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The End of the Imperial Track: Factors Retarding the Destruction of the Big Game of Zululand

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Much has been written about environmental degradation and the destruction of wildlife in South Africa following the arrival of white settlement. The importation of firearms in large quantities and the lucrative market in wildlife products meant vast quantities of game were slaughtered either for commercial gain or for sport. And yet not all the game was destroyed. This chapter aims at explaining why in Zululand there remained a core of big game which has survived in reduced numbers until the present day.

Kuningi osekubhaliwe ngokuhlazeka kwenhlalo nokubhujiswa kwezilwane zasendle eNingizimu Afrika ngemuva kokufika kwabambhlophe. Ukuthengiselana namanye amazwe izibhamu ngesibalo esikhulu, nokwenza imali ngokuthengisa izilwane zasendle, kwakuchaza ukuthi isibalo esikhulu sezilwane zazibulawa, zibulalelwa ukuthengiswa noma imidlalo. Kodwa, azifanga zonke. Leli phepha libhose ukuchaza ukuthi kungani KwaZulu kwasala izilwane ezinkulu neziwumongo ezisaphila ngesibalo esincane kuze kube imanje.

The British colony of Natal existed from 1844 to 1910¹. It was an unwelcome addition to the imperial treasury in London, acquired to protect the Cape Colony, six hundred miles to the south of the harbour town of Durban. A British garrison was permanently based in Natal, the longest-serving regiment being the 45th Regiment, 1st Sherwood Foresters (1843 - 1859)². For imperial Britain, Natal had little to commend itself.

By the 1890s there was a tiny white population of about 46,000, an immigrant Indian and largely labouring population of some 36,000 and a sizeable indigenous isiZulu-speaking black population of about half a million³. There were few mineral resources and there were in the Boer republics to the west and the Zulu kingdom to the north-east, potential hostile powers to the British interests. The fear of instability was not without substance. Major wars were fought in Natal with the Boers in 1843, in 1881 and between 1899 and 1902, and with the Zulus in 1879. Added to this, there had been a Boer-Zulu conflict in 1838 and an African insurrection in 1907. These were march-lands, unstable, costly and troublesome to imperial Britain⁴.

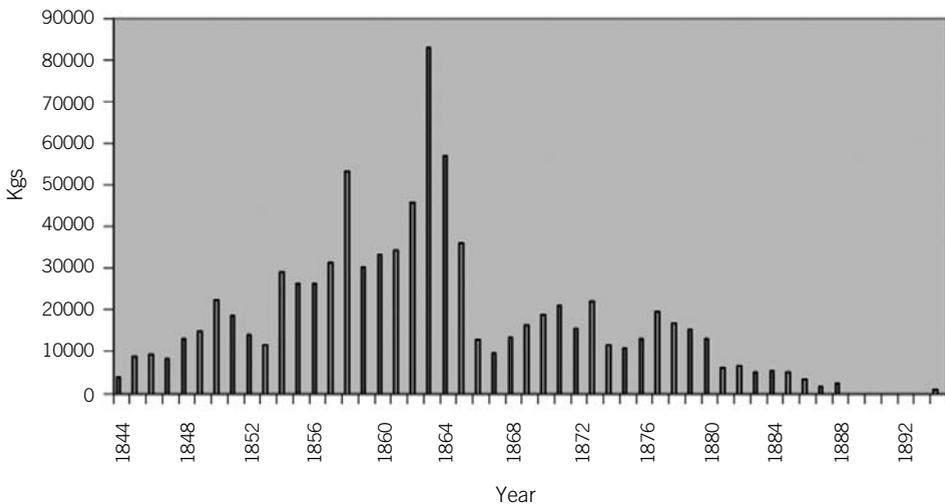
And yet Natal was an attractive place, known by the white settlers as the Garden Colony. The subtropical coastland offered British settlers potential for plantation agriculture, the grasslands of the midlands could be farmed for maize, cattle and sheep, and the “line of spears”, the great Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg range of mountains created a natural barrier between Natal and the world beyond. The flora was varied and much of it was new to science in the 1840s and there still existed pockets of the big game of Africa: elephant, rhino, lion, buffalo, leopard, and a variety of buck such as kudu, impala, eland and bushbuck.

THE HUNTER-TRADERS

The original British traders at Port Natal (Durban), who had first arrived in 1824, were hunter-traders. They did their job well, for by the time the largely English Byrne settlers arrived in the 1850s, the pockets of large game that had existed were nearly all gone. From then on, Natal’s big game was largely confined to buck, with some leopard in the remoter areas.

But the big game of the region was not yet completely decimated. Ninety kilometres north of the Bay (Durban) lay the kingdom of Zululand where the wilderness still existed. And it was here that the new generation of hunters turned their attention.

Fig. 1
Ivory exports from Durban (1844-1894)



Zululand had for long been a source of ivory for the traders at Port Natal. The Zulu monarchs having aptly favoured the English at Port Natal or the Portuguese at Delagoa

Bay (Lourenço Marques), depending on trading and political advantage. In particular, the large herds of elephant in Zululand and adjacent Maputuland formed a reservoir of trading wealth for Shaka and his successors, Dingane, Mpande and finally Cetshwayo⁵.

The extent of this trade can in part be judged from the official British figures of exports of wildlife products out of Durban in the years 1844 to 1904. These figures, however, include the trade with the interior but exclude the wildlife products from Zululand that were sold at the Durban and Pietermaritzburg markets or taken overland from Natal to the Eastern Cape.

Table 1
Export of wildlife products from Zululand (1844-1904)

Item exported	Quantity
Ivory (kilograms)	883 491
Skins (number)	2 015 246
Kaross (packets)	555
Specimens of Natural History (packets)	1 256
Live wild animals (number)	2 683
Giraffe bones (numbers)	25 753
Buffalo hides (number)	22 154
Hippopotamus hides (number)	956
Buck horns (number)	1 739
Rhinoceros horns (number)	19 245

These figures also exclude the large quantities of wildlife products extracted by white hunters from Zululand prior to 1844. The preceding 20 years (1824-1843) must bring the total of ivory exports up to at least a million kilograms, or about a thousand tons – the equivalent of a thousand ox wagons lined up, each laden down with 40 tusks, representing the slaughter of 20,000 elephant.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The surprising thing about the destruction of the big game of Zululand is that it took so long. As late as 1943, as many as 138,000 head of game were shot in one of the last great game drives. The interesting point is not so much the carnage but the fact that the game was there at all to shoot. Why was this?

The first factor accounting for the survival of large game in this corner of South Africa is that Zululand as a black-governed political entity survived longer than many other African power blocks. Game was hunted by the Zulu, but for various reasons game was

not the stable source of either wealth or survival for this maize-growing, cattle-owning people.

Frequent political instability along with warfare was another factor. This encompassed both civil internal unrest, African interstate conflict (such as against the Swazi) and the final and fatal show-down with the British imperial war machine in 1879. The loss of life, destruction of village existence in some areas, destruction of property and reduction of population density, all favoured a stabilisation or growth in wildlife numbers.

Also of importance was the fact that the white hunters who ventured into Zululand tended not to be the professional “Great White Hunters” of literature, but local Natalians out to trade with the Zulu and to make some cash on the side through hunting. The professional hunters who put pen to paper, such as David Leslie, William Baldwin and William Drummond, were not quite in the same league as the greatest of southern African hunters, Frederick Courteney Selous⁶.

This is partly because Zululand, outside of Natal, had a bad reputation. As one magistrate dryly remarked in 1892 concerning the reluctance of foreign botanists to explore the region, “[they] have not an unnatural dislike to take the plunge amongst savage life, that is in localities where possibly instead of collecting, they might be collected”⁷. Two factors contributed to this fear: the reputation of the region as being beset by internecine warfare and disease. As for the former, the astonishing thing is that there is not a single recorded instance of a white hunter or a botanist being murdered by the Zulu. Even Baldwin, who found himself in the middle of a Zulu civil war in the mid-1850s, not only survived to tell the tale but received cheery greetings from Cetshwayo’s conquering army.

DISEASE

Disease, however, was another matter, taking a considerable toll of both white and black hunters. Malaria was the great killer of the region especially as much of the big game retreated to the eastern fastnesses of the swamp lands around the lower Umhlatuze, the St Lucia wetlands, and the sandy, hot Makhathini flats of Maputaland to the north where mosquitoes thrived. Here also the tsetse fly reigned, bringing the killer disease of nagana, a disease attributed to big game. Neither human, oxen nor horse entering this region was safe from disease, especially in the hot wet summer months. In particular, and before nagana became the dominant curse, horse sickness was rampant in Zululand.

When the coral tree (*Erythrina kaffra*) flowered in the winter it was time for the white hunter to think about packing up and setting off on the trek back to the Bay. Often they left behind them black hunters whom they had brought up from Natal. Unpopular with the locals, these black professional hunters carried on the slaughter but they themselves sometimes succumbed to disease.

In the 1890s both drought and rinderpest hit Zululand's humans and animals, especially cattle, kudu, eland and buffalo.

HUNTING METHODS

Methods of killing game remained fairly primitive up to very late in the day. Even after the introduction of guns into the territory in some numbers in the 1870s, hunting with spears and dogs for the pot continued well into the 20th century. Hunting was done with a small shield (*iHawu*) and an *assegai*. The variety of these assegais is illustrated in Table 2⁸.

Table 2
Kinds of *assegais* used for hunting

Zulu name of assegai	Size of weapon		Weapon use
	Length of blade	Width of blade	
Iklwa	45.7 cms (18")	4.4 cms (1¾")	Warfare
Untlekwane	30.5 cms (12")	3.2 cms (1¼")	Stabbing
Isijula	17.8 cms (7")	3.2 cms (1¼")	Hurling
Isipapa	17.8 cms (7")	7.6 cms (3")	Hunting buffalo & big game
Ingcula	12.7 cms (5")	2.5 cms (1")	Hunting & killing cattle
Indlodlela	5.1 cms (2")	'tiny blade'	

Hunting was frequently supplemented, or indeed supplanted, by the use of metal or rope snares and animal traps. Hunting pits (*igebe*) were also used, both by African and by white hunters. These pits sometimes had stakes implanted in them on which the hapless animal became impaled. One pit was described as being three metres deep and very narrow at the bottom. Father Bryant lists a large cavern-like trap, a spring snare, a long tapering wicker-cage and various traps used by boys for obtaining wild animals and birds. Boys worked hard and competitively to develop a skill in capturing birds⁹.

Then there were the larger public hunts or *iNqina*, called by a headman. The battlefield tactic of the crescent formation was often employed and it is interesting to speculate in which usage it was developed first – the hunting field or the battlefield. A long fence, upwards of 400 metres in length, might also be used to funnel animals. The weapons of the hunt were a bundle of assegais, the small hunting shield and the *knobkerrie*, a short wooden stick with a large knob at the end. How many of the hunting techniques were acquired from the San people it is difficult to tell.

One can only speculate on whether the legendary fires of 16th-century Maputaland had anything to do with hunting practices. Fires, started deliberately or caused by accident, leading to hunting, were a common enough phenomenon. In 1888 the Cape

of Good Hope authorities banned forest hunts by African people on the grounds that they “invariably” led to forest fires. In 1903 a hunter called Findlay suggested that in the Hluhluwe region Africans had “fired the jungle” to drive game away from their homesteads, presumably because of the nagana threat¹⁰.

All this said, the point needs to be emphasised again that much game escaped the hunting ventures of the local population.

FIREARMS

The introduction of guns into Zululand obviously affected hunting practices, though here again one must be cautious about generalisation. Until well into the 19th century, the vast majority of firearms in Zululand, legal and illegal, were the antiquated and inefficient muzzle-loading tower musket, the *isithunqisa*, rather than the infinitely more deadly breech-loaders, the *ingebe*.

The muzzle-loader was effective only at short range and then only if the shot hit certain parts of the body of the larger game. Some of the older type rifles were not much better. William Drummond makes much of this point, observing that “seldom a single ball kills these large animals.” He also noted that some old bull buffalo would take 30 bullets before succumbing. One black rhino took 10 hits with a six-to-the-pound weight shot (6-lb) fired from a large-bore elephant gun. Drummond recalled how on one occasion his friend David Lesley had killed an elephant with a single shot, but on another occasion it had taken 35 or 37 bullets to bring an animal down. It is not surprising, then, that for days on end the hunter in the 1860s or even the 1870s might go without managing to kill an animal, though they often wounded game¹¹.

In 1896 a total of 3 434 firearms were registered in Zululand. These are summarised in Table 3, well illustrating the point of the number of antiquated firearms to be found among the Zulu population¹². It is more than likely tower muskets constituted an even higher proportion of illegally held guns.

Table 3
Firearms registered in Zululand (1896)

Type of firearm	Number	Percentage of total
Muzzle-loading musket	2 915	84
Martini Henry rifle and carbine	318	9
Double-barrelled breech and muzzle-loading	144	4
Other types of guns	48	1
Westley Richards rifle	30	1
Sniders rifle	9	1
Total number of guns	3 484	100%

The white hunters and travellers who entered Zululand generally had more sophisticated weaponry than the locals. In the early days, though, breech-loaders were rare. The long-barrelled elephant gun could be effective, but it was heavy and cumbersome, especially when having to be carried over any distance. None the less elephant guns were imported into Durban from the Cape and were used in Zululand; they were still being imported into Durban even in the 1870s¹³. Adulphe Delegorgue boasted in 1841 of his “great 600 calibre rifled elephant gun”. Other forms of muzzle-loaders were tried with varying degrees of success. In 1839 Wahlberg made much of his sawn-off double-barrelled gun, even though one of its barrels burst¹⁴.

Later, Burrow, Snider, Terry and Westley Richards rifles were sometimes used by the select few and the Martini Henry was much prized. Rifle cartridges were, however, expensive at about 15 shillings a hundred.

A major drawback to hunting in hot and humid Zululand was gunpowder and shot. Lead was heavy and had to be carried on foot for long distances. Gunpowder had to be protected from the damp. The British were vigilant as to the quantity of gunpowder exported across the River Tugela and a border agent and detachment of Natal Mounted Police maintained a not always successful eye on possible gun-runners and on wagons with more than the permitted quota of gun powder on board. But gunpowder could always be obtained from the Portuguese in Delagoa Bay.

WHITE SETTLEMENT

The oldest surviving game reserves in Africa are in Zululand. In 1895 game reserves were established by proclamation at Cape St Lucia, Imfolozi, Hluhluwe, Umdhletshe, Hlabisa and Phongola-Mkhuze. Not all of these were to survive, but others were subsequently established. Though for many years largely unprotected from white and black poachers, none the less these reserves served as a reservoir for both plants and animals through difficult years. They were established and survived the early years mainly due to the activities of a handful of British resident magistrates. The inability of cattle to survive in most of these areas also helped keep the resident population at such a low density that wild game thrived. Indeed, this low level of population density was important to the survival of a sustainable wild animal population. The growth in human population over a hundred-year period in four areas where wild game thrived is illustrated in Table 4.

Other factors resulting in the survival of big game in Zululand included the late introduction of white commercial farmers into Zululand. Though the old Zulu kingdom was defeated by the British in 1879, for the next ten years Zululand was divided into 13 chiefdomships or fiefs. A British resident was installed to watch over things. This arrangement did not work and there much instability. Finally, in 1889 Britain took full responsibility and declared Zululand a crown colony in its own right with the governor of Natal also being governor of Zululand.

Table 4
Growth of human population in game areas (1895-1994)

Name of district	Human population in 1895	Human population in 1994
Lower Umfolozi	14 000	166 000
Hlabisa [KwaHlabisa]	15000	89 000
Ubombo [Obonjeni]	12000	53 000
Ingavuma [Engwavuma]	24 000	63 000
Totals	65 000	271 000

Only in 1897 was Zululand transferred as a province to the self-governing Colony of Natal, but there was a provision in the transfer that white settlement would be delayed. There followed the disruption of the second Anglo-Boer war, when Natal was invaded and partially occupied by the Boer republics. It was only in 1904 that a delimitations commission finalised its report, which recommended the division of Zululand between Zulu farmers and areas designated for white farming. The reality on the ground, however, was that much of the latter areas was not occupied until the 1920s.

ROADS

The existence or non-existence of roads greatly affected the distribution of game and, of course, the ease with which hunting parties could approach them. Early maps of Zululand usually give a false impression, for the “roads” that are marked were often little more than bridle paths. But even where there were dirt roads these did not facilitate swift transport. Though the affable Colonel Hime, later prime minister of Natal, might quip that “the sun is our best road-maker”, that assistance was soon undone by the torrential downpours of the subtropical summer.

Heavy wagons were used to traverse Zululand dirt roads. Indeed, these remarkable vehicles could survive on or off roads where a sprung vehicle would not have lasted long. But even wagons had their drawbacks. It was not for nothing that Lord Chelmsford had said, “Ox-wagon transport is enough to destroy the reputations of a number of commanders”¹⁵.

There were vast areas of Zululand where horses would not survive long, therefore oxen had to be used for transport and even they were susceptible to disease. They were very slow moving. As Denis, a character in the contemporary adventure story *Hendricks the hunter: A tale of Zululand*, observes, “A man who travels in this country must have a vast amount of patience. He must not value time as you do in the old country”¹⁶.

The British military in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu war improved a few roads in southern Zululand to facilitate the movement of supplies, but by the late 1880s there was only really one “main road” in Zululand. In fact, it formed something of a transit route between Natal and the gold diggings in the eastern Transvaal Republic [Mpumalanga]. This ran from the lower Tugela drift up to Eshowe, round near St Paul’s mission station, crossing the Umfolozi River not far from Ulundi, and then running due north over the Mhkuze and Phongola rivers well west of the Lebombo Mountains. In the south, an inland road from Natal that entered Zululand via Helpmekaar and Rorkes Drift joined this road. None of these roads ran through the principal game areas, which were to the east.

By 1886 it was reported, “the main wagon Roads in and through this district are in a very bad condition and in parts almost impassable: especially is this the case in regard to the road leading from Rorkes Drift to Central Zululand”. The volume of traffic on this main inland road varied. In 1886, 615 wagons moved through Rorkes Drift in the Nqutu district, 302 entering Natal from Zululand and 313 leaving Natal and entering Zululand. Five hundred (81 percent) of the wagons were destined for Zululand or the adjacent Boer New Republic. The remaining 115 wagons (19 percent) were en route for the Transvaal gold fields or Swaziland¹⁷.

The only road into Swaziland from the south – Rathbone’s Natal Road – was “in reality little more than a bush track”. In Maputaland as late as 1887, there were no roads beyond the track from Zululand that terminated at the Mhkuze River¹⁸.

The remaining roads in Zululand led to the various magistrates’ posts and to a few mission stations. Several of these roads between the magistracies, unfortunately for the wild animals and their protectors, did pass through game areas, such as Umdhletshe and just east of the Mhkuze Poort.

There were one or two old hunter/trader routes, such as the coast road in southern Zululand that ran from the Tugela up to the Umlalazi and the Umhlatuse, before joining the inland road. These hunters’ ways were, however, little more than tracks, as were later routes in Maputaland that bore appropriate names such as “Saunders’ wagon track” and “Pierce’s wagon track”. Indeed, in 1896, a colonial official called Bosman, writing from the Maputaland-Mozambique border to Marshall Clark, commented that, “The big wagon is here, bush has to be cleared for a wagon track. No vehicle has been in this part of the country before”. Much time was spent in discussing expanding, altering and improving the Zululand road system, but the truth was that it remained primitive well into the 20th century¹⁹.

Journey times varied greatly. Rivers would be in flood, drifts often had to be cleared of sand, a dangerous exercise given the large number of crocodiles in the rivers of Zululand. The growth rate of plants in Zululand was such that it did not take long for vegetation to sprout in a road and for overhanging branches to impede or prevent progress. An outbreak of war or cattle disease could all but stop road transport in Zululand and it

was not long then before nature reclaimed her own. One military report in 1905 commented that many of the roads in Maputaland “are now so overgrown as to be almost indistinguishable”. All this assisted the game to survive and multiply.

Travel time could vary greatly, but in the 1850s one might expect to take at least eight days to walk from Durban to Lake St Lucia, and sometimes this journey took two weeks. Another eight days would bring one to the Phongola River, as long as one avoided the wetlands of St Lucia and the Mhkuze swamp. That journey was difficult and slow, the length of the wetland system taking upwards of three days to traverse. In 1853 a friend of Joe Cato, a Durban trader, wrote of his journey around Richards Bay, “After a weeks toil through mud, swamp, and every other difficulty we have got from one side of the Bay to the other, and now we are famined for the present ...”²⁰. In the heat of December 1856 William Baldwin walked from the Msunduzi River south to the Tugela, some 88 kilometres [55 miles] in 16½ hours, “the greatest walking feat I ever performed”.

OXWAGONS

Further north, in the 1890s an oxwagon might take eight days to lumber from the magistracy at Ubombo, on the top of the Lebombo Mountains, down the steep incline and then north along the track on the lower east side of the range before ascending the hill again to the magistrate’s seat at Ngwavuma. On the other hand, an African runner could complete this same journey in a day. Generally speaking, 25 to 30 kilometres [15 to 20 miles] a day was very good going in an oxwagon in Zululand. In 1896 it took one official ten days to journey from Eshowe to Cuthbert Foxon’s station at Pelandala’s kraal in northern Maputaland²¹.

Hunting was in part limited to what an ox wagon could carry, which was certainly not that of a modern lorry. Furthermore, much hunting was done without the assistance of vehicle or draft animal, especially around St Lucia and in Maputaland. This by necessity limited the hunter’s bag.

Later, when transport riders came into their own and regular trips were undertaken to supply the Zululand stores and the settlements of the Eastern Transvaal beyond, because of disease the roads were to spell the death knell for much game. When the transport riders’ oxen began to die, the wild animals were blamed for transmitting disease. The result was that the authorities lifted restrictions on the killing of game in the vicinity of a major road and indeed in 1907 abolished two Zululand game reserves, Umdhletshe and Hlabisa, because of the proximity of roads used by transport drivers. The result was a slaughter of game along these trade routes and, for the first time in Zululand, the consequent isolation of herds of wild animals away from these thoroughfares. Had other game reserves not been in existence by then the chances of the fauna of Zululand surviving the bleak period before the advent of the environmental movement would have been very slim.

In 1910 South Africa was unified as a self-governing dominion within the British empire. It is interesting to note that the foundations of wildlife and forest conservation in this part of south-east Africa should have been laid during the colonial dispensation. It is interesting also that the great game drives of the 1920s, which led to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of head of large game, should have been in the post-colonial era.

NOTE ON ZULULAND HUNTING SOURCES

The volume of material relating to hunting in 19th-century Zululand is not great. Several hunters' and naturalists' journals have been published in recent years. These include those written by Robert Briggs Struthers (1991), William Humphreys (1993) and Johan August Wahlberg (1994). Also important, though controversial, is *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, edited by James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm in 1951. Catherine Barter's *Alone among the Zulus, by a plain woman: The narrative of a journey through the Zulu country* (c. 1866, edited by Patricia Merrett, 1995) contains useful material as does A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu people: As they were before the white man came* (Pietermaritzburg 1967 ed.).

Contemporary published hunting accounts which deal in part with Zululand include Adulphe Delegorgue's *Travels in southern Africa* (Paris 1847); William Baldwin's *African hunting adventures from Natal to the Zambesi* (London 1863); F.R.N. Findlay's *Big game shooting and travel in south-east Africa* (London 1903); and Frederick Vaughan-Kirby's *In the haunts of wild game: A hunter-naturalist wanderings from Khlamba to Libombo* (Edinburgh 1906).

Contemporary accounts of Zululand that were written from journals now lost include G.F. Angus' lavishly illustrated, large folio volume *The kafirs illustrated in a series of drawings taken among the Amazulu, Amaponda, and Amakosa tribes; also, portraits of the Hottentot, Malay, Fingo, and other races inhabiting Southern Africa: Together with sketches of landscape scenery in the Zulu country, Natal, and the Cape Colony* (1849); David Leslie's *Among the Zulus and Amatonga* (1875); William Drummond's excellent volume *The large game and natural history of south and south-east Africa, from the journals of the Hon. W.H. Drummond* (1875).

The richest source of material on Zululand is the magistrates' reports, some of which touch on hunting and the establishment of the Zululand game reserves. These are housed in the KwaZulu-Natal archival depots in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Various boundary commission reports relating to Maputaland also contain valuable material. Various settler papers in the archives, such as the Hogg papers, also touch on hunting enterprises as do the von Wessell papers and Cato papers in the Campbell Collection of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban. The latter repository also contains the oral testimony of many isiZulu speakers recorded by the magistrate James Stuart. C.

de B. Webb and J.B. Wright have produced a multi-volume edited transcript of these papers under the title *The James Stuart archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*.

Other modern writers who have worked in the field of Zululand environmental history include Shirley Brooks, A.E. Cubbin, Ruth Edgecombe, Beverley Ellis, Reg Gush, J.J. Guy, C.W. Marwick, D.P. McCracken, Patricia Merrett, A. De V. Minnaar, Robert Papini, Julie Pridmore, John Pringle, Alan Smith, Albert van Jaarsveld and Jack Vincent.

Various editions of Rowland Ward's classic *Records of big game* contain references to specimens shot in Zululand.

Contemporary Natal newspapers, such as the "Natal Witness", are a fruitful source of material, especially for the late 1840s and 1850s. Similarly, contemporary *Natal Government Gazettes* and the manuscript volumes of the government Zululand Blue Books (KZN Archives) are a useful source.

An unusual source for the environment of colonial Zululand is contemporary maps. These are generally sketch maps and drawn by government officials or by the British military. The finest and most accurate of these is by Major Altern, which accompanied the *Zululand lands delimitation commission, 1902-1904* government report (KZN Archives, E166, Pietermaritzburg 1905). Sketch maps of the newly proclaimed game reserves appeared in the *Natal Government Gazette* (27 April 1897) and in a confidential War Office manual for British forces (London 1905). Adulphe Delegorgue's *Travels in southern Africa* (Paris 1847) also contains maps marking the location of various species of big game, a technique copied by Vaughan-Kirby in the Eastern Transvaal over fifty years later.

NOTES

- ¹ This chapter is based on material extracted from D. McCracken, *Saving the Zululand wilderness*, forthcoming from Jacana Books, Johannesburg 2008.
- ² E. Brookes, C. Webb, *A history of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg 1979, pp. 306.
- ³ R. Russell, *Natal: the land and its story*, Pietermaritzburg 1897, p. 39.
- ⁴ For political histories of Zululand see P. Colenbrander, *The Zulu Kingdom, 1828-79*, and J. Laband, P. Thompson, *The reduction of Zululand, 1878-1904*, in A. Duminy, B. Guest, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, Pietermaritzburg 1989, pp. 83-115 and 193-232 respectively; and J. Laband, *Rope of sand: The rise and fall of the Zulu kingdom in the nineteenth century*, Johannesburg 1995.
- ⁵ For some modern environmental historical work on Zululand see S. Brooks, *Playing the game: The struggle for wildlife protection in Zululand, 1910-1930*, Queen's University, Canada, masters dissertation, 1990; A. Cubbin, *An outline of game legislation in Natal 1866-1912* (i.e., until the promulgation of the Mkhuzi Game Reserve) in "Journal of Natal and Zulu History", 1992, 14, pp. 37-47; B. Ellis, *Game conservation in Zululand, 1824-1947* in "Natalia: Journal of the Natal Society", December 1993/1994, 23/24, pp. 27-44; R. Gush, *Mkhuzi – The formative years; The story of the Mkhuzi Game*

- Reserve, KwaZulu-Natal*, Hilton 2000; J. Guy, *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, London 1979; D. McCracken, *Qudeni: The early commercial exploitation of an indigenous Zululand forest*, General paper in "South African Forestry Journal", September 1987, 142, pp. 71-80; A. Minnaar, *Nagana, big-game drives and the Zululand game reserves (1890s-1950s)* in "Contree", April 1989, 25, pp. 12-21; J. Pringle, *The conservationists and the killers*, Cape Town 1982, and A. Smith, *The trade of Delagoa Bay in Nguni politics, 1750-1835*, in L. Thompson, *African Societies in Southern Africa*, London 1969, pp. 171-189.
- ⁶ See F.C. Selous, *A hunter's wanderings in Africa*, London 1881, 1999 edition.
- ⁷ D. McCracken, P. McCracken, *Natal the garden colony: Victorian Natal and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew*, Sandton 1990, p. 72.
- ⁸ A. Bryant, *The Zulu people: As they were before the white man came*, Pietermaritzburg 1967, p. 392; and C. Webb, J. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*, Pietermaritzburg 1976-2003, vol. 2, pp. 223-4, 244; vol. 3, pp. 291-2.
- ⁹ See, for example, W. Baldwin, *African hunting and adventure from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, etc. from 1852 to 1860*, Bulawayo 1981, p. 79; Bryant, *Zulu people* cit., p. 688-91; KwaZulu-Natal Archive (KZNA), 1/MTB, minute paper A2211/1896, 18 June 1896; Webb and Wright (eds), *Stuart Archive* cit., vol. 1, pp. 275; vol. 3, pp. 225; C. Barter, *Alone among the Zulus: the narrative of a journey through the Zulu Country, South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg 1995, p.122.
- ¹⁰ F. Findlay, *Big game shooting and travel in south-east Africa*, London 1903, p.199. See also D. McCracken, *Dependence, destruction and development: A history of indigenous timber use in South Africa*, in M. Lawes, H. Eeley, C. Shackleton, B. Geach (eds.), *Indigenous forests and woodlands in South Africa: Policy, People and Practice* Pietermaritzburg 2004, pp. 277-283; and Webb, Wright (eds), *Stuart Archive* cit., vol. 1., p. 276 n. 10 and vol. 4, p. 314.
- ¹¹ W. Drummond, *The large game and natural history of south and south-west Africa, from the journals of the Hon. W.H. Drummond*, Salisbury 1972, pp. 23, 37-38, 40-41, 56, 71, 83, 125-26, 220. Wahlberg noted in 1842 how it took six shots, four at point-blank range, to kill a white rhino at Imfolozi. See A. Craig, C. Hummel (eds), *Johan August Wahlberg: Travel journals (and some letters) South Africa and Namibia/Botswana, 1838-1856*, Cape Town 1994, p. 91.
- ¹² KZNA, 1/NGA, minute paper, ND 136/1899, 28 March 1899; KZNA, ZGH 772, 22 October 1896, ZA 27, 1896, f.24; and 1/ING, minute paper, ND 341/1899, 25 August 1899. Even a hundred years later it was possible occasionally to come across one of the old muskets in rural Zululand.
- ¹³ South African Archives, Cape Town, CO 3980, memorials, vol.5, number 163, 19 March 1835.
- ¹⁴ Craig, Hummel (eds), *Wahlberg* cit., pp. 22 and 37-38; and F. Webb (trans.), *Adulphe Delegorgue's Travels in southern Africa*, Pietermaritzburg 1990, vol.1, p. 164.
- ¹⁵ I. Bennett, *Eyewitness in Zululand: The campaign reminiscences of Colonel W.A. Dunne, South Africa, 1877-1881*, London - Novato 1989, p. 40.
- ¹⁶ W. Kingston, *Hendricks the hunter: A tale of Zululand*, New York 1880, p. 63.
- ¹⁷ KZNA, ZGH 708, Return of wagon traffic, 1885-1887.
- ¹⁸ *Swaziland, Tongaland and northern Zululand*, War Office Report, London 1905, p. 25 and 27; and KZNA, ZGH 704, Robert Grantham, 'Report on Amatongaland', 11 January 1887, f.2.
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- ²⁰ William Cowie letter in Joe Cato letters, Killie Campbell Collections, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- ²¹ For examples of travel times, see Baldwin, *African hunting* cit. pp.92-93 and 135; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas: with sketches of the natives, their language and customs; and the country, products,*

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