives of Zululand: The Anglo-Zulu War 1879, 6 vols. (2000). This collection also includes official publications such as Major J. S. Rothwell’s account of the Zululand campaign, Narrative of Field Operations Connected with the Zulu War of 1879 (1881), which was prepared in the War Office primarily from the diaries of operations kept by the various British columns, as well as a range of contemporary parliamentary debates, articles, pamphlets, and books. Many contemporary private manuscript sources, such as diaries and collections of letters, have been printed in edited or anno-

Many significant contemporary printed memoirs, books, and pamphlets, such as Major Walter Ashe and Captain E. V. Wyatt Edgell’s The Story of the Zulu Campaign (1880), have been reissued in recent years, making them readily available to informed readers. Colonial newspapers of the time, notably the Natal Colonist, Natal Mercury, Natal Witness, and Times of Natal, as well as metropolitan newspapers such as The Times and periodicals like the Illustrated London News and Graphic, are a crucial and detailed resource. Some of these have been made available through modern reprints, such as Ron Lock and Peter Quantrill, comp., The Red Book. Natal Press Reports: Anglo-Zulu War 1879 (2000), which groups together the reports from the Natal Mercury. Moreover, soldiers’ letters to the newspaper have been collected and printed with a connecting commentary, as in Frank Emery’s classic The Red Soldier: Letters from the Zulu War (1977). There have been similar treatments of war correspondents’ reports, as in John Laband and Ian Knight, The War Correspondents: The Anglo-Zulu War (1996).

Recent serious studies of the Zulu Wars have pioneered new avenues of investigation. Much previously neglected evidence is available for investigating white colonists and African levies (troops) in time of war, as in John Laband and Paul Thompson’s Kingdom and Colony at War (1990). Even more significantly, historians have shifted their gaze from the Boers and British to focus on the Zulu. A scarcity of evidence makes it challenging for historians readily to grasp Zulu society, religion, political structure, diplomacy, military organization, strategic planning, and tactical objectives. Yet sources do exist in the testimonies of Zulu envoys, war captives, spies, political prisoners, and others, which have been preserved in depositions, court proceedings, magisterial reports, and missionaries’ accounts. Such evidence has been problematically filtered through colonial pens, but sensitively recorded Zulu oral evidence, most notably The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, edited by Colin Webb and John Wright in five volumes between 1976 and 2001, opens an unparalleled window onto the Zulu view of their own world. As a result, it has been possible to write histories that take the Zulu perspective much more fully into account, such as Jeff Guy’s The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879–1884, 3rd ed. (1998), or John Laband’s The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation (1997).

Even in the more traditional arena of the British Army in South Africa, considerable advances have been made with works like Edward Spiers’s The
Late Victorian Army, 1868–1902 (1992) in explaining the way the British campaigned in South Africa. Masterful interpretations such as Spiers’s are supported by a large and burgeoning corpus of technical works on everything from tactical training to transport and supply, weaponry, fortifications, uniforms, signaling, and medical care. There has been much more emphasis by historians on active fieldwork outside the archives, and they have worked increasingly in cooperation with archeologists. Battlefields have been carefully traversed and excavated to establish military dispositions, and over a hundred forts and laagers, as well as some two dozen Zulu amaKhanda, have been identified and charted. The results can be seen in works like John Laband and Paul Thompson’s The Illustrated Guide to the Anglo-Zulu War (2000) and David Rattray’s The David Rattray Guide to the Zulu War (2003).

The number of registers and related publications being brought out is also growing and usefully augments the more standard dictionaries of biography to provide career details of most of the participants in the Zulu Wars. One of the most recent and comprehensive of these is Adrian Greaves and Ian Knight, Who’s Who in the Anglo-Zulu War 1879, 2 vols. (2006).

Studies such as these, informed by the latest developments in research, mean that the Zulu Wars are better understood than ever before. For the earlier period, Norman Etherington has opened up wider perspectives on the Voortrekker-Zulu War of 1838–1840 with The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815–1854 (2001). Zulu-centric interpretations of the conflict are evident in collections like K. Malefane’s The Re-Interpretation of the Battle of Blood River/Ncome (1998). The comparatively less familiar period of the civil war and rebellion in Zululand between 1879 and 1888 has been illuminated by Jeff Guy in works such as View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle Against Imperialism (2001). John Laband, in The Atlas of the Later Zulu Wars 1883–1888 (2002), has provided the first full military analysis and campaign history of the period.

It is the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, however, that continues to stimulate the greatest interest in scholars and public alike. Donald Morris’s Washing of the Spears (1966) effectively engaged the modern public’s imagination and has meshed with films like Stanley Baker and Cy Enfield’s Zulu (1964) to create a cult following for the Anglo-Zulu War. On the other hand, recent television documentaries like The Zulu Wars (2003) enjoy the benefit of decades of subsequent scholarly research to present a far more accurate (if less immediately enthralling) analysis of the war. Many recently published books and articles are also still pushing the boundaries of our understanding of 1879. For example, Richard Cope’s Ploughshare of War: The Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War, 1879 (1999) is the masterly and persuasive culmination of a long-running debate on
the causes of the war. Ian Castle and Ian Knight’s Fearful Hard Times: The Siege and Relief of Eshowe, 1879 (1994) analyzes the coastal campaign as never attempted before. Ron Lock’s Blood on the Painted Mountain: Zulu Victory and Defeat, Hlobane and Kambula, 1879 (1995) has opened up a fruitful debate on the campaign in northwestern Zululand that has elicited Huw Jones’s masterly critiques in various articles and in his The Boiling Cauldron: Utrecht District and the Anglo-Zulu War (2006). Inevitably, the Zulu defeat of the British at the battle of Isandlwana in January 1879 has continued to attract the most controversy. Contemporary critiques of deficient British generalship have been refurbished and greater credit given to Zulu military expertise in a broad sweep of publications, ranging from David Jackson’s painstakingly researched Hill of the Sphinx: The Battle of Isandlwana (2004) to Ron Lock and Peter Quantrill’s more controversial Zulu Victory: The Epic of Isandlwana and the Cover-Up (2002). The biannual Journal of the Anglo Zulu War Historical Society, which first appeared in 1997, continues to play an invaluable role as the main forum for debates about the war and as a vehicle for presenting new research. Not every article published there could be cited in this bibliography, but the most trenchant have been selected for inclusion.

The bibliography has been arranged so as to follow the broad sweep of history over the period of the Zulu Wars. An essentially chronological approach has accordingly been adopted, with the sequence of campaign topics being prefaced and interspersed with sections devoted to reference, interpretative, and technical matters. The intention throughout has been to identify published source materials and the secondary articles and books that best characterize the established historiography of the Zulu Wars and the more recent avenues of exploration. A number of essential academic theses have consequently been included, even though this vital research is unpublished and not readily available. The sources are overwhelmingly in English, as this was the language of British colonists, missionaries, officials, and soldiers in Natal and Zululand in the 19th century, and that of the great majority of subsequent historians of the region. The exceptions to the rule involve the period of the Great Trek (which was until recently a major focus of research and writing in Afrikaans) and the disputed Transvaal-Zululand border lands. There is a substantial literature in Afrikaans on these subjects, and the relevant books (but not articles) have been included in the bibliography, with the titles translated within square brackets. Zulu historians today write almost entirely in English in order to make their work accessible to the international community of scholars and informed general readers. Consequently, all the works by Zulu mother-tongue authors cited in this bibliography are in English. When facsimile reprints of books are cited, the original date of publication is indicated within square brackets.
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*General*


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The interior of a Zulu umuZi close to the Thukela River. Illustration courtesy of John Laband.

“An attack of Zulu Warriors.” Note the combination of traditional weapons and firearms. Illustration courtesy of John Laband.
Men of the uNokhenke *iButho* photographed c. 1879 dressed for the hunt or war. Photo courtesy of the Cecil Renaud Library, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

The Border Guard stationed at White Rock Drift across the lower Thukela River in Colonial Defensive District No. VI during the Anglo-Zulu War. Photo courtesy of John Laband.
The final repulse of the Zulu at the battle of Gingindlovu during the Anglo-Zulu War. Illustration courtesy of John Laband.

Officers of Wood’s Flying Column during the Anglo-Zulu War. Brigadier-General Evelyn Wood is seated center. Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller is on the chair to his left and Lieutenant Henry Lysons on the ground at his feet. Both won the Victoria Cross at Hlobane. Captain Lord William Beresford, who won the Victoria Cross in the reconnaissance in force across the White Mfolozi, is standing behind, second from left. Photo courtesy of the Witness Collection, Pietermaritzburg.
The burning of oNdini after the battle of Ulundi during the Anglo-Zulu War. Illustration courtesy of John Laband.

King Cetshwayo kaMmpande in European dress photographed c. 1882 while in captivity. Photo C. 245 courtesy of the Western Cape Provincial Archives.
The unveiling of the Anglo-Zulu War memorial in Pietermaritzburg on 11 October 1883. A contingent of the 2nd Battalion, Northamptonshire Regiment, then forming part of the Natal garrison, is drawn up with backs to the camera. The volunteer Maritzburg Rifles are arrayed at right angles to them. Photo C. 111 courtesy of the KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg Repository).

King Cetshwayo kaMpande receiving a delegation from his relatives on the Mthonjaneni Heights a few days before his installation on 29 January 1883 following the 2nd Partition of Zululand. Illustration courtesy of John Laband.
Fort Curtis constructed in October 1883 by the men of the Eshowe Column. The timber stockade, which was commanded by an earthwork lunette, is shown in the photograph with men of the garrison and a 7-pounder gun. Photo INIL 7583 courtesy of the National Library of South Africa (Cape Town campus).

*InKosi* Zibhebhu ka-Maphitha of the Mandlakazi standing center. Photo C. 740 courtesy of the KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg Repository).
Boers of the Committee of Dinuzulu’s Volunteers proclaim Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo king of the Zulu on 21 May 1884 at their laager at Nyathi Hill before a gathering of about 9,000 uSuthu. Illustration C. 4785 courtesy of the KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg Repository).

Men of the Reserve Territory Carbineers with their commander, Commandant George Mansel, standing center. His second in command, Lieutenant Richard Addison, stands on the far left with his dog. Photo C. 5055 courtesy of the KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg Repository).
Chief Hlubi kaMota Molife sitting in the center with his Mounted Basutos drawn up behind him and his sergeant to his right. To his left (with the terrier) sits Major Alexander McKean, the commander of the Eshowe Column during the uSuthu Rebellion. Photo INIL 932 courtesy of the National Library of South Africa (Cape Town campus).

UmNtwana Shingana kaMpande, who during the uSuthu Rebellion defied the British from Hlophekhulu Mountain. Photo C. 874 courtesy of the KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg Repository).