

satisfied. But there is no progress of social unity ; the English live in three or four towns, by themselves ; the few remaining Dutchmen in the upland farms, by themselves ; the Hindoo coolies on the coast plantations ; the Zulus in big native reserves, 60,000 of them together in one county (Victoria), 40,000 in Klip River, 30,000 in Weenen, a standing cause of suspicious anxiety to their European neighbours. To lessen this reputed danger, so long ago as 1853, Mr. Shepstone asked permission of her Majesty's Government, using his great personal influence over the native mind, to draw off half the Natal Zulus into a then vacant piece of country between the Umtamfuna and the Umzimvubu, or St. John's river, next to Pondoland, south-west of Natal. They would there have dwelt entirely removed from the example and local interests of Zulu Land, which is situated north-east of Natal ; and Mr. Shepstone offered to go and rule over them, as an enlightened and beneficent despotic Chief, trusting to his own moral authority and the political support of the British Government. This scheme, romantic as it may appear, was considered by no means impracticable among those who knew the character and peculiar ability of the man, and the extraordinary confidence which the Zulus then showed in their relation towards him. It was

rejected, however, by the advice of Sir George Grey, then Governor at Cape Town and High Commissioner, who apprehended that it might have a disturbing effect upon other tribes of British Kaffraria.

The continued existence, with no efficient agency of moral instruction or discipline among them, of these huge masses of native barbarism, though seldom actively troublesome, in the heart of the small European Colony, has proved fatal to its economic development, as well as to its social life. Natal is as backward as the least happy of the West Indian islands, estimating its productiveness in due relation to its extent and variety of natural resources. Its revenue is derived in great part from taking customs' toll of the imports and exports on their way to and from the Transvaal, the Orange River State, and other provinces inland. A good portion too of the wool, hides, and wild beasts' skins, with ivory and the like, making nearly three-fourths of the aggregate exports from Natal, must be credited to the upland plains of the interior. The produce of sugar, in 1875, amounted in value to £100,000, while that of coffee, and other tropical growths, was scarcely anything. In short, this settlement is a commercial and industrial failure. It has railway works and harbour works going on, but they are designed for communications from the

sea to the neighbouring countries beyond the Drakensberg which must pay Natal a toll upon their needful traffic. There is no real source or stock of substantial wealth in the province itself, so long as there is no sufficient labouring class. English working men, agricultural or handicraftsmen, will never be tempted by offers of a free passage to emigrate to a country where they would have to stand side by side with Coolies and Kaffirs. English capitalists, if they will take the risks of a plantation for their investment, may well prefer a climate less subject to violent and frequent storms, with ports more convenient for the ordinary course of trade. As for English middle-class family settlers, those who were captivated by Mr. Byrne's lectures on Natal, some thirty years ago, have had time since they went out to repent at leisure, or to impart their sad experiences to a younger generation, who will not follow that example. Natal is what Scotchmen would call a "stickit" colony; while Governors come to it and Governors go, or Lieutenant-Governors at least, the community sticks fast in the old rut, which is the difficulty of making itself at home with the vastly augmented Zulu population. A notable instance of this occurred five years ago, upon which there was a great noise at the time, but I will venture to tell the story once again.

## CHAPTER IX.

### LANGALIBALELE AND BISHOP COLENZO.

Personal.—“Native Law” in the Colony.—The Amahlubi and Putili tribes.—Langalibalele.—Kaffirs buying guns.—Registration of guns.—The Chief disobeys a summons.—Attempted secession of his tribe.—Accidental conflict and homicide.—Surrender of Langalibalele.—Severe treatment of the people.—Trial of Langalibalele and others.—Irregularity of procedure.—Bishop Colenso takes up the case.—And obtains an alteration of the sentence.

THIS narrative chapter, in spite of its title, will not deal so much with personalities, as with a series of incidents, characteristic indeed of certain well-known persons, but here illustrative of the management of Zulus in Natal. The Right Rev. Dr. Colenso, when he first visited his South African diocese in 1853, met Langalibalele, then an interesting youthful Zulu chieftain, and was pleased with his amiable disposition. He also then conceived a high regard and esteem for Mr. Shepstone, whom he gladly hailed as the man specially endowed and ordained for the grand work of civilising the native race, and the zealous assistant of religious missionary efforts. But twenty years had

elapsed from that time, before the conflict of opinions and sentiments upon the trial of Langalibalele in 1874 brought into view strong differences with regard to the character and treatment of the Zulu race in Natal. The Bishop had either, in his earlier impressions of this subject, been too sanguine and enthusiastic, whether or not Mr. Shepstone was then himself so disposed ; or he latterly found reason to put less faith in the qualifications of the Secretary for Native Affairs to rule a quarter of a million Kaffir subjects in a strictly paternal fashion.

It was by the agency of their own hereditary tribal chiefs, with the aid of certain European officials, acting as legal assessors, who were called Administrators of Native Law, that this rule was exercised in the name of " the Supreme Chief," who is the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. The Code of Native Law had been compiled by Mr. Shepstone and others, from a variety of Zulu traditions, more or less trimmed to suit British notions of equity, but still agreeable in the main to native habits and ideas. Polygamy was a fully recognised legal institution, as it continues to be in Natal ; and the purchase of wives, that is to say, of maidens sold at a fixed price by their own fathers or family guardians, but with the female's supposed consent, is equally according to law. It must, how-

ever, be observed that women and girls cannot legally be sold in any other way. The British Government receives a tax upon all such marriages, and has of late years published distinct regulations for contracting and performing them. A hut-tax, levied upon every Zulu householder, was during a long period the only Government exaction from the tribes dwelling in appointed districts under their respective chiefs.

The numerous tribe of the Amahlubi, with the allied or kindred Amangwe, called also Putili, had once been the most powerful in South-Eastern Africa. They had, like other tribes of ancient position in the Natal country, been crushed and dispersed by the conquests of Chaka ; but had gathered and re-entered the territory, about 1848, and occupied the location assigned to them. This was in the upper or western part of Weenen county, on the slopes of the Drakensberg and adjoining lowlands, around the sources of the Little Tugela. It was near the passes leading over that mountain range into Basutoland. The Hlubi tribe grew to the number of 9,400 souls, and possessed many thousand head of cattle. Its chief was Langalibalele, whose melodious name, having the signification of "The Glaring Sun," was given to commemorate his birth in very hot midsummer weather. He was a great native sage, and was reputed a great

magician ; it was believed that he could make the sky, at his pleasure, shed welcome rains, or parch the soil with drought ; and people came from afar to bribe him with gifts of cattle, that he might do them good. He was also a great patriarch, with I know not how many wives, old and young, but with fifty-four sons, and sixty-eight daughters, many of these married to influential members of an extensive variety of Kaffir tribes. The Amahlubi under his chieftainship seem to have been quiet and inoffensive during a quarter of a century ; there was no complaint against him or them. Bishop Colenso, when he visited that tribe, was rather gratified by their apparent promising condition. From his description, and the reports of conversations with Langalibalele, that African nobleman would seem to have been a peaceable, rather timid, good-natured sort of person ; not at all turbulent or ambitious, but fond of arguing his own case, and somewhat obstinate when found fault with, like many weak characters. It is probable that, as he became an elderly man, he was losing much of his personal authority over the fiery youthful spirits of his kindred, who, perhaps, did not entirely believe in his super-human powers.

A most pernicious cause of endless dangers to all the states and provinces of South Africa was set in

operation, from about 1870, by the employment of innumerable Kaffirs at the Diamond Fields of West Griqua Land, working for high money wages and instantly buying firearms, which were stored for sale by thousands close to the diggings. The mischievous trade was found so profitable there, and colonial merchants were so unscrupulous, that they soon imported whole shiploads of muskets, rifles, and ammunition, sent in everywhere, to be offered to native purchasers all over Kaffirland. There were, from that time, three principal channels of trade by which English manufactures of this kind were copiously introduced; from the Cape Colony, to the Diamond Fields; secondly, through Natal; thirdly, by way of the Portuguese port of Delagoa Bay; there was also a great deal of smuggling on several points of the eastern coast. The interior traffic was briskly carried on between the various Kaffir nations and their foreign caterers, so that it has lately been reckoned that nearly half a million of these European instruments of warfare are now in possession of the natives. Commercial and official apologists for this very profitable sort of imports have been wont to say, in a jaunty confident manner, that the Kaffirs do not know how to use guns, and will be sure to spoil them, or to waste their cartridges and gunpowder; (but we

know that the Basutos have acquired the art of making their own gunpowder ;) and it is alleged that the old native method of fighting with assegais and knobkerries was more effective than their unscientific use of firearms. Be it so ; there is another evil to be considered which arises from the abundant supply of these weapons of a superior race to the tenfold more numerous population of Kaffirs. It has naturally excited a warlike, restless, violent, and vain-glorious spirit among the native youth, who are but grown-up children in mind and moral character. A child who gets hold of a gun fancies himself possessed of a power that makes him equal to the strongest and cleverest man. The young Kaffirs, Zulus and others, of the present day care for nothing else ; they dream of nothing else, and will not work for any other recompense. We cannot lure them to industry by offering those artificial comforts and conveniences of life, articles of clothing, furniture, utensils, tools, and even ornaments of European fashion, which they utterly disdain. But the chance of purchasing a musket, or possibly an improved species of firearms, will lead any spirited young fellow of dark brown complexion to walk several hundred miles, in search of highly paid employment for a few weeks, to the end that he may procure the coveted instrument of

mischief, and shoulder it on his long homeward march in triumph. This universal custom, within less than ten years past, has revolutionised the ideas and feelings of all the native race. It has undermined the political influence of the elder chiefs, such as Langalibalele himself, who were disposed to remain in orderly subjection to the British Government. It has broken a peace of very long continuance, both in the Trans-Kei and on the Tugela frontier; and north of the Transvaal, and all round the colonial borders, there is a formidable stirring and heaving of warlike ambition, prompted by the owning and handling of guns.

This was the *teterrima causa* of poor Langalibalele's trouble in 1873; and it is worthy of remark that the official gentlemen and other respectable Natal colonists, who forwarded his prosecution, were themselves a little concerned in the brisk doings at the Kimberley diamond pit. Three of the sons of the Natal Secretary for Native Affairs were employers of Zulu labour in those brilliant diggings, and the hire they allowed went to purchase guns. So did the money earned by the men who were sent up to West Griqua Land by Mr. MacFarlane, the district magistrate having supervision of the Amahlubi tribe, and of the Putili, in their assigned location. It was quite

notorious in that province, and elsewhere, that the natives were getting easy possession, by a short spell of work for hire in each individual case, of any quantity of firearms. What was done by the Natal Government? A tax was levied on their importation, for the sake of revenue; and on the 14th of February, 1872, a circular was issued to the resident magistrates of the native districts, ordering that the guns should be registered, and the holders should take out a licence. This circular, it appears from all the evidence in Langalibalele's case, was not properly or regularly put in execution, but was occasionally used by a district magistrate who wanted a legal occasion for chastising somebody he thought worthy of punishment. The register shows that during three years, 1871 and the next two, only a score of guns were registered among eight populous tribes, dwelling in 15,000 huts. The majority of those actually registered were sent in by Langalibalele; but he did not himself care to have any guns, and of his thirty grown-up sons, only two were possessors of such an article. Nevertheless, he seems to have tacitly permitted the young men of his tribe, like hundreds and thousands of other Zulus, to go and work at the diamond fields, far away beyond the other side of the Orange River State, and to bring home the coveted prize of a young

man's ambition. "I do not go there," said the old gentleman; "it is the white men who scratch about the ground and look for diamonds. I sit at home, and am well known as a great chief. The white people take our young men there to work, and to buy guns with the money they earn; I am no purchaser of these guns." This was Langalibalele's excuse for giving himself just as little trouble as he could, but quite as much as the other Zulu tribal chiefs would do, in the matter of gun registration. Some of the Indunas, when spoken to about the number of firearms in the hands of the people around, professed to have had a notion that they were furnished on purpose to enable the tribe along the Drakensberg frontier to guard the passes against predatory Bushmen. This duty had indeed been specially entrusted to the Amahlubi, who had always performed it well.

But in the months of July and August, 1873, the resident magistrate at Estcourt, who had previously found fault with Langalibalele's too independent bearing, repeatedly summoned him to send in for registration the guns owned by young men of his tribe. Langalibalele made a variety of objections and excuses, saying that he did not know who the young men were, or what guns they had, or where they kept them. "How can I know all the maggots in a piece of

beef?" The old fellow was lazy, and had a sore leg, and he is said to have been in the habit of borrowing now and then a bottle of rum, which may have been taken "for medicine." Mr. MacFarlane thought his answers very impudent, but Mr. Mellersh, an official of lesser rank, did not think so. A native agent of the magistracy, who was named Mtshitshizelwa, next conveyed a more emphatic and peremptory message from Mr. MacFarlane to the Hlubi chief. It was delivered loudly in public, before the assembled men of the tribe; and Langalibalele, probably wanting to show his own people that he was not afraid, seems to have treated the official message with scornful disrespect. He is described as turning his back on the messenger, and impatiently denouncing the injustice of the white men, who would take away the guns from his "boys," after they had fairly earned them by honest work at the diamond fields. This was a popularity-seeking attitude on the part of the foolish chief, and was meant also to cover his own weakness, for it is most likely that the young men would not have obeyed him if he had commanded them to bring the guns. They had indeed some cause to fear that if the guns were sent in to the magistrate's office, the business of registering and stamping might be delayed indefinitely, and Mr. MacFarlane talked about a testi-

monial of personal character and loyalty being required for the holder of a gun licence. The Zulus generally, having actually got the guns in their hands, and considering them fairly their own, were resolved to keep them without any licence or registration. Langalibalele was not more competent than any other chief of a tribe in Natal to enforce their compliance with the official circular. His authority over the Amahlubi was limited to the customary administration of Native Law. The British Government of Natal was then presided over by Sir Benjamin Pine, in his second term of office, having occupied the same post from 1850 to 1856. That active and experienced Lieutenant-Governor, acting upon the advice of Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, had to deal with Mr. MacFarlane's very urgent representations of the alleged contumacy of Langalibalele, who neglected to attend his summons at Estcourt. A second official messenger, Mahoiza, was sent to bid him come to the town of Pietermaritzburg, to the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs. Langalibalele shuffled and shirked; he did not refuse to come, but he said, "How about my sore leg?" It was proved that he did, in fact, suffer from an old ailment of that kind, and the limb was much swollen; but Mr. Shepstone's orders were imperative; if he

could not walk, he must travel on horseback, or in a waggon.

Langalibalele, it appears, was in a facing-both-ways posture of mind, with divided resolution, between fear of the anger and contempt of his own people, and fear of disobeying the British Government. He sent word to Mr. MacFarlane, it being Saturday, that he could not attend at Estcourt, as he was ordered to go to Pietermaritzburg on Monday, and he promised Mahoiza to do so. But whatever may have been his private intentions, the other leading men of the Hlubi tribe, and of their kindred and neighbours the Putili, had already resolved on a desperate course. They did not mean rebellion or insurrection, but secession from the province of Natal, renewing the expedient of their former voluntary departure, in 1848, from the Zulu Kingdom of Panda, and following likewise the example of the Dutch Boers, in their repeated exodus from the British provinces. With this view, during the vexatious discussions with Mr. MacFarlane, the Zulus had been quietly driving away their great herds of cattle, and packing up their moveable property. One of the circumstances less easily accounted for is that they had been storing up hoards of corn or mealies in the caves not far from their location, as if they had thought of standing upon the defensive in that district,

which they never attempted to do. It is stated also that they began to grind saltpetre, to burn willow wood for charcoal, and to collect sulphur for the composition of gunpowder, which they learnt from the neighbouring Basutos ; and that they purchased a number of saddles and bridles, whereas the Zulus are not a horse-riding people, but their friends the Basutos were. Putting all this and all that together, it was the opinion of Sir Benjamin Pine and his Ministers and Executive Council, that Langelibalele's tribe were preparing to wage open war, in alliance with the Basutos, as soon as they could pass the mountain frontier.

Looking back upon the affair now more calmly, it seems probable that the Amahlubi, and perhaps most of the Natal Zulus, were quite disposed to resist, if needful, by an armed insurrection, with the aid of other Kaffirs, any wholesale confiscation of the guns they had been permitted to buy. No government has yet dared to attempt such a measure, as there is no British force adequate to compel its real execution. But that Langelibalele, such a man as he was, devoid of all commanding qualities of a statesman or warrior, ever contemplated heading such a national movement, is altogether unlikely. He was a shuffler and muddler in his political and personal behaviour, a feeble impos-

tor in his pretensions to rule, as in his ridiculous arts of magic. Oddly enough, by the exaggerating influence of English party zeal, on one side and the other, in the noisy controversy upon this case raised by Dr. Colenso, the figure of Langalibalele became transformed into that of a patriot, hero, and martyr, as viewed by some, a malignant traitor and rebel, as others regarded him ; while his real character was insignificant.

The Monday morning came, November 3rd, and Langalibalele made a show of setting out upon his journey to Pietermaritzburg. He rode part of the way, then stopped for the night, and turned back to his own place. He feared to be made prisoner on the road, or on his arrival at the capital. There was a muster of the Colonial Volunteer forces all over those parts of the country, and the Minister of Native Affairs had come up to Estcourt. Langalibalele fancied all this was preparatory to the suppression of himself and his tribe. He was urged by several of his foremost men, one Mabudhle in particular, to secede from British jurisdiction. He gave the word at length, and started with many companions and followers towards the Drakensberg, though he seemed at first uncertain whether he should not rather go across the Buffalo river.

Now, the mere act of quitting the territory of Natal without the permission of Sir Benjamin Pine, as Supreme Chief of the Zulus there resident, was considered then by the Pietermaritzburg authorities to be an act of rebellion, according to the Native Code of Law, though it would not have been so by the Common Law of England, or by Roman-Dutch Civil Law, still partially recognised in Natal. The Lieutenant-Governor thereupon instantly proclaimed a sentence of outlawry against Langalibalele, and ordered his pursuit by a military force. It was also directed that the location hitherto occupied by the Hlubi tribe, which was at Epangweni, near the foot of the Drakensberg range, should be closely invested. The Bushman's River Pass, 8,000 feet above the plains, was for this purpose occupied by a small party of English volunteers and native mounted police. It is pretty certain that the Zulus had no immediate intention of fighting their way out of the colony. Langalibalele had commanded his people to avoid meeting the Government troops, and all they wanted just then was to remove their property and get free from British control. They did not molest or threaten anybody, or commit any sort of depredation or damage. Although some carried fire-arms, probably about 300 in all, those who personally accompanied

the chief had but two small flasks of powder. He, and many of his followers, with about 3,000 oxen, thus quietly passed over the mountains into the land of the Basutos. Unhappily, there was one small party, headed by Mabuhle, an Induna of the tribe, which came into hostile collision with a few of the Natal Mounted Carbineers, under the late Colonel Durnford, then Major Durnford. This took place quite unexpectedly, at the end of an interview and rather angry talk between the Zulus and the Englishmen, just beyond the Natal frontier in the Bushman's River Pass, near the mountain summit called Giant's Castle. The Zulus were irritated because some of the native followers of Major Durnford's party had taken a cow of their herd, and killed it for dinner, and others had stolen the guns and assegais of some of the Zulus while they lay asleep. The English commander offered to pay for the loss, and remonstrated in a friendly manner with the Zulus, entreating them to return to their proper location. No one that day knew where Langalibalele had gone. After some altercation, Major Durnford ordered his party to withdraw, and they were about to do so, when Mabuhle and some of those with him opened fire on the Englishmen, killing Mr. Erskine, a son of the Colonial Secretary, and two other volunteers with two of our Basutos. There was

an exchange of volleys, but nothing like a set conflict, which the officer in command felt it his duty to avoid ; the Englishmen galloped away. Langalibalele heard of this affair two days afterwards, and was displeased with Mabuhle for having fired. A stronger force, under Captain Allison and Mr. Hawkins, was sent into Basuto Land to procure the arrest of the fugitive chief, and the surrender of his tribe's cattle. He cast himself on the hospitality of Molappo, the son of the great Basuto chief Moshesh, with whom he had an old friendship. But this did not avail for his protection ; Molappo was persuaded by the British residents in that country, Mr. C. D. Griffith and Major Bell, to hand over Langalibalele, with two of his sons, his brother, two headmen of the tribe, and seventy other prisoners, who were brought back for trial in Natal.

The chastisement of the Amahlubi was then proceeded with by measures of extreme severity, which failed to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, causing much loss of life, and great distress to the women and children of dispersed families. Not that there was any deliberate or wilful cruelty on the part of the colonial forces employed in capturing the mountain strongholds, the caves and dens and hiding-places, to which the miserable remnant of the broken tribe, with their scanty store of food, had fled after

the ruin of their chief. Captain G. A. Lucas, formerly of the 73rd regiment, being resident magistrate of Klip River district, was the officer in command of the Frontier Guard and "loyal Zulus," during these operations; and he was, upon a strict inquiry into the facts, fully exonerated by Lord Carnarvon from any charge of permitting excesses on the part of his troops. But from the peculiar situation and circumstances of the unhappy people, their forcible dislodgement could not be attempted without inflicting death upon some helpless non-combatants, though unintentionally or even unawares. It is painful, however, to read the evidence of witnesses proving that, in one instance at least, those who had got into a cavern were destroyed by suffocation with the smoke of a fire, and by shooting in among them; and that these were not fighting men. This was done by the native auxiliaries, and not in the presence of any European. The whole number killed was about 200; and the men having taken flight, the women, girls, and children were removed to other districts, where they were placed in charge of friendly tribes to be maintained at the expense of Government. It is to be regretted that Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was not authorised rather to try his extraordinary powers of conciliation and persuasion with the Amahlubi, instead

of hunting them out in this merciless fashion, "eating up" their numerous herds of cattle, burning their houses and scattering their families all over the country, where they had dwelt peacefully and blamelessly during twenty-five years. But the Natal Government felt itself weak, supported by a mere handful of white men, amidst twenty-fold the number of Kaffirs with 150 tribal chiefs; and weak ruling authorities cannot afford, I suppose, to be merciful upon certain occasions. They ought indeed to draw the line somewhere, in the measure of retaliatory punishment; and the next step, which was turned against the Amangwe or Putili, the kindred neighbouring tribe, for having sheltered part of the Hlubi refugees and concealed their property for them, seems to have transgressed the equitable limit. Mr. MacFarlane and Captain Lucas not only deposed and imprisoned their acting chief, Umbalo, who died three months afterwards, but destroyed the kraals and huts of their location, and confiscated all their oxen, about 9,000 head, with every other kind of property, so that the people, estimated at 5,000, suffered from destitution. These acts were done by the authority of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine, with the advice, it is to be presumed, of Mr. Shepstone; and they do certainly appear deserving of Lord Carnarvon's subsequent

reproof. But it was a less considerable misuse of official power, in the defective legality of the judicial procedure against Langalibalele himself, that occasioned her Majesty's Secretary of State to intervene with an adverse decision, which Dr. Colenso exerted himself to obtain.

The trial of Langalibalele for the crimes of rebellion, conspiracy, sedition, and treason was held in January at Pietermaritzburg. In any other part of her Majesty's dominions, such a case would have been submitted to the Supreme Court of Local Jurisdiction for the administration of the ordinary criminal law. This ordinary law was usually applied likewise in Natal to the trial of natives charged with such crimes as murder ; but it would not have borne out an indictment of treason against Langalibalele, or of conspiracy to subvert the Queen's Government in Natal. Sir Benjamin Pine was therefore most unfortunately advised to rely upon his assumed powers under the supposed Native Law, as Supreme Chief of the native tribes, having the same kind of authority over minor tribal chiefs, in Natal, that Panda or Ketchwhyu might claim over those in Zulu Land. It is true that the definitive establishment in 1848 or 1849 of British government in Natal was accompanied by an ordinance nominally investing the Lieutenant-Governor

with that character of "Supreme Chief," in accordance with the proclamation, which stated that all the "native laws, customs, and usages" not repugnant to humanity should remain in force. But the expedient of resorting to this paramount exercise of an authority grounded theoretically upon Native Law for the purpose of framing a prosecution which English common law, in view of the evidence to be brought forward, could not have sustained, was a fatal error on the part of the Natal Government. It is very likely that some lesser charge than that of treason might have been successfully preferred against Langa-libalele and other members of his tribe; and that the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a regular Court of Justice, would have passed without dispute. No other method of judicial procedure was safe or proper in a community which had not, like that of Jamaica under Governor Eyre in 1865, witnessed the proclamation of Martial Law. Sir Benjamin Pine and his Executive Council put themselves in a false position at the outset of these proceedings; but the fault seems to lie in the previous neglect of her Majesty's Government to provide a more exact definition of the nature and extent of the existing legal jurisdiction in Natal. The fact is, that her Majesty had, and still has, in Natal a large population of native subjects whom her govern-

ment is unable to rule by English law. The exigencies of colonial government, however, with regard to its native policy, demanded that some way should be found of dealing with Langelibalele as a rebel and traitor, which would involve the forfeiture of his privileges as a tribal chief, the destruction of the Amahlubi and concaction of all their property. Had he been simply convicted of a misdemeanour, or of an ordinary felony, these desirable political consequences would not have accrued. This is why the Natal Government did what it did in 1874, and Bishop Colenso was able to show that, in so doing, it had committed a serious fault ; though I must say that the Bishop himself erred in several particulars during the controversy upon Langelibalele's case.

The prisoner was tried by a Court which consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, as Supreme Chief, the Secretary for Native Affairs, several of the Resident Magistrates of Districts, here styled Administrators of Native Law, and several Indunas or native tribal magistrates, who exercise the petty jurisdiction under their chiefs, within each particular tribe. Now, it does seem objectionable to English notions, that the chief Executive officials should be the chief judges in a trial for resisting, defying, and attempting to subvert the Executive. Of course, there was no jury, and

what is worse, there was no counsel for the defence of the prisoner; he was told that he might have a barrister merely to cross-examine the witnesses, but not to address the Court; so he had no counsel upon his trial. The charge of treason and rebellion was made out by alleging that, according to Native Law, the mere wilful neglect of a summons to go and wait upon the Supreme Chief amounts to treason, and the mere act of quitting the Supreme Chief's territorial jurisdiction without leave is an act of rebellion; so that Langalibalele was outlawed simply because, instead of going to Estcourt or to Pietermaritzburg, he went over the mountains into Basuto Land. This is rather strong doctrine for the subjects of Queen Victoria; and it contrasts too forcibly with the legal opinion which was given by the Attorney-General at Capetown upon the secession of the Dutch Boers in 1836, that they were guilty of no offence in quitting the British Colonial jurisdiction. It is scarcely practicable, one would think, to teach the Kaffirs to regard the pale of each province or district as a prison in which they may be kept by force at the discretion of their white superiors: they are a liberty-loving race of migratory habits, and they have the example of the Boers for repeated changes of abode. But the Amahlubi and their Chief had in 1848 seceded from

the jurisdiction of King Panda, departing then without their Supreme Chief's permission out of Zulu Land, and had been received, as tens of thousands of other Zulus have been received, into the British dominion. It is obvious that the alleged principle of Native Law had been constantly ignored by the Natal Government. Failing in this ground of accusation, the Government Prosecutor would have urged that it was a treasonable act to remove the cattle of the tribe out of the territory, inasmuch as the Supreme Chief had a contingent reserved claim to any cattle that might be wanted for the public service. Indeed, there were instances in which the cattle of emigrant Zulu tribes had been surrendered to the Zulu King while the people themselves were admitted to British protection. But Langalibalele, though guilty of taking away his own and his tribe's cattle, had not actually resisted their recapture when overtaken in Basuto Land. These were the principal issues raised in his case, but there was much tedious evidence, mostly of native witnesses, of the messenger sent to him by Mr. MacFarlane and Mr. Shepstone, testifying that he evaded their summons in a rather impudent manner, and treated them with disrespect. There was a good deal of vague rumour and loose assertion, which was not strictly evidence, concerning warlike preparations among the Hlubi

young men, their practising with their guns, and their mystic ceremony of sprinkling their knees with a certain magical "medicine," to give them strength for the battle. All this, however, was reduced by Dr. Colenso's subsequent investigation to very small proportions. The Court was nevertheless easily convinced that Langalibalele must be found guilty; he was therefore sentenced to imprisonment for life. Next came the trials of seven of his sons, one of whom, Malumbule, had fired at the persons sent to arrest him in Basuto Land; and of two Indunas of their tribe. The Secretary for Native Affairs presided at this trial; the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Malumbule to five years. It was resolved to send Langalibalele and this son of his to undergo their punishment in Robben Island, which is in Table Bay at Capetown, and where Macomo and other rebellious Kaffir chiefs had in former years been confined. An act was speedily passed by the Legislature of the Cape Colony to legalise the reception of the two prisoners from Natal. Before, however, they were conveyed to Robben Island, their case was taken up by the right reverend prelate whose name has been often mentioned.

Bishop Colenso, having long personally known Langalibalele, and having been shocked by the ruin

of the Amahlubi, took great pains to sift the evidence affecting this case. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and he privately discussed with him every point that was involved in it; they examined some witnesses together. A violent conflict of opinion and sentiment arose between them; and it is painful to find, in the published official correspondence, traces of acrimonious personal feeling, with injurious references to several of Mr. Shepstone's family, which ought in charity to have been withheld, and should in candour have been retracted when shown to be groundless. In the main, with regard to the irregularity and substantial illegality of the trial, the conviction, and the sentence passed on Langalibalele, the Bishop was undoubtedly right. He was right in standing up for the English principles of civil freedom and of public justice, which he insisted upon claiming for men of every race and colour in the Queen's dominions. He furnished the fallen Zulu chief with the means of presenting an appeal, drawn and pleaded by the best legal assistance, to the Supreme Court in Natal; and when that was finally rejected, Dr. Colenso memorialised the Secretary of State, came himself to England on purpose, and worked indefatigably to obtain redress for his

African client. In this praiseworthy endeavour, while suffering much obloquy and sacrificing his domestic comfort, the Bishop finally succeeded. Before the end of that year 1874, Lord Carnarvon, having duly considered every statement and argument on both sides of the whole question, decided that Langalibalele was unfairly and unlawfully treated by Sir Benjamin Pine, though he was really guilty of some offence, and deserving of some punishment. Her Majesty's Government therefore directed that the deposed Chief and his son were to be released from their imprisonment, but not to be allowed to return home to Natal; they were to reside near Capetown, at a house and farm provided for them and their families, in all private comfort but under a certain surveillance. The Amahlubi tribe, who had in Lord Carnarvon's judgment been harshly and too severely dealt with, should so far as possible be relieved, but not replaced in their former location. As for the Putili tribe, there was no proof of their complicity with any rebellious movement; they must be restored and compensated for their heavy losses. Sir Benjamin Pine was superseded in his office as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal; and Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out with a temporary commission to put certain affairs in order there.

## CHAPTER X.

### SIR GARNET WOLSELEY IN NATAL.

The Langalibalele controversy.—The new Administrator.—Remission of punishments.—Sad fate of the Putili tribe.—Re-settlement of people.—Waste of their property.—No accounts of sales.—Court-martial on the Natal Volunteers.—Lord Carnarvon's proposed reforms.—The Legislative Council.—Existing laws.—Regulated polygamy.—“Sad and degraded lot” of women.—Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer.

THE Earl of Carnarvon, in December, 1874, had bestowed much of his attention at the Colonial Office upon the affairs of our Zulu nursery in Natal. He had personally talked both with Mr. Shepstone and Bishop Colenso, as the former was sent to England on purpose, while the latter came of his own accord, to explain the case of Langalibalele. Lieutenant-Governor and Supreme Native Chief Sir Benjamin Pine had plied the Secretary of State with indignant vindications of the course which he and Mr. Shepstone pursued in that unhappy affair. The Capetown Government, represented by Sir Henry Barkly and Mr. Molteno, had taken up the wondrous strain of

colonial and official protestations, that the peace of all South Africa would be endangered if one poor old broken-down scamp of a Zulu chieftain, after the utter dispersion of his tribe and confiscation of their wealth, should be released from his Napoleonic captivity on Robben Island. Was he not reputed a mighty conjurer and rain-maker, and would not the Kaffirs everywhere believe that he had won his cause by superhuman power, bringing about the destructive floods which had done so much damage in the Cape Colony? Robben Island, where the great Kaffir general, Macomo, was kept till he died, and where "the crafty and politic Umhala," and "the celebrated prophet, Lynx," had to expiate their troublesome behaviour, was the only secure place of detention for Langalibalele. Notwithstanding these vehement representations, Lord Carnarvon felt it right to allow the fallen chief a more comfortable residence, with as many wives as he wished to have about him, on the mainland four miles from Capetown. There he still lives in domestic tranquillity; visitors arriving in the colony go to see him as though he were a caged lion, and buy his photograph, showing the entire family circle about him, to put into an album with views of Longwood and the tomb at St. Helena. The poor old beery impostor, the client of Bishop Colenso!

The Kaffir Caractacus, or call him a savage Owen Glendower, who vainly bearded the British Lion of Imperial Majesty in the person of Sir Benjamin Pine!

It would be amusing, but for the serious public risks and the bitter private quarrels that were incurred, to review the wild exaggerations of sentimental partisanship on both sides of the great "Atrocities in Natal" discussion. The Peace Society and the Aborigines Protection Society of England, against whom I should be sorry to say a word in cases where they are correctly informed of the facts, went in their zeal, as the Bishop likewise did, somewhat too far in denouncing imaginary wilful cruelties. There were probably some actual cruelties perpetrated by native auxiliary forces, and unauthorised by their European commanders, in the hunting down of the Hlubi tribe; and that wholesale extirpation of a large community of our fellow-subjects was a deplorable mistake; it is the curse of governments which seek, in the same territory, to rule different races unequally by different laws. On the other hand, looking at the panic of fear and rage with which the white men of Natal are now and then stricken by the motion of a Zulu hand or foot, as by the Amahlubi driving their cattle to the mountains in 1873, English settlers will hardly be

encouraged to entrust their capital and families to that colony; nor will the British statesman esteem it a very convenient possession. There is no blame to the colonists or to the official persons of Natal intended by these remarks; they felt, spoke, and acted much the same as other Englishmen under those unhappy circumstances would be likely to do. There was a declaration signed by sixty or seventy Natal clergymen, ministers, and missionaries of various churches and of various nationalities, that they considered "the action of the Natal Government throughout humane, lenient, just, and urgently necessary." Well, Her Majesty's Government in London did not so consider it when Lord Carnarvon deliberately gave judgment a twelvemonth after the event. Theological antipathies, from one or two sarcastic allusions to Dr. Colenso's criticism of the Pentateuch, may have entered a little into the political ethics of some of his clerical opponents in Langalibalele's case. One reverend gentleman professed to regard the fate of that heathen personage as a divine judgment for his heinous sin of pretending to magic power. The curiosities of this controversy, which lie buried in Parliamentary Blue Books, are a tempting study; but I must pass on to subsequent events. Natal seems even now to be distracted by incessant social and ecclesiastical divisions,

with rival Bishops and Deans and ritualistic squabbles, which do not belong to my subject; but Dr. Colenso will reappear in the account of more recent transactions.

The beginning of a new administrative era was to date from the spring of 1875, when Lieutenant-Governor Sir B. Pine had been recalled, and Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, fresh from Ashantee victories, went to reorganise British rule over the Zulus in Natal. As temporary administrator for specific purposes, until the appointment of a new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, aided by an able staff, worked there about five months. His efforts were principally directed to the re-settlement or re-distribution of the tribes which had been driven out of their locations, and to the establishment of an armed police force. These tasks were executed by him with characteristic precision and punctuality; and I may be allowed here to say that military officers of proved judgment make some of the best Colonial Governors placed over her Majesty's remote dominions. They are not so apt to be frightened and flurried, in case of a native insurrection or the mere rumour and imagination of it, as some of the mere political and civil administrators have been; nor do they so readily indulge the visionary ambition of aggrandising pro-

vincial rule by needless annexations, and scientific schemes of geographical extension. I am inclined to think a clear-headed veteran soldier, governing Jamaica in October, 1865, would have managed to avoid bloodshed and hangings and floggings to the excessive amount proved in that lamentable instance. And I believe that such a Governor, with an accurate knowledge of war as it really is, would have thought twice before invading the Zulu Kingdom, without urgent necessity, in January of the present year.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, it need scarcely be said, did what he had to do very well. In the first place, a great many of the minor penal sentences passed on individuals of the Amahlubi were cancelled; and Lord Carnarvon disallowed the assignment of those who were convicted, to be kept in forced servitude under private employers, which had been arranged by the Natal Government. The Aborigines' Protection Society is entitled to the credit of obtaining this salutary amendment. The next business, prompted by a sense of justice as well as humanity, was to reinstate the Putili tribe, who were now pronounced innocent, in their proper location, and to give them some pecuniary compensation for their losses. A proclamation to the natives, drawn up in that quaint style of affected child-like simplicity which some

philosophers deem suitable for addressing a non-European people, was meant to explain these apparent concessions. The Putili were mentioned here by their other name of "Amangwe." I quote the English version of this touching official document, written by Mr. Shepstone at the Colonial Office in Downing Street :

"But all salvation and death are in the hands of the Queen, who says, We have looked into, inquired about, and considered this matter on both sides, and his is Our decision :

"Langalibalele, We release from imprisonment on the island in the sea, but he shall not return to Natal.

"The Amahlubi may, if they choose, when that is prepared which is to be prepared, go to him ; but he will not be allowed to go to the Amahlubi.

"And for the matter of the Amangwe, the Queen says, the punishment which has been given to them, while the news was still warm, has surpassed their in ; heaviness is laid upon people that they may be warned, but not die ; the Amangwe may return to the land that they lived upon and were taken from, and may cultivate it, but the Queen's eye will always be upon them. If they are obedient to the laws,

and if they have ears to hear, she will say, Let them be protected and assisted, that they may flourish and grow fat as before ; but if they will not listen, and love to walk the paths which are not right, whom will they question if trouble clings to them ?

“The great Chiefs who rule for the Queen the countries of England say, The black people of Natal must know, that to contend against and point their weapons at the Chiefs appointed over them is a great transgression. Let them take warning from what they have seen.”

The Amangwe or Putili, numbering about 5,000, which was half the size of Langalibalele's tribe, had inhabited a wide valley of rich and well wooded land, through which runs the Little Tugela river. It was then well cultivated, and more thickly hutted than any other district of the country. The chief, son of old Putili, was an orphan boy ; one of his uncles, Baso, had left the tribe ; the other, Umbalo, who was anything but a conspirator, died very soon after their disasters. At the end of December, 1873, the force under Captain G. A. Lucas utterly ravaged, plundered and destroyed this location of a people, concerning whom, in the words of the Secretary of State, December 3rd, 1874, “I can discover no

indication of their conspiracy or combination with Langelihalele, beyond the vague and uncorroborated apprehension of some possible movement on their part in connection with the supposed tendencies of his tribe ; and therefore I can see no good reason for any punishment on this ground." Every hut in the location was burnt, many huts being full of grain. Every article of household or personal property was taken from the people. Many of the women and children were carried off to servitude. Their treatment was seen with indignation by the late Colonel Durnford, R.E., one of the officers recently slain at Isanhlwana, and who commanded at the affair of Bushman's River Pass on the 4th of November, 1873. To the honour of that gallant and experienced officer, he interfered for the protection of these miserable victims of colonial vengeance. This was in September, 1874. He got into an altercation with Mr. Henrique Shepstone and Mr. John Shepstone, the Native Affairs' Secretary's sons, and themselves holding office, who were then busy in that district. Colonel Durnford insisted on getting an order signed, after some delays and demurs at Pietermaritzburg, for the liberation and restoration of all the Putili. He had some difficulty, it appears, in the case of those men who had been compelled to bind themselves for a

term of years to private servitude. Their detention, he wrote in remonstrance, would be "a breach of faith on the part of the Governing Power, which could never be intended by his Excellency;" and he demanded that work and food should be furnished to the men by Government till they got back their own land. The sorrows inflicted upon so many of the families which were violently broken up, and one or two instances of foul outrage perpetrated on girls by the native men to whom they had been assigned as servants, could not so easily be repaired. All this was the "punishment" of the Amangwe, which the Queen was made to say had "surpassed their sin," while the Queen's Minister of State thought they had not deserved any punishment at all. "But all salvation and death are in the hands," for a time, of persons in office on the spot!

The new administration therefore, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, had to redress some real injuries and to relieve some distress among the natives, in spite of the loud declaration of the colonists, in their farewell addresses to Sir Benjamin Pine, that the "misguided rebels" were spared as much as possible. But it is right to observe that in one particular, the treatment of women and children belonging to the scattered tribes, there was much imaginative and uncharitable

misconception in England. By far the greater proportion of these poor creatures were not made the subjects of direct compulsion, but were found destitute after the flight of the men, their husbands, fathers, and brothers, and were therefore given into the care of any householders, Europeans or natives, who were disposed to allow them food and shelter in return for their labour. No European, in any district of Natal, is said to have been guilty of abusing this trust, though one or two natives were accused of so doing. The colonists generally resented such an imputation, as they well might, when it was published in London by the Peace Society. The effect was naturally to excite a prejudice against all those who ventured to disapprove of the conduct of the Natal government; and some of the testimonials freely signed by respectable colonists on the other side were recommended by this feeling, more than by any deliberate examination of what had actually taken place. It is difficult for any of us to be impartial, or even truthful, when party passions are indulged by unjust aspersions on the community to which we happen to belong.

The Putili were officially reported by Mr. Henrique Shepstone, in January, 1875, to have already returned with few exceptions to their old location; they were "nearly all comfortably settled down, and many of

them working in their gardens." He then found no actual distress among them, but he made them advances of money and food. Of the Amahlubi, above 500 had been "assigned" for three years to service of farmers or others; and this was now put an end to, but they were not again permitted to live together as a tribe. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who arrived in Natal at the end of March, lost not a day in making the needful inquiries and arrangements. On the 10th of April, he ratified a scheme prepared by Mr. Shepstone at his request for the future management of the location below the Drakensberg range, extending to 145,000 acres; to which some of the Amahlubi would be admitted, but to be divided into several detached portions, in the open lands away from the rocky mountain gorges; and with the intervening plots occupied by people of other tribes whose loyalty could be relied upon, with headmen or petty chiefs ruling each but a small number of families. A narrow belt or strip of land to be held by European farmers was to intersect this native reserve, commanding the approach to the Drakensberg frontier passes; and the native tribes were to be superintended by a Resident, who should report weekly to the Secretary for Native Affairs. This official was further intended to hear appeals from the chiefs and headmen, to collect the hut-tax, marriage-

tax, and other dues, to keep a register of the population, and to encourage industrial occupation, improved dwellings, the culture of crops, and the service of young men for wages in the colony. It was an excellent scheme; but Sir Garnet at the same time was careful to make strict inquiry what had become of the property of the Amahlubi and Putili which had been swept off their locations sixteen months before. His minutes upon this financial topic, setting three members of his own staff at once to extract from the Colonial Government officials the precise information he required, are characteristic of the keen, determined spirit of the man. The officials, the Treasurer and Secretaries of Natal, were unfortunately not in possession of any particular accounts, much less any vouchers, of the moneys received from the sales of many thousand head of cattle, and of mealies or maize and Kaffir corn, hides, and other chattels "taken from natives" by the troops engaged in harrying the two persecuted Zulu tribes. This was a circumstance which appears to me highly discreditable to the Natal Government, but Lord Carnarvon was unable to do more than censure, as he did in July, "the loose and inaccurate manner" in which those accounts had been kept. There was nothing but a mere guess at the numbers of cattle seized and sold, by whom and to whom the Colonial

authorities never knew ; the cattle taken from Putili's tribe were estimated at 8,000 or 6,000, as the informant fancied ; how many of these were killed and eaten, or died before the sale, nobody would undertake to say. Mr. Ayliff, the Colonial Treasurer, having " examined every accessible source, public and private," of information upon the matter, could only furnish a gross return of £24,588 realised by sale of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats ; of which he presumed one half might belong to the Putili, the other half to the Amahlubi ; besides £810 for corn and some insignificant items. It was thereupon ordered by Sir Garnet Wolseley that the sum of £12,000 or goods to that value should be forthwith bestowed on the Putili tribe, which had before received £500 by way of immediate relief. The relief, which was not to be named compensation, given to the Amahlubi, somewhat exceeded £2,000. Lord Carnarvon and Sir Garnet Wolseley were anxious to do more for them ; but the colonial funds were nearly exhausted, with a bill of £36,000 for military expenses and for the prosecution and imprisonment of Langelibalele and his sons.

The scandal was completed by a court-martial held upon the behaviour of the Natal and Karkloof Volunteers at Bushman's River Pass, when it was judged, after inspection of the spot and examination

of witnesses, that these colonial militia showed a want of discipline and steadiness, "retiring in a disorganised and precipitate manner under a panic caused by a shot fired by the natives." Their commander, Major or Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R. E., was highly praised by General Sir Arthur Cunynghame for his admirable conduct upon that occasion; "though shaken, indeed almost paralysed, by a fall with his horse over a dangerous precipice, he never shrank from his duty ; and though severely wounded in two places, he used his utmost exertions to rally the retiring troops." The force consisted of thirty-four Europeans and twenty armed Basutos actually present. The Zulus numbered about 200, but there was really no fighting.

The remainder of Sir Garnet Wolseley's too short administration was devoted to personally visiting every district and almost every tribe in Natal, and doing as much as time and means allowed towards providing for the public safety, and laying down rules for the beneficial management of the Zulus within the pale. While he was thus usefully employed, the Legislative Council of Natal, a body composed of the colonial officials and certain nominees of the Lieutenant-Governor, continued a series of formal inquiries, *ex parte* reports, declaratory resolutions,

and address to the Crown, to vindicate the government of Sir Benjamin Pine. They lectured her Majesty's Ministers, at least the Earl of Carnarvon, upon his "general misconception of the real facts of the case," his disregard of "the experience and local knowledge of colonists," and his failure of "a sound and accurate judgment." It is singular to find them professing to regard Lord Carnarvon's decision as a "condemnation" not only of the Lieutenant-Governor, but of "the Colony," which does not seem to have been his Lordship's intention. Whether this should mean the colonists in general, or the officials alone, was not clearly explained by the Legislative Council. But the Secretary of State did not think himself obliged to meet their complaint with a laborious reply. He laid their Address and Report before the Queen, and quietly answered that his opinion had been maturely formed after waiting and considering the fullest explanations of Sir B. Pine, and conferring with Mr. Shepstone; finally, said Lord Carnarvon, when he received another address from Mr. MacFarlane's friends in Weenen county, "I do not see any reason to share the views which are adopted by certain persons in Natal." So the vexatious discussion was brought to a close, and the readers of this little history may form an opinion if they please.

With regard to the principles of future legislation and administration for the welfare of the Zulus and the peace of European settlers in Natal, Lord Carnarvon's ideas merit serious attention. He thought the so-called "Native Law," invented or expounded and applied by Mr. Shepstone, was a barbarous system unfit for civilised men to administer, and incompatible with our maxims of justice. The expedient of keeping up the old tribal polity, and relying on the hereditary chiefs to rule their people for us, was fraught with dangers more likely to increase than to diminish. It would preserve the unmitigated social habits, customs and usages of a savage race. The tribes, still living together, armed and drilled and accustomed to act under command of their leading men, would be ready at any moment to take the field. They will ever feel the strongest allegiance to their respective chiefs; and when these become disaffected to the British Government, as in the cases of Matyana in 1858, and Langalibalele in 1873, the tribes will support them with enthusiasm. The Zulu Kaffirs will leave their homes to follow the chief of their tribe, and sacrifice their lives for his safety. Their property being mainly oxen, they have always the means of transporting the wealth of the tribe, and of feeding while on the march. As there is no individual

ownership of the soil, but the whole location belongs to the tribe, local attachments are not formed. By the increasing numbers, riches, and intelligence of the Kaffirs, these perils from their social condition are yearly augmented. Their settlement and civilisation, their instruction in the Christian religion, the introduction of our laws, the amalgamation of native with European population, are made impossible. The time has come for a strenuous effort to modify this system which has prevailed in Natal since 1848 ; to dissolve the tribal organisation, to detach the people from dependence on their hereditary chiefs, and teach them to look to the white magistrates alone for their rights and their protection against wrong. This was the Kaffir policy of Lord Carnarvon ; it is also that of Sir Bartle Frere. If it be now practicable, it is wise and good.

The Aborigines Protection Society, addressing the Secretary of State in May, 1875, expressed full approval of the views above set forth, while adding its recommendation that elementary and industrial schools should be established with part of the revenue, estimated at £25,000 a year, contributed by the Kaffirs to the Natal Government. Sir Garnet Wolseley, while he has never believed it possible for the black and white races to live together on terms of equality,

seems to have entered much into the general ideas of Lord Carnarvon. His measures for the resettlement of the two dispersed tribes were so devised as to lessen the ruling authority of native chiefs; and he expended the compensation money in sheep, implements, blankets and clothing, instead of oxen; because, "owning large flocks of sheep, they cannot go to war with the same ease as when their property consists of cattle." On all points, he had a shrewd insight and an instinct of fairness, with the inestimable habit of deciding for himself affairs committed to his charge. He treated Bishop Colenso with courtesy, but at once stopped his communications with the unsettled remnants of the Amahlubi tribe, and earnestly protested against the return of their banished Chief to Natal. He consulted Mr. Shepstone upon matters of detail, but would not allow that celebrated manager of natives to dictate the whole of his policy, after the recent disastrous events; and every colonist's opinion was taken for what it might seem to be worth.

The Province of Natal underwent a change in the constitution of its government while Sir Garnet Wolseley held the office of Administrator there. It was a change in the opposite direction to that which had been thought practicable and desirable just before

“the Langalibalele scare.” A proposal had then found some favour among the Colonists for the introduction of responsible government, to which the official members of the Legislative Council were opposed. That was in 1872, but now in 1875, the Legislative Council was rendered still more amenable to Government influence by the addition of eight nominee members, besides the five Executive officers or Ministers, against fifteen elected representatives of towns and counties. This constitution, which does not look much like political progress, is to remain in force during ten years.

In August, 1875, Sir Garnet was relieved from his temporary charge of Natal by the arrival of the present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer. An act was soon afterwards passed, which emanated from the Colonial Office in London, to improve the system of administration with regard to the native people. European official residents, with proper salaries, were appointed to superintend the allotted locations of the tribes in Natal, and were expected gradually to detach them from their hereditary tribal chiefs, whose jurisdiction was to be superseded by that of the ordinary Criminal Courts, and by a Native High Court, with Mr. John Ayliff for its Judge, to try civil causes above a certain amount, and divorce