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Prologue

- 1 Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey*.
- 2 Rian Malan interview by Tim Adams, *Observer Magazine*, 25 March 2007.

1. Mehlokazulu's fury: The killing of MaMtshali

- 1 The language spoken historically – with some regional variations – by the African people living in the area of modern KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The reference to ‘Zulu’ of course post-dates the emergence of the Zulu kingdom as the dominant power in northern KwaZulu-Natal in the nineteenth century.
- 2 The supernatural ascendancy of men in battle was called *ithonya*, and the best diviners who specialized in warfare were said to be able to conjure mist. At dawn on 25 June 1879, at the height of the British invasion of Zululand, Zulus living on the left bank of the Thukela river launched a raid on African settlements and colonial outposts on the Natal side. The Zulu attack was masked by a dense mist which was said to have been conjured by one of the groups participating in the attack, the amaChube. Conversely, when a concentration of troops resisting the imposition of a poll tax in Natal, and led by the *amakhosi* Bhambatha and Mehlokazulu, was surrounded by troops at the mouth of the Mome Gorge on the morning in June 1906, the rebels attributed their complete failure to spot the approaching troops to the superiority of the Colonial forces’ *ithonya*. See C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, Vol. 3 (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1982), testimony of Mpatshana kaSodondo.

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- 3 *Inkosi*, pl. *amakhosi*. The word ‘chief’ is usually avoided by modern historians because it is associated with nineteenth-century colonial usage, when the position of chief was entirely dependent upon the recognition and support of the colonial administration. Many traditional *amakhosi* were not recognized as ‘chiefs’ by the Government because they were thought to be hostile to the white administration; others were artificially created ‘chief’ for administrative purposes. This effectively distorted and subverted the role of the *amakhosi*, since ‘chiefs’ were ultimately responsible to the Government rather than their own people, and became agents of colonial administration. The tensions this produced were particularly evident in the 1906 Poll Tax Rebellion, when many ‘chiefs’ felt obliged to side with government forces against rebels from their own communities. See Jeff Guy, *Remembering the Rebellion* (Pietermaritzburg, 2006).
- 4 Statement of ‘Umpahla’, a witness, 29 July 1878; British Parliamentary Papers (hereafter BPP), C 2220, 6 December 1878.
- 5 J.Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus* (London, 1911). Most accounts place the attacks on consecutive days; Gibson’s is unusual in suggesting that they took place a few days apart.
- 6 H.C. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949). Lugg identifies the location of the killings and is adamant that Mehlokazulu had the two women strangled, not shot as is sometimes claimed, because he ‘did not wish to shed the blood of his mothers’. Mehlokazulu himself admitted while in Pietermaritzburg jail in late 1879 that ‘he had strangled the two women’; E. Harding Steward, *Royal Engineer Journal*, 2 February 1880.

2. Charlie Harford’s luck

- 1 Daphne Child (ed.), *The Zulu War Journal of Col. Henry Harford* (Pietermaritzburg, 1978). Hereafter *Zulu War Journal*.
- 2 In June 1667 Dutch ships had successfully raided an English fleet anchored in the Medway; as late as the 1860s the ports were considered a possible target for French attacks in the light of perennial British suspicions of a Bonaparte ascendancy – in this case Napoleon III – in Paris.

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- 3 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 4 Child, *Ibid*.
- 5 *Ibid*.
- 6 Memoir of Lieutenant Arthur Clinton Baskerville Mynors, 3/60th Regiment (Privately published, 1880).
- 7 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 8 *Ibid*.
- 9 An exception being Pioneers in infantry battalions who were directed to grow beards in peacetime.
- 10 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.

3. Snagged in the tree of the kings

- 1 The story of Jobe's meeting with King Shaka is given in A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (London, 1929). Bryant adds the caveat that various versions of the story place the encounter either at Hlazakazi, at Siphezi, or on the spurs of Qhudeni itself. Siphezi seems to me too far away from the Mzinyathi to offer commanding views, and since Shaka's army was contesting a ford below Hlazakazi – perhaps even Rorke's Drift itself – this remains to me the most likely site.
- 2 The definitive – and very beautiful – work on the Zulu names for indigenous Nguni cattle is *The Abundant Herds* by Marguerite Poland and David Hammon-Tooke, illustrated by Leigh Voigt (Cape Town, 2003).
- 3 For a detailed description of Zulu ceremonial dress see Ian Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army: From Shaka to Cetshwayo* (London, 1995).
- 4 A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People: As They were Before the White Man Came* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949).
- 5 On the influence of generational conflict on Zulu history, see Benedict Carton, *Blood from Your Children* (Pietermaritzburg, 2000).
- 6 It was common during the heyday of the Zulu kingdom, c.1816–79, for the Zulu kings to appoint older female relatives – often the widows of their fathers – to administer important royal homesteads. Shaka, for example, set his aunt, Queen Mnkabayi, to rule the ebaQulusini homestead near Hlobane mountain.
- 7 For a post-modern analysis of the myths surrounding Shaka see Dan

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Wylie, *Myth of Iron* (Scottsville, 2006). Carolyn Hamilton's *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cape Town, 1998), attempts to place those myths within a historical context.

- 8 White Mfolozi.
- 9 For example, the amaChube people, who lived in the Nkandla forest on the lower reaches of the Thukela river, had strong ties to the Zulu royal house, but were never conquered by Shaka. *Inkosi* Mvakela married a sister of Shaka's mother, Nandi, and the amaChube considered themselves allies of the Zulu rather than their subjects. Mvakela's grandson, *inkosi* Sigananda, was to play a prominent part in the 1906 Poll Tax Rebellion.
- 10 The king distributed feathers and furs – many of them collected as tribute from the Thonga peoples in the wildlife-rich flats of Maputhaland – to each *ibutho* when it was enrolled. There were insufficient for each man, however, and the king's bounty went largely to his favourites; the remaining men were expected to acquire these items themselves. War-shields made from the king's cattle were the property of the state rather than the individual, and the natural colour of the hair on the face of the hide formed part of the uniform. Young *amabutho* carried predominantly black or brown shields; new shields were issued every few years, each bearing more white on the hide, until senior *amabutho* were equipped with white shields. For a detailed description of the Zulu army, see Ian Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army*.
- 11 Traditions are not entirely clear regarding the fate of the ruling *inkosi* of the Sithole at that time, who seems to disappear from the record with Jobe's rise to prominence.

4. 'When I am gone'

- 1 This is not, of course, a name that would have been familiar to its indigenous inhabitants. Nor indeed is it one that might last indefinitely – in recent years, the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has questioned the relevance in the new South Africa of a province retaining the name given it by outsiders and conquerors.
- 2 The role of the locusts varies in different versions of this story. They

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- are absent from some altogether; in others Shaka is said to have referred to 'white men *and* locusts'. Given that the African followers of Henry Francis Fynn Jnr – one of the prominent settlers whose famous *Diary* (edited by J. Stuart and D. Malcolm, Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1950) chronicles those early meetings – were known as *izinkhumbi*, locusts, my interpretation is that Shaka intended to use the imagery of one to represent the other.
- 3 In fact, in the modern sense, the cultural identity of the Afrikaner people is largely a product of reaction to defeat in the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and of the Afrikaner nationalist movements of the 1930s. Before that the geographical separation of Afrikaner communities, and their sense of individuality and self-reliance, meant that they were more culturally and linguistically diverse.
 - 4 As a test of their fidelity Dingane asked Piet Retief, the Boer leader, to recover Zulu cattle which had been appropriated by the *inkosi* of the Tlokoa Sotho, Sekonyela, across the uKhahlamba mountains; Retief retrieved the cattle by tricking Sekonyela into letting him place handcuffs on his wrists, and refusing to release him until he agreed. Despite the friction between Dingane and Sekonyela, this disrespect for the person of an *inkosi* was deeply unsettling in Zulu eyes. According to Zulu sources, Retief then compounded his presumption by taking a percentage of Dingane's cattle as payment for his services before returning the rest to Dingane (Zulu etiquette demanded that he should have returned all of them to the king, and allowed Dingane to apportion him a reward). There are also Zulu traditions which suggest that during his visit to the Zulu capital, some of Retief's young men may have attempted to sneak into Dingane's private quarters at night; although they were presumably seeking the company of the hundreds of royal ladies living in seclusion there, when their tracks were discovered in the morning it was widely assumed they had intended the king some harm. It should be noted, however, that the death of Retief and his followers remains an emotive issue, and some aspects of the story are still contested.
 - 5 The Battle of the Thukela provides an interesting contrast between contemporary British and Zulu tactics. Prominent among the settler forces was Robert Joyce, whose knowledge of British tactics of the Napoleonic era came from time spent in the ranks of the 72nd Regiment, from which he had deserted – Joyce was one of those

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responsible for training the settlers' African auxiliaries in musketry drill. On the Zulu side, the field commanders included Zulu kaNogandaya, who had learned his profession as a favourite *iqawe* of King Shaka. During the battle the Zulu centre was checked by settlers' musketry, but the settler forces collapsed when outflanked by the Zulu horns. The battle offers a number of interesting parallels with iSandlwana forty-one years later.

- 6 The Biggarsberg were named by the Boers in honour of one of the Port Natal settlers, Alexander Biggar. Biggar accompanied the Ncome expedition and fought in the battle; his wagon broke down on the long haul over the ridge, and the feature was named by his companions to remember the incident.
- 7 *Graham's Town Journal*, 21 August 1871, quoted in Bill Guest, 'The War, Natal and Confederation', in Andrew Duminy and Charles Ballard (eds), *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives* (Pietermaritzburg, 1981).
- 8 In doing so he restored his authority over a good deal of territory north and east of this line which the Trekkers had claimed by right of their support to his crown, but had never in fact occupied. While the Thukela and Mzinyathi between them provided a clear boundary for much of the border, however, the line became imprecise along its upper reaches, above the confluence of the Ncome and Mzinyathi, and towards the uKhahlamba foothills.

5. 'Better move before them'

- 1 After the British arrived at the Cape in 1806 they steadily found themselves drawn into conflict with African groups on the Eastern Cape frontier, chiefly the Xhosa. There were nine wars with the Xhosa altogether, although a couple of these were fought by the Dutch before the British arrived.
- 2 As an administrative district of the Cape, Natal did not warrant a governor of its own; the lieutenant-governor was therefore the senior colonial administrator in the colony.
- 3 The choice of words is curious – or deliberate. The Zulu King Dingane is said to have ordered his men to seize Piet Retief's party in 1838 with similar words.

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- 4 For a colonial perspective on the Matshana incident see D.C.F. Moodie, *The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulus in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1888). For an African perspective see the account of Lunguza kaMpukane in Webb and Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol 1. Bishop Colenso collected a number of statements in connection with the incident which are to be found in the Colenso Papers, Pietermaritzburg Archives. See also Thomas McClendon, 'You are What You Eat Up: Deposing Chiefs in Early Colonial Natal 1848–1856', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 47, 2006.
- 5 Many among the Zulu elite despised those who had too closely associated themselves with settler society. Cetshwayo once reproached Mpande himself as a *khafula* on the grounds that he had secured his throne by crossing into Natal to seek the support of the Boers. The term *khafula*, of course, had a pleasing resemblance to the dismissive and derogatory word widely used in colonial Natal to refer to the African population – *kaffir*.
- 6 Report by J.W. Shepstone, 3 January 1877, BPP, C 1776.
- 7 My thanks to Anthony Coleman for this point.
- 8 Quoted in Edward Durnford's memoir of his brother, *A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa* (London, 1882).
- 9 Information from Andries and Lindizwe Ngobese, descendants of Mehlokazulu kaSihayo, interviewed in October 2006.
- 10 And not kwaSoxeghe, 'the maze', as it has sometimes been given; I am grateful for the opinions of Lindizwe and Andries Ngobese on this point.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Bertram Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country: Its Battlefields and Its People* (London, 1883).
- 13 Rorke was actually born on the Eastern Cape in 1827. His father had come to the Cape from Galway as a soldier in a British regiment.
- 14 *Umutsha*, the front part of a loin covering, consisting of strips of fur worn hanging from a belt around the waist.
- 15 'Bluchers' were a type of boot made popular during the Napoleonic Wars by the Prussian Field Marshal Prince Gebhard von Blücher.
- 16 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.

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6. 'The power to control the Zulus'

- 1 There are suggestions that British troops tried to exhume King Mpande's body in the aftermath of the Battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879. See Cornelius Vijn (Bishop Colenso) (ed.), *Cetshwayo's Dutchman* (London, 1880). The bones of a large individual, still wrapped in several layers of rotting hides and blankets, were removed and carried away; it is likely, however, that these were the remains of Mpande's attendant, Nhlngano kaLubaca Ntuli, who was of a similar build, rather than the king. What became of the remains that were removed is unclear.
- 2 Colenso to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 8 August 1857.
- 3 Frank Emery, *The Red Soldier* (London, 1977).
- 4 The most meticulous and detailed account of these disputes can be found in Huw M. Jones, *The Boiling Cauldron: The Utrecht District in the Anglo-Zulu War 1879* (Shermershill, Gloucestershire, 2007), which is broadly sympathetic to the Boer position.
- 5 The details of Prince Mbuyazi's death were not known. There is no truth in the rumours repeated in the Natal press at the time that he was captured alive and flayed on Cetshwayo's orders; John Wesley Shepstone believed he was run down and killed in the confusion of the pursuit.
- 6 Secretary for Native Affairs Papers (hereafter SNAP), 1/7/6, Pietermaritzburg Archives Depot.
- 7 Memorandum, 3 March 1873, SNAP, Archives Depot.
- 8 By far the most perceptive study of Anthony Durnford's life and career can be found in Robin Drooglever, *The Road to Isandhlwana: Colonel Anthony Durnford in Natal and Zululand* (London, 1992).
- 9 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 10 The pattern of long-established hostility with the French was so ingrained with the British commander, Lord Raglan – who had been wounded in the left arm at the Battle of Buçaco, and lost his right arm at Waterloo – that he famously had a habit of referring to the enemy in the Crimea not as Russians but as 'the French'.
- 11 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 12 An intellectual with a sharp and questioning mind, Colenso familiarized

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- himself with isiZulu, and published books on Zulu grammar. His re-examination of Old Testament texts, published in a series of treatises from 1862, greatly offended High Church elements within the Anglican community, causing a bitter scandal. The row became so intense that in December 1863 Bishop Robert Gray, the senior Anglican cleric in the British colonies in southern Africa, deposed Colenso for heresy and appointed a rival bishop in Natal in his place. Although the legality of the deposition was found to be unsound – and Colenso in any case ignored it – the incident created a deep rift within the Anglican community in settler Natal, and this was further exacerbated by Colenso's critical attitude towards the racist and exploitative attitudes which underpinned the administration of Natal's black majority.
- 13 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
 - 14 The advantages of such an exercise became readily apparent in the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 when the British military relied heavily upon Durnford's maps.
 - 15 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
 - 16 D.F.C. Moodie, *John Dunn, Cetshwayo and the Three Generals* (Pietermaritzburg, 1886).
 - 17 The name oNdini was applied to three different Zulu royal homesteads. The first was established by King Mpande on the Mhlatuze river, and Cetshwayo spent much of his youth there. When he moved to central Zululand on his accession, Cetshwayo took the name and applied it to the new homestead he built there (the British generally referred to this complex by an alternative name, Ulundi) – the old oNdini continued in existence but was generally known thereafter as kwaHlahlangubo. The main oNdini homestead was destroyed by the British on 4 July 1879 after the Battle of Ulundi. On his restoration in February 1883 Cetshwayo built a new, and slightly smaller complex just a few kilometres from the old one. This final version was destroyed during the Zulu civil war of 1883.
 - 18 John Ackerman to J.E. Carlyle, 5 October 1876. Wigram Papers, Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel Archives, London.

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7. 'Will no one then stand by me?'

- 1 It is generally agreed that the amaHlubi were driven out of the Mzinyathi valley around 1819 by the amaNgwane of Matiwane ka-Masumpha, who had himself been attacked by the Ndwandwe *inkosi*, Zwide kaLanga. See John Wright and Andrew Manson, *The Hlubi Chiefdom in Zululand-Natal* (Ladysmith, 1983).
- 2 *Papers Relating to the Late Kaffir Outbreak in Natal*, 1874, BPP, C 1025.
- 3 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 4 During the disturbances in the highveld in the 1810s and 1820s, the Tlokoa had been at the centre of a formidable coalition led by Queen Manthatisi on behalf of her son Sekonyela, a minor. When Sekonyela came of age, a section of the Tlokoa led by his brother Mota had refused his authority and crossed the mountains into Natal.
- 5 Account of one of the Carbineers, quoted in Drooglever, *The Road to Isandhlwana*.
- 6 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 7 The accounts of the surviving participants in the Bushman's River Pass incident, both colonial and amaHlubi, are collected in R. O. Pearse *et al.*, *Langalibalele and the Natal Carbineers* (Ladysmith Historical Society, 1973), published on its centenary.
- 8 Quoted in Drooglever, *The Road to Isandhlwana*.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.

8. 'Neither justice nor humanity'

- 1 Colonial Office Papers, in A. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds), *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives* (Pietermaritzburg, 1981). July/August 1874, quoted in Etherington, *Anglo-Zulu Relations*.
- 2 The uKhamdempenvu were raised in 1868, during the last years of King Mpande's reign, but under Cetshwayo's influence; the iNgobamakhosi were raised in 1873 and the uVe in 1875.
- 3 Quoted in John Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere* (London, 1895).

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- 4 Frere to Carnarvon, April 1877, quoted in Damian O'Connor, *The Zulu and the Raj: The Life of Sir Bartle Frere* (Knebworth, 2002).
- 5 Frere to Carnarvon, 19 July 1877, Carnarvon Papers, National Archives (hereafter NA), London.
- 6 Shepstone to Carnarvon, 11 December 1877, Colonial Office Papers, NA, London.
- 7 Frere to Carnarvon, 19 December 1877, Colonial Office Papers, NA, London.
- 8 Carnarvon to Frere, 27 April 1877, Colonial Office Papers, NA, London.
- 9 Hicks Beach to Frere, 25 July 1878, quoted in O'Connor, *The Zulu and the Raj*.
- 10 Joseph, a Christian convert from the Hermannsburg mission, was murdered on 4 March 1877, although the exact motives for it are not clear. Maqhamusela Kanyile, a convert from the Norwegian mission at Eshowe, was murdered on 9 March 1877 because of his Christian faith. In fact it seems that the killings were not sanctioned by the king, but were carried out by members of the local community – in Maqhamusela's case, including some of his own family – because the converts had disgraced their ancestors. See Professor Tony Cubbin, *Maqhamusela Khanyile: First Christian Martyr of the Norwegian Lutheran Mission Society* (Zululand Historical Society, 1988).
- 11 Bulwer to Shepstone, 16 January 1878, Shepstone Papers, KwaZulu-Natal Archive.
- 12 For a detailed analysis of the boundary dispute broadly sympathetic to the Boer cause, see Jones, *The Boiling Cauldron*.
- 13 Correspondence between Bulwer and the Commissioners, Report of 16 July 1878, BPP, C 2220.
- 14 Edward Fairfield, Minute, 12 September 1878, 179/127, Colonial Office Papers, NA, London.
- 15 Cetshwayo to Bulwer, 16 September 1878, SNAP, Pietermaritzburg Archives Depot.
- 16 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 17 Information from Mehlokazulu's descendants, Andries and Lindizwe Ngobese.
- 18 Ibid.

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- 19 Information from uMnukwa, a household official in King Cetshwayo's court, quoted in Vijn, *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*.
- 20 Information from uMnukwa.

9. 'A very serious evil'

- 1 Chelmsford was a near contemporary of Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). Hughes's novel was inspired by his time at Rugby school between 1834 and 1842 (Chelmsford entered the Army in 1844) and championed the values which shaped the attitudes of the (male) ruling elite in the second half of the nineteenth century.
- 2 Sir John Henry Newbolt's poem 'Vitai Lampada', in which a broken British regiment on a colonial battlefield – 'the sand of the desert is sodden red, red with the wreck of the square that broke' – is steadied by a schoolboy's rallying cry, 'Play up! Play up, and play the game!' makes explicit the link between public school values and imperial attitudes.
- 3 At a time when the Army was still influenced by the opinions of the Duke of Wellington – not least that the terms 'officer' and 'gentleman' were synonymous – there seemed little wrong in achieving rank through purchase when a significant private income was considered as good an indicator of social standing as any. The abuses to which the system was prone – particularly unofficial sweeteners demanded by those selling ranks in popular regiments – led throughout the Victorian era to a sustained attack upon the system, however, and it was finally abolished as one of Minister of War Cardwell's famous reforms in 1871.
- 4 The term Caffre or Kaffir was in general use among Europeans throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century to describe a black South African. It is derived from *kafir*, the term for unbeliever used by early Muslim traders, and the British found it preferable to Xhosa which they could not pronounce. Although undoubtedly dismissive, the word does not then seem to have implied the degree of bitter contempt with which it has become loaded in more recent times.
- 5 Sir John Michel, three letters written at the end of January 1878, quoted in Major the Hon. Gerald French, *Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War* (London, 1939).

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- 6 Chelmsford to Sir Archibald Alison, 19 December 1878, quoted in Sonia Clarke (ed.), *Zululand At War 1879* (Johannesburg, 1984).
- 7 Thesiger to Shepstone, 8 July 1878, Chelmsford Papers, National Army Museum London (hereafter NAM), quoted in John Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign 1878–1879* (Stroud, 1994).
- 8 Hicks Beach to Frere, 17 October 1878, BPP, C 2220.
- 9 Quoted in Duncan Moodie (ed.), *John Dunn, Cetywayo and the Three Generals* (Pietermaritzburg, 1886).
- 10 Thesiger to Shepstone, 21 July 1878, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 11 Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent* (London, 1912).
- 12 Chelmsford to H.E. Wood, 23 November 1878.
- 13 Message from King Cetshwayo to Sir Henry Bulwer, 30 August 1878, Government House Papers, KwaZulu-Natal.
- 14 A flat-bottomed ferry pulled across the water by means of a cable fixed on either side.
- 15 For a detailed analysis of the causes of the war, and in particular of Frere's manipulation of the border dispute and the drafting of the ultimatum, see Richard Cope, *Ploughshare of War: The Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879* (Pietermaritzburg, 1999).
- 16 John Shepstone, report dated 19 December 1878 in BPP, C 2308.
- 17 Quoted in Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.

10. 'An uncommonly rough road'

- 1 This was the figure arrived at by F.B. Fynney in his pamphlet *The Zulu Army and Headmen* ('Published by order of the Lt. Gen. Commanding', 1878). In fact, this rather overestimates the strength of some of the older *amabutho*, some of whose members were too old to fight, and a good number of whom were always needed to watch the border or to remain at home to protect cattle and homes at the behest of their *amakhosi*. Cetshwayo was never able to muster more than 30,000 men at a time, of whom no more than 25,000 were concentrated into one single striking force.
- 2 Williams was later attached as a staff officer to an auxiliary unit, Wood's Irregulars; he was killed at the Battle of Hlobane on 28 March 1879.
- 3 Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*

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- (London, 1925). Smith-Dorrien's memoirs were not drafted until twenty years after the battle.
- 4 Daphne Child (ed.), *Zulu War Journal*. See also David and Emma Payne (eds), *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford* (Tenterden, 2008).
 - 5 Since the future of Zululand after conquest was not at this stage decided Chelmsford had no right to make such promises – but a number of Volunteers confirm that they were indeed made.
 - 6 Dunford, *A Soldier's Life and Work*.
 - 7 Chelmsford, Memorandum from Pietermaritzburg, 30 October 1878, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 8 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
 - 9 Harford to his mother, 14 January 1879, quoted in Payne, *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford*. It is interesting to note some discrepancies between Harford's immediate impression of events, conveyed at the time to his family, and the more coherent version worked up afterwards into his journal.
 - 10 The name was not originally hyphenated.
 - 11 R.S. Baden-Powell, *The Matabele Campaign 1896* (London, 1897). Baden-Powell met Hamilton Browne during this campaign.
 - 12 The case against Hamilton Browne's own account of his adventures in the New Zealand Wars is outlined by Barbara Cooper in 'George Hamilton Browne: An Investigation into His Career in New Zealand', in *Historical Review: The Bay of Plenty Journal of History*, Vol. 33, No. 2, November 1985. It is certainly true that there is an almost total lack of evidence to confirm his own participation in the stories outlined in Browne's book *With the Lost Legion in New Zealand* (London, 1911).
 - 13 George Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa* (London, c. 1913).
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 Child, *Zulu War Journal*. In a letter written to his mother on 14 January 1879, reproduced in Payne, *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford*, Harford tells the same story but gives the man's name as Jacob.
 - 16 Newman Noggs is a character in Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby*.

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- 17 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 18 C.L. Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879* (London, 1880).
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Hat band or head-cloth.
- 22 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.

11. 'A dreadful sameness'

- 1 Captain W.E. Montague, *Campaigning in South Africa* (London, 1880).
- 2 The incident is described in the Colonels Paton, Glennie and Penn Symons, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment* (London, 1892).
- 3 The 24th became the South Wales Borderers on 1 July 1881, as part of an extensive reorganization of the Army's territorial associations. The new title reflected the fact that the 24th had established an administrative depot at Brecon, south Wales, in 1873. The regiment has gone through several incarnations since – from the Royal Regiment of Wales to today's Royal Welsh – each of which has celebrated a Welsh connection which was only just beginning at the time of the Anglo-Zulu War.
- 4 Lt N.J. Coghill, *Diary*, 12 May 1876, quoted in Patrick Coghill (ed.), *Whom the Gods Love: A Memoir of Lieutenant Nevill Josiah Aylmer Coghill*, compiled by his nephew (Gloucestershire, 1966).
- 5 Frere, quoted in Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*.
- 6 Sir A.T. Cunynghame, *My Command* (London, 1879).
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Recruits were required to sign up for a minimum of six years with a further six in the reserve, rather than the twelve years which had been compulsory previously. It was hoped that by shortening the minimum period of service, enlistment would seem less of a commitment for life and appeal to a more intelligent class of recruit.
- 9 J.N. Crealock, *Journal entry*, 6 April 1878, quoted in Hummel (ed.), *The Frontier War Journal of Major John Crealock*.

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- 10 Letter in the *Dover Express*, 25 April 1879, quoted in Emery, *The Red Soldier* (London, 1977).
- 11 Fred Symons, Talana Museum, Dundee, KwaZulu-Natal. Fred Symons left a long account of his experiences in Zululand in the form of a journal. I have relied on a typescript copy held in the Talana Museum, Dundee, KwaZulu-Natal. However, the original manuscript together with other documents is held by the Natal Carbineers Archive, Pietermaritzburg, while the Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, have copies of material apparently expanded and reworked later from parts of the journal. See also Mark Coghlan, *Trooper Fred Symons, Natal Carbineers: Enthusiasm and Misgivings* (no date or publisher; Natal Carbineers Archive, c. 2009).
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Clery to Sir Archibald Alison, 11 March 1879, quoted in Clarke (ed.), *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Bulwer, quoted in Sonia Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand 1879* (Johannesburg, 1979).
- 16 Wolseley held dismissive views of most of the officers under Chelmsford's command; in fairness he may have been prejudiced as he had served with Crealock's elder brother, H.H. Crealock, and clearly disliked him intensely.
- 17 Clery, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 18 Crealock to Sir Archibald Alison, Helpmekaar, 9 January 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 19 Clery, 11 March 1879, quoted in Clarke (ed.), *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 20 Symons papers, Talana Museum. Mealies is the local name for corn.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Sam Jones, account in the *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 24 Report dated 6 January 1879, 'From Our Helpmekaar Correspondent', *Natal Mercury*, 11 January 1879.
- 25 From *giya*, a solitary war-dance involving shadow-fighting imaginary enemies.
- 26 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 27 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.

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- 28 Letter to Sir Archibald Allison, Helpmekaar, 9 January 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 29 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.

12. 'The shadow of the Great White Queen'

- 1 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ncwadi's grandfather – Zikhali's father – was the famous Matiwane kaMasumphu, who had been driven out of Zululand sixty years previously by the Ndwandwe, and who had eventually returned, only to be put to death by King Dingane.
- 4 The amaZondi lived astride the main road from Greytown to Keate's Drift. Cramped and impoverished, they had suffered significantly under colonial rule; in 1906 the *inkosi* of the amaZondi, Bhambatha kaMancinza, had been the first to lead armed resistance against the imposition of the Natal government's poll tax.
- 5 At least until stocks ran out; some late arrivals were issued with Sniders.
- 6 Revd Owen Watkins, 'They Fought for the Great White Queen', in *The Methodist Recorder*, quoted in G.A. Chadwick and E.G. Hobson (eds), *The Zulu War and the Colony of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1979).
- 7 Anecdote quoted by Sir Garnet Wolseley in Adrian Preston (ed.), *The South African Diaries of Sir Garnet Wolseley, 1879–80* (Cape Town, 1973).
- 8 Theophilus Shepstone, quoted in Drooglever, *The Road to Isandhlwana*.
- 9 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 10 Chelmsford to Frere, 1 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 11 Presumably to give him sufficient rank to act as a column commander. A brevet rank was a temporary promotion allowing an officer to hold a rank one above his substantive rank. It was sometimes issued in the field, often to give officers sufficient authority for a particular duty or as a reward for gallantry. As a brevet colonel Durnford would have ranked above substantive lieutenant-colonels, but below a substantive colonel.

Notes

- 12 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 13 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 14 Chelmsford to Frere, 10 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 15 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 16 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 17 Account of Lugubu Mbata, Carl Faye Papers 8/16, KwaZulu-Natal Archive.
- 18 Capt. H. Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars* (London, 1880).

13. 'A big fuss over a small matter'

- 1 Report 'From Our Biggarsberg Correspondent, 11 January', *Natal Mercury*, 17 January 1879.
- 2 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 3 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 4 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 5 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 8 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 9 *Natal Mercury*, 17 January 1879.
- 10 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 11 H.G. Mainwaring, 22 January 1895, quoted in Norman Holme, *The Noble 24th* (London, 1999).
- 12 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 13 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 14 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 15 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 16 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 17 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 18 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.

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- 19 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 20 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 21 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 22 Presumably 'Ji!', a cry of exultation or triumph.
- 23 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 26 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 27 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Payne, *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford*.
- 30 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 31 Paton, Glennie and Penn Symons, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 32 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 33 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 34 Chelmsford to Frere, 'Camp in Zululand near Rorke's Drift 12 January 1879', Chelmsford Papers, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 35 Crealock to Sir Archibald Alison, 'Rorke's Drift, 14 January 1879', reproduced in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 36 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 37 Harford to his mother, 14 January 1879, quoted in Payne, *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford*.

14. 'Quite red with soldiers'

- 1 Personal interview with Mdiceni Gumede, 24 April 1996. Mr Gumede's grandfather, iZitha Gumede, was an *udibi* (mat-carrier) who carried mats and raw meat for kinsmen in the iNgobamakhosi during the iSandlwana campaign.
- 2 Bishop Wilkinson, 14 January 1871, quoted in 'E. and H.W.', *Soldiers of the Cross in Zululand* (London, 1905).
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 King Cetshwayo, letter from captivity in Cape Town to Sir Hercules

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- Robinson, Governor of the Cape, 29 March 1881, BPP C 2950; quoted in C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds), *A Zulu King Speaks* (Pietermaritzburg, 1978). Hereafter, King Cetshwayo, letter to the Governor of the Cape.
- 5 Dymes's account quoted in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
 - 6 Chelmsford to Durnford, 14 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 7 Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
 - 8 Chelmsford to Frere, 'Camp in Zululand near Rorke's Drift, 12 January 1879', Chelmsford Papers, NAM, London, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 9 Crealock to Sir Archibald Alison, Rorke's Drift, 14 January 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
 - 10 Chelmsford to Frere, Rorke's Drift, 13 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 11 Chelmsford to Wood, Rorke's Drift, 16 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 12 Spelt over the following months in a variety of ways according to the impressions of the writer.
 - 13 Manuscript of Captain W. Penn Symons, Regimental Museum, Brecon.
 - 14 'From the Witness Correspondent, Headquarters Camp, Near Rorke's Drift, 18 January 1879', *Natal Mercury*, 24 January 1879.
 - 15 Chelmsford to Frere, Rorke's Drift, 16 January 1879, quoted in French, *Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War*.
 - 16 'From the Witness Correspondent, Headquarters Camp, Near Rorke's Drift, 18 January 1879', *Natal Mercury*, 24 January 1879.
 - 17 Chelmsford to Frere, 16 January 1879, quoted in French, *Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War*.
 - 18 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 19 Ibid.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 Ibid.
 - 22 Henry Francis Fynn Jnr, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster', *Natal Witness*, 22 January 1913.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 'Bashee Valley Camp, Jan 20 1879', *Natal Mercury*, 28 January 1879.

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15. 'Give the matter to us!'

- 1 'Cetywayo's Story', *Macmillan's Magazine*, February 1880, reprinted in Webb and Wright, *A Zulu King Speaks*.
- 2 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo, in Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 3.
- 3 The *ibutho* selected in January 1879 was either the uVe – the youngest in the army – or the iNgobamakhosi, with which the uVe were incorporated.
- 4 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 R.C. Samuelson, *Long, Long Ago* (Durban, 1929).
- 7 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
- 8 King Cetshwayo, letter to the Governor of the Cape.
- 9 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
- 10 Account of Mhlahlana Ngune, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 11 Account by a Zulu deserter of the uNokhenke, translated by Chelmsford's interpreter, the Hon. William Drummond, published in the *Natal Witness*, 24 February 1879. It is interesting to note that this account includes the phrase '. . . and drive it back into Natal; and, if the state of the river will allow, follow it up through Natal, right up to the Drakensberg'. The implication that the king instructed his army to invade British territory is flatly contradicted by a mass of evidence from other Zulu sources; it seems that either the deserter told his interrogators what he thought they wanted to hear, or Chelmsford's staff inserted this phrase to stress King Cetshwayo's alleged aggressive intent.
- 12 Account of Nzuzi Mandla of the uVe, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Account of Mhlahlana Ngune, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929. The choice of these phrases is significant – Mantshonga and Ngqelebana were the Zulu names for two white men, Rathbone and Walmsley, who had been caught up in the 'Battle of the Princes' in 1856 when Cetshwayo destroyed his rival Prince Mbuyazi. The whites were widely blamed on that occasion for encouraging Mbuyazi's defiance, and a number of black Border Policemen, commanded by John Dunn, had

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- fought on Mbuyazi's side. The choice of these phrases therefore reflects popular support for Cetshwayo's perceived defiance of the whites.
- 15 Account of Gumpeka Qwabe, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 16 Account of Mtshapi kaNoradu, in Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 4.
 - 17 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
 - 18 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 19 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
 - 20 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 21 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
 - 22 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
 - 23 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 24 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
 - 25 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
 - 26 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 27 *Regulations for Field Forces in South Africa, 1878* (Pietermaritzburg, 1878).
 - 28 Manuscript, Penn Symons.
 - 29 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 30 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
 - 31 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.

16. 'We laughed and parted'

- 1 George H. Swinny, *A Zulu Boy's Recollections of the Zulu War and of Cetshwayo's Return* (London, 1883), reprinted in C. de B. Webb (ed.), *Natalia*, No. 8, December 1978.
- 2 F.B. Fynney, *The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen*, 2nd edition (Pietermaritzburg, 2 April 1879).
- 3 On 25 January 1879.
- 4 Chelmsford to Frere, 'Head Quarters Camp, Insalwana Hill', 21 January 1879. Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 5 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 6 Coghill, quoted in Coghill, *Whom the Gods Love*.
- 7 This camp was never made, of course, but it is interesting to note that,

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- even if the lip of the gorge was exploited as a defensive feature, visibility is considerably limited on all sides by comparison with the iSandlwana site.
- 8 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
 - 9 Coghill, *Whom the Gods Love*.
 - 10 Chelmsford to Frere, 21 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
 - 11 Clery to Colonel Harman, 17 February 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
 - 12 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
 - 13 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
 - 14 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
 - 15 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
 - 16 Account in *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 17 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
 - 18 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
 - 19 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
 - 20 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
 - 21 *Report of Proceedings of 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th January 1879, from Lt. Milne R.N.*, Lugg files, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. Hereafter, Milne Report.
 - 22 Ibid. The 'highest hill' is presumably the Mkwene high-point, above where the Isandlwana Lodge now stands.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 W.C.F. Molyneux, *Campaigning in South Africa and Egypt* (London, 1896).
 - 25 Account by unidentified Zulu man (describing the practice of the army) in Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*.
 - 26 Account in *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 27 The most complete version of Mehlokazulu's account, taken at Fort Napier, Pietermaritzburg on 28 November 1879, while he was on trial, was published in the 'War Supplement' to the *Natal Mercury*, c. December 1879. Variations on this text – all apparently drawn from the same interview – appear in Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the*

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- British throughout the War of 1879* and the *Royal Engineers Journal*, 2 February 1880. Hereafter, Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 28 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 31 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 32 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 33 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 34 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 35 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 41 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 42 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.

17. 'Did you hear that?'

- 1 Milne, *Report*.
- 2 Clery to Colonel Harman, 17 February 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 3 Typescript of radio broadcast by Colonel Lewis, 1939, 'From Broadcast Reminiscences of Natal 1937–1939', Killie, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. Lewis was told this anecdote by Dorehill himself. Hayes's grave is in the military cemetery at Helpmekaar.
- 4 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.

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- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Leoni Twentyman Jones (ed.), *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell* (Cape Town, 1979).
- 7 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 8 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 9 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 10 Maxwell reports hearing this story. Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 11 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 12 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 13 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 14 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 15 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 16 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 17 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 20 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 It must be admitted that evidence of the Zulu movements in the Mangeni area is thin, and that any reconstruction of events must include a degree of speculation. My interpretation is based on the evidence of one of Bishop Colenso's informants, Magema Fuze, who stated that 'Matyana was ordered to meet the big army', by Henry Francis Fynn Jnr's comment that 'the Zulus were ascending the Mangeni on the eastern side', by Muziwento's assertion that Chelmsford attacked Matshana's men on the 22nd, not the main army – 'we heard it said that Matshana, the son of Mondisa, had just been slaughtered' – and by the complete absence of any Zulu tradition that royal *amabutho* were engaged in the skirmishing in the Mangeni hills.
- 26 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 27 Clery to Colonel Harman, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 28 Ibid.

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- 29 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 30 Clery to Harman, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 31 Clery to Sir Archibald Alison, 28 April 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 32 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 33 Newnham-Davis, interview in *Chums* magazine, 1900.

18. 'The valour of ignorance'

- 1 Coghill, *Whom the Gods Love*.
- 2 Probably Clery.
- 3 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 4 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 5 There is no 'Bongoza' listed among the names of King Cetshwayo's *amabutho*; in fact, this force may well have been men of the Mpungose chiefdom, which lay to the south-east of Babanango mountain, making their way to join the royal army.
- 6 The king's supporters were known by the name 'uSuthu'; 'horned' suggests that they were in battle array (i.e. deployed as 'chest and horns').
- 7 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 8 Curiously, this site was chosen as the location for the battle scenes in the 1979 movie based upon iSandhlwana, Douglas Hickox's *Zulu Dawn*.
- 9 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 10 UMhotti, *Isandhlwana: As Related by One of the Zulus*, Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 11 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 12 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 13 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 14 Clery to Colonel Harman, 17 February 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 15 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 16 Information gathered by Bishop Colenso's informant, Magema Fuze, in Bishop Colenso's notes, quoted in Cornelius Vijn (trans. Colenso), *Cetshwayo's Dutchman* (London, 1880).
- 17 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.

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- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 20 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 21 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 22 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 28 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 29 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Russell, Report, WO32/7731, National Archives, London.
- 34 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 35 Clery, report to the Deputy Adjutant-General dated 7 February 1879, W033/34, National Archives.
- 36 Clery to Colonel Harman, 17 February, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 37 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*. Captain William Penn Symons was present with the battalion that day and was presumably the source of this information.
- 38 Clery to Colonel Harman, 17 February 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 39 Today Milne is chiefly remembered as the man who, as commander of the Mediterranean fleet at the very moment the First World War broke out, allowed the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* to escape to Constantinople, indirectly drawing Turkey into the war as a German ally. Milne served the remainder of the First World War on half-pay, although the Admiralty exonerated him of any error of judgement; he had been wrong-footed by the German movements and had only lighter, slower ships with which to stop them. He retired in 1919 and died in 1938.

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- 40 *Cussonia spicata*, in English the Common Cabbage Tree, in Afrikaans the Kiepersol Boom and in isiZulu the Umsengembuzi ('Goat Food'), can attain a height of over 10 metres.
- 41 Milne, *Report*.
- 42 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 43 Russell, *Report*.
- 44 Gardner, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekeer, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 45 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 48 Arthur Harness, Helpmekeer, 25 January 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand 1879*.

19. 'We commence work in earnest'

- 1 Vause to 'Miss Katie', published in the *Natal Witness*, 21 January 1967.
- 2 Stafford, *Natal Mercury*, 12 March 1924. Stafford lived a long and adventurous life and left a number of accounts of iSandlwana, many of them written in old age and varying slightly in detail.
- 3 Vause to 'Miss Katie', published in the *Natal Witness*, 21 January 1967.
- 4 Quoted in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 5 Cochrane, *Report*, Helpmekeer, 8 February 1879, published in the *London Gazette*, 21 March 1879.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 Corporal Gamble, Sappers Cuthbert, Maclaren and Wheatley and Driver Robson. Robson returned to Rorke's Drift with Chard and fought in the defence; the others were killed at iSandlwana.
- 8 Chard's movements are detailed in a long letter he wrote at Queen Victoria's request and submitted to Windsor Castle on 21 February 1880. Quoted in Norman Holme, *The Noble 24th* (London, 1999).
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 The family name is apparently pronounced 'Brumhead' rather than 'Bromhead', and similarly 'Gonny' (from Gonville) pronounced 'Gunny' – so Gonville was known to his colleagues as 'Gunny Brumhead'. My thanks to Brigadier David Bromhead for this point.

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- 11 Quoted in Coghill, *Whom the Gods Love*. The note is transcribed from a handwritten original. The reference to rations is intriguing, since the 2/24th carried with them a day's rations, and there is no mention elsewhere of more being sent out to them. Rations for all the men out with Chelmsford would require more than one light wagon – and Coghill himself mentions that the NNC were expected back in camp to be fed. I have assumed it is either a mistranscription or a careless reference to the reserve ammunition, which Clery mentions was specifically ordered to be ready to send out at short notice.
- 12 Quoted in Philip Gon, *The Road to Isandlwana* (Johannesburg, 1979).
- 13 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 14 There is some confusion about the positioning of the mounted vedettes. According to the account of Trooper W.W. Barker – published in John Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers* (Pietermaritzburg, 1912) – the vedettes were posted 'from three to five miles away'. Barker himself was posted with Trooper Hawkins 'on a hill to the extreme front, quite six miles away'; unsurprisingly, he does not name the feature, and attempts to identify such a spot have compounded the confusion. However, the map in the official history of the war, J.S. Rothwell, *Narrative of Field Operations Connected with the War in Zululand* (London, 1881), shows no vedettes posted beyond the amaTutshane conical hill and the iThusi highpoint on the iNyoni escarpment. It is worth noting that Inspector Mansel of the Mounted Police was told by an unidentified staff officer not to post vedettes too far out as they would be 'of no use' (quoted in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*). Vedettes posted out of sight of the camp would not be able to signal information visually, which Barker mentions doing; in my view it is more likely Barker simply confused the distance and was referring to the post on iThusi – but it should be noted that the evidence is open to other interpretations.
- 15 Barker, in Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 16 The Hon. Standish William Vereker, the third son of Lord Gort, was a gentleman adventurer who had come to southern Africa, apparently for the sport, in 1878. Instead he had joined the Frontier Light Horse, and had taken part in the Sekhukhune campaign in 1878 before transferring to the 3rd NNC in time for the new campaign.
- 17 Higginson, Official Report, W0 32/7726, National Archives, London.
- 18 Barker, in Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.

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- 19 Higginson, Official Report.
- 20 Account of Malindi, who was serving in this company; Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 21 Curling to his family, 2 February 1879, quoted in Adrian Greaves and Brian Best (eds), *The Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War* (Barnsley, 2001).
- 22 Brickhill, account in the *Natal Magazine*, September 1879.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Cochrane, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 26 Higginson, Official Report.
- 27 Cochrane, Report, *London Gazette*.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 30 Cochrane gave several versions of this conversation – in his evidence to the Court of Inquiry (Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260), his report, and to Edward Durnford, which is included in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*. He is also the anonymous 'special service officer' quoted by Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 31 Higginson, Official Report.
- 32 Davies, Report, WO 32/7726, National Archives, London.
- 33 Raw, Report, WO 32/7713, National Archives, London.
- 34 Davies, Report.
- 35 Nourse, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 36 'Going at a canter . . . between 5 and 6 miles'. Cochrane, Report, *London Gazette*.
- 37 Davies, Report.
- 38 A manuscript copy of Jabez Molife's account is among the Durnford Papers at the Royal Engineers Museum, Chatham. It is reprinted in F.W.D. Jackson and Julian Whybra, 'Isandhlwana and the Durnford Papers', *Soldiers of the Queen* (Journal of the Victorian Military Society), No. 60, March 1990.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Davies, Report.

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20. 'The king's day!'

- 1 Sir William Beaumont, account in the *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 2 Sir H.M. Bengough, *Memories of a Soldier's Life* (London, 1913).
- 3 Beaumont, *Natal Mercury*.
- 4 Bengough, *Memories of a Soldier's Life*.
- 5 Beaumont, *Natal Mercury*.
- 6 J.Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus* (London, 1911).
- 7 In recent years there has been some debate about the site of the Zulu bivouac. Of contemporary commentators, only Muziwento mentions the 'Ingwebini' by name, but it is worth noting that no other spot was suggested by other eyewitnesses. The site is marked as such on the map produced by Captain Anstey and Lieutenant Penrose, RE, and published in the official *Narrative of Field Operations Connected with the War in Zululand*. Their source was an (unnamed) son of Sihayo who, after the war, gave them 'assistance and information with great readiness and good will' so that 'accurate information, respecting the ground occupied by the Zulus, both before and during the battle has been obtained by them' (introductory comments to Mehlokazulu's account, *Royal Engineers Journal*, 2 February 1880). The Ngwebeni is, moreover, the only feature in the vicinity both large enough to provide shelter for the Zulu army and with sufficient access to water. That the bivouac took place there has been well known to local residents, both black and white, across 130 years.
- 8 King Cetshwayo, letter to the Governor of the Cape.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Mehlokazulu, account in the *Royal Engineers Journal*, 2 February 1880.
- 11 Account in the *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.
- 14 L.H. Samuelson, *Zululand: Its Traditions, Legends, Customs and Folklore* (Durban, 1974; includes material originally published in 1912).
- 15 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
- 16 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 17 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 18 Account in the *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.

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- 19 On the role of Zulu foragers see Ian Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army*.
- 20 Legend has credited Zibhebhu with almost superhuman achievements in securing intelligence that morning, for it was said after the war that he had penetrated the British camp, passing himself off as a man of the NNC, then had worked his way up the mountain itself until, from the summit, he had been able to look right down among the tents and study the British defences – or lack of them – at his leisure. Such feats were not beyond the capacities of Zulu scouts, but on this occasion the story is probably apocryphal – it is difficult to see what Zulu scouts might have learned from inside the camp that they could not plainly see from the escarpment – and no doubt reflects the absolute mastery of the terrain attained by Zibhebhu and his scouts. The story is given in C.T. Binns, *The Warrior People* (London, 1975).
- 21 Mehlokazulu, Interview. The footnotes to this article suggest that the ‘moving about’ referred to the vedettes riding in a circle, the signal for ‘enemy in sight’. If nothing else, this suggests the vedettes were on the lip of the iNyoni escarpment, close enough to be seen by the camp, rather than on hills further out with no direct line of sight.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929. The reference to cooking fires is intriguing; either these were the remains of the aborted meal of the night before, or the men had taken the chance to light fires under cover of the mist.
- 25 The uKhandempemvu were also known by the name uMcijo, although uKhandempemvu seems to have been preferred by most Zulu sources.
- 26 Account in Frances E. Colenso, assisted by Lt Col. E. Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origins* (London, 1880).
- 27 ‘Zulu Deserter’.
- 28 Both the Battle of Nyezane (22 January 1879) and the Battle of Khambula (29 March 1878) began with spontaneous Zulu attacks.
- 29 uGuku, in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origins*.
- 30 ‘Zulu Deserter’.
- 31 Barker in Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 32 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.

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- 33 King Cetshwayo, letter to the Governor of the Cape.
- 34 The early movements of the *amabutho* on 22 January have led to theories in recent years that the Zulu attack was already under way before Durnford's detachments stumbled upon the *impi*. It is certainly possible to posit alternative scenarios in which Ntshingwayo reacted to Lord Chelmsford's absence by seizing the initiative and launching an attack on the reduced garrison. However, if this is so not one eyewitness source made a clear and unambiguous statement to that effect, and there is a significant raft of evidence to the contrary – for example, Mehlokazulu's comment that the Zulu high command were unaware of Chelmsford's absence, and Ntshingwayo's remark that he would wait on British movements. In fact, the Zulu sources – gleaned over many years from men from many different *amabutho* – are remarkably consistent and reflect a general understanding that the attack was not to be made on the 22nd, and that they reacted to being fired upon by British patrols rather than the other way around. While some *amabutho* had clearly left the Ngwebeni earlier that morning, it seems equally clear to me that they had returned again, and that the vast majority of the *amabutho* were still in the valley when the encounter took place. The deserter of the uNokhenke specifically states that his *ibutho* had 'returned to our original position' and 'sat down again', while both Mehlokazulu and Mhlahlala mention that they were attempting to breakfast when the encounter took place – and not already deploying for an attack. It is also important to note that the final ritual preparations for combat had not taken place among the majority of the *amabutho* when the fighting began; such preparations were extremely important to bolster the ceremonies which had taken place at kwa-Nodwengo the week before. The potency of those rituals was believed to dilute with each passing day (see Knight, *Anatomy of the Zulu Army*, on the significance of these rituals) and it was vital to top them up last thing before entering combat. Indeed, so important were they that Ntshingwayo insisted on performing them upon the reserve *amabutho* – the only ones he could restrain for long enough – even as the attack developed. King Cetshwayo noted that his commanders were still in conference when the battle began, and not present with their *amabutho*; Muziwento (whose father Zibane was present) commented that the *amabutho* 'mutinied' against attempts by their own officers to restrain

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them. As to whether the Zulu were still in the Ngwebeni at the time of the encounter or had for some reason already begun to emerge from it, all the British eyewitness testimony – Raw, Hamer, Nyanda – stresses that only small groups of foragers could be seen on the heights, and that the main body of the army was not discovered until the patrols ascended a geographical feature – a ridge or hill – and saw the *amabutho* in the valley beyond. The deserter of the uNokhenke notes that the British patrol ‘appeared on the hill to the west’, Mhlahlala commented that his *ibutho* first advanced ‘up the hill’ (*after* the first shots had been fired) and even King Cetshwayo – who of course debriefed his generals – said that his ‘troops then moved up a little hill’. All these references imply a feature more significant than the undulations that lie along the upper reaches of the Ngwebeni in the direction of iSandlwana. I am firmly of the opinion that no attack had been deliberately launched before the encounter with Raw’s men, that the Zulu army was largely concealed behind Mabaso, and that Raw’s men, pursuing foragers, had ridden up on to the south-western slopes of the hill before spotting the army below them.

- 35 Raw, Report.
- 36 James Nathaniel Hamer was a civilian hired by Durnford to work in No. 2 Column’s commissariat department. His account is in the Chelmsford Papers, NAM, London.
- 37 Nyanda, WO 33/44, National Archives, London.
- 38 Higginson, Official Report.
- 39 Raw, Report.
- 40 Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.
- 41 ‘Zulu Deserter’.
- 42 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 43 Quoted in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 44 Account of Mhlahlala, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 45 Swinny, ‘A Zulu Boy’s Recollections’.
- 46 An account of iSandlwana by Lee appeared in the *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929. It is written in the first person, as if spoken by Mehlokazulu, but this seems to be a dramatic device; Lee had met Mehlokazulu when he first arrived at iSandlwana, but Mehlokazulu was killed in the 1906 rebellion, just a few years later. Rather, this account

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- is Lee's dramatic and imaginative impression of the battle, influenced by conversations over the years with Zulu participants.
- 47 'Zulu Deserter'.
- 48 Account of Ndukwana kaMbengwane, in Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 4.
- 49 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 50 'Zulu Deserter'.
- 51 'The chiefs, knowing that the work of death was being executed, broke up the meeting and went to their several regiments.' King Cetshwayo, letter to the Governor of the Cape.
- 52 'Mabope is chewed by the Zulus when going into battle, the *induna* giving the word "Lumani (bite) umabope!", which they do for a few minutes and then spit it out again, saying "Nang'umabope" (here is the *umabope*). The notion is that the foe will be bound in consequence to commit some foolish act (the verb *bopa* means "tie").' Samuelson, *Zululand*.
- 53 Nyanda, Report.
- 54 uGuku, in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*; Nyanda, Report.

21. 'The lightning of heaven'

- 1 There is some confusion regarding where the sacred *inkatha* was kept. Most sources agree that it was kept under the watchful eye of Queen Langazana, a widow of *inkosi* Senzangakhona who lived until 1884, in the esiKlebheni royal homestead near Senzangakhona's grave in the emaKhosini valley (see H.C. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*). However, one of the girls in Cetshwayo's private quarters, Nomguqo 'Paulina' Dlamini, was adamant that it was kept in a special hut in the most private part of the oNdini homestead (see H. Filter and S. Bourquin, *Paulina Dlamini: Servant of Two Kings*, Pietermaritzburg, 1986). The most likely explanation is that the *inkatha* was brought to oNdini from esiKlebheni when required for important rituals. On 26 June 1879, during the last stages of the invasion, the British mounted a foray into the *emaKhosini* valley and destroyed a large number of royal homesteads; Zulus retreating before them destroyed several more.

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Among those set ablaze was esiKlebheni and, unknown to the British, the sacred *inkatha* was then among the huts. It was destroyed with the rest.

- 2 Filter and Bourquin, *Paulina Dlamini*.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 6 Gardner, Report, WO 33/34, National Archives, London.
- 7 Glyn's copy of these orders was found on the battlefield by one of the burial details later in the war and passed to Major J.W. Huskisson, 56th Regiment, who was appointed Commandant of Durban during the war. The original orders are still with Huskisson's descendants. One can only speculate why they were at iSandlwana; perhaps they were simply left by Glyn with the rest of his effects when he rode out that morning, or perhaps he passed them over to Pulleine for guidance during his absence.
- 8 Curling, 11 February 1879, quoted in Greaves and Best, *The Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 9 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Cochrane, Report, *London Gazette*.
- 14 'What Lieutenant Davis Says', *Natal Mercury*, 31 January 1879.
- 15 Davies, Report.
- 16 Jackson and Whybra, 'Isandhlwana and the Durnford Papers', *Soldiers of the Queen*. This account, with a few minor variations, also appeared in the *Natal Mercury*, 28 February 1879.
- 17 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 18 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 19 Nourse, Account in the *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.
- 20 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 21 Lee gave two slightly different versions of this chant, one of which appeared in the *Natal Witness* of 19 January 1929, the other in Captain H. Wilkins, *The Story of the Blood Drenched Field of Isandhlwana*, produced for the sixtieth anniversary of the battle (Vryheid, 1939). See also Lee's *Once Dark Country* (London, 1949).

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- 22 Nourse, *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.
- 23 Johnson, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 24 Trainer, *ibid*.
- 25 Davies, Report.
- 26 Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 27 Vause, Diary, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
Part of it is reproduced in the *Daily News*, 22 January 1969.
- 28 *Ibid*.
- 29 Account in the *Natal Mercury*, 12 March 1924.
- 30 Statement dated 1939, copy in Talana Museum, Dundee.
- 31 *Ibid*.
- 32 Essex, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 33 Vause, Diary.
- 34 *Ibid*.
- 35 Nyanda, Report.
- 36 Essex, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 37 Nyanda, Report.
- 38 G.A. Chadwick, 'The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879: Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift', *South African Military History Society Journal*, January 1979.
- 39 Essex, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 40 *Ibid*.
- 41 Manuscript, Penn Symons.
- 42 Gardner, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 43 *Natal Mercury*, 12 March 1924.
- 44 Letter from an unidentified 'Officer attached to Col. Glyn's Column', *The Times*, 10 April 1879.
- 45 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 46 Letter from 'Officer attached to Col. Glyn's Column', *The Times*, 10 April 1879.
- 47 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*. The noise may have been the royalist war-cry 'uSuthu!', or the cry of exultation, 'Ji!' It is possible that some of the *amabutho* may have sung the sacred songs

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- of the ancestors as they advanced; others chanted the songs of their *ibutho*, or improvised cries such as that inspired by the rockets. There are suggestions that the *amabutho* likened themselves in attack to bees and may even have made a buzzing noise to heighten the allusion. At a distance of some hundreds of metres these sounds clearly merged together, and the effect, probably as intended, was deeply menacing.
- 48 Higginson, Official Report.
 - 49 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
 - 50 Curling, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
 - 51 Captain W. Penn Symons makes an ambiguous remark about men defending the *dongas* in his unpublished manuscript; it is not clear whether he is referring to the 24th, amaNgwane or Durnford's men.
 - 52 Nyanda, Report.
 - 53 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
 - 54 Ibid.
 - 55 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
 - 56 Gardner, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
 - 57 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
 - 58 Edwards, account in the *Natal Advertiser*, 22 January 1929.
 - 59 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
 - 60 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929. Zimema was actually describing his experiences at the Battle of Nyezane on the coast earlier that same day, but the intensity of the fire at iSandlwana was if anything greater.
 - 61 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 62 Wilkins, *The Story of the Blood Drenched Field of Isandhlwana*.
 - 63 Account in *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 20 June 1936.
 - 64 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
 - 65 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
 - 66 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
 - 67 Essex, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
 - 68 Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
 - 69 Shepherd's notes were published posthumously by the St John's Ambulance Brigade as *A Pocket Aide-Memoire Compiled for the Instruction of Troops in Zululand* (London, 1880).

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- 70 Shepherd, *A Pocket Aide-Memoire*.
- 71 Essex, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 72 Sir Evelyn Wood, *From Midshipman to Field Marshal* (London, 1906).
- 73 Sir Bartle Frere, quoted in J. Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere* (London, 1881).
- 74 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879. In his Court of Inquiry report (Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260) he says 'The companies 1st Battalion 24th Regiment first engaged were now becoming short of ammunition, and at the request of the officer in charge I went to procure a fresh supply, with the assistance of Quartermaster 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment and some men of the Royal Artillery. I had some boxes placed on a mule cart and sent it off to the companies engaged, and sent more by hand, employing any men without arms. I then went back to the line, telling the men that plenty of ammunition was coming.'
- 75 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 76 Smith-Dorrien's letter was passed on by his family and published in a number of newspapers at the time; it is reproduced in French, *Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War* and Emery, *The Red Soldier*.
- 77 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
- 78 My thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Mike McCabe RE for this point. In desperate circumstances, the back of an axe head or the butt of a rifle might also have done the trick.
- 79 A number of screws from the lid panel have been found on the battlefield over the years, bent in a manner which can only realistically be attributed to the opening of the boxes in such a way. Some surviving examples still have the brass housing from the box top in place, indicating that the wood was broken away while the screw was still fixed. In order to bend the screws one end would need to be firmly fixed and the other struck with considerable violence.
- 80 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
- 81 Account of Malindi, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 82 Raw, Report.
- 83 Essex, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 84 Molife in Jackson and Whybra, 'Isandhlwana and the Durnford Papers', *Soldiers of the Queen*.

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- 85 Henderson to his father, 28 January 1879, quoted in Peter Haythorn and Amy Young (eds), *Henderson Heritage* (Pietermaritzburg, 1972).
- 86 Quoted in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 87 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 88 Davies, Report.
- 89 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 90 Personal information from Isaac Dlamini whose great-grandfather fought at the battle.
- 91 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 92 Account of 'Untabeni and Uhlowani, two scouts', WO 32/7713, National Archives, London.
- 93 Some of the unattached men may have been in camp, however.
- 94 Quoted in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 95 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 96 Quoted in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 97 Account in Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal.
- 98 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 99 Curling quoted in Greaves and Best, *The Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*. In his evidence to the Court of Inquiry (Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260), Curling stated that the Zulus 'advanced slowly, without halting'.
- 100 Quoted in Frank Emery, 'Isandlwana: A Survivor's Letter', *Soldiers of the Queen*, No. 18, September 1979.
- 101 Higginson, Official Report.
- 102 'Zulu Deserter'.
- 103 Letter in the *Times of Natal*, 26 February 1879.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
- 106 Davies, Report.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Quoted in Jackson and Whybra, 'Isandhlwana and the Durnford Papers', *Soldiers of the Queen*.
- 109 Watkins, 'They Fought for the Great White Queen'.
- 110 Davies, Report.

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- 111 *Natal Advertiser*, 22 January 1929.
112 Gardner, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
113 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.

22. 'Kill me in the shadows'

- 1 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 2 Hamilton Browne, Official Report, Rorke's Drift, 2 February 1879, WO 32/7726, National Archives, London. Hamilton Browne's reports confine themselves rather more to facts than his memoirs, written years later; on the whole, however, the two are largely consistent regarding the sequence of events.
- 3 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.; Hamilton Browne, Official Report.
- 6 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 7 Ibid. This passage implies that the Zulu right horn entered the camp first, although this is contradicted by both Zulu and British eyewitnesses. The probable explanation, as Trooper Symons of the Carbineers noted, is that when the uMbonambi first struck the tents, sweeping round Pulleine's right, there was a rush to the rear of draft animals and non-combatants; many of these animals passed over the *nek* only to turn back into the camp when they met the right horn, causing further chaos among the troops trying to retreat. From a distance the movements on the *nek* may well have been clearer to Hamilton Browne than those on the flats below the tents, giving the impression that the right horn had entered the tents before it actually did so. In fact the two events must have taken place within minutes of each other – in the time it took for frightened animals to run over the *nek*, and back again.
- 8 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Account of a member of the uMbonambi, in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 11 'Mantshonga' Walmsley was the Natal Border Agent at the Lower Drift of the Thukela at the time of the battle, who Cetshwayo's party believed

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- encouraged their rival Prince Mbuyazi. 'Ngqelebana' Rathbone was a trader who was trying to flee Zululand with his cattle, but was prevented from escaping to Natal by the state of the river.
- 12 Account of a member of the uMbonambi, in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
 - 13 The story of Mkhosana is mentioned in a number of contemporary sources (see for example Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*), and I had the great good fortune to be told family traditions relating to his death by his grandson, the late Prince Gilenja Biyela. Mkhosana's body was covered over by his brother, Mthiyaqwa, who survived the battle and family traditions are strong on a number of points – notably that Mkhosana was wearing his regalia, and with regard to the gaping wound in the back of his head. Prince Gilenja was of the opinion that Mkhosana must have been accidentally shot by one of his own men during the charge; while this is possible, the injury sounds more consistent to me with the notorious exit wounds inflicted by Martini-Henry rounds. The warrior of the uMbonambi who fought in the battle thought that Mkhosana was shot 'clean through the forehead'.
 - 14 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
 - 15 Ibid.
 - 16 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
 - 17 Ibid.
 - 18 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
 - 19 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 20 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
 - 21 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
 - 22 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
 - 23 Hamer, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
 - 24 Higginson, Official Report.
 - 25 Account in Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal.
 - 26 Essex, evidence to Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
 - 27 Account of Malindi, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
 - 28 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
 - 29 Letter published in the *Times of Natal*, 26 February 1879.
 - 30 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.

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- 31 Information from Lindizwe Ngobese.
- 32 Account of Malindi, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 33 Greaves and Best, *The Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 34 Nyanda, Report.
- 35 Vause, letter in the *Natal Witness*, 21 January 1879.
- 36 Raw, Report.
- 37 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 38 Hamer, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 39 *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.
- 40 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 41 Quoted in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 42 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 43 Account of a member of the uMbonambi, in Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 44 Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 45 Essex, evidence to the Court of Inquiry, Helpmekaar, 27 January 1879, BPP, C 2260.
- 46 Stafford, Account, January 1938, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- 47 Notes on interviews conducted by Denys Bowden with survivors of the Anglo-Zulu War, Bowden Papers, KwaZulu-Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg, quoted in Ian Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows', *Soldiers of the Queen*, No. 74, September 1983.
- 48 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*. This is the only reference to the 1/24th Quartermaster, James Pullen, during the battle. There are very few survivors' accounts of activity in the 1/24th camp during the battle; it is highly likely that Pullen had at some point been involved in distributing supplies from his battalion's reserve ammunition supply.
- 49 Quoted in Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 50 *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.
- 51 Davies, Report.
- 52 Local time was two hours later than Greenwich Mean Time; in GMT the eclipse began at 11 a.m. and ended at 1.30 p.m.
- 53 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 54 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 55 Report by an unidentified survivor of the Carbineers, newspaper cutting, Old Court House Museum, Durban.

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- 56 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 57 *Natal Advertiser*, 22 January 1929.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Quoted in Edward Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 60 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 63 Account in W.H. Clements, *The Glamour and Tragedy of the Zulu War* (London, 1936).
- 64 *Natal Mercury*, 12 March 1924.
- 65 Stafford, Account, 1939.
- 66 *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.
- 67 *Natal Advertiser*, 22 January 1929.
- 68 *Times of Natal*, 31 January 1879. It seems likely however that the time was a little after this, as fighting went on for some time after the Zulus penetrated the camp.
- 69 Watkins, 'They Fought for the Great White Queen'.
- 70 Higginson, Official Report.
- 71 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 72 Smith-Dorrien to his father, quoted in Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 73 Davies, Report.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 The excavation was officially sanctioned by the KwaZulu-Natal heritage body, Amafa KwaZulu-Natali, and the remains reinterred once the grave had been repaired, in accordance with its policy.
- 78 Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 79 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 80 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 81 Quoted in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 82 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 83 *Natal Witness*, 19 January 1929.

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- 84 Unnamed eyewitness quoted in J.P. Mackinnon and S.H. Shadbolt, *The South Africa Campaign of 1879* (London, 1879).
- 85 H. Rider Haggard, 'The Tale of Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift', in Andrew Lang (ed.), *The True Story Book* (London, 1893).
- 86 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 87 uMhotti describes how one group of the 24th was driven down the Manzimnyama; papers in the Anstey family confirm the body of Edgar Anstey was found there. Edgar's brother, Captain T.H. Anstey, Royal Engineers, completed a survey of the battlefield in November 1879 during the course of which, according to family sources, he recovered a blood-stained handkerchief from Edgar's remains. A cluster of cairns on the banks of the Manzimnyama is believed to mark the spot today.
- 88 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 89 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 90 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 91 uMhotti, Account in Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 92 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 93 *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 20 June 1936.
- 94 Wilkins, *The Story of the Blood Drenched Field of Isandhlwana*.
- 95 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 96 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 97 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 98 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Account of a man of the uVe, quoted in Colenso and Durnford, *A History of the Zulu War and Its Origin*.
- 103 Ibid.

23. 'Do you hear that?'

- 1 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th* (London, 1999).
- 2 Ibid.

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- 3 Davies, Report.
- 4 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 5 Stafford, Account, January 1938.
- 6 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 James Hamer, in 'Copy of Part of My Son's Letter', Chelmsford Papers, NAM, London.
- 9 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 10 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 11 As well as detailing the incident in his own account, Brickhill told the story to Lieutenant Maxwell of the 3rd NNC. See Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 12 Davies, Report.
- 13 Stafford, Account, January 1938. Lieutenant L.D. Young of the 2/3rd NNC was killed in the battle. Young's brother, Lieutenant H.C. Young, wrote a letter published in the *Echo* on 24 February 1879 in which he claimed to have been in the camp and to have seen his brother shot through the head before he escaped; Walter Higginson refuted this version in the *Natal Mercury* of 16 May 1879, claiming that H.C. Young had never been present at iSandlwana, but had been sick at the Sandspruit on the day of the battle.
- 14 Hlubi, Account, Secretary for Native Affairs Department Papers, 1/1/34, No. 159, KwaZulu-Natal Archive. See also Hallam Parr's *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*: 'The Basutos . . . fired two or three rounds at a point where the Zulus seemed weakest, and then charged, and many of them managed to escape.'
- 15 Wilkins, *The Story of the Blood Drenched Field of Isandhlwana*.
- 16 Anecdote in Amy Helen Young, *Hathorn Family History* (Pietermaritzburg, c. 1970).
- 17 Quoted in Shepherd's biography in Mackinnon and Shadbolt, *The South Africa Campaign of 1879*.
- 18 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 At the Battle of Maiwand in Afghanistan on 27 July 1880 the 66th

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- Regiment found itself in a similar predicament to the 24th at iSandlwana, and to rally his men Colonel James Galbraith ordered one of the Colours to be uncased. About 200 men rallied to them, but Galbraith was killed shortly afterwards and the stand largely broken up.
- 24 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 30 Captain Church's report, quoted in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*.
- 31 Anonymous letter in the *Daily News*, 7 April 1879.
- 32 Clery to Colonel Harman, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*. The reference to 'curious reports' is intriguing, for Chelmsford denied receiving either of Hamilton Browne's earlier messages, and it is difficult to know to what other reports Clery might have been referring.
- 33 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Russell, Report.
- 36 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 37 Mansel, Report, quoted in Durnford, *A Soldier's Life*. Mansel's account seems credible enough but, as F.W.D. Jackson points out, in *Hill of the Sphinx* (Bexleyheath, 2002), it seems likely that the Mounted Police only patrolled towards the camp after the worst of the fighting was over (3–4 p.m.). Either Mansel has confused the chronology, and his return was earlier, or the flashes he saw were not those of the 7-pdrs firing. Note that he heard no sounds of battle – another manifestation perhaps of the treacherous acoustics of the countryside around iSandlwana.
- 38 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 39 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 42 H.V. Morton, *In Search of South Africa* (London, 1948).
- 43 *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 20 June 1936.
- 44 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 45 Mehlokazulu, Interview.

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- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Knight, 'Kill Me in the Shadows'.
- 49 Captain W.E. Montague, *Campaigning in South Africa* (London, 1880).
- 50 Interview with the author, March 1991.
- 51 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 52 Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 3.
- 53 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 54 Trooper Richard Stevens, letter first published in *Colchester Mercury and Essex Express*, 15 March 1879, quoted in Frank Emery, *The Red Soldier: Letters from the Zulu War 1879* (London, 1977).
- 55 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 56 Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 3.
- 57 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 58 Account in Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal.
- 59 Mehlokazulu, Interview.

24. 'Get on man!'

- 1 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Quoted in Frank Streatfield, *Reminiscences of an Old 'Un* (London, 1911).
- 4 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 5 See for example Gosset, quoted in French, *Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War*.
- 6 According to the intelligence booklet published at Lord Chelmsford's behest in November 1878, F.B. Fynney's *The Zulu Army and the Zulu Headmen*, the iNdluyengwe carried black shields with large white spots on the lower half. This information clearly pre-dates their incorporation into the uThulwana, however, and it is possible that by January 1879 they were both wearing the head-ring and carrying white shields.
- 7 Account 'By an Eye-Witness' (Reverend George Smith), *Natal Mercury*, 7 April 1879.

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- 8 Davies, Report.
- 9 Watkins, 'They Fought for the Great White Queen'.
- 10 Stafford, Account, January 1938.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Watkins, 'They Fought for the Great White Queen'.
- 13 Colonel Lewis, radio talk.
- 14 The cloak is now in Firepower, the Royal Artillery Museum, Woolwich, London.
- 15 Colonel Lewis, radio talk.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 20 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 21 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 22 *Times of Natal*, 26 February 1879.
- 23 Account in the *London Magazine*, No. 38, Vol. XXXI.
- 24 Smith-Dorrien to his father, quoted in Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 25 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*. The crossing spot has been known as Fugitives' Drift ever since the battle.
- 26 *Times of Natal*, 26 February 1879.
- 27 Brickhill, *Natal Magazine*.
- 28 Higginson, Official Report.
- 29 The rock was apparently identified in an engraving in the *Illustrated London News* as a large coffin-shaped boulder which lies close to the Zulu bank, and it is a popular marker for visitors to the site today. In fact, however, a close reading of the evidence suggests that the rock to which Higginson and Melvill clung was close to the Natal bank (the Colour case was found among the rocks on the Natal side). The coffin rock may actually have been the submerged feature which Brickhill says almost unhorsed him when he first entered the water.
- 30 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 31 Vause, letter in the *Natal Witness*, 21 January 1967.
- 32 Account in the *London Magazine*.
- 33 Account in Bishop Colenso's notes, in Vijn, *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*.
- 34 Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.

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- 35 Higginson, Official Report.
- 36 'Told to Mr Jas. Chadwick by Mbulwane Mdime at Qudeni, about 1919', Notes in Talana Museum, Dundee.
- 37 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 38 Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*.
- 39 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 40 Statement 'Taken by H.C. Shepstone, 3 February 1879', BPP, C 2260.
- 41 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 42 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 45 Charles Fortescue-Brickdale (ed.), *Major-General Sir Henry Hallam-Parr, Recollections and Correspondence* (London, 1917).
- 46 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 47 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 48 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 49 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 50 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 51 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 52 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 53 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 54 Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 55 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 56 Newnham-Davies, Interview, *Chums* magazine.
- 57 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 58 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 61 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 62 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 63 Family history; interview with Tim Coghlan.
- 64 Account in the *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 65 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 66 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 67 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 68 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 69 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.

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- 70 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Newnham-Davies, Interview, *Chums* magazine.
- 73 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 74 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 75 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 76 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 77 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 78 Private William Meredith, 2/24th, letter in the *South Wales Daily Telegram*, 24 March 1879, quoted in Emery, *The Red Soldier*.
- 79 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 80 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 81 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 82 A Private Dennis Harrington was also killed in the battle, and may have been Thomas's father.
- 83 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 84 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 85 Clery to Colonel Harman, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.

25. 'We stood up face to face, white men and black ...'

- 1 Dunne's account was originally published in the *Army Service Corps Journal* of 1891 (hereafter Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*). It is reproduced in Colonel Ian Bennett, *Eyewitness in Zululand* (London, 1989), and Alan Baynham Jones and Lee Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There* (Brighton, 2003), which remains an extremely useful compendium of the eyewitness accounts of the survivors, including most of those listed below.
- 2 My thanks to Joe Stockil for sharing family research on this point.
- 3 Gonville was one of four sons of Edmund de Gonville, 3rd Baronet Bromhead.
- 4 A variety of childhood ailments, a lifestyle lived in the open, often in hot climates and exposed to tropical diseases, plus the occupational hazards of regular proximity to loud bangs, meant that many distinguished Victorian soldiers were hard of hearing, including Evelyn Wood, who commanded Chelmsford's Left Flank Column, and whose

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- career was not affected by it in the least, rising as he did to the rank of field marshal.
- 5 Transcript of an interview Bourne gave to the BBC series *I was There, Listener*, 20 December 1936.
 - 6 Bourne, *Listener*.
 - 7 Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.
 - 8 'Return of Natives (not on Active Service) killed or captured by the Zulus on or since 22 January', BPP, C 2367.
 - 9 Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus*.
 - 10 Witt's account was published in a number of UK papers, notably the *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1879.
 - 11 Account 'By an Eyewitness' (Reverend George Smith), *Natal Mercury*, 7 April 1879.
 - 12 Quoted in Captain W.R. Ludlow, *Zululand and Cetewayo* (London, 1882).
 - 13 Stafford, Account, 1939.
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
 - 16 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
 - 17 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
 - 18 Fort Melvill was later built on this site.
 - 19 Jones, quoted in Emery, *The Red Soldier*.
 - 20 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
 - 21 Ibid.
 - 22 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 Account in *Army Medical Department Annual Report*, Appendix for 1878 (AMD, 1879). See also Lee Stevenson, *The Rorke's Drift Doctor* (Brighton 2001), and Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
 - 25 Bourne, *Listener*.
 - 26 Lugg, letter in the *North Devon Times*, 24 April 1879.
 - 27 Ibid.
 - 28 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.

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- 29 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
- 30 Lugg, *North Devon Times*.
- 31 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 32 Lugg, *North Devon Times*.
- 33 Letter from Bob Hall, c. 1906, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- 34 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 George Smith, who buried him on 23 January, noted the wound. Smith delicately attributed his death to the Zulus. Note in KwaZulu-Natal Archive, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 37 Hitch, Regimental Museum, Brecon, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 38 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
- 39 Hitch mentions that he saw from the hospital roof the Zulu *amabutho* halting to deploy.
- 40 Hook, Account in the *Royal Magazine*, February 1905.
- 41 Lugg, *North Devon Herald*.
- 42 Howard, letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, 25 March 1879.
- 43 Hook, Account in the *Strand Magazine*, Vol. 1, January–June 1891.
- 44 Reynolds, Account in *The VC*, c. 1903; see Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 45 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 46 Hitch, Regimental Museum, Brecon, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 47 Chard, Official Report, WO 32/7737, National Archives, London.
- 48 Lugg, *North Devon Times*.
- 49 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 50 Reynolds, Account, *The VC*.
- 51 Account 'By an Eyewitness' (Reverend George Smith), *Natal Mercury*, 7 April 1879.
- 52 Bourne, *Listener*.

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- 53 Bourne's account in *Listener* is heavily influenced by Colonels Paton, Glennie and Penn Symons's regimental history; Bourne admits that he knew nothing of the details of iSandlwana at the time, but it may be that the realization that the Zulus had captured so many Martini-Henry rifles at iSandlwana shaped his impressions of Rorke's Drift after the event.
- 54 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 55 Account in the *Cambrian*, 13 June 1879.
- 56 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 57 A photograph of the dog appears in Stevenson, *The Rorke's Drift Doctor*.
- 58 Reynolds, Account, *The VC*.
- 59 Account 'By an Eyewitness' (Reverend George Smith), *Natal Mercury*, 7 April 1879.
- 60 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Hook, Account, *Strand Magazine*.
- 66 Account in *Rare Bits*, c. 1883; quoted in Barry C. Johnson's thorough biography of Hook, *Hook of Rorke's Drift* (Birmingham, 2004).
- 67 Account from an unknown West Country newspaper, 21 May 1881, believed to be Hook's first interview; quoted in Johnson, *Hook of Rorke's Drift*.
- 68 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 69 Account in the *Cambrian*, 13 June 1879.
- 70 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Hallam-Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 73 Statement made by Connolly on being invalided home, RA VIC/034/64, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.
- 74 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.

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- 75 Account in an unidentified Dundee newspaper, 1879, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 76 Lugg, *North Devon Times*.
- 77 Hitch, Regimental Museum, Brecon, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 78 Hitch, Account, *Chums* magazine, 11 March 1908.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Note by Harford, in Payne, *The Writings, Photographs and Sketches of H.C. Harford*.
- 81 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
- 84 Lugg, *North Devon Herald*.
- 85 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 86 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 87 Account in the *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 29 March 1879.
- 88 Stafford, Account, 1939.
- 89 Sir Garnet Wolseley, Diary, 21 August 1879, quoted in Professor Adrian Preston (ed.), *Sir Garnet Wolseley's South African Journal* (Cape Town, 1973).
- 90 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 91 H.C. Lugg, *A Natal Family Looks Back* (Durban, 1970).

26. 'The subject of much astonishment'

- 1 Spalding's movements are outlined in his Official Report, WO 32/7738, National Archives, London.
- 2 Essex, letter in *The Times*, 12 April 1879.
- 3 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 4 Higginson, Official Report.
- 5 Macphail, *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 6 Spalding, Official Report.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.

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- 9 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 10 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Sheila Henderson, 'The Turbulent Frontier: Biggarsberg and the Buffalo at the Crossroads', in G.A. Chadwick and E.G. Hobson (eds), *The Zulu War and the Colony of Natal* (Mandini, 1979).
- 15 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 16 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 17 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 20 W.J. Clarke, 'My Career in South Africa', manuscript in the Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- 21 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 22 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 23 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 24 *Natal Mercury*, 22 January 1929.
- 25 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 26 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 27 Family information from Mr Dedekind at Elandskraal.
- 28 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 29 Clarke, 'My Career in South Africa'.
- 30 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 31 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 32 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 33 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 34 Symons Papers, Dundee.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 40 Hook, Account, *Strand Magazine*.
- 41 Ibid.

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- 42 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
- 48 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 49 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 50 Hook, first interview, quoted in Johnson, *Hook of Rorke's Drift*.
- 51 Hook, Account, *Royal Magazine*.
- 52 Chard, letter to Queen Victoria, 21 February 1880, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 53 Fynn, 'My Recollections of a Famous Campaign and a Great Disaster'.
- 54 Dunne, Account, *Army Service Corps Journal*.
- 55 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 56 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 57 Mainwaring, quoted in Holme, *The Noble 24th*.
- 58 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 59 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 60 Symons Papers, Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 61 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 62 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 63 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 64 Clarke, 'My Career in South Africa'.
- 65 'Statement of a Natal Volunteer', Bishop Colenso's notes, in Vijn, *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*.
- 66 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 67 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 68 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 69 Chelmsford to Frere, Rorke's Drift, 23 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM, quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zulu Campaign*.
- 70 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 71 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 72 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.

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27. 'Wet with yesterday's blood'

- 1 H.W. Struben, *Recollections of Adventures* (Cape Town, 1920).
- 2 Account in Bishop Colenso's notes, in Vijn, *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*.
- 3 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 4 Molyneux, *Campaigning in South Africa and Egypt*.
- 5 Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*.
- 6 Filter and Bouquin, *Paulina Dlamini*.
- 7 Although these ceremonies were entirely dictated by Zulu spiritual belief, it is interesting to note that they had much to offer in terms of modern approaches to post-traumatic stress conditions – they provided a framework of psychological support which recognized the emotional damage caused by combat, attributing it to the evil influence of shedding blood, and recast feelings of horror, shame and guilt into forms that were deeply rooted in Zulu culture, allowing sufferers not only to externalize them, but to exorcize them.
- 8 Account of Mpashana kaSodondo.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Mtshankomo kaMagolwana, in Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 4.
- 11 Mtshapi kaNorado, in Webb and Wright, *The James Stuart Archive*, Vol. 4.
- 12 'Cetywayo's Story', in Webb and Wright, *A Zulu King Speaks*.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Hallam Parr, *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars*.
- 15 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'. 'Mbozankomo' was an alternative name for the uThulwana.
- 16 Chelmsford to Wood, 28 February, Pietermaritzburg, Chelmsford Papers, NAM; quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 17 Corporal Andrew Guthrie, 90th Regiment, Diary, quoted in Andrew Guthrie Macdougall, *The Guthrie Saga* (Bishop Auckland, 1998).
- 18 Chelmsford to Colonel F.A. Stanley, telegram, 27 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM; quoted in Laband, *Lord Chelmsford's Zululand Campaign*.
- 19 Swinny, 'A Zulu Boy's Recollections'.
- 20 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.

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- 21 Clery to Sir Archibald Alison, Wolf's Hill Camp, 25 May 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand At War 1879*.
- 22 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Twentyman Jones, *Reminiscences of the Zulu War by John Maxwell*.
- 25 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 26 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 29 Blair-Brown's observations can be found in his 'Surgical Notes on the Zulu War', *Lancet*, 25 July 1879, and his book *Surgical Experiences in the Zulu and Transvaal Wars* (London, 1880).
- 30 Regimental Museum, Brecon.
- 31 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 32 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 33 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.
- 34 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 35 Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 36 Dr Lewis Reynolds, *The Diary of a Civil Surgeon Serving with the British Army in South Africa during the Zulu War* (Duntroon, 1997).
- 37 Harness, Camp Dundee, 26 April 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand*.
- 38 Published in the *Standard*, 27 March 1879. See Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand* and Greaves and Best, *Curling Letters of the Anglo-Zulu War*.
- 39 Lieutenant James, RE, Report on the *The Isandlana Disaster*, published by the Quartermaster-General's Department in March 1879 and marked 'Confidential'; a copy annotated by Major Gossett is in the Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 40 On this subject see Keith Smith, 'The Blame Game', in Keith Smith, *Studies in the Anglo-Zulu War* (Doncaster, 2008).
- 41 Clery to Alison, 11 March 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 42 Paton *et al.*, *Historical Records of the 24th Regiment*.
- 43 Quoted in Drooglever, *The Road to Isandhlwana*.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 46 Ibid.

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- 47 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Harness, Helpmekaar Camp, 19 February 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand*.
- 52 Chelmsford to Glyn, Pietermaritzburg, 25 January 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 53 Clery to Alison, Wolf's Hill Camp, 16 May 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Zululand at War 1879*.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 W.P. Jones, letter, quoted in Emery, *The Red Soldier*.
- 56 Smith, letter in the *Brecon County Times*, 29 March 1879, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 57 Chelmsford to General Sir Alfred Horsfold, 14 May 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 58 Wolseley, Diary, 3 August 1879, quoted in Preston, *Sir Garnet Wolseley's South African Journal*.
- 59 Chelmsford to General Sir Alfred Horsfold, 14 May 1879, Chelmsford Papers, NAM.
- 60 Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years' Service*.

28. 'Melancholy satisfaction'

- 1 Quoted in Jeff Guy, *The Heretic* (Pietermaritzburg, 1983).
- 2 Witt, *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1879.
- 3 Hamilton Browne, *A Lost Legionary in South Africa*.
- 4 *Illustrated London News*, 12 July 1879.
- 5 Symons Papers, Talana Museum.
- 6 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 7 *Illustrated London News*, 12 July 1879.
- 8 Forbes, *ibid.*
- 9 Letter, *Natal Mercury*, 11 February 1879.
- 10 Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.

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- 11 Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent* (London, 1912).
- 12 Forbes, *Illustrated London News*, 12 July 1879.
- 13 Mehlokazulu, Interview.
- 14 Harness, Camp Mtonjaneni, 6 July 1879, quoted in Clarke, *Invasion of Zululand 1879*.
- 15 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Chard, on receiving a presentation sword of honour in Plymouth, reported in the *Western Daily Mercury*, 17 November 1879, quoted in Baynham Jones and Stevenson, *Rorke's Drift by Those Who were There*.
- 18 Child, *Zulu War Journal*.
- 19 *Natal Witness*, 29 May 1879.
- 20 Gold Stick is a position in the Queen's Household.
- 21 A book of cuttings in the Smith-Dorrien Collection of the Imperial War Museum in London includes numerous reports of his speaking engagements, and his iSandlwana story is mentioned frequently.
- 22 Black's reports are quoted in Norris-Newman, *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879*.
- 23 Bromhead, Report, BPP, C 2676.
- 24 The original cairn stood just behind the 24th memorial; the large circular base can still be seen, and a small cairn has recently been built on top of it. Most of the original stones seem to have been used to fill the base of the 24th memorial during its construction in 1914.
- 25 Lieutenant M. O'Connell, 60th Rifles, Report, Pietermaritzburg, 16 April 1880, in BPP, C 2676.
- 26 R.W. Leyland, *A Holiday in South Africa* (London, 1882).
- 27 Boast, Report, KwaZulu-Natal Archive Depot, Pietermaritzburg.
- 28 Huw M. Jones, *Biographical Register of Swaziland* (Pietermaritzburg, 1993).

29. 'The day that I die'

- 1 Lee, *Once Dark Country*.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Marie (1912), *Child of the Storm* (1913) and *Finished* (1917).
- 4 H. Rider Haggard, Stephen Coan (ed.), *Diary of an African Journey* (London, 2000).
- 5 Ibid.