

FORT DONALD AND THE ABALONDOLOZI REGIMENT*

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On the road between Kokstad and Port St Johns, on the crest of the mountains before the descent into Pondoland begins, is a trading store named Fort Donald, owned for many years by George Philip Pohl, and by successive generations of his family up to the present time. Some years back the place was known colloquially as Sangweni, meaning *The Gates*, a reference to the boundary fence erected along the Mpondo border in an attempt to check the spread of East Coast fever which decimated stock in Natal and the Transkei during the first decade of the twentieth century. Earlier still the locality was called Ntlontsana (variously spelt) the name of a conspicuous sharply-pointed peak which dominates the area, and rises some 1 500 metres above sea-level. From here semaphore messages used to be relayed by way of Tabankulu to Umtata.¹

It is generally accepted that Fort Donald was named as a compliment to Donald Strachan (1840—1915), who established a military post near the site to guard the border of East Griqualand; here Xesibe and other tribesmen living within colonial territory were exposed to recurrent attacks by the neighbouring Mpondo, who were still an independent people under their paramount chief, Mqikela.² There has, however, been uncertainty about the date when the fort was constructed, and the units by whom it was garrisoned.

Donald Strachan, pioneer trader in East Griqualand, who served as magistrate of the Umzimkulu district under Adam Kok's government, and that of the Cape Colony from 1874. During the Basuto war of 1880 he commanded the volunteer forces in the territory, and in 1905 was elected a member of the old Cape Senate.

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Sources recently come to light providing particulars about Fort Donald and not yet recorded in print serve to correct a few inaccuracies which have been accepted for lack of more precise information. They consist of several incomplete diaries kept by Donald Strachan, and a series of autobiographical letters written in old age by Horace Whyte, one of Strachan's associates, recalling events which took place almost sixty years before.³ Additional information is also to be found in Cape Parliamentary Papers in the Cape Archives Depot.

Donald Strachan and his elder brother Tom had arrived in Natal in 1850, as boys of ten and twelve, with their parents Robert and Mary Strachan from Campbelltown on the Mull of Kintyre; they were all members of Joseph Byrne's emigration scheme.⁴ The boys were orphaned shortly afterwards, and in manhood became transport riders and traders beyond the colonial frontier at the Upper Umzimkulu Drift, in the area then known as Nomansland. Here no African chiefdom or White administration exercised effective authority over the very mixed local people. Bhaca (Wushe) and Nthlangweni predominated among them, but in the words of Van Warmelo, in consequence "of the wars and disturbances attendant upon Shaka's reign" there was probably no place in Southern Africa with a population consisting "of so many small units and different elements as the Umzimkulu district."⁵

*Spelling of African names: Nguni orthography has undergone successive modifications, and is not yet entirely uniform. In this article African names of persons and tribes have been spelled according to modern usage, except in direct quotations, where the original and often divergent forms are retained. Place-names familiar to English-speakers, such as *Pondoland*, *Umzimkulu* or *Umtata* are rendered in European style.

1. Letter from Mrs V.G. Pohl, Kokstad, 28.5.1980.
2. B. HOLT, Old forts of the Transkei, *Africana notes and news* 11(6), March 1955, p.203; *Place-names in the Transkeian territories* (Johannesburg, 1959), p.37.
3. Strachan's diaries are among his personal papers in the possession of the writer. Whyte's letters, written in 1941 and 1942 from Budleigh Salterton in Devon, to his great-niece Betty Widdicombe in Natal are in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban (K.C.).
4. J. CLARK, *Natal settler-agent: the career of John Moreland, agent for the Byrne emigration-scheme of 1849—1851* (Cape Town, 1972), p.251.
5. N.J. VAN WARMELO, *A preliminary survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa* (Pretoria, 1935), p.24.

NOMANSLAND

John Scott, the acting Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, writing to the Cape Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, in 1862, explained that the term Nomansland had arisen because Faku the Mpondo chief, from whose nominal domain the territory had been removed by the British government, exercised no effective control over it; at the same time the government of Natal, restrained from extending its jurisdiction by the High Commissioner, had "hitherto been unable to interfere, and thus the territory has remained without any paramount rule."⁶

Donald Strachan, his name rendered colloquially as Madonela (the accent falling upon the second syllable), soon emerged as the dominant personality in this heterogeneous community. He became an accepted leader among both the Blacks and those few Whites who had ventured to settle in this unquiet region, fertile and well-watered as it is, with mountain forests rich in timber. Inured from youth to physical activity, his powerful frame was matched by a mind receptive, retentive and flexible, so that, although he had received no formal education, he became noted as a linguist, as well as a negotiator and a military leader.

A new racial element became significant in Nomansland after 1863, when the Griqua leader Adam Kok III and his followers who had trekked from Philippolis settled near Mount Currie, eighty kilometres away from the Umzimkulu Drift. Kok soon became an intimate friend of Strachan, whom he appointed as Field Cornet, Superintendent of Natives in the Umzimkulu district, and subsequently his magistrate there.⁷ When the country came under the administration of the Cape Colony in 1874, prior to its formal annexation three years later, Strachan retained this position. Part of his official duties under both the Griqua and the Cape governments was to serve as Commandant of a force of local volunteers, Black, White and Griqua, called out on active service whenever armed insurgents threatened the peace. To this regiment or commando he gave the name Abalondolozu, *The Protectors*.

MPONDO-XESIBE RIVALRY

Strachan and his men became largely responsible for the defence of East Griqualand when colonial forces were engaged elsewhere. By the middle of 1879 those of the Cape were exhausted by a long war in the western Transkei, and heavily committed in the six-month siege of Moorosi's remote mountain fortress on a spur of the southern Drakensberg massif overlooking the Orange River. In Natal, local and imperial forces had overconfidently challenged the Zulu monarchy. New dangers threatened when the perennial feud between the Mpondo and their neighbours living within the East Griqualand border broke out anew. The particular rivals of the Mpondo were the Xesibe, the people of Chief Jojo, who had been accepted as British subjects twelve months before. Reports of the raids were sent to Charles Brownlee, the Chief Magistrate of East Griqualand, at Kokstad, who called out "a certain number of men at a fixed rate of pay"⁸ in the hope that their presence on the border would prevent further disturbances. But these men were attacked and driven back by the Mpondo. Brownlee was convinced that the latter would, "as they had expressed

their determination, return with larger forces and drive the Xesibes out of their country."⁹ He now instructed Strachan to bring up reinforcements from Umzimkulu. Communications between the Chief Magistrate and his subordinate officer had recently been accelerated enormously by the extension of the electric telegraph, an innovation which was to effect a dramatic change in the time-scale of South African affairs.

There are of course two sides to every quarrel, but the colonial authorities were in duty bound to defend Jojo, and Whites living in East Griqualand were quite satisfied that the Xesibe were more sinned against than sinning. Horace Whyte, who had served with the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, and as a government telegraphist, before working for the Strachan brothers at Umzimkulu, and subsequently trading there on his own account, expressed the general view when he recalled that the Mpondo at that time "constituted a continual source of trouble and constant menace to us. Our natives on the adjoining locations, the Xesibes, were ever being harassed ... Their gardens were plundered and disputes and skirmishes occurred constantly ... stock thieves who raided cattle in our territory found a safe harbourage in Pondoland for themselves and their loot."¹⁰

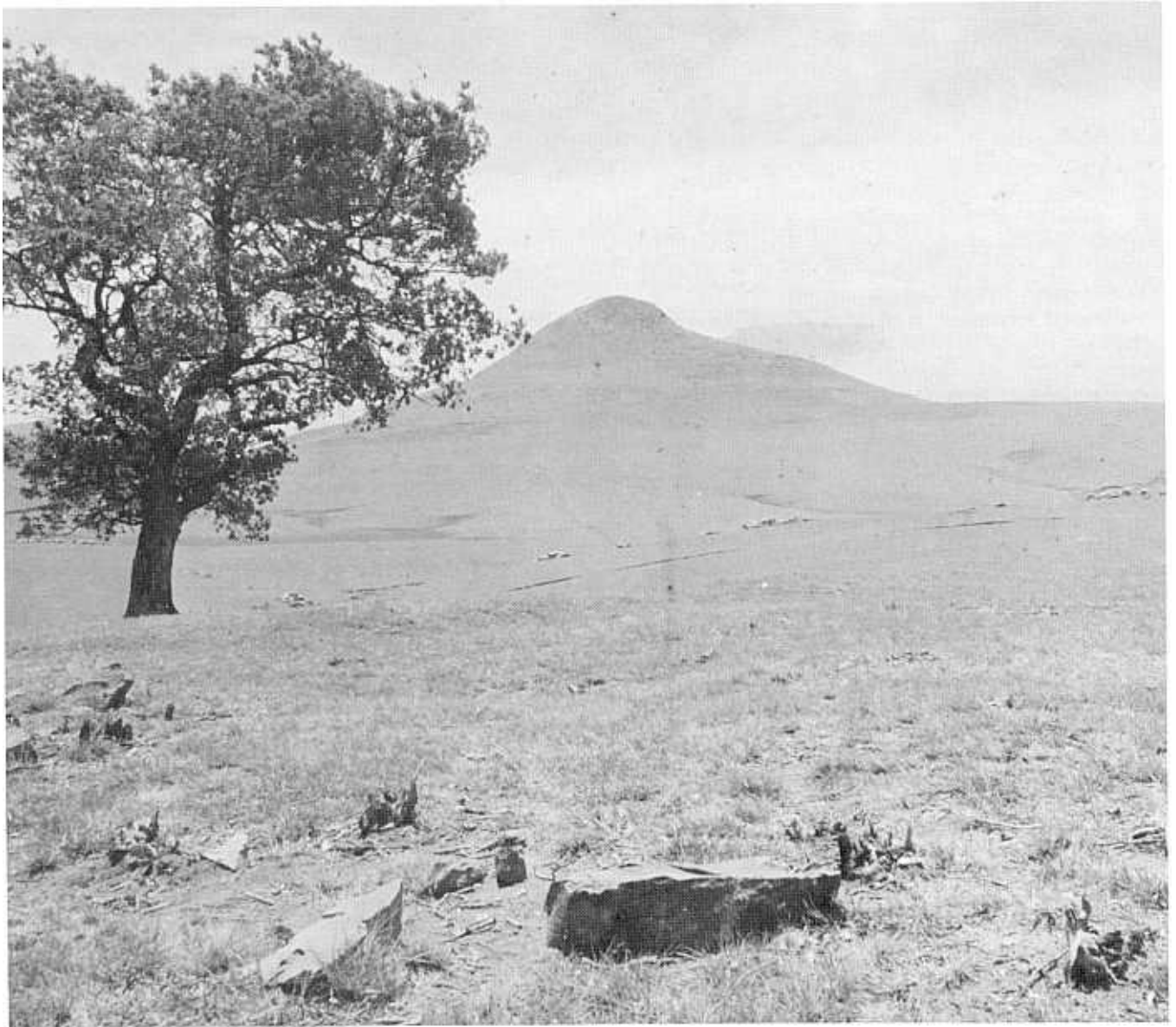
Strachan received Brownlee's first telegram on 31 July 1879, and promptly dispatched one hundred men to Kokstad. On Sunday, 3 August, when on his way to church at Clydesdale, Strachan had news of more violence on the border, and left the mission station for his office before Divine Service began. Next day, having called up another two hundred tribesmen, he set out with them and a few White volunteers into the mountains, in bitterly cold weather. Beyond the kraal of a man named Mfenqua, in the neighbourhood of the conspicuous peak Ntlontsana, he recorded in his diary on 10 August 1879, that he had "marked out Fort", and on the following day "Begun Fort Donald".

CONSTRUCTION OF FORT DONALD

Fort Donald was not an elaborate building, but rather a military encampment of which the principal feature was a sod-walled enclosure within a ditch, probably intended both as a defensible position and as a kraal for the cattle which it was anticipated would be captured from the Mpondo.

According to Dr Holt's informants Fort Donald was an earthwork measuring some thirty feet by seventy, the troops being accommodated in thatched wattle and daub huts near by; these were subsequently destroyed during a grass fire, and rebuilt a little nearer the Mpondo border.¹¹ Later still, the Officers' Mess was a substantial stone building, of which only the fortifications now remain, with three gnarled oak trees growing in front. Conflicting evidence about the design of the fort seems to be conveyed by a sketch map of 1882 by the government sur-

6. Cape Parliamentary Papers (CPP), G53-'62, p.6.
7. C.G. DE BRUIN, *Early history of Adam Kok and East Griqualand 1863-1875* (no place or date of publication), p.4.
8. CPP, G94-'82, p.3.
9. *Ibid.*
10. K.C., H. Whyte - Betty Widdicombe, 16.3.1942.
11. B. HOLT, *op. cit.*, p.203.



Inhlosana peak, from the site of the officers' mess of the Cape Mounted Rifles who garrisoned Fort Donald from September 1879, after it had been established by Strachan and his irregular troops, the Abalondolzi.

PHOTOGRAPH: R. RAINIER

veyor C.P. Watermeyer, in which it is shown as an overall square, with bastions at each corner, but this may well be a symbolical figure rather than an outline plan, as the map is not very accurate in regard to scale and distances.¹²

The construction of the fort, Strachan records, occupied only about two weeks, perhaps because an enormous number of men were available to work at the site. Brownlee, writing to the Secretary for Native Affairs eighteen months later, stated that to check the Mpondo raiders he had called for one thousand Bhaca from the Umzimkulu district, under Commandant Strachan. "Instead of one thousand, two thousand four hundred men under him were on the Pondo border one week after I had sent the order" and this "rapid and unexpected move prevented any further action on the part of the Pondo, who were checkmated by this operation."¹³

While the fort was being built Strachan was visited by Brownlee, in company with Colonel Zachariah Bayley

on his way to assume command of the flagging investment of Mount Moorosi. A review of the troops was held, after which one thousand men were dismissed to their homes, most of the others following soon afterwards, since arrangements were in train for a detachment of Cape Mounted Riflemen to assume responsibility for the post. On 20 September 1879 Captain J.T. O'Connor arrived from Kokstad, followed by the N.C.O.'s and troopers, and on 23 September Strachan says he "Handed over Fort left and got to Kokstad."

THE ABALONDOLOZI REGIMENT

The massed presence on the border of the Umzimkulu men, who "left their homes, and equipped themselves for service at considerable expense, and went into the field mounted on their own horses"¹⁴ had checked, temporarily, all Mpondo depredations, but their success was to prove disastrous to their own interests. They had expected to

12. CPP, G92-'83, Appendix.

13. CPP, G94-'82, p.3.

14. *Ibid.*, p.2.

be recompensed in Mpondo cattle, but because no more raids took place into Xesibeland during their sojourn, they were obliged to return to their own district considerably out of pocket. As Whyte relates, no very striking incidents occurred while Strachan and his followers were encamped at Fort Donald "...no doubt our very presence there acted as a deterrent and matters quietened down. We spent a month or two there and then a detachment of Cape Mounted Rifles were sent up ... The Camp and fortifications ... were given the name of Fort Donald after our popular Commandant." He goes on to say: "Our commando was given the name of Abalondolozhi. I tell you this because in the subsequent Basoto (*sic*) campaign ... the appellation stuck to us."¹⁵ It is said that members of the corps could be recognised by the guineafowl feathers which they wore in their hatbands, and, presumably, in the hair by those without European-style headgear.

Whyte's statement is perhaps the earliest recorded use of the name in full, although there is an enigmatic reference in Strachan's diary on 25 January 1868 to the first muster of "the A.V.G. at the Drift." If these initial letters stand for Abalondolozhi Volunteer Guard it would indicate that Strachan had already chosen this name for the fighting men of the Umzimkulu district. There are subsequent references to drill, and target practice. Shortly before this the Volunteer movement, based on English models, had become significant in Natal. Units in that colony, however, were composed entirely of White men.¹⁶ During the Langalibalele incident in 1874, and the Griqua rebellion first in 1878 (when Chief Makaula and his Bhaca from Mount Frere, under their magistrate J.H. Garner, also took the field), and again in April 1879 against an ally of Moorosi named Nquasha, Strachan headed an expeditionary force of local men, but there is no explicit statement that the name Abalondolozhi was current during these campaigns. Certainly, however, a multi-racial unit from Umzimkulu could be called up at the shortest notice, operating perhaps on a somewhat informal basis, and incorporating aspects of customary African usage in its organisation. This was well before a regiment by this name had been gazetted as a part of the Cape colonial forces, in association with the Baca (*sic*) Contingent.

The late Major G. Tylden, basing his statements on government publications and information from Sir Herbert Soley (who had served as Strachan's adjutant in 1880 and 1881), gives 20 September 1880 as the date of the Abalondolozhi's first recruitment, and that of the formal acceptance of the corps as 2 January 1881.¹⁷ This is no doubt correct regarding the Abalondolozhi as a part of Britain's colonial armed forces. However, Strachan's initiative in raising and disciplining a local regiment for the defence of the territory whose welfare he chose to regard as his personal responsibility, whether under the Griqua or the Cape government, had brought an efficient little local army into being more than a decade before. Its morale was almost invariably high, and its contemporary reputation such that, for example, James Sievwright, writing to John X. Merriman from Pietermaritzburg at the start of the Zulu war of the "Chaos ... prostrate and abject funk" prevailing there, declared: "There is not a single tribe except the Fingos, and Donald Strachan's wild mountaineers, to be trusted; and *they* may be needed to do work nearer their own homes..."¹⁸

To some others, unfamiliar with their traditions, their appearance seemed to suggest that allies such as these might be more dangerous than any foe. Thus Mrs E.C. Coetser, a member of one of the Afrikaner families newly settled near Cedarville, recalled that when they fled to Kokstad at the start of the "Gun War" of 1880–1881 "Strachan het al die lojale kaffers opgeroep ... Honderde lojale bontgeverfde kaffers (Baccas) het die dorp ... ingekom, gesing, geskree en geslaan op hulle skildvelle wat 'n mens senuweeagtig gemaak het ... Die kaffers was tien teen een witman."¹⁹

Even the Rev. William Dower, an experienced missionary, eyed them with some misgiving. "Strachan's Kafirs mustered in a few days" he recollected, "and entered Kokstad several hundreds at a time. They came along singing in unison their war song, beating their shields all in r[h]ythmic time, making a weird, and to unaccustomed ears, a terrible sound. More than once I felt not a little nervous when these fierce armed and mounted men, with the frenzy of war upon them — some in full war-paint — stood two deep round the Market Square, to receive a word of encouragement from "Charles" Brownlee, before proceeding to the front. They often outnumbered the Europeans by ten to one — yet I never heard of one of them offering insult or injuring property in the town."²⁰

Tylden estimates that without the Bhaca, "and men from the clans living along the Umzimkulu, who came out at Strachan's word, and fought well throughout the campaign ... Brownlee would have been hard put to it ... on no occasion did the Basuto make a stand against them, and were driven back into the mountains with very little fighting." He goes on to quote the view expressed by W.C. Scully, who had been magistrate at Mount Frere, that "had the Bacas, who were strongly persuaded in the wrong direction, rebelled, the Territories would have been in a blaze from the Kei to the Umzimkulu ... It was their steadfast loyalty and nothing else that set bounds to the (Basuto) rebellion."²¹

PERSONNEL, AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE IN THE FIELD

Tylden errs, however, in stating that the Abalondolozhi had White officers only.²² Colonial Forces Order No. 250, issued at King William's Town on 3 December 1881, enumerates the officers. There were four commandants, the chief of them being Donald Strachan, with G.W. Hawthorn (by then magistrate at Umzimkulu), J.C. Garner (magistrate at Mount Frere), and R.W.T.

15. K.C., H. Whyte — Betty Widdicombe, 16.2.1942.
16. J.B. WRIGHT, *Bushman raiders of the Drakensberg 1840–1870* (Pietermaritzburg, 1971), p.139.
17. G. TYLDEN, *The armed forces of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1954), pp.33 and 38.
18. P. LEWSEN (ed.), *Selections from the correspondence of John X. Merriman, 1870–1890* (Cape Town, 1960), p.69.
19. E.C. COETSER, *Uit die geskiedenis van Griekwaland-Oos* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), p.45.
20. W. DOWER, *The early annals of Kokstad and Griqualand East* (Port Elizabeth, 1902), p.112.
21. G. TYLDEN, *The rise of the Basuto* (Cape Town, 1950), p.154 and p.154n, citing W.C. SCULLY, A fragment of Native history, *The State*, 1909, p.673.
22. G. TYLDEN, *The armed forces of South Africa*, p.33.

Walker of the Indowana Contingent. The Adjutant was H.C. Sloley. Among those holding the rank of Captain, besides various White men, were Chief Sidoi (head of the Nthlangweni in East Griqualand), and Chief Singapani (head of the Umzimkulu Bhaca since the expulsion of Thiba, his uncle, in 1869); the Bhaca Headman Jan Sigengane was a lieutenant, as were some twenty two less notable Blacks. These included Strachan's friend of longest standing Simon (Sayimani Radebe, a Zulu, son of Qwatekile, the son of Mtimkulu, born near Pietermaritzburg),²³ also Umlesane (Umlenzana) and Chief Mehlwana, both Basuto from the Matatiele area, and one Ludovick Kok, evidently a Griqua, a namesake of the old Kok's nephew whose intemperance ignited the tragic rebellion of 1878.

Some indication of the terms and conditions under which Strachan's men served during 1880 and 1881 is given by him, and by Charles Brownlee, when they appeared before the War Expenditure Commission at King William's Town in October and November 1882. The proceedings were reported at length in successive issues of the *Cape Mercury*. The government, Brownlee stated, had approved the following rates of pay: for captains, 20/- per diem; lieutenants 15/-; a special rate for Strachan as Commandant General of 30/-; and for his business partner George Brisley, who had absented himself from their trading company to organise the commissariat, two guineas a day. Waggon hire was customarily 30/- a day, but Strachan had found men willing to contract at 20/-.

Brownlee estimated that there had been an average of three thousand men on active service during the three months' campaign, with a total at one period of five thousand including one hundred Europeans "exclusive of officers of levies", and some six hundred Griquas, who were paid at the same rate as Whites. Brownlee, asked whether Griquas could not have received less, replied that perhaps they could — but they were just as efficient in the field as Whites, always ready for duty, and not prone to drunkenness. Strachan conceded that the Griquas' pay was "exceedingly high", but all in all, unavoidable in the circumstances. Questioned about the high rates of compensation for Blacks' horses, Strachan said this too had been necessary, and was "a sort of bidding for the loyalty of the people". Regarding clothing issued to Black troops, for which government had not yet voted funds, he insisted that it had been absolutely essential, the weather being exceedingly inclement, and they having "been in the field so long and at starting at first we had no tents or commissariat, nor anything; we simply had to live on what we took from the enemy." Had not each man been issued with a good rug "a great many of them would have died of the cold up in the Drakensberg." Asked whether Blacks fought as effectively on horseback as on foot Strachan replied: "Much more so when accustomed to ride, and that sort of thing." Their Basuto adversaries, he pointed out, had been well mounted, as were the rebels from the redoubtable Mpondomise tribe.

SERVICES UNREWARDED

Service with the Abalondolozu, by the time it received official recognition, was thus virtually on terms of parity with that in colonial units composed of White men only. But for their earlier exertions they received nothing but a

share of the cattle captured. In particular, the men who guarded the Mpondo-Xesibe border in 1879 came off badly, though Brownlee and Strachan endeavoured to secure them some consideration.

When the Basuto campaign in East Griqualand was over, and won, Strachan wrote through his Chief Magistrate to the Secretary for Native Affairs, asking that £4 000 from available funds should be paid to the men under his orders who, in 1879, had guarded the Mpondo border. On this basis, for two months' voluntary service each man would have received something less than £2 sterling. Strachan pointed out that they alone had received no pay; but because their mere presence at Fort Donald had overawed potential raiders, there had been no counter-attacks, and consequently no booty taken. Moreover in the subsequent war against colonial rebels their discipline had been such that "not a single case of [mis]appropriation of cattle or sheep has occurred among the natives under my command"; all loot had been faithfully handed over, except such stock as the Commissariat had slaughtered for rations. On the other hand, of the captures made by their fellow-tribesman from Mount Frere, who only once left their homes, "nothing reached the Government."²⁴ Brownlee, endorsing the appeal, commented that the Umzimkulu men, having "prevented a further invasion of British territory"²⁵ had saved the government "from a large outlay", and he reminded the Secretary for Native Affairs in May 1881 that he had warned against disbanding Strachan's force before satisfaction had been obtained from Mqikela. In fact, the small detachment of C.M.R. posted at Fort Donald proved quite unequal to its peace-keeping task. In February 1883, while Brownlee was in England on sick-leave, C.P. Watermeyer, acting as Chief Magistrate in his place, formed an irregular police corps of fifty Nthlangweni, under Sub-Inspector Horace Whyte, and based near Mount Ayliff, to check recurrent clashes between the Mpondo and the Xesibe.²⁶

Correspondence on the question of pay to Strachan's Bhaca extended from February to August 1881, being presented to both Houses of Parliament, and published the following year as a Cape Blue Book numbered G.94-'82; but there seems no evidence that Strachan's appeal on behalf of his men succeeded.

In September 1881, after the Basuto campaign, Brownlee wrote to the Secretary notifying him that a distribution of captured cattle had been made to Strachan's Bhaca as "a similar distribution" had already been made to Makaula's men at Mount Frere by Major Parminter, and Strachan's people were increasingly impatient at their reward's being delayed. Widows and children of men who had died on service were now, on his instructions, to be granted the equivalent of five head of cattle "in lieu of any pension or gratuity". For this purpose £735, a "by no means unreasonable sum", had been reserved from the prize fund by Brownlee, and deposited with the Standard Bank.²⁷ So far honour was satisfied. But still nothing seems to have been forthcoming for the builders and first garrison of Fort Donald. "It is a theme

23. Letter from K.W. Strachan, Umzimkulu, 12.4.1978.

24. CCP, G94-'82, p.2.

25. *Ibid.*, p.4.

26. CCP, G92-'83, pp.9 and 10.

27. Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town, CMK 2/3, pp.419-420: Brownlee — SNA, 3.9.1881.



Silver cup belonging to Mr H.J. Fellowes, inscribed "The Amatembu Officers to Commandant General Strachan as a token of their high esteem, Basuto War 1880—1881".

PHOTOGRAPH: R. RAINIER

of complaint among the Umzimkulu natives that their services in 1879 should have been entirely overlooked."²⁸

It might well be added that a lifetime of public service by Donald Strachan himself was virtually ignored by successive governments. He received merely the fluctuating salary and allowances due to him from time to time as Magistrate and Commissioner, a casual word of thanks now and then from a government department at the conclusion of a military campaign or of a commission, but little else. While many other colonial officials, his colleagues and contemporaries, were rewarded with *ex gratia* pensions, medals, and Imperial orders such as the C.M.G. and even knighthoods, Strachan was passed over in silence. This slight — whether intentional or not — gave him no little hurt, and to devoted men who regarded him as their leader both in peace and war, much dissatisfaction. For example, Walter Stafford, who served under him on more than one occasion, wrote: "If ever a man did not receive his just reward from his country and Government it was the Hon. Commandant Strachan..."²⁹

The only tangible trophy which came to him was a silver cup inscribed "The/Amatembu Officers/to/Com-

mandant General Strachan/As a token of their high/esteem/Basuto War 1880—1881". This memento, with the Birmingham mark for 1861, standing 20 cm high without its base, is now in the possession of one of Strachan's grandsons, Mr H.J. Fellowes, of Kloof in Natal.

This unit, composed largely of Hlubi tribesmen, was in no way associated with the Thembu (or Tembu) tribe. It is mentioned in contemporary sources both as the Amatembu and the Amatembu regiment, meaning *The Reliables* or *The Hopefuls*, and was also known as the Fingo Force. The roll of the Amatembu (*sic*) Regiment was published in Colonial Forces Order No. 253 at King William's Town on 21 January 1882. This unit was under the command of Henry Usher until his death in action at the Pitseng Caves on 10 April 1881,³⁰ the first White casualty in this campaign. His successor was Wasili von Meyer, previously a captain with the Abalondolozzi. In partnership with his brother Peter, a lieutenant in the regiment, who was fatally wounded shortly before Usher fell, von Meyer had owned the hotel and store at Cedarville on the Upper Umzimvubu.³¹

The Amatembu officers, like those of the Abalondolozzi, were both White and Black, though with a greater predominance of the former, among them members of local families, men such as Archibald Scott, James Percy Davis and Edward Barker, Francis Rutters, the trader at Chevy Chase who, with J.R. Thomson the Magistrate, was besieged by the Mpondomise and rescued by the Abalondolozzi (Soga says by a force of Nthlangweni from Umzimkulu, under Donald Strachan),³² John Liefeldt and Alfred Austen. Among Black men with captains' commissions were Lehana (David) Molife, son of Abner Molife, Orpen's clerk and interpreter at the Gatberg, and Lupinda, a Hlubi headman living near the Kinira Drift. Among the lieutenants were David Molloi, and Zibi, a high-ranking Hlubi chieftain — literate, Christianised and progressive.

These men, in common with those of the Abalondolozzi of all ranks, believed that they were serving their own best interests, and the future of their people, by obeying the call of White leaders of the stamp of Charles Brownlee and Donald Strachan, whom they knew intimately, and trusted implicitly. But ultimately, power did not rest in such hands. A comparable situation existed in many other parts of the African sub-continent, as it did, for example, among the "loyals" in Lesotho, and the Amafengu under M.S. Blyth in the western Transkei. The final reckoning, bred of resentment out of bitter disillusion, is not yet settled, though it is clear for all to perceive, whether or not its causes are fully understood.

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28. CCP, G94 — '82, p.2.
29. W. STAFFORD, *History of the Griqua rebellion, 1878*, a participant's story of a peculiar campaign that arose over a squabble re coffee beans, *Natal Witness*, Pietermaritzburg (two undated newspaper cuttings).
30. *Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 10.5.1881, p.17: Government Notice 531/1881.
31. R. HARBER, *Gentlemen of brave mettle: life in early East Griqualand* (Cape Town, 1975), pp.87 and 120; J.W. MACQUARRIE (ed.), *The reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford I* (Cape Town, 1958), p.157.
32. J.H. SOGA, *The south-eastern Bantu (Abe-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Lala)* (Johannesburg, 1930; reprint: Liechtenstein, 1969), p.346.