

Sir T. Shepstone speaks of these men as "belonging to Umnyamana," and as calling themselves "messengers from Bishopstowe in Natal." This way of putting it is merely an echo of Mr. J. Shepstone's accusations against the Bishop of Natal, as the men were messengers *from Umnyamana to Bishopstowe*. Sir T. Shepstone also complains that they *did not wait for his introduction*, yet from his own words "I promised that *when Cetshwayo should be landed* I would have them introduced" [3616, p. 41], it is plain that he, personally, prevented these men from being present at the King's landing. When, unable to wait any longer, they went of their own accord to Cetshwayo *next morning*, Sir T. Shepstone had not yet sent for them, as proved by his words "they did not wait for my introduction."

Every precaution, in fact, was taken to prevent a large and enthusiastic gathering of Zulus to greet the King on landing. No official notice of the day having been given, such Zulus as found their way to the spot in good time were either misled, or frightened into retiring. The authorities wished that the landing should be conducted in as quiet and private a manner as possible, and laid their plans accordingly. The *Natal Witness* correspondent says:

"It had come to the ears of the 'authorities' at Government House that a very considerable number of Zulus, including Dabulamanzi's son, if not Dabulamanzi himself, resident in the annexed district, were going down to Port Durnford to meet the King, by way of protesting against the annexation and learning from Cetshwayo's own lips if it were really a fact, as they declined to credit Mr. John Shepstone's statement. Mr. John Shepstone left Entumeni on the

7th, arrived at John Dunn's place on the 9th, and slept there, riding on next morning with an ex-magistrate of John Dunn's to Port Durnford, where he ordered the Zulus assembled on the beach to retire, under threat of being fired upon—in other words, 'singed with bullets [*natsha izinhlamvu*].' These Zulus had to be cleared out of the way—presumably by Sir H. Bulwer's orders—before the landing was effected. The fact that this threat was uttered, rests, we believe, on indisputable evidence, and no doubt will ere long be made a subject of considerable inquiry. Having, by means of this threat, sent the Zulus away from the beach, Mr. John Shepstone disappeared again, leaving those who had charge of the landing arrangements to carry them out, undisturbed by the presence of any of Cetshwayo's subjects."

And on January 11th the Maritzburg correspondent of the *Daily News* telegraphs, "No official intimation has been given to the Zulus of Cetshwayo's return at a certain date. Hence many hesitate to move and welcome him. This hesitation will be officially represented as hostility or indifference." On the same day the *Advertiser* S. C. telegraphs to Durban, "Very few come to meet him"; and a Durban telegram is sent to England, "Very few chiefs came to meet the Zulu King."

The Government might have had reasons which seemed to them to be sufficient for smuggling Cetshwayo on shore quietly. It is quite possible that Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir T. Shepstone were really apprehensive that disturbances might arise from a great gathering of the whole Zulu people at Port Durnford. Such anxiety may have arisen because they thought that in their joy at the return of their King, the Zulus might be carried away by the excitement of the moment into rioting, which, begun in good part perhaps, might end in blows. Or fears of disturbances may have been dictated by their knowledge of how exceedingly unpopular would be some of the "conditions" of the restoration—such as the practical annexation by England of a third of Zulu-

land, and the exaltation of Zibebu to a rank almost equal to Cetshwayo's own.

Whatever the cause, genuine anxiety on the part of the authorities to prevent a collision, which they honestly believed might result from a very large gathering of Zulus to meet the King on landing, could hardly have been censured by any one. In that case the reason would have been plainly stated, and both Cetshwayo and the public should have been given to understand that the fact of the Zulus not having crowded to welcome him *on landing* was no measure of their real feelings towards the King, but the result of express orders on the part of the authorities, and of threats from their subordinates. Instead of any such explanation, every effort was made to lead the public to believe that, as the *Natal Mercury* telegraphed home to the *Times*, "Zulus do not want, and never have wanted, the King." Sir T. Shepstone, although it was his own subordinates who had warned the people from the shore with the threat of bullets, and he himself had ordered Melakanya and his fellows to wait for a summons which had not come the morning after the King's arrival [3616, p. 41], thought himself justified in assuring Cetshwayo "that no such influences were being used as far as I knew" [*ibid.*], and in expressing in his official report his surprise at the little enthusiasm created amongst the Zulus by the reappearance of their King [*ibid.*, p. 58]. Such a phrase can only refer to the actual landing, at which the people were not allowed to be present to show their enthusiasm, for, when the few

days necessary to spread the news had elapsed, all accounts agree in describing the joyous greetings received by Cetshwayo, though the unfriendly correspondents seldom fail to use the word "apparent" on such occasions.\*

The circumstance of the Zulus being driven away by threats from the shore having been published in the *Daily News*, Lord Derby telegraphed to Sir Henry Bulwer for an explanation [3466, p. 254]. The Governor referred the matter to the Commandant, who, of course, "knows nothing about what is stated in *Daily News*," but referred it to the officer in command of the escort. That officer equally of course replied that no such threats had been used, and Sir Henry Bulwer telegraphed back that there was "*no foundation*" for the statement [3466, p. 267]. But no one had ever said that the threat was a military one. It was made quite independently of the military authorities, so that the honest denial of the officers in command served a most dishonest purpose.

The Zulu story continues:—

Next day we got up early and made for the tents. There was Mqundane, Sir T. S.'s *induna*, who said, "Well! where were you

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\* "It is obvious, from our correspondent's faithful picture of what took place at the various camping-grounds, that Cetshwayo is being warmly welcomed back by his people. Privately we learn that he is being received with open arms, and that the Zulus are really rejoicing greatly that Cetshwayo is once more back amongst them. This is a fact about which there can be no doubt, and which should not be ignored, whatever may be thought, or said, of the lesson it teaches or the results likely to accrue from it." *Ed. Advertiser*, January 17th.

yesterday? Why did you not come?" Said we, "You know that we were waiting to be called, according to Sir T. Shepstone's orders that we were not to go alone and inform (*ceba*) against him." We went on and found them loading the King's baggage on a wagon, and we set to work and helped—when suddenly there was the King himself close to us! I shall dream of it when I am dead and buried. He knew us at once, and asked us where we came from, and we said "From Sobantu, and since from Mnyamana." We told him that Mnyamana had been ordered to build a kraal for the King near Ulundi, and had refused to do so, as we have described. Said the King, "I know all about the kraal; the white men have told me. My father, Mnyamana, however, was quite right." We said that Mnyamana also had told us to tell him that he would have been with us himself to see if the King was really coming, but he did not know what HAMU and ZIBEBU might do in his absence, and that the royal women had said that they would start directly Mtokwane came back and said that he had seen the King, but not before, and not for any one else's calling. We told also what Mr. Jan had been saying about cutting off the land. The King said, "So you have been told that the Umhlatuze is to be the boundary of Zululand instead of the Tugela?" We said, "We don't understand it; but Mr. Jan said so." Said he, "I too begin to hear something of the sort" [i. e. at the Cape, not in England].

The King sent us to tell Mnyamana to come to him, and to bring the Zulu people, and his wives and children, but to bring them gently and not hurry them.

But, before we started (Jan. 12th), *Palane's* people had arrived to greet the King, among them the very men who had been with *Palane* to Mr. Jan the day before, swarming around him, men and women, till the soldiers exclaimed, "What! the King is beloved by the women also!" Even the old women insisted on being helped with an arm, and brought to him. Soon after we started we met one of the King's mothers, the Inkosikazi of the Dukuza Royal kraal, going with a party to meet him. We heard afterwards that she was quite overcome when she reached him, weeping and sobbing there at the wagon till she had to be carried away fainting.\*

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\* With characteristic good taste and feeling, Mr. Carter writes of this scene as follows:—"Next came half a dozen wizened and worn old ladies, one of whom was related to his Majesty. She, making more bold than any who had preceded her, put her head on

And all that day as we went, we kept meeting streams of people going to the King, having now heard for certain that it was he himself. For the word had been widely spread that it was not Cetshwayo whom Somtseu was bringing back, but Mbulazi [Cetshwayo's brother, whom many of the Zulus believe to be still alive and hiding in Natal, though he was killed in the Zulu Civil War of 1856].\* It was this belief which made Palane move his cattle to begin with, across the Umhlatuze; the huts were not moved, nor the women and children, and the cattle were driven back again as soon as it was certain that it was Cetshwayo.†

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the footboard of the vehicle and simply howled until requested and able to subdue her emotion."—*Merc.* S. C. Jan. 10.

\* "All kinds of absurd reports are going round the country, relating to the settlement of the Reserve. One is to the effect that Mbulazi, Cetshwayo's brother, who was killed at the Tugela in Mpande's time, has turned up alive, and is to be given the Reserve. This report is firmly believed by many of the natives."—*Corr. from Hlubi's District, Times of Natal*, Jan. 17. Sir T. Shepstone mentions the same belief on the part of the Zulus [3616, p. 41].

† Sir T. Shepstone writes of Palane's arrival. "Shortly after we had resumed our journey, a headman with about 150 followers came up to the vehicle in which Cetshwayo was travelling, with loud expressions of welcome and assurances of loyalty and devotion, driving a fine ox as an offering; he declared that he had kept his people together during Cetshwayo's absence, that he had never gone to the white, nor to the black, and that now he presented the people as a body undiminished to their rightful chief; the boundary, he intimated, was but a nominal thing, and that it did not matter on which side of it people lived; and these professions were vociferously, and with the greatest apparent heartiness, assented to by the people." The writer proceeds to describe the very different terms in which the same chief had spoken to him the day before Cetshwayo's arrival, and how he had actually begun to move across the river to avoid being under Cetshwayo, and he points out how difficult it is to gather from the professions of the Zulus a correct estimate of their real feelings. "The sequel has, I understand, proved, as I believed at the time it would prove, that the loudest professions were not the truest." It is difficult to understand what was meant by this latter general phrase, since, as a rule, it has been

“ Ngeongwana told us that the King had been landed roughly—that he was pushed into the sea some way off from the beach, and had to walk ashore, all wet and buffeted by the waves, and his luggage was knocked about, and some of it broken and carried away by the water.”

The Zulus having been prevented from seeing Cetshwayo's landing, this gap in their story must be supplied as well as may be from the accounts of the European correspondents of the Colonial and English papers. The *Briton* arrived on the morning of Wednesday the 10th of January. No attempt, however, was made to land Cetshwayo and his party till

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precisely the Zulus whom the officials always styled “loud” in their loyalty to Cetshwayo, who have proved it most completely, both at the time, and before Sir T. Shepstone wrote, and ever since. But Palane's altered tone is easily explained by his utter disbelief in the King's return (although he had, of necessity, to assume in his speech the truth of what the “authorities” told him) and the pressure of British influence brought to bear upon the Zulus to the south of the Umhlatuze. Sir T. Shepstone's whole implication in this passage is that the loyalty expressed by the Zulus generally to Cetshwayo was unreal, or frequently so, and that their expressions in favour of his return must not be taken as showing their real wishes, and he gives this story to illustrate this opinion. But it would rather seem to tell the other way. There was nothing to prevent Palane's carrying out his first expressed intentions, and crossing into the Reserve, except that when his own eyes told him that the King had indeed returned, he had no longer any wish to do so. Later on, indeed, when it became apparent that the Natal Government were opposed to Cetshwayo's interests, he deserted again to the Reserve, being a man of weak character, who did not prove staunch to any side. But in this he was quite an exception to the general rule with regard to those who professed warm loyalty to Cetshwayo, and most of them supported him to the last. Palane was one of those whom official influence made disloyal; if rightly exercised, it would have kept him loyal and content.

the afternoon, the authorities thereby losing the chance of landing them with any comfort as the surf was sure to become boisterous later in the day. The King took a very courteous farewell of the officers, and descended into the life-boat, the guard of marines on the poop presenting arms. He managed to take his seat in the stern without much difficulty, and without the slightest discomposure, maintaining the same smiling countenance as when saying "good-bye." He seemed to enjoy the trip to the cargo-boat, distant about a mile, and laughed at his followers about their fears, &c. He was obliged to scramble up the side of the cargo-boat, and had some difficulty in maintaining his footing, but was the loudest in laughing at the difficulties of his four friends, who were fairly rolled on board. On nearing the shore he eagerly scanned those assembled, and seemed disappointed to find that they consisted almost entirely of white men, viz. Sir Theo. and Mr. A. Shepstone, Colonel Curtis, eight other officers in undress uniform, eight mounted infantry, five Natal natives, servants of Sir T. Shepstone, and about thirty other soldiers, with their trowsers turned up and their jackets off, lounging about. Besides these there were two or three traders who were acquainted with the King, and who had come to see him land, and not more than half a dozen of his subjects.\*

\* An eye-witness states that the on'y Zulus present, on being released from the tow-rope, hastened to give the royal salute "Bayete!" to their King, who recognised them at once, and on one of his attendant chiefs saying "Who are these?" replied, "Do

Owing to there not being sufficient depth of water, the surf-boat could not be brought close up to the beach, and remained at some yards' distance, with about two feet of water between her and the shore. The height of the boat's stern above the water was at least four feet, and the height above the beach at least six, and down from this height the whole party, women as well as men, had to jump, assisted, or rather dragged, by the soldiers who waded into the water for the purpose. There were two mule wagons on the beach, and, had one of these been backed into

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you not see them? They are Majiya's boys." N.B. One of the King's wives is a daughter of Majiya.

The officials had laid their plans very craftily, not merely for disappointing the King, but for minimising any appearance of enthusiasm on the part of the Zulus, and securing that the absence of "devoted and loving subjects" should be reported to England at the very first moment, as by the special correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* and *London Times*. But the matter was very soon explained to Cetshwayo by Mr. Mullins [special correspondent for the *Daily News*], who rode out into the surf and told him that numbers of Zulus, who had come to receive him with open arms, had been driven away from the shore by the order of the authorities, and who had a second interview with him later that same day, at which he says the King told him, "You were quite right in what you said to me on the beach about the people being prevented from coming to welcome me. I have now heard from one of Palane's people that they were there and were ordered off with the words "Be off! what business have you here? Ware bullets!" We have been having quite an argument about it, Somtsen [Sir T. Shepstone] and I, for I said, "This is not right that my people should be prevented from coming to me. Let them come and speak with you before me, that I may hear what they have to say." And at last he agreed that the old men might come. But I said "No! They must none of them be forbidden, not a child should be prevented from coming if it wishes."

the water, the party might have landed dry-shod and in perfect comfort. This, however, did not seem to occur to any one. On landing, which he did not accomplish without a wetting, Cetshwayo happened to get on the opposite side of the warp from Sir Theophilus. After surmounting this difficulty, and just as the King and Sir Theophilus held out their hands, a wave more intrusive than its predecessor interposed itself, causing a general recoil. After this they approached again and shook hands, but not very effusively on the part of the King, who, instead of remaining in conversation, almost immediately turned to watch the disembarkation of his impedimenta. He was apparently much more gracious when two Zulu traders approached him shortly after. All being stowed away in the mule wagons provided, the King himself declined to ride, saying that the walk would stretch his legs and do him good after being cooped up so long. He invited Sir Theophilus to accompany him on foot; but Sir T. very wisely declined to encounter more than a mile of heavy sand. So far the story is gathered from the accounts of the correspondents of the *Witness* and the *Advertiser*. The former having an intimate acquaintance with the Zulu King and people, their country, their customs, and especially their language, was not obliged to be dependent on official information, or on a prejudiced interpreter, and had therefore a great advantage over his brother correspondents. Accordingly, the *Mercury* S. C., Mr. Carter, decidedly objected to his presence. The following extract,

coarse and offensive in its tone as usual, is taken from the said Mr. Carter's account :

"The landing was an even more laughable incident than the transfer of the party from the *Briton* to her boats. The stern of the surf-boat could not be hauled up above the water line, and as the tide was rising, the chance of wetting was ample, especially to Kafirs fearful of the boisterous waves, and the natives too corpulent to be agile. Each of the ladies was drenched with the surf, entirely owing to their hesitancy. It was the same with the Indunas and their handboxes. One of the soldiers aiding in the disembarkation made a treble attempt to receive on his shoulders and carry high and dry the portly monarch. It was as if a steam hammer was set to crush up a nut when Cetshwayo, with his royal trousers turned up over the calf of the leg, slid over the stern on top of the soldier. [Cetshwayo, hesitating, while sitting on the gunwale of the boat, to take the leap which would land him on his native soil, was slightly helped—not exactly kicked—by Jack's toe to land, with a "Now out of this with your carcase, you black beggar!" \* *Ibid.*] The latter was driven on to his knees, and, sliding over the head and back of the man, the King came down on his feet on the sand, and at the same moment an unfriendly wave swept in and drenched him up to the waist. Not in the least disconcerted by either the accident or the laughter of the spectators, he walked quietly on to dry land, and then, turning to the receding wave, shook his silver-headed cane at it. Sir T. Shepstone stepped towards Cetshwayo, proffering a hand and words of welcome; but in between the two lay the shore end of the warp. This rising a foot from the ground, and with the rock of the vessel, interposed a slight barrier. The Special Commissioner extended his hand across the warp, but Cetshwayo drew back with a motion of which the equivalent in words would be, 'Wait a minute, there is plenty of time for our exchange of greetings;' and the Commissioner of Her Majesty had to defer to the wish of His Majesty of Zululand North. [Sir T. Shepstone, coming to shake hands, had to wait the convenience of Cetshwayo, as the sea water rushed up between them, and Cetshwayo showed

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\* Probably the man, who so insulted the King, was not a British sailor, but a long-shore man belonging to the Port Elizabeth cargo-boat.

no desire to wet his feet to grasp the proffered hand. *Ibid.*]\* Facing each other, the two principal actors in the scene, and on whom all eyes were turned, shook hands and spoke a few words; but His Majesty cut the ceremony short by advancing a few steps down the beach, and, beckoning to one of his Indunas, turned his back on every one, and, with legs astride, carried on an animated conversation with his follower on the subject of the landing of the rest of his baggage, the delivery of each bag and small package from the surf-boat to the beach engrossing the attention of the restored potentate. [She (the *Wolverine*) had already put ashore Cetshwayo's baggage—enough to load three wagons—in trunks, hampers, baskets, crates, handboxes, and flimsy packing cases. A sideboard—or rather the remnants of one knocked almost into matchwood—formed part of the pile. *Ibid.*] One or two old traders in Zululand, who knew the King personally, advanced to his side and offered their hands, which the King shook, with a word of recognition, but without taking away his attention for a minute from the landing of his small effects. So he stood unapproachable, as it were, save to his Indunas, till he was asked to get into the light spring wagon provided for him; but he replied he would rather walk, and he did so all the way to the camp.”—[*Mercury* S. C. Jan. 10.]

Had there been any wish to do honour to the restored King, and so to carry out the intentions of the Home Government in the kindly spirit in which they were conceived, some attempts at display would certainly have been made. The music of a military band (the presence of which was especially prevented by Sir Henry Bulwer, *vide* Official Report), a few extra yards of bunting, some hearty cheers from the soldiers present, any signs of joy and good-fellowship would have changed the whole face of things in the

\* “The manner in which he [Cetshwayo] treated Sir Theophilus on landing was almost tantamount to studied disrespect, and his haughty demeanour since has been the subject of remark by every one who witnessed the landing.”—*Mercury* S. C., Jan. 11.

eyes of all. Even as it was, with the cold frown of the officials upon all that concerned the King, the joy of the people would and did break forth, but what would it have been had all possible been done by the "official circle" to encourage enthusiasm, and to smile upon Cetshwayo's return? On the contrary, those officials were determined that no grace that was not absolutely compulsory should be shown to the Zulu King by them or those under their control. If he was welcomed at all it should be by the unaided—and, to the best ability of the officials, repressed—efforts of his people, and who does not know what a chilling influence may be cast on the most genuine enthusiasm by a cold and unsympathetic eye—especially when that eye is the eye of authority. "A sort of wet-blanketing, indescribable in detail," so the official method appeared to a bystander who was certainly not prejudiced in favour of Cetshwayo beforehand, but who soon remarked, "However one may object to the political error of his return, no one coming in contact with him can help admiring the man."\*

In point of fact it must be evident to every unprejudiced reader that Cetshwayo displayed on this occasion a true magnanimity which placed him far above his persecutors as a human being. He had

\* It is a curious proof of the feeling of the party against the King that even this correspondent, who plainly did his best to give a true picture of events, always *apologises* if he has any kindly remark to make about him. "I must plead guilty," "I must confess," &c.

just been grossly insulted (it is to be hoped that it was by "a mere colonist,"\* and not by a sailor in the service of the dear old country), he was landed and received more like a prisoner, or a criminal on his way to gaol, than a King returning to rule his people. Acute, as his worst enemies acknowledge him to have been, he could not fail to be instantly aware of the grudging spirit in which the Natal officials received him, and the mere fact that the creature who had insulted him was not punished, nor even, it would seem, reproved, and that no apology even was made to the King for the occurrence,† must have identified the officials with the insult in any less generous

\* The term "mere colonist" which has, on a previous occasion, given so much offence in Natal, has simply been misunderstood by those who would have a right to object to a contemptuous phrase as applied to themselves. The meaning of the expression, as it has been and now is, used, is "a colonist, *and nothing more*," i. e. a person who has no aims and object beyond selfish advancement, who looks upon the aboriginal inhabitants of the country to which he migrates, as having been solely created to serve him, and minister to his comfort, and who does not care at all for the welfare and honour of the mother country, except as far as his own personal interests are concerned.

† This, plainly, was the case, as there is not the smallest record of any such amends which, had the matter been felt as strongly as it should have been by the officials, must have been related. Indeed Sir T. Shepstone in his report, written long after the fact of the insult had been published, makes no allusion to it at all, but ignores it, and incidentally disposes of the attempted charge against Cetshwayo of "studied disrespect," &c., in one paragraph. "The landing, being on an open sandy beach, was inconvenient and disconcerting, and for the first few minutes Cetshwayo seemed excited, and a little bewildered. He soon, however, recovered his self-possession, and expressed his pleasure at meeting me" [3616, p. 41].

mind. He, however, evidently thought both the action and the person beneath his notice, and thereby saved the officials from a difficulty which they certainly did not deserve to escape. His quiet and undemonstrative manner was due to the exigencies of Zulu etiquette, but, under the circumstances, it must have demanded a determined self-control of which the officials took advantage though they did not acknowledge it.

In Sir T. Shepstone's report of the King's landing and installation, he proceeds to bring a serious charge against him, which is, however, as usual, founded upon anonymous information [3616, p. 42].\*

"In the evening" he says, "intelligence was brought from a little distance inland that, shortly after he had landed, and during his walk to the camp from the beach, Cetshwayo had sent a message to the Zulu people by one of the Zulu pioneers engaged on the beach, the native [? one of Sir T. Shepstone's Natal natives] who brought this intelligence had himself, he said, heard the message being repeated by the Zulus to each other, to the effect that Cetshwayo wished it to be known that he had returned; that he desired all the people to come and meet him with offerings of welcome; that they were to disregard the alleged curtailment of his territory; that he had heard nothing in England of the Umhlatuzi river being the boundary; that it was only a Natal device, which he would defeat."

Sir T. Shepstone could not say that Cetshwayo had not a perfect right to send the first part of this

\* As the accusation is the same as that brought by Mr. J. Shepstone, and as the latter had visited his brother "to confer with" him "on the proceedings of Dabulamanzi," the day before Cetshwayo landed, it is not difficult to see where he got his suspicions.

message, though he *implies* some blame by writing [*ibid.*]

“he justified, or excused his having sent this [portion of the] message by saying that it had been foretold [by the whites] that he would not be welcomed, and he wished to counteract the influences which he believed were being used to keep the people from coming to him with the object of making this prediction appear to be true.”

This was the actual fact, and it argues singular ignorance on the part of Sir T. Shepstone, as to the doings of his subordinates, that he could write “*I assured him that no such influences were being used as far as I knew.*” The spirit in which his mission was undertaken is plain enough from his own words [*ibid.*], that he

“did not interfere with the messengers which at all our halting places he (Cetshwayo) sent to the people throughout the country, especially to the Reserved Territory, because, after the explanation he had given me on the evening of his landing, I did not wish to restrict his efforts to procure for himself a reception and welcome that might have the appearance of being general and hearty.”\*

As England had decided to restore Cetshwayo it should have been her Commissioner's part to assist, and not merely to refrain from preventing his satisfactory reception—far less to hinder it.

The words attributed to the King about the

\* The *Advertiser* S. C. writes that on this occasion Sir T. Shepstone informed Cetshwayo that “the final act of restoration would take place at such time as he (Cetshwayo) might consider most convenient, with a view to notifying his people to be present. Therefore, of course he sent messengers “throughout the country.”

Reserved Territory were altogether denied by him, but Sir T. Shepstone says:—

“I met with abundant evidence to show not only that this repudiation could not be relied on, but that in the speeches which he frequently addressed to the different groups of people who came to see him along our route, he usually made identical or *similar statements.*” \*

Had Cetshwayo really acted in this manner he would have shown himself a mere imbecile instead of the able and sagacious man which Sir. T. Shepstone himself had previously represented him to be. “Cetshwayo is a man of considerable ability,” he wrote in 1873, “much force of character, and has a dignified manner; in all my conversations with him he was remarkably frank and straightforward, and he ranks in every respect far above any native chief I have ever had to do with” [c. 1137]. And again, he speaks of the “great ability and frankness” of Cetshwayo, and of the “straightforward manner” in which he insisted on his councillors “going direct to the point.” Yet he now suspects him of the most puerile conduct, of doing daily and openly what he at the same time assured Sir T. Shepstone he was not doing, and when such denial would have been perfectly useless had he really done that with which he was charged. For, be it remarked, there could be no concealment, since the “groups of people” (not a few individuals, but hundreds at a time) met him upon the open road, and there was nothing to prevent any of the officials or their subordinates from

\* Author's italics.

hearing every word that passed. That they frequently did so is evident both from the newspaper reports and from Sir T. Shepstone's own mention of what was said by one and another, but that he never himself heard anything of the sort which he here describes is plain from his own phraseology, "I met with abundant evidence to show," and "it was frequently brought to my knowledge," though we do not hear how, or by whom.

But Cetshwayo never made the speeches attributed to him. In reply to the questions naturally put to him by his people as to the truth of what they had heard of his having signed away half of their country he spoke precisely as he had spoken to Sir Hercules Robinson at the Cape.

He maintained that what he had promised in England, when only "one small tract near the Tugela" was to be reserved for any who did not wish to live under him, differed materially from the conditions which he was compelled to sign in Capetown, by threats of not being restored at all, if he did not sign them; and he said that these last emanated from Natal (Sir H. Bulwer), not from the Queen—all which was perfectly true. While he was further entirely justified in concluding that if—as became more obvious day by day—no considerable number of Zulus could be found "who did not wish to live under him," then none of the country could be cut off, since the supposed existence of such Zulus was the only reason given for such a partition, the English Government repudiating any annexation.

And so reports Mr. J. Mullins, who was the first to greet him at Port Durnford, having received many kindnesses from the Zulu King during his life as a trader in the country:—

“I asked the King ‘How he came to agree to conditions such as we have heard of?’ He said ‘It was not that I agreed to them, I had no choice given me. I was told that the country was to be cut off from the Umhlatuze, and that to the north also a large piece was to be cut off for Zibebu, and, that, if I did not sign, I should never return but remain always at the Cape. So I signed under protest, knowing that the land belongs to my people, and that I had no right to sign it away without their consent, and trusting that, as the English Government had listened to my prayer once, they will do so again, and set this thing right and restore to us our country, *and this is what I shall tell my people when they inquire of me how I came to do this thing, and I shall tell them that they must be patient and quiet meanwhile.*” (Author’s italics.)

As Mr. J. Shepstone writes (January 16th, 1883, [3616, p. 12]):—

“The object Cetshwayo has in sending messages is obvious, viz. to show to the satisfaction of the Government that no necessity for a reserved territory exists; this I am convinced of from the wording of the messages.”

Thus, from the account of the official who had the best means of knowing, it is plain that the King’s messages were such as he was fully justified in sending, and from that of the correspondent of the *Advertiser* it would be seen that they were sent quite openly, and that Sir T. Shepstone directed him to send them.

The newspapers unfriendly to the King, of course eagerly seized upon this accusation against him. The following passage from the *Mercury S. C.* may be

given as a specimen of their unmeasured and unscrupulous hostility :—

“ In my last letter I referred to the desirability of some check being put upon Cetshwayo’s tongue, and some intimation being given him as to what would be more becoming in the conduct of one in his position. While I was writing, Her Majesty’s Commissioner was actually engaged in that necessary but disagreeable task ; and now, if Cetshwayo has any sense of shame left in him, if he has any love of truth in his soul, if he esteems those who speak the truth, and is averse to a lying tongue, he ought to be thoroughly abashed ; for by his own mouth it has been proved that his first act on being restored to his country was to lie to the people. He told them again and again that the whole of Zululand was his once more, and that the Queen had told him so, and there was therefore no reliance to be placed in the story circulated by Mr. John Shepstone, that the Umhlatuze was to be the boundary. Cetshwayo reiterated this falsehood so openly and freely, that it was absolutely necessary for the Special Commissioner to take notice of it, and he did so yesterday. Cetshwayo was summoned to speak with Sir Theophilus, and the latter read over to the King the conditions he had signed, and asked him if those were the conditions he had agreed to. Cetshwayo acknowledged that they were, but then renewed the complaint it is said he made at Capetown as to the injustice of the new settlement. That, however, was somewhat wide of the point at issue, and, as an excuse for his persistent lying since he has been in the country, is a poor one. . . . If Cetshwayo commences his career in Zululand by misleading the people and stating in regard to the conditions of his restoration what he knows to be untrue, it would be hardly fair to expect that his pledged word, either verbal or written, will be respected by him in regard to other matters.”—*Mercury S. C.*, Jan. 16.

The statements which Cetshwayo really made are borne out both by the official reports of his interviews with Lord Kimberley and, later, with Sir Hercules Robinson, and by the passage upon Zululand in the Queen’s Speech at the opening of Parliament, February 15th, as telegraphed to Natal :—

“ *It had been decided to restore to Cetshwayo the greater part of the*

*territories under his rule before the Zulu War.*" So runs the telegram in the *Witness* and *Advertiser*; but, curiously enough, not a word of this appears in the *Mercury* and *Times*. As the *Witness* says (Feb. 17), "As everyone here is aware, Cetshwayo has not as yet had restored to him "the greater part" of these territories. He has had restored to him *less than a third of them*, while the best part of the country had been taken away."

While two of the three messengers from Umnyamana returned to tell him that the King had really come, that they had seen him with their own eyes, and that his wives and children were to be brought to meet him, but "gently" and without hurry, we may accompany the escort, with the King in charge, on their way to Emtanjaneni, where the re-installation was to take place. But Cetshwayo was still treated virtually as a prisoner: the escort was manifestly a guard of honour to Sir T. Shepstone, but only a prison-guard to the King. There was a marked contrast in this respect between British and Colonial treatment of Cetshwayo. In England such slight restraints as had previously been imposed upon him were removed from the moment the Queen's pleasure with regard to his release had been communicated to him, and the terms of his restoration accepted. He was then a free man and a sovereign once more, and the difference was quietly but unmistakably marked by the removal, on departure from England, of the prefix "ex" from the luggage which had been addressed at Capetown "ex-King Cetshwayo."

Before he returned to the Cape the Earl of Kimberley had indicated this change in his despatch

to Sir Hercules Robinson, "conveying instructions as to the King's treatment during the interval before his restoration" [3466, p. 115], saying that "no renewal of the former act for his detention would, under present circumstances, be required," and that "Cetshwayo should, of course, be treated with every consideration." The only caution imposed being that "careful attention should be paid to his proceedings in order that Sir H. Bulwer may be made acquainted with any matters which may affect Zulu affairs."

"You will, I am sure, bear in mind that all communications with Cetshwayo connected with his restoration should be carried on in such a manner as to encourage him as much as possible to look upon the British Government permanently as his friend."

Such were the kindly intentions of the Home Authorities, but there is no sign of their having been carried out by the Natal officials. Cetshwayo is said to have "complained that he did not like being treated as a prisoner in his own country," and this may very well be true, although it was stated by the S. C. of the *Natal Mercury*. The same writer speaks of "the place which belongs to the King, and which was proper for one in his position, a prisoner, by the grace of his conquerors, suffered to return under certain restrictions." Sir T. Shepstone's own report, supplemented by the newspapers, shows that this was precisely the position he was required to occupy, and that the special "consideration" and friendliness prescribed by Lord Kimberley were conspicuous by their absence. Describing the first

day's journey from Port Durnford, Sir T. Shepstone writes [3616, p. 43]:—

“The day had been hot and our first march tedious, because we travelled but slowly, and stopped frequently to admit of the people living near our route satisfying themselves, by seeing and speaking to Cetshwayo, that it was really he.

“The recognitions were always clamorous, and sometimes touching. In the evening I sent to Cetshwayo to express my hope that the day's journey had not been very fatiguing to him, and to tell him that in consequence of the heat and unhealthy nature of the Umhlatuzi valley which we had already entered, and which would, from that point, take us two days to traverse, it would be necessary to start very early on the following morning. He sent back to say that he could not possibly start at all next day, so great was the fatigue that he felt.”

Cetshwayo was no longer a young man, being over 50 years of age at this time, and he had spent three years in captivity, living a sedentary life, and suffering much in health in consequence, but still more from anxiety of mind. No doubt he was much knocked up by the fatigue and excitement of the first day's travelling, combined with the disappointment so wantonly inflicted upon him by the authorities at his landing. However, Sir T. Shepstone persisted in requiring that he should start again early on the morrow, and, as Cetshwayo still demurred, requesting that a Zulu kraal might be chosen in the neighbourhood where he could rest until he felt able to resume his journey, the Special Commissioner threatened him with the departure of the troops, accompanied by himself (Sir T. Shepstone), if he did not submit. Cetshwayo was far too anxious to keep on good terms with England to offend her repre-

sentative, and therefore gave way, though he did so saying, "it is death either way," meaning that both staying and proceeding were equally bad. Without a very sufficient reason, this conduct on the part of Sir T. Shepstone was arbitrary and inconsiderate, and it must be acknowledged that such reason is not shown. It would almost appear that he was needlessly alarmed about the "heat and unhealthy nature of the Umhlatuzi valley, as, although it took more than "two days to traverse" it, nothing more was said upon the subject of its unhealthiness. The Lieut.-General commanding in South Africa reports on February 11th the return of the troops, writing [3616, p. 21], "The health of the men has been very good, there being but one case of enteric fever at present. The loss amongst the animals has been only six horses, one mule, and two oxen ;" while Sir T. Shepstone himself telegraphs from Etshowe, on his return, "Just reached here, all well." Had the valley been so unwholesome at the time as to make it imperatively necessary to put aside Cetshwayo's wishes and comfort, the two days and nights which could not be avoided would surely have produced more serious effects than the "slight attacks of fever" [3616, p. 16] reported as having occurred amongst the troops, and all but one of which had disappeared by January 31st. But supposing the move to have been necessary, the necessity might certainly have been placed before the King in a more courteous fashion. Sir T. Shepstone "sent" what may be called his orders, instead of visiting the King

to explain the matter personally, and he overcomes the latter's objections, not by the apology which was certainly due, but by threats. Nor, if there were any sufficient grounds for the Commissioner's first-mentioned reason, can the same be said of his second, the palpable invalidity of which somewhat weakens the effect of the first? Sir T. Shepstone writes:—

“I then reminded him [Cetshwayo] that the troops were neither mine nor his, but the Queen's; that they could not remain in Zululand longer than the service they were engaged upon could reasonably be expected to require.”

No precise limit had been, or could be, placed to the use of the troops, and Her Majesty the Queen, we may believe, would certainly not have considered an occasional day's rest, when the Zulu King felt that he required it, as beyond what could “reasonably be expected” from his escort. From the accounts given by the special correspondents very scant ceremony seems to have been accorded to the King and his party, and the correspondent of the *Mercury* appeared throughout to consider that it was an almost intolerable insolence on the part of Cetshwayo to be a King, so that the smallest signs of his knowing himself to be one was unendurable indeed.

The *Witness* S. C. writes:—

“It was related or alleged how he had kept his escort waiting some morning for a couple of hours because it did not suit his pleasure to pay attention to *reveille*, and how, on one occasion, his womenfolk were so indisposed to leave their beds that some of the soldiers had found it necessary to pull their tent about their ears, as a gentle reminder that it was morning and time to get up, and

that they were still somewhat under the care of the British Government."

The party "reached the highlands of St. Paul's Mission on the 14th, and stayed over the 15th to reorganise and rest the cattle. On the latter day I had my first formal interview with Cetshwayo . . ." \* writes Sir T. Shepstone [3616, p. 44], and then relates how he read over the conditions of restoration, asking the King when he had done so with each, "whether that was what he had understood in England, or Capetown; and to each he replied in the affirmative. He spoke, however, strongly . . . against the curtailment of territory north and south; of the hardship of being compelled to live side by side with Dunn and Zibebu; went into the particulars of his conversations with Lord Kimberley and Sir Hercules Robinson, and the conclusive answers which, as he thought, he had given to each of these authorities on different points; he concluded with these words, 'After all the whole country is yours; you will yourselves see the inconvenience which your arrangements cause and remove it yourselves; I still hope.'"<sup>†</sup>

At this interview, Sir T. Shepstone laid it down, as absolutely essential, "that the Zulus, and especially the young men, should not approach the camp, or be present at the ceremony of installation, armed, and that I should prefer that the young men kept away altogether. . . My fear of the consequences, if this stipulation were not strictly enforced, was amply justified by our subsequent experience."

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\* "He then went on to speak very gratefully of what the English people had done for him, and wished that it might be his good fortune to find an enemy to the English within his reach; how gladly he would fight for them, he said, and mix his blood with theirs. He spoke warmly on this subject, forgetting probably that the condition which forbade his re-establishing the Zulu military system would deprive him of the power of showing his gratitude in this way." [3616, p. 44.] Thus writes Sir T. Shepstone, "forgetting probably" that a call for assistance from the English would at once annul that condition.

† Cetshwayo's inextinguishable faith in England arose from his appreciation of the national character at its best. His belief clung to him to the last, and may be said to have caused his death. Had he not believed in England, he would, humanly speaking, be alive and happy now. It is a sad assertion for a loyal English writer to have to make, but no good will ever come to our country through denial or concealment of the truth.

What was meant by this last sentence is known only to the writer, as not the smallest disturbance occurred to justify his "fears," and he himself reports on Jan. 29th, "Installation carried out this afternoon successfully and most satisfactorily," and the party returned to Natal without annoyance of any sort. But the common sense of the stipulation in itself must be called in question. Cetshwayo—newly arrived, kept in complete subjection, denied all power except purely moral influence, while that influence was lessened as much as possible by the studied contempt with which he was treated by those who had him in their hands—was required to prevent the Zulus from coming armed to meet him. Meanwhile the conditions on which the latter were expected to obey were these. To come altogether unarmed would have been a total reversal of the established habits of the people. "Every Zulu is an armed man, and never moves without his weapon," wrote Colonel Durnford, R.E., in 1878 [2144, p. 237], and the statement is equally true to this day. Since this has been the case habitually and in times of peace, was it likely that the whole Zulu people would assemble together, doubtful as they were of British good faith, many of them uncertain as to whether the King had really returned, and all of them exceedingly anxious as to his safety? Nor was their anxiety vague and general only. Dunn had repeatedly threatened to prevent Cetshwayo's restoration by violence, and had even announced to the authorities through Sir Garnet Wolseley, that he intended to prevent it [3466, p. 1].

More formidable than Dunn, however, were Zibebu's threats. The tone of this chief varied according to the apparent intentions of the Natal Government to support or to brow-beat Cetshwayo, to an extent which makes it sadly evident that it needed but decided encouragement on the part of that Government to have induced Zibebu to submit quietly to the King. At one time he said, "If the King is brought back, I shall know it before any of you, and I shall be the first to go and meet him, and we shall have made it all up before you (the Usutus) arrive."

But then, again, after learning a little more of official feelings and intentions, he laughed at those who hoped for the King's return, saying, "If he is brought back, he will only be allowed to be a kinglet—a chief over a tribe, like the rest of us—not a King." Up to the very last it seems that he was still doubtful as to whether he should not go and pay homage to Cetshwayo, and his people declared afterwards that had the King paid him the attention of sending for him, he should have obeyed. But the official circle made a special point of preventing this—it would not at all have suited their ideas for Zibebu to recognise Cetshwayo as his King. So when Zibebu rode into the camp on January 27th with about 40 armed and mounted followers,\* he went away again after an interview with Sir T. Shepstone, without making any attempt to see

\* Sir T. Shepstone says "about a dozen," but apparently he did not see them all, as every other account speaks of "forty," and the *Mercury* S. C. adds, "He left the main body of his followers some miles behind."

Cetshwayo.\* But before this, about the time of the King's landing, reports had spread amongst the Sutus, especially the Prince's followers, over whom Zibebu had tyrannised so long that he (Zibebu) had evil intentions with regard to them, and that so soon as they should have started to greet the King, the chief *impis* would attack their homes, and those who remained in them. The rumour may have been without foundation, but after all that that particular branch of the Sutus had suffered at Zibebu's hands, it was not singular that they believed it, and hurried back to their kraals, having already set out to meet Cetshwayo when it reached them. No harm resulted however, except a little delay in their arrival at Entonjaneni. They had also in their charge Cetshwayo's wives and children, and many other women, about 200 in all, and it was absurd to expect that in the disturbed state of the country they would travel across it unarmed.

Sir T. Shepstone makes a great deal of what he calls the "secret arming" of the Zulus, always maintaining, upon anonymous evidence, that it was done by the King's orders. Yet he says himself that Cetshwayo requested him to sanction his having a sufficient force of his own people to protect him, when the British escort should leave the country, as it was disturbed, and "a madman might kill him;" in

\* "When asked if he meant to visit the King, he replied, 'Certainly not, *unless* ordered by Mr. Osborn.' That gentleman would give no such advice, neither would Sir J. Shepstone; rather, on the contrary, they all wished Zibebu away."

other words, Dunn might fulfil his threats or induce Zibebu to do it for him. The unfriendly newspapers always made a point of attributing this "arming," secret or otherwise, to what Sir T. Shepstone calls "the Usutu (or Cetshwayo's) party" [p. 45]; but Sir T. Shepstone himself writes that "most of this secret arming was, of course, adopted as a precaution against each other by the numerous sections who had for some days been assembling near us *awaiting the arrival of the Usutu party,*"\* and it is plain enough that there was no difference in this respect between one tribe and another. It was *inevitable* that the order to come entirely without weapons would be disregarded, and Sir T. Shepstone's mistake was in giving an order which he knew beforehand could not and would not be obeyed, and the only result of which was to make it appear that Cetshwayo himself was acting in defiance of the Commissioner's wishes.

Sir T. Shepstone repeatedly refers this "secret arming" to Cetshwayo's instructions, and his despatch gives a *general impression* which is no less mischievous because it is somewhat intangible, that the King was acting in bad faith—that he was privately arming his people, with intentions unfriendly to the whites, while denying to the Commissioner, personally, that he was doing anything of the kind. What Cetshwayo denied we may feel sure he did *not* do, for all who knew him will agree with Sir T. Shepstone's estimate of him made a few

\* Authors italics.

years before, that he was "remarkably frank and straightforward." But it does not appear that he did deny having given the command in a certain, and it would seem justifiable, sense. Sir T. Shepstone says that, in answer to his questions, Cetshwayo replied that he had sent messages directing his people to come armed, but "with the condition, however," that they "*were not to come armed to the camp.*" [3616, p. 47.] What more could the British Commissioner require? He certainly had neither the right nor the power to decide that one portion of the Zulu people throughout the country should be disarmed, while the remainder retained their weapons. The camp was his own ground, where he could command, and the Sutus, at all events, came to it unarmed.

A great deal was also made of what Sir T. Shepstone calls "the mysterious conduct of the Usutu party" [47], i. e. their supposed delay in coming to meet the King, which the Commissioner implies, and the correspondents assert, was in consequence of their having no real wish to see him restored. Indeed the *Mercury* did not hesitate to repeat once more the long-exploded slander about Ndabuko desiring to secure the crown for himself, and declares that he and Mnyamana, who "are the leaders of the Sutu party" . . . . "*will be the first to join Zibubu.*"\* Had there been such delay it could have been accounted for more rationally by many another

\* Subsequent events have so entirely annihilated this charge that it is only worth recording as an instance of bitter prejudice against all that belonged to Cetshwayo.

supposition. But upon a calculation of days and distances it becomes apparent that there was no real delay at all, and, therefore, no "mysterious conduct," on the part of the Usutu party. Until Mtokwane returned from Port Durnford after seeing the King, the Princes and Mnyamana had no certain knowledge of the truth, and the royal women had declared that they would not believe it except from Mtokwane's own lips. He and Melakanya, another thoroughly honest man, gave the story of their journey, without, of course, knowing that the question of time spent upon it would be raised, but simply in the usual minute Zulu fashion, which too often consists of an accurate but monotonous repetition of "we rose in the morning, travelled all that day, and slept at So-and-So's kraal" *da capo* to the end of the journey, but which in this case happens to prove useful. They left the King on January 12th, the third day after his landing, and late on the 7th day (Jan. 16) they reached Umnyamana and the royal women, having been five days on the road. As they are both of them practised and extremely active "runners" and carried such important news, we may conclude that their journey was performed as rapidly as possible, which, indeed, is shown by a comparison of time and distance and the very difficult and broken country through which lay their route. The kraal at which Umnyamana awaited them was as far, if not further, from Emtonjaneni, the place chosen for the reinstatement, as was the Inhlazatshe residence, and they "had audience" with Umnyamana upon January

17th.\* On the 18th and 19th Mnyamana was sending out messengers to call the people, the 19th being also a day of heavy rain. On the following day (Jan. 20th) cattle were killed, on the 21st the meat (provisions for the road) was cooked, and on the 22nd the party started, but turned back on the 23rd and lost some time through the false report which reached them of Zibebu's intended attack. The parties reached the vicinity of the British Camp at Emtanjaneni on the 26th and considering that there were at least 200 women on foot amongst them besides children, and that Mnyamana himself is an old man, who also made the journey on foot, as he does not ride, they certainly do not appear to have loitered upon the way.† It is plain

\* Showing that they must have arrived the previous evening only, too late to be received.

† Mr. Osborn incidentally confirms this in his "memorandum" of January 19th. He speaks of the cattle (310) which he is about to hand over to Cetshwayo, as having "left Inhlazatshe for this place (Emtanjaneni) about six days ago," and they had plainly not then arrived, as he refers with uncertainty to any that may possibly have died on the way. And Dr. Seaton writes:—"I learnt to-day the cause of the delay in the arrival of Mnyamana, Ndabuko, and Somkele. It seems that on Wednesday Ndabuko and Mnyamana were informed that Hamu and Zibebu had raised a large *impi*, and intended burning the kraals of the Sutu party. They therefore turned back. They returned again to the Imfolozi yesterday, but fully armed with war-shields and assegais. . . . [This is a mistake, they brought only, their small travelling-shields (*amahanu*) not the (*izihlangu*) large war-shield]s. On being asked why they came armed when they had been ordered to come without, they replied, 'We have been eaten up once already—[i.e. after the meeting with Sir E. Wood at Inhlazatshe]—and do not want another dose; but we shall not appear before Somtseu [Sir T. S.] with arms.' The Sutu party and Somkele are expected to form a junction with Cetshwayo's people, and their united followings are due in camp to-morrow."—*Adv. S. C.* January 26th.

that there was no avoidable "delay" at all in their arrival, nevertheless great capital was made out of their supposed disinclination to appear. This was less remarkable on the part of the special correspondents, or others writing at the time, and who did not know the country, and could not judge of the distances to be crossed, but took their cue from the solemn official whisper "mysterious" delay. But it is somewhat singular to find the same mistake made by Sir T. Shepstone in his report, dated after his return to Natal. From what he says the reader must inevitably gather not only that "Umnyamana . . . and Undabuko still held back," and delayed the fulfilment of his mission by doing so, but that they were, meanwhile, not upon the road, but "in the valley near our camp," from whence, he says, they "held frequent communications with Cetshwayo" [p. 48], and where they were "still mustering in considerable strength." All this was written of "the 25th of January," but the main body of the Usutu, as we have seen, could not have reached the neighbourhood of the camp until the 26th. No doubt small parties, and individuals, had hurried on, impatient to get sight of Cetshwayo, although they would, of course, await the arrival of their principal chiefs before formally presenting themselves. This, and the manifest readiness on the part of Sir T. Shepstone to suspect sinister meanings in every action of "Cetshwayo's party," and to exaggerate the gravity of the situation, \* may account for the assertion that

\* And so point the moral of all the official jeremiads about the *danger* involved in any restoration of Cetshwayo.

“it is, however, quite certain that Cetshwayo was in constant communication with the heads (?) of this force.” But when he writes, “It is difficult even now (Feb. 27) to say with confidence whether the object of this was merely to protect Cetshwayo, when the ceremony should be over, or whether some other undertaking was contemplated,” and actually mentions as worthy of consideration an anonymous report sent in by Mr. Osborn, of intended violence to the white party, on the part of the Sutus, one is forced to the conclusion that either Sir T. Shepstone had lost his nerve and saw dangers in every bush, or else that the scare was part of the official policy to injure Cetshwayo in the eyes of the Home Government and public. After the sad and terrible circumstances at Isandhlwana, just four years previously, the civilians of the party might readily be excused for fancying dangers where in truth they did not exist, but due consideration of the very different circumstances of the case, added to the fact that the installation took place without the slightest sign of violence, actual or intended, should surely have prevented the introduction into a serious despatch—written afterwards by one whom most readers at home would take as an undeniable authority—of accusations and insinuations against the King, founded on the report of an unnamed “Zulu headman,” who, from Mr. Osborn’s own account, was evidently a traitor and a spy, and, as a personal knowledge of the Sutu leaders, their views and feelings, enables one to add, a liar as well.

The Zulus had, indeed, unhappily for us, shown how they could fight when attacked, but they have

never, in any of their dealings with the English, shown the least sign of a treacherous spirit, and Cetshwayo himself was above suspicion of such a thing, as well as above the folly of imagining that anything could be gained by it. Mr. Osborn's report was this:—

“ My informant states that, owing to what he heard said by men of the Usutu party [this was before the main body could have arrived] he thought it behoved the authorities with the column to be on their guard. That the Usutu are all arming and coming to the re-installation armed. Cetshwayo had sent out word that they were to do so, and that those that had no shields and assegais should make them at once. It is alleged that Cetshwayo said that certain conditions will be promulgated by Sir T. Shepstone, to some of which he will agree, but there are some arrangements, which Sir T. Shepstone will make known, to which he intended to object; he alluded to the cutting off of portions of Zululand for the Reserved Territory, and for Zibebu, as this was not ordered by the Government in England, and was being done by Sir T. Shepstone, who has all along been against him [in this garbled edition of what Cetshwayo really did say, honestly and openly, to everyone, from Sir Hercules Robinson downwards, we probably have the grain of truth in this bushel of falsehood]. He has got Sir T. Shepstone in the open now, and, therefore, requires people to come armed. There is but a small company of soldiers here, who would be nothing for his people; at Isandhlwana they finished a large lot of soldiers, the few now here are of no account. It was also secretly mentioned by the Usutu that they contemplated stealing Cetshwayo during the night, so that Sir T. Shepstone would not be able to read the terms and conditions in his presence: he would thus be able to re-enter upon his position as King without any restriction” [3616, pp. 61 & 62].

Mr. Osborn calls this farrago of nonsense “ information received by me privately *through a trustworthy channel,*” \* yet continues [p. 62], “ *My informant is a Zulu headman, who has opportunity of learning what*

\* Author's italics in this and following sentence.

*may be going on amongst the Usutu.* I think it advisable that precautionary measures be taken for safety of the column."

One sentence from Sir T. Shepstone's despatch is sufficient to disprove the whole of this statement [3616, p. 52]. "He (Cetshwayo) stipulated that during the ceremony (of re-installation) he should sit close to me, and be near 'our own troops,' alluding to Her Majesty's soldiers." This stipulation was made immediately before the ceremony [29th January] and would certainly have been the last thing Cetshwayo would have desired had he arranged a treacherous attack with his people. Umtokwane says, "Of course the people with Mnyamana came armed, with the country in such a state of uncertainty, and reports flying about Zibebu; but they laid aside their arms when they approached Entonjaneni, and came to the meeting without them." The *false* rumours about Zibebu received colour from the true ones, viz. that, to quote Mnyamana's words, "Here is Zibebu, cutting off the land up here, taking also half [*the whole*] of what was called Mgojana's territory, saying that it is his." Most of Masipula's tribe\* and some of Mnyamana's people lived in "what was called Mgojana's territory," but where he does not appear ever to have been able to exercise any authority, and, as we know, the beaconed line gave to Zibebu

\* Masipula was Prime Minister before Mnyamana, and his tribe is about as strong as the whole tribe of Zibebu's father, a large part of which did not recognise Zibebu on account of his disloyalty to the King.

a large portion of the Prince's land, which they had been promised should be restored to them. Sir Henry Bulwer imagined that by simply selecting a line of his own upon the map, and sending a Government surveyor to beacon it out, he could force these brave and independent people to give up their homes and lands to Zibebu, or else to submit to the latter, and desert the King. This was a fatal mistake. It would have needed a British army to enforce the decree.

If Sir T. Shepstone thoroughly refutes himself in the above sentence as to the King's feelings and intentions when the actual day of re-installation had come, he does so equally with regard to the previous interval while awaiting the arrival of the Zulu nation (or "Sutu party") at Emtonjaneni. He writes [3616, p. 46]:—

"On the second day after our arrival Cetshwayo sent to say he wished to go down towards the Ulundi to meet his brother Undabuko and the people [i. e. his wives and children, &c.] . . . I replied that I could not assent to the . . . request, because I had not yet given him over to the people. . . . Two days after this, however, I was surprised by the information that he had gone down without my knowledge, leaving camp very early, and returning about noon. I took no notice of this information having reached me."

*Had* Sir T. Shepstone taken notice of the information, i. e. had he made full inquiries into its truth, he would have discovered that it was entirely without foundation, as *Cetshwayo made no such expedition whatever*,\* restraining his natural impatience to go to

\* The writer is able to assert this on the best of authorities in the matter. Two natives were sent (with Government sanction)

meet his family and brothers, in obedience to Sir T. Shepstone's wishes. But, although this is the fact, it is plain from Sir T. Shepstone's belief and statement about the King's supposed private expedition, *that Cetshwayo might have made it had he chosen*. What, then, was to prevent his thus going down, joining the Usutus, and remaining away altogether? Had there been any such scheme as that suggested by Mr. Osborn's "trustworthy" informant for "stealing" the King, and murdering the escort, with Cetshwayo's connivance, the latter's escape from the camp would necessarily have been the first step taken, and according to Sir T. Shepstone's own showing, there was nothing whatever to prevent its being taken.

Sir T. Shepstone, indeed, while impressing in a general way upon his reader that his opinion was in no way affected by the smallest confidence in Cetshwayo's good faith, or in Mnyamana's word,\* decides that "although such a project might be talked about, as," he says, "it evidently had been,

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by the family at Bishopstowe in 1883 to announce formally to the King the loss of his best friend, the Bishop of Natal. They were old servants of tried honesty, *and they were the first and only messengers ever sent from Bishopstowe to Zululand*. They were directed to ask the King for the truth of this report, and they learnt from him personally that it was *entirely without foundation*.

\* Sir T. Shepstone says, "I did not feel much confidence in Mnyamana's word." It is impossible to find any warrant for this insinuation against Mnyamana. In the official Blue-books we find that even Sir H. Bulwer and Messrs. Osborn and J. Shepstone speak of the staunch old Prime Minister with some respect and consideration.

by the young soldiers, it was far too hazardous a one really to attempt." The assertion, "it evidently had been," is based entirely upon the word of this Zulu headman, to whose warning it was not thought necessary to attend, and, in fact, only enough of the rumour is retained to give a general colour of danger to the enterprise, and of contemplated treachery on the part of Cetshwayo, for suspecting which there were never the faintest grounds. To those who have had any personal acquaintance with the King, the accusation is simply ridiculous.

Mtokwane continues, "On the 17th day (January 26th) we two were sent on to announce the royal women to the King. He told us to bring them on at once, which we did." The special correspondent of the *Advertiser* describes the scene as follows:—

"About 5 P.M. a great shouting was heard in the neighbourhood of the King's camp. I happened to be passing very near, although the thick mist and rain rendered any object invisible at more than thirty yards. On approaching, I discovered a body of about 200 women, followed by about 60 or 70 *umfanas* [attendants] carrying baggage, consisting principally of mats and pillows. These were the King's wives (about 20), accompanied by the wives of the Sutu chiefs and a miscellaneous collection of attendants. At a given signal they all rushed forward towards the King's tent with a most doleful wail, intended to represent their misery during his long absence. They fairly precipitated themselves at the door of the tent. . . The principal wives were admitted into the tent, and, judging from the sounds which penetrated to the outside, this man of many wives was in a fair way to be o'erwhelmed with evidences of affection. . . The whole of the accompanying ladies were permitted to kiss the King's hands or feet, and then the carriers were also permitted to view him, after which they dispersed to the several huts. Last of all the children, led by the son and heir, entered the tent. The son merely shook hands with his father, whilst the four girls saluted their parent much as English

children would have done. They remained with him for a very considerable time. Their appearance bore witness to the good treatment they had met with during his exile, as they were all as fat and sleek as young pigs, and quite pretty for Kaffirs. Dinuzulu . . . is the image of his father, and so fat that, although only 14 years of age, he must weigh at least that number of stone. . . . He was evidently fully alive to his position, as he trod the earth as if he owned it. In receiving the congratulations of the numerous Indunas he maintained a *sang-froid* worthy of his birth. The evening was miserable, and there was such a lack of accommodation for the immense harem, that Mr. Dunn, the King's interpreter, had to vacate his tent in favour of some of the wives, whilst the greater part of the attendants had to content themselves with the questionable shelter of huts constructed of small bushes, supplemented later on by one of the large ambulances."—*Advertiser* S. C. January 26th.

N.B. It would seem that absolutely no provision had been made, even for Cetshwayo's wives and children, by the leaders of the "escort," although Sir T. Shepstone must have well known the numbers of those coming.

Sir T. Shepstone relates how Cetshwayo sent next morning (27th) to say that he wished to have his family presented to him [Sir T. S.], and accordingly the principal women paid him a visit [3616, p. 49].

"On my greeting them," he writes, "they said they had come to pay their respects to me, and to express their thanks for the return of their husband; they then at once plunged into political questions, spoke of the appointed chiefs and their conduct towards them during Cetshwayo's absence in the bitterest terms" and "discussed the curtailment of territory as an injustice and a wrong." The S. C. of the *Advertiser* writes, "The ladies certainly did not err on the score of diffidence. Sir Theophilus had told them to speak without fear, and they obeyed him to the letter, not, apparently, quite to his satisfaction," and Sir T. Shepstone himself remarks, "I could not of course argue with these ladies, so I asked them what their husband said on these subjects."

This was not, perhaps, quite fair upon Cetshwayo, but the women appear to have been equal to

the occasion, for, although Sir T. Shepstone says, "They were a little embarrassed by the question" (?), he records, what seems to have been their most discreet answer, that "he [the King] would say nothing until he had heard what I had to say upon them."

The royal women cannot, of course, have complained "of the appointed chiefs," i. e. of the whole 13, as they had had nothing to do with most of them. But Zibebu, the one specially favoured and approved by the Natal Government, had turned them out of their homes, and treated them with the greatest contumely, and Hamu had behaved but little better. It was in support of these chiefs that Mr. Osborn's "white subordinate" insulted these respectable women in their misery and destitution, jeering at them when they begged Mr. Osborn to give them a "letter" to the authorities in Maritzburg in order that they might go down themselves to represent their wrongs, and saying, "I will write the letter for you, and say in it that you have committed adultery!" It must be acknowledged that the royal women had deep cause for complaint against the Natal Government, and their reproaches might well be "not quite to the satisfaction" of their *father*, as Sir T. Shepstone says they called him, and who had not raised a finger to assist them during the long years of their despair.

The same evening, Sir T. Shepstone arranged with his (Natal) native headman Umgundane to go early next morning into the valley to inquire what the rest of the Sutu party, who had not come into

camp with the women on the afternoon (5 P.M.) of the 26th, were doing. He writes [3616, p. 49] :—

“I wished him to try and see Umnyamana and Undabuko, Cetshwayo’s full brother, to remonstrate with them on the delay which they had caused, and were still causing, without comprehensible reason. He found Umnyamana and Ziwedu, one of Cetshwayo’s half-brothers, at the head of one party, and Undabuko at the head of a second. He did not meet Undabuko, but he and his force were pointed out to him not far off, and he could see that his following was large, and fully armed, as was also the force of Umnyamana and Ziwedu.\* My messenger at once protested against this array, and the delay that had detained us so long, and was still keeping us day after day from fulfilling our mission. Umnyamana said they wished to celebrate a dance at the burial-place of Cetshwayo’s ancestors, and that they would then come up. Umgundane objected to the dance being hold before the restoration had taken place, and remonstrated strongly against the armed force.”

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\* The *Mercury S. C.* says, “From a friend who went [rode] through yesterday, and who saw these men *en route*, I received a note . . . to say that they had their ‘war-tails,’ and ‘war-dress’ with shields and assegais, and that, as they advanced, they sang Cetshwayo’s war-song.” The fact that they did *not* bring their *war-shields*, but only the small shields used on festive occasions (frequently as we use umbrella or parasol), is enough to show that their “tails” and “dresses” were put on as a gala-dress, and not for war, as their assegais were carried according to custom, since every Zulu is an armed man, and never moves without his weapon. And these weapons were “put out of sight” [*Mercury S. C.*] or rather *left* [the truth] “in the kraals in which they tarried [slept] before coming on here.” As to the “war-songs,” the term is mistakenly applied. They were songs of joy, and chants in praise of the *ancestral spirits*, which are sung on all great occasions, and are, some of them, very ancient. One particularly mentioned by the newspapers, “He is the bird of Zululand,” was composed in honour of Cetshwayo’s father, Mpande. Cetshwayo’s own particular song of praise, i. e. the one composed in his honour, commences thus: “Uzitulele, Kacali’muntu” (“He keeps the peace and attacks [*begins at*] no one”).

The whole of this passage is painfully misleading. The reader, once more, can only gather from it that Sir T. Shepstone's messenger found two Sutu parties encamped in the valley, having been there for some days at all events, and perversely refusing to advance. But as we have already seen, they *could* only have arrived the previous day, even if the whole party had been together, which they plainly were not, since Mtokwane says that on starting from Mnyamana's kraal "we two went ahead with the royal women," but upon the alarm about Zibebu "the people turned back, and Mnyamana waited, partly for them, partly for those coming from a distance." It might very well happen, indeed, that a day's halt before entering the camp would be required to collect the stragglers, while it certainly seems to have been as well that the whole party, numbering many thousands, did not press on, that wet evening, to the camp, where, as it is plain from the account of the *Advertiser* special correspondent, no accommodation had been provided even for the royal women. It was not fit weather for lying in the open, if that could be avoided; and from what the *Mercury* special correspondent says of their having left their weapons at the kraals where they slept "before coming on here," verified by Mtokwane's words, "they laid aside their arms when they approached Emtonjaneni," it would seem that they had found some shelter for their chiefs, at all events, at this their last halting place. Again, the intention to hold the dance—in their eyes a solemn religious ceremony — according to Zulu

custom, would naturally cause some delay, and, although it was given up at Sir T. Shepstone's command, it was the right and proper thing to do. The order to omit it was another intended *lessening* of Cetshwayo in the eyes of his people, to make him appear of secondary importance to Sir T. Shepstone. Anything that had, or was expected to have, such an effect was, surely, a mistake, since not the Commissioner, but the King, was required to rule the Zulus, and for England's influence we had to depend on either *the King's goodwill and power*, or else upon a British army. As a matter of fact, it was rather the feeling of the nation than Cetshwayo's personal dignity which was hurt by the prohibition. The proposed ceremony was one of thanksgiving for Cetshwayo's return, offered to the *Amadhlozi*, ancestral spirits, the beneficent Power believed in by the Zulus, and which contains the germs of a higher religious faith. That it is a very real belief, as far as it goes, may be gathered from the fact that, while grateful to "the Queen," to "the English authorities," to "Sobantu," to all to whom they felt that they owed the King's return, yet the more thoughtful amongst them \* never failed to refer their good fortune back to the *Amadhlozi* as the first cause of it, much as Christians speak of having been saved, or assisted, *under Providence*, by one another. The postponement of this ceremony in honour of the

\* That is to say, amongst the untaught heathen, who had nothing to guide them beyond the first movings of their Maker's Spirit within them.

Amadhlozi to that over which Sir T. Shepstone was to preside was an affront to the former which was unpalatable to the people.

Finally, the message sent to the Sutus, that Sir T. Shepstone "positively forbade these armed forces coming near the camp," while he obliged Cetshwayo to send "an order prohibiting their approach with arms" [3616, p. 47], was more likely than anything else to make them pause in their advance. Nor was this singular. Sir T. Shepstone acknowledges that the parties of Zulus who arrived before the Usutus were all armed, and says "we were surrounded by armed bodies of men" some days before Umnyamana and Undabuko arrived. Why, then, were these last only desired to present themselves unarmed? If the other parties were their friends no harm could follow, for Sir T. Shepstone himself says [3616, p. 48], "My personal conviction was that the only risk to the column was its becoming involved in any party disturbance." On the other hand, if the former parties were inimical to the Sutus (and therefore to the King), which is freely implied, though apparently without any foundation, the arrangement by which the latter *alone* were obliged to come unarmed was one which deliberately left them and him at the mercy of their enemies, if enemies they had been.

This may seem to be a waste of argument upon a very small subject, since the Sutu chiefs came into camp next day, the 28th, without their arms, as desired, and the "delay" of which so much was made by the official party, amounted, after all, to one

whole day and part of the next. But it is precisely because so much is officially made of it, because the whole narrative is tinged with the accusations against the Sutus of failing to respond to the King's call, of carrying arms, and of doing all they did with some dark and sinister motive, that it becomes necessary to make plain to every reader that there was no such failure, no "delay" which is not reasonably accounted for, and that in the matter of the weapons the Sutus were not in the least to blame. We have discussed (*supra*, p. 328) the alleged "secret arming:" Sir T. Shepstone says that:—

"Cetshwayo felt no confidence that the prestige which attended his return would save him from the stroke of a fanatic; he added that should assassination be his fate, the British Government would do nothing beyond expressing regret, and asking for information, and, by the time information was forthcoming, it would be found inconvenient to do anything in the matter, and so the assassin would go free, and his fate be unavenged; he therefore desired Umgundane to press upon me the necessity for his people coming armed, that they might protect him, and that at least they might be allowed to bring their arms to a certain distance from the camp and place of meeting.\* Umgundane thought that there would be no objection on my part to this; but when he told me I was unable to consent, because, although I felt sure it would be done, whether I consented or not, it was very evident that if it were known that my sanction had been given, very serious use might be made of it."

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\* The embargo laid upon their arms was enough in itself to cause doubt and distress in the minds of the Zulus. Matshana Mondisa was amongst them, and he, at least, must have remembered how nearly he had lost his life the very last time one of the name of Shepstone had called upon him and his people to come to a friendly meeting without arms. It will take generations yet to wipe out the distrust of the good faith of the Natal Government engendered by that one act of treachery.

The "prestige" which attended Cetshwayo's return was certainly conspicuous by its absence, so far as the white authorities could make it so, for he was treated with neither confidence nor respect by them, though he merited both, as he proved during the remainder of his life beyond question.

The Zulu account continues :—

"Next day (Jan. 28) Mnyamana and the Princes arrived . . . they went to the King, and then to Somtseu (Sir T. Shepstone), and then back to the King, where all the crowds of Zulus had formed a circle, and were singing the songs of Tshaka. The King sat and talked with mothers and wives, telling them about his journey, and now and then calling out some one to speak with him. He said, 'I went, and went and went, and crossed the water [? the Solent], and went to the Queen, to whom people generally are not allowed to go. When I reached her, she shook me by the hand; I felt it up to my shoulder; I felt that the Queen is strong' [in a figurative sense. The Zulus believe that in such circumstances virtue passes from the superior to the inferior.] He said that the Queen was about the height of his mother Songiya. But we did not hear all he said; it is his mothers who know all about his stories."

It was upon this same day that Zibebu visited the camp with about forty mounted followers, as previously mentioned. Sir T. Shepstone writes :—

"He had first reported himself to Mr. Osborn, whom he regarded as his immediate chief, and asked to notify his approach to me. Our camps were so situated that in coming to me he had to pass within about 50 yards of that occupied by Cetshwayo, 250 yards from ours. As he did so, the men and women at Cetshwayo's tents, Zibebu afterwards said, filled his ears with the scoffs and ill names which they flung at him, but he rode past without noticing their unmannerly conduct.\* He said that he had come to pay

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\* He appears to have ridden past the royal tents, and women, without saluting either, which was certainly "unmannerly" on his part, and there were ample reasons for any "scoffs," &c., from "the men and women at Cetshwayo's tents."

his respects to me, that he felt constrained to do so, although he had been advised to delay coming because the valley of the White Umvolozzi was full of the Usutu party, and they would kill him; he did not believe, he said, that they would venture to touch him, and they had not, for he had come safely through them.\* He denied having any of Cetshwayo's cattle,† or that he contemplated, or had given any reason to the Usutu party to suggest that he contemplated, attacking any of them,‡ and that party knew full well, he said, that both allegations were untrue; he added, 'I know my boundaries,§ and, *unless the Government order me,*|| I will not overstep them; but if they are invaded I shall defend them, and the invaders must take the consequences.' He seemed much hurt by the insults which had been offered him as he passed Cetshwayo's tents. He said he had done more to support Cetshwayo's family during his captivity than anyone else."

Zibebu's audacity in the above statements is simply amazing. His method of "supporting" his King and cousin Cetshwayo's family had been to turn them out of their kraals, women, children, and all, robbing them of all their possessions, destroying what his impi could not carry off, on more than one occasion killing several of their retainers, and driving the Princes and all those who adhered to them out of his territory, for no further offence than having "prayed

\* It was not likely that, after all the injuries the Sutu leaders had endured for Cetshwayo's sake at Zibebu's hands, they would throw away the fruits of that endurance now. Zibebu was perfectly safe until his next aggression upon them.

† This was a most audacious falsehood. Zibebu was well known throughout Zululand to have appropriated immense herds of royal cattle.

‡ Except the very good reason that he had done it before repeatedly. Markedly, when they had left their homes to attend Sir E. Wood's meeting at the Inhlazatshe in 1881.

§ Which includes a large portion of the territory belonging to the Sutu princes, and which Sir Henry Bulwer had promised should be restored to them.

|| Author's italics.

for Cetshwayo." The very men and women of whose scorn Sir T. Shepstone says Zibebu complained so pathetically, were some of those whom he had treated in this manner, and much of whose land and cattle he was still allowed to possess, while his graceless disloyalty, encouraged by the Natal authorities, was one of the main causes of their present disappointment and anxiety.\* How he could have any right to feel "hurt" by their indignant contempt is known only to himself and to his official apologists. Sir T. Shepstone continues :—

"At the outbreak of the war he had strongly opposed Cetshwayo's determination to accept war [*sic*—poor Cetshwayo!], and related as an instance that he met Dunn bearing a letter from Cetshwayo to the English, which Dunn told him would certainly cause war, and that he took it from Dunn and destroyed it, and went to Cetshwayo and told him that he had destroyed it to prevent war; that afterwards, when war had actually commenced, he felt it his duty to stand by his chief, although he thought him in the wrong, and that he did more fighting, and showed more energy in carrying on hostilities, than any other Zulu noble,† and now this was his reward."

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\* Amongst other acts of robbery and violence may be mentioned (1) his having taken four girls of the royal household as wives for himself, and two others for two of his brothers, against the will of the girls and of their parents. (2) His having embezzled a large sum of money, which had been entrusted by the King, before the war, to one of his (Zibebu's) headmen for trade with the Tongas. Besides the herds of royal cattle which he appropriated, he had robbed the King's mother, brothers, son, and others, on one single occasion, of over 500 head (taking 52 head from the mother, 77 from one brother, 24 from another, 15 from the little Prince, and so on, a long list). Amongst other items enumerated as appropriated by Zibebu are 100 *leather petticoats*, just purchased from the Tongas by Cetshwayo for the women of his household.—[Bishop of Natal's Digest of Blue Books and Notes, p. 776, &c.].

† It is a noticeable fact that while Sir T. Shepstone graces