

Bishop) again without reference to him. Tell the Princes to send back the *amabele* to Sobantu, and to ask him to send it back by some messenger *of his own*, not a Zulu, then, perhaps, it will be believed where it came from, and we shall not suffer on account of it."

So the messengers returned to the Princes, but did not find them where they had left them, for they had been driven on by Zibebu's *impi*, which said that it was driving them down to John Dunn's. Yet for the King, their brother's, sake, and lest they should injure his chance of restoration, they submitted quietly to be thus again turned out from the shelter which they had found upon the destruction of their homes by the orders of Zibebu. Maduna moved on to the kraal of a brother of Mnyamana's, and here the messenger already mentioned reached him calling him and Ziweddu to the Resident. The two men whose story is next given were of the small party spoken of by Fokoti as accompanying the Princes to Mr. Osborn, and they are therefore good authorities upon what passed.

"Said Malimati, 'What are you delaying for, since we have ordered you to go under John Dunn? Be off to him at once!'

"The Princes replied, 'But were we not given a choice, then, by Lukuni?' [i. e. Did not Sir E. Wood say, "If you go, Zibebu shall return part of your cattle; but if you do not, he shall not return any?" (p. 51)].

"Said Malimati, 'No! I tell you, go at once! There is no more to be said;' and then he left them."

But this command, to go and place themselves under the man whose fortune their brother Cetshwayo had made, loading him with favours, but who had deserted and betrayed the King as soon as trouble came, and upon whom, indeed, the Zulus generally looked as the original author of all their woes, was "a word" which the Princes could not obey. So they went on to Mnyamana, who had repeatedly invited them since they had been driven out from their homes by Zibebu, the boy Dinuzulu being at Mnyamana's own kraal, which was already full of the royal women and children. That same day a messenger came from Mr. Osborn, the Resident, to summon Mnyamana to him. When he arrived, according to the same Zulu reporters, Mr. Osborn said, "I have sent for you, Mnyamana, to ask what you mean by taking in those people. Turn them out at once, and send them to John Dunn! Watsha! (you are in great danger! you burn!*)". Why do you get yourself into trouble for another person's fault, when you have not been blamed?"

But to this paltry suggestion from the representative in Zululand of England's majesty and might, the fine old man replied, "Why should I cast them off? To whom shall I give them to take care of them? Did I not refuse a chieftainship because I said I must

* This was the word used, at the time of Cetshwayo's restoration, to frighten the Zulus from the landing-place, by those who wished to make it appear that the King was not enthusiastically received by his people—*Natsha* (for plural, *watsha* being sing.) *izinhlamvu*, i.e. "you are in danger from the bullets" of the soldiers forming Sir T. Shepstone's escort.

stand by them? They are to me as children of my own, and if I die a second time, as I have died once in losing Cetshwayo, I shall die with them on my back."

Said Malimati, "It is not my affair; it is yours, and your house will be on fire, if you do not turn them out at once, and send them to John Dunn."

"These words," said the messengers, "were repeated to us by Mnyamana himself when he was sending us down."

"Then the royal women, the wives of Cetshwayo and Maduna, set out themselves, to go to the Resident and to ask why they were treated thus, saying, 'Since you have taken away the King, it is you who ought to take care of us, you who are responsible for us. How should you give us to John Dunn? Is that fitting, when he was merely one of our indunas (officers)? And do you now set on Zibebu and Hamu to destroy us? If you will not take charge of us yourself, give us a letter that we may go down to the authorities at Maritzburg. We will not belong to Zibebu, nor to Hamu, nor to John Dunn.'"

Malimati hereupon bade them wait awhile and he would "see about" a letter.

"Here Sotondose (one of Mr. Osborn's native subordinates)* interfered, but the royal women snubbed him at once. Then Mr. Osborn asked them how he was to know that they were with Maduna (and so

* The same who advised Mnyamana to please the authorities by lying, "according to the English custom."

were turned out of his kraal with him). To which idle question they answered, with some scorn, 'How should you *not* know [a self-evident truth], when you sent for three of us last year? Where did you suppose we came from, and where should we be, since you have killed our husband [the King], if not with his own brother? Maduna belongs to us; you know quite well that we are with him.'

"Said Malimati, 'I thought that you had gone home to your fathers.'

"Said they, 'Why should we be sent back to our fathers? What crime have we committed? Is a married woman sent back to her father's house without a reason? Ever since the King was taken from us we have been with Maduna.'"

The Resident then asked them whether they wanted a "letter" (pass over the border) because they wished to go and live in Natal, and Maduna also. To which they replied:

"Are we not driven out by your *impi*? Give us a letter, and let us go and speak for ourselves. We do not know what Maduna will do; we only know that you are destroying us."

And now Mr. Osborn's white subordinate put in his word in the following fashion: "*I* will write this letter for you, and I will say in it that you have been committing adultery;" to which they answered, "We are not speaking to you; we do not want a letter written by you, but one from Malimati."

Said Malimati then, "Well! come again tomorrow."

This cruel and gratuitous insult from the Resident's *white* subordinate does not appear even to have been reproved, at least to the knowledge of the Zulus; and that so disgraceful an incident should have occurred at all at the Residency, and in Mr. Osborn's presence, must, so far as it became known to the Zulus, have greatly impaired the moral influence of her Majesty's Representative.*

The reporters set out next day, and do not know all that followed, but they continue thus: "We heard (afterwards) that Malimati sent that same day to tell Zibebu to disperse his *impi*. And he sent also for Ndabankulu, son of Lukwazi, and for Nguqa,† who must have come through the night, for they were with him early the next day. He asked them to take in the royal women just for the present, and to take care of them for him, while he sent a letter (to the Natal Government) to ask what was to be done with them. They rejoiced at the idea, and Ndabankulu said, 'Where could they go better, since our kraal belongs to Ngqumbazi (Cetshwayo's deceased mother), and was given to her by my father, Lukwazi? And

* As these pages are going to press, news is telegraphed from Natal of an attack by the royal women upon the Resident, in which he nearly lost his life. What the precise nature of the occurrence may be we cannot, of course, tell from telegrams concocted by those who have throughout bolstered up the policy which has led to the destruction of the King, and of multitudes of leading men of the nation. But the news at once reminds us of the incident recorded above. However blameless Mr. Osborn himself may be in the matter, we should expect to find some excuse for excited conduct on the part of the women.

† Chiefs loyal to the King.

you, Malimati, know that, as far as our wishes are concerned, we should all have been in arms before now on behalf of the Princes, the sons of Mpande ; it is only the English that prevent us, because we are afraid of offending them.' ”

It is a significant fact that the only Zulu chiefs who were *not* afraid of offending the English by taking up arms are precisely those who did so in order to crush out the prayer for the King's return, and the circumstance cannot but be regarded as some confirmation of the repeated assertions made by these chiefs that they did not act of their own accord. At least it cannot be denied that, although, had they thus acted without the Resident's permission, they would have done so in direct defiance of the conditions of their chieftainships, yet they remained in favour with the Natal Government, of which, indeed, Zibebu appears throughout to have been the special *protégé*.

Such grave accusations against British officials may be regarded with suspicion by that very large portion of the reading public who have never followed the paths of officialism far enough to be aware through how much mire they frequently lie. But of such doubters the question may be asked, in the words of the Bishop of Natal, “ What would have been known about the ‘ Letters Patent ’ of Seketwayo, or about the composition and genuineness of each of these two deputations, or about the object for which they came, if they had merely gone to the Resident and the Secretary for Native Affairs (in Natal,

i. e. Mr. J. Shepstone)?”—seeing that Mr. Osborn stated,* with regard to the first deputation, that “he had reason to believe that there was no truth in the allegation that several of the appointed chiefs joined in or supported the prayer for Cetshwayo’s return ;” and with regard to the two portions of the last deputation the Colonial Secretary stated publicly,† in the name of his Excellency, that “neither said one word about the ex-King’s return.” To this may be added the fact that *no report of the first great deputation of May 1880 was received in Downing Street until, on February 10 of the following year, the Earl of Kimberley wrote for a full account of the proceedings, in consequence of a question put by Sir David Wedderburn in the House of Commons two days previously.*

The “Report” by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. J. Shepstone, which was sent on March 19 in reply,‡ will need short comment to show its extreme inaccuracy to any reader who has followed us thus far. It runs as follows:—

“Undabuko, own brother, and Ishingana [Ushingana], half-brother to Cetshwayo, accompanied by a large number of attendants, visited this colony during the month of May 1880, with the purpose, as stated in a pass obtained by them from the British Resident, Mr. Osborn, of paying their respects to the Governor of Natal.

“I believe they reached Bishopstowe on the 24th, and met me at

* C. 2695.

† In the Government Council of Natal, Oct. 11, 1881.

‡ C. 2950, p. 74.

my office on the 26th [they arrived at Bishopstowe *about sundown* on the 24th, and went to report themselves to Mr. J. Shepstone the next morning, but saw no one, as the offices were closed early, it being holiday time, of which facts Mr. Shepstone could not have been unaware], when I took a statement * made on behalf of the brothers by Ufunzi [Umfunzi], one of their attendants,† which was, together with the pass above alluded to, duly laid before his Excellency the Administrator of the Government, Major-General Clifford, who expressed a wish to see them at Government House. This meeting took place, I think,‡ on the 28th of May, when they made another statement, complaining of Sibebe [Zibebe], in whose district Ndabuko [Maduna] lives, interfering [!] with Ndabuko's adherents. I was present at the interview, and interpreted for the Governor. His Excellency asked them if they had made known to Mr. Osborn their intention of asking for the return of Cetshwayo,§ and of complaining of Sibebe [Zibebe]; they replied they had not. They were then directed to return to their homes, and informed that any request or complaint they wished to make must come through the British Resident, who was placed in Zululand for that purpose. The meeting then broke up, and they left in a day or two after for Zululand.||

"I may state that as these people did not call themselves a deputation, and also in consequence of the wording of the pass, I questioned the brothers very closely regarding their request that Cetshwayo be returned to them, and they admitted that it was their own, and not the expressed wish of the Zulu people; that they, the brothers, were asking for the return of Cetshwayo as a

* This "statement," made on behalf, not of "the brothers" only, but of the whole deputation, including representatives of four appointed chiefs, was not published, and does not seem to have been forwarded to England.

† Mfunzi was not an attendant on the Princes, but, with another, represented the appointed chief Siwunguza.

‡ From this expression it would seem that no record was made of this meeting, which took place on May 27th, not May 28th.

§ Therefore the Government was aware of the "prayer for Cetshwayo."

|| They took leave of the writer of this report *eight* days after this meeting, not "a day or two."

member of their family, and not as the Zulu King;* and added that 'Umuyamana' [Umnyamana], 'Sibebu' [Zibebu], 'Sitshaluza,' and 'Ishingwayo' [Tshingwayo] were with them in their desire for the restoration of Cetshwayo to them.

"I may add that from the first I was satisfied that this was no deputation from the Zulu people; its constitution was not that of a native deputation,† and not one of the several attendants reported themselves as representing any single chief in the Zulu country. I have not the slightest hesitation in stating that it was no deputation.

"Later on in year, Sibebu ‡ himself paid a visit to the Governor, and distinctly stated that he knew nothing of this so-called deputation, and that the first he heard of it was on its return to Zululand.

(Signed) "J. SHEPSTONE,
"Acting-Secretary for Native Affairs.

"Secretary for Native Affairs' Office,
"March 19, 1881."

It is only necessary to select two points in this surprising work of diplomacy in order to measure the value of the whole:—

1. It is absolutely impossible that the Princes can have named *Zibebu* as one of the chiefs who were with them in their desire for the restoration of Cetshwayo. It was well known to white and black, from the very first, that J. Dunn was the only savage in Zululand more inimical to the King than this very Zibebu. As early as February 1880 the great

* They would have preferred anything to his continued exile, but their request for a *little* justice and mercy did not, of course, imply that they *desired* no more.

† No reason is given for this opinion, which is directly contradicted by the Bishop of Natal and others well versed in Zulu customs.

‡ Zibebu, who was universally known from the first to be opposed to the King's return, and to his own consequent loss of power, and who had been selected as kinglet by J. Dunn's advice *on that very account*.

chiefs sent a message to the Natal Government, complaining of the injuries and insults heaped upon Cetshwayo's family by Zibebu, who had lost no opportunity of enriching himself at their expense, or of endeavouring to degrade them in the eyes of the nation,* and that three months later they should have mentioned his name as above is incredible. His name can only have been introduced by the writer of this very imaginative despatch because Zibebu had "paid a visit to the Governor" later in the year (when, of course, he expressed himself strongly against the object of the deputation), and it was thus convenient to mention him as a chief spoken of by the Princes, and who repudiated their claim.

Zibebu, however, is reported to have said—either scoffingly or in sincerity—that if Cetshwayo were brought back, he should be the first to meet him at the Tugela, and make it all up with him. That this is what he might really have done, but for "white" influence, would appear from the explanation of his subsequent misconduct given by two of his followers to Cetshwayo, on the day (July 21st, 1883) of the surprise of Ulundi by the European-led party of marauders known as "Zibebu's impi." They asked the King why he had not sent, in a friendly way, for Zibebu, upon his restoration, and said that it was this neglect which had embittered him, and turned him into a determined foe.

[N.B.—The meeting between Cetshwayo and Zibebu

* See p. 18, Chap. II., where Zibebu orders the Princes to build a kraal for him with their own hands, &c.

was prevented by the Natal authorities who reinstated the King, on the excuse that there would surely be a collision if they met.]

2. It is almost as incredible that "not one of the attendants reported themselves as representing any single chief in the Zulu country." No *actual* "attendant," i. e. servant or carrier, could do so, of course, but the word is plainly intended to include all who accompanied the Princes. Amongst the "attendants" in this sense, was Nozaza, bearing the chief Seketwayo's "Letters Patent;"* old Mfunzi, who never hesitated to express his desire in this matter, with others representing eight of the thirteen kinglets. These all spoke freely and distinctly, when kindly questioned at Bishopstowe by those who had no interest in the question except that of truth, humanity, and justice, and from whom they had nothing to fear, not even a black look, whatever desire about the rule of their country they might express.

What the Bishop of Natal studied throughout to learn, and to make known, was the *actual feeling and wish of the Zulu people at large*, and he would never have attempted to bring about Cetshwayo's restoration

* Nozaza carried his credentials in his hand to the S.N.A. office on this occasion, fastened into a cleft stick in native fashion. Mr. Shepstone's positive assertion can only be explained by the supposition that, while the chiefs present paid the Princes the compliment of leaving them to be their spokesmen, neither he nor the Resident took the trouble to ask the party any questions, but took for granted the convenient supposition that Ndabuko and Shingana *only* prayed for the King.

without conclusive proof that the heart of the nation, so to speak, was with its King.

The deputations made it very plain, accordingly, at Bishopstowe, that the heart of every member, with those of by far the greater part of the nation, was bound up in this hope of the King's return. And if it is really true that they were silent on that point, when, after so many futile efforts made, and so many perils dared, they found themselves at last at the Government Native Offices in Maritzburg, it only shows how little encouragement they received there, and how thoroughly they were made to feel that their prayer would be unwelcome.

Apologists for "the powers that be" have endeavoured to explain away such extraordinary discrepancies as the above by asserting that on such occasions the native *indunas* (policemen) of the court made the mischief by frightening or cajoling those who were shortly to appear before the dreaded "authorities" within, and that, consequently, the Zulus told one story to the Bishop of Natal and quite another to the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

This may be the case (as to the influence exercised or attempted by the *indunas*), but let us see where the admission would lead us. The policemen in question are Natal natives who have long lost any personal interest in the condition of Zululand, and the only possible object with which they could endeavour to exercise such repressing influence would be that of *pleasing their* masters. Now, the Natal natives are neither so extraordinarily dense nor so

exaggeratedly subtle as to imagine, year after year, that they were acting in accordance with their masters' wishes in suppressing the real desire of the Zulu people, while those masters themselves were innocently and honestly endeavouring to learn the truth.

The simple explanation of the whole matter—of the delusive promises and disheartening evasions, or harsh rebuke and punishment, with which the Zulu petitioners met; of the repeated refusals of their requests to the Resident for “passes” to go down to Maritzburg, and the unfailing repulse of the authorities there when, in desperation, they came without passes; of all their weary journeyings to and fro, and of the disfavour uniformly shown towards all those who persevered—is not far to seek when we read in a semi-official statement in the *Natal Witness* (May 1881) of “the declaration made by Sir George Colley, nearly two years ago, that *the subject of Cetshwayo's return was forbidden to be discussed.*”

There may be differences of opinion as to what would have been the wisest course to take for the administration of the Zulu country after the great crime we had committed in invading it; but there can be no two opinions as to whether that course should have been carried out openly or not. Let us, at least, have done with the contemptible mockeries and subterfuges which have hidden the truth from British eyes so long—with sanctimonious assertions that the welfare of the Zulus is dear in our eyes—with virtuous indignation at suggestions that their prayer for Cetshwayo's return has been suppressed, and equally

virtuous attempts to throw discredit on the Bishop of Natal's faithful reports of the facts of the case. Were it possible to tear away the web of misrepresentations woven around Zulu affairs by a series of official spiders, it might conceivably bring about a new and better order of things. It is better—or, rather, it is less evil—for a nation to act with palpable and high-handed tyranny, laying herself open to the criticisms of her neighbours, and, probably, to the reforming influence of some of her own best sons, than to carry on injustice and oppression under the cover of pretended virtues, of strict honour, and motives above suspicion, the evidences of which—on paper—blind the British public to what is really going on, so that to this day many well-meaning persons still believe Cetshwayo a sanguinary tyrant, the Zulu war a sad necessity, and the leading official spider of them all an eminent philanthropist, and the saviour of Natal.

The Bishop, indeed, had done his utmost to bring the truth concerning these Zulu deputations to the acknowledged notice of the Natal Government, the heads of which certainly cannot plead *ignorance* as an excuse for their conduct. On January 4th, 1881, he addressed a letter* to Sir G. P. Colley, then High Commissioner for S.E. Africa, in which he said that he believed Mr. Osborn to be mistaken in making the statement quoted above; and after giving his reasons for that belief,† he requested

* [C. 2950, p. 54]; and see the full text, *ante*, p. 68.

† Which form the main grounds of this account.

His Excellency to direct that inquiry should be made through Mr. Osborn as to the truth of the facts related in four short numbered paragraphs, of which the first ran as follows: "That Seketwayo was represented in the deputation which waited on Mr. Osborn, by Nozaza, bearing his 'Letters Patent';" while the other three paragraphs contained the like inquiries concerning the representatives of the other seven appointed chiefs who had an interest in the two deputations.

On January 5, 1881, Sir George Pomeroy-Colley informed the bishop that he had forwarded his letter to Mr. Osborn for report. But on February 11 he was further informed by the Colonial Secretary for the High Commissioner, then at the front, that "the present is not considered a propitious time for making the inquiries requested by you, as the minds of the Zulus are very much unsettled by Boer emissaries making certain statements relative to the return to Zululand of the late King."

There the matter rested until October 14, 1881,* when the Bishop, after seeing Colonel Mitchell's reply in the Legislative Council, denying the object of the deputations, addressed another letter on the subject to Sir E. Wood, giving him full information upon the actual facts which the "Government" had

* This was after the visit of the second deputation that reached Natal, but which was really the *fourth* that had started from their homes on a like attempt, the *second* having been stopped by the Resident, who refused them a pass, and the *third* having been turned back, after crossing into Natal, by the Border Agent, Mr. F. B. Fynney.

either strangely misunderstood or else purposely ignored, and quoting the above-mentioned passage from the previous letter to Sir George Colley.

There was no direct result of this second appeal, although various second-hand denials of the Zulu deputations having "prayed for the Bone" were put forwards, notably one newspaper account of an interview with Sir E. Wood, in which he was supposed to have told the three Zulus, Posile and his companions, to "speak without fear or reservation," and, if they were sent to ask for Cetshwayo's return, to say so, but that they declined to do so. But the three chiefs did not recognise at all the report of this conversation when it was translated to them, and they heard with grief and indignation that they had been made to appear to have denied their King. When asked to repeat once more, as they remembered it, what had passed on that occasion, they gave the same account of it as they had given six weeks previously, on the evening of the day on which the interview took place, and positively maintained that their report was the true one, and that the (apparently) semi-official one published in the *Daily News* was incorrect where it differed from their own. They declared that they now heard for the first time that Sir E. Wood told them to "speak without fear or reservation, and, if they were sent to ask for Cetshwayo's return, to say so."

"Why," said they, "what else have we been doing all along?"

The aforesaid writer to the *Daily News* suggests

that the men may have been afraid, and so may have spoken less freely to Sir E. Wood than they did to the Bishop ; but this is an absurd suggestion in view of all that these three chiefs had risked and suffered on Cetshwayo's behalf, after speaking boldly and persistently on occasions when they met with threats and insults only (see p. 49, the Inhlazatshe Meeting). It is incredible that when, at last, they received kind encouragement and *permission* to say all that they had already said in spite of prohibition, they did not speak a word of what was in their hearts.

But the explanation, which is so palpably an impossible one in this case, is very reasonable when applied to any denials on the part of the appointed chiefs, which may really have been made, of complicity with the deputations. For these chiefs had taken but one step, by denying which, when they found that the white authorities were displeased, they could at once reinstate themselves in that favour which they did not desire to lose, under the uncertain conditions of their own chieftainships.

We must not, however, lose sight of the stedfast three, waiting the appointed *ten days* at Bishopstowe, where they had "chosen to go." As soon as the time fixed was over (November 9, 1881), they presented themselves again at the S.N.A. office, but were told by a sub-induna that there was no "word" for them, as the authorities, i. e. Sir E. Wood and Mr. John Shepstone, were absent. So

they returned to Bishopstowe, and on the following day sent in a messenger, who brought back word that the authorities had returned to the city, Sir E. Wood, indeed, having reached it on the Tuesday. On Friday, therefore, they sent another messenger to ask for directions, and he brought back word that they were to wait till they were called. Very patient were these brave fellows through these manifold delays, yet it needed but a few kind words addressed to them to bring out the expression of their keen desire for a favourable reply, and their anxiety, meanwhile, concerning the fate of the families they had left behind, upon whom vengeance might fall for their temerity, should it prove in vain, while the official sanction of their proceedings involved in their being permitted to join the King would probably prevent molestation of their kraals during their absence.

On Tuesday, November 15, they were summoned at last, and, on their return to Bishopstowe, they gave the following account :—

“ When we got to the S.N.A. office, we were hardly kept waiting at all, but were taken up to Government House. There were present only Lukuni (Sir E. Wood) and Mr. John (Shepstone), who said, ‘ The letter has now come from Malimati (Mr. Osborn); he agrees that you were sent by Mnyamana, Maduna, and Ziwedu, and he has nothing to say against your going; and a letter also has come from the Cape, and we have nothing to say against your going; on the contrary, it seems good to us that you should go. But do you wish to go and spend these four months with him (the King) at the Cape, for he cannot go to England till they are over?’ Said we, ‘ We wish to go at once, and, if they

were years instead of months, it would be all the same to us.' Said he, 'We thought that you might prefer to wait here those four months. But, if you agree to go at once, the Governor will send a telegram to the Cape to say so, and you can wait for the answer, which will come back to-day. And do you agree to go on to England with him, you, Ngecongwana, Posile, and Mgwazeni?' We said, 'We do.' 'But how will you pay your expenses—for the steamer will require money?' he asked us. Said we, 'How should we pay? We are looking to you, sirs, for that.'"

Mr. Shepstone then informed them that directions had already been sent to the Resident in Zululand to send down the fourth member of the party, Ngobozana, who, it will be remembered, had been detained by his chief and brother, Siwunguza, in fear of the well-known British displeasure against the deputations from Zululand on Cetshwayo's behalf, but who would now come down at once.

"So we waited," they concluded, "till nearly sun-down, and then we were told to go home (to Bishopstowe) and sleep, and we should hear what the answer was when it came."

They were summoned again two days later, November 17, and came back broken-hearted and in utter despair, which was hardly to be assuaged even by the sympathy and teaching of one who was himself, through perfect faith in the Giver of all good, never cast down for long, whatever his disappointments in the apparent failure of good work. The poor fellows had been told that, after all, they were to go back to Zululand and behave properly to the Resident, who would send for them if they were wanted.

Their story of what had passed was as follows :—

“ We were taken to Government House and saw Lukuni (Sir E. Wood) and Mr. John (Shepstone), who said, ‘ We sent the telegram as we told you we would, and the answer came the same day. It said that the Governor of the Cape directed that you should not despise the proper way of entrance on this affair of yours (viz. the Resident)—that he (the Governor of the Cape) was going to send on your words (request) to England, and that you must go back to Zululand to Malimati (Mr. Osborn, the Resident), and remain at your homes quietly, until he sends and calls you when the time comes for you to go.’ We said, ‘ We do not see at all how we can go back to Zululand to Malimati, since it is there that we are being killed, and it is he who brought this trouble upon us.’ They gave us a letter to take to Malimati, and said, ‘ And you too, Ngongwana, if you were put in authority as Malimati is, how would you like Posile, being under you, to go down to Natal without your leave? If we find that Malimati is not able to manage you, we shall send other white men—plenty of them—and insist upon your obeying.’ [The only way in which these chiefs had failed to “obey” was by their persistent efforts to entreat Government on Cetshwayo’s behalf, and, far from despising the “proper way of entrance,” they had done their utmost to obtain the Resident’s sanction to their mission, and had only come without it because their appeals to him were all in vain. Thus, again, was the farce repeated of censuring them for not having obtained the “pass” which, apparently, Mr. Osborn had been ordered to refuse.] But we said, ‘ Who is to protect us when we get there, since you are merely sending us to be killed, we and our families? Said they, ‘ Oh! are you afraid? Come in to-morrow, then, and we will give you a letter to the magistrate at Greytown, and he will give you a policeman, who will look after you a little.’ [This was another farce, for what use would a policeman, between Greytown and Inhlazatshe, have been against the *impis* of Hamu and Zibebu?] We said we did not know how we could go, and Mr. John replied, ‘ Well, go away now, and we will speak again to-morrow.’”

They then produced the “letter” which they were to take to Malimati, which was in an open blank envelope and was merely as follows :—

“ Copy.

“ Telegram.

“ Governor,
Capetown.

“ H. E. Sir E. Wood,
P. M. Burg.

“ 16th. Yours to-day received. Ministers concur with me in thinking that it would be better for the visit of the chiefs to be postponed until Her Majesty's Government come to some definite decision about Cetshwayo. Meanwhile the chiefs may rest assured that Cetshwayo is alive, and in good health.”

It was clear that this was not the reply to a telegram of the 15th, sent off in their presence, as related above. But, in ignorance of the real reason for this very sudden change of plan, it was impossible to administer any comfort to their present distress, except by assuring them that, however disappointing at the moment, the letter of Sir Hercules Robinson was certainly meant for good, and not for evil, and contained no order for them to go back to Zululand. And the Bishop addressed the following letter on their behalf to Sir E. Wood :—

“ BISHOPSTOWE [17th Nov. 1881].

“ SIR,—Ngeongwana and his party have brought to me a copy of the telegram received yesterday from Sir Hercules Robinson, which being open, I presume was meant to be read; and I find by it that Sir Hercules Robinson thinks that it would be better for the visit of the chiefs to be postponed until Her Majesty's Government come to some definite decision about Cetshwayo.

“ I beg to request, on their behalf, that they may be allowed for the present to remain here, and not to return at once to Zululand, as in the present disturbed state of the country they are afraid to do so, dreading that some of them will be killed, as they live in the

districts of Hamu, Zibebu, and Mfanawendhlela, and some of them have been already eaten up, and the brother of one of them, Mgwazeni, killed by Zibebu's white man.

"I have, &c.,

"J. W. NATAL.

"H. E. Sir E. Wood, V.C., K.C.B."

Next day they went in again, and stated in person that they could not possibly go back to Zululand at this time, and begged to be allowed to stay on for a while at Bishopstowe.

They were told that their request should be communicated to Sir Evelyn Wood, and on the following morning a letter was addressed to the Bishop, as given below :—

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NATAL, 19th Nov., 1881.

"MY LORD,—I am directed by His Excellency Sir Evelyn Wood to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 17th inst., and to inform your Lordship that any application Ngcongwana or other Zulus may make to the Secretary for Native Affairs will be duly considered.

"I have, &c.,

"EDWARD L. SANDEMAN,

"The LORD BISHOP OF NATAL,
"Bishopstowe."

"*Private Secretary.*

This reply was fully in accordance with the constant practice of the Natal authorities of ignoring the Bishop in Native matters, or, rather, of jealously excluding him from such participation in them even as might have been allowed to any intelligent colonist who possessed a tittle of the Bishop's acquaintance with, and influence over, the Zulu races. In this case even his offer of hospitality to the three unfortunate Zulus, and his request that they might be permitted

to accept it, were unnoticed except by the information that the chiefs must make their applications to the Secretary for Native Affairs. It is but another case of what Colonel Durnford, R.E., remarked upon in 1875, when his usefulness in connection with the Putini tribe in Natal was stopped in consequence of petty official jealousies against him, "I was told that all must be done by those charged with such business (i. e. *those who do nothing*), and so on."*

On Monday, Nov. 21, the chiefs sent in two of their party from Bishopstowe, to ascertain if any reply had come from Sir E. Wood to their request of Nov. 18. They were told by the induna Luzindela that Mr. John [Shepstone] was ill, and asked "Why were they always bringing letters from over there (Bishopstowe) to worry him?" So they returned, and waited till Mr. John should have recovered, sending in a messenger daily, who daily brought them out the [Government regulation] *shin-bone* as their rations.

Three days later a Government native messenger came to fetch them, who asked them what they meant by staying on at Bishopstowe when the authorities had ordered them off. If they wished to stay, they should ask permission from the Governor [which they had done already, through the Bishop on the 17th, and in person to the Acting S.N.A. on the 18th]. So they sent in at once Mgwazeni, Cetshwayo's cousin, and a brother of Posile's, to

* From (private) letter, quoted in 'A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa: A memoir of the late Colonel A. W. Durnford.' By Lieut.-Colonel E. Durnford: Sampson Low and Co., *publishers*.

repeat their prayer, the other two chiefs being at the time too unwell to take the ten miles walk themselves. They waited all day outside the S.N.A. office, without obtaining an audience, and were finally told to come again next day. Their attendant received the *shin-bone* as usual.

When they appeared on the following day, November 26th, they were rudely accosted by the induna Luzindela, who asked, "Where is Ngcongwana? What does he mean by not coming in person? He will get no meat unless he comes to ask for it himself. And, as for being allowed to stay on here (in Natal), it would have been a different matter if you had come straight to this office, and been appointed by the Government the place that you should stay at. But all of you who choose friends of your own to go to—you will get nothing at all from us" [i. e. from Government].

Mgwazeni's reply to this was that they had understood at their first interview with Sir E. Wood that they were given leave to remain at *Sobantu's*, but that Ngcongwana had no intention to be disrespectful, and he and Posile would certainly wait on Mr. John on Monday.

The account, given at p. 87 of the last chapter, of the arrival of these chiefs at Bishopstowe on their way to Maritzburg, &c., will show how absurd was this accusation of not coming "straight to this office," especially as they must have halted at many other places on their way to "Government" during their long journey. They had, indeed, as much right to

choose Bishopstowe for their last night's rest on the way, as any other place where they could be sure of a kind reception; and of such places there were, no doubt, many amongst the *natives*, as was amply proved by the hospitality of the Natal natives to the 2000 Zulus who formed the great deputation of April 1882, of which some account will presently be given. But a mere induna like Luzindela, a man of no rank other than the fictitious one given by his petty official position, would never have ventured to use so insolent a tone and such discourteous language to these three great chiefs of high Zulu rank, the value of which is perfectly understood by the Natal native indunas, unless he had been encouraged by the disrespect shown by his masters towards these men. The smallest white official—or even colonist without the lion-skin of office—is deeply imbued with the notion that all Zulus (all “Niggers,” to quote the almost invariably employed epithet), even those of the highest rank, are his inferiors, and therefore claims from every member of the nation each sign of respect for himself which would be paid by the Zulus generally only to their King. This feeling was amusingly illustrated in a colonial paper, *Natal Mercantile Advertiser*, of August 14, 1883, by a writer who protests strongly against the notion that black and white can be put upon an equality under any circumstances whatever. “Take the lowest English yokel,” says the writer, “some creature that knows not his alphabet—who has worked in the fields frightening birds away all his boyhood—the son of

parents equally ignorant with himself. Well, is he inferior to the native gentlemen Colonel Butler and his clique are so fond of applauding? Brute and brutal as he may be, is he not something differing from and superior to his black brother, notwithstanding all Exeter Hall may say?” From the rest of the letter it is apparent that the writer includes the Zulu King amongst the “native gentlemen” to whom his “lowest yokel” and “brutal brute” is still superior, and, although it will probably be difficult for the English reader to believe that such fatuous conceit and ignorance exists in an enlightened British colony, it is none the less true that the writer has no notion at all that he has made himself ridiculous, and that his sentiments are not shared by educated men. The native sub-officials naturally pick up the manners and ideas of their white superiors.

On Monday, Nov. 28, Ngecongwana was still too unwell to walk into town, so his companions went without him, and were taken into the office. “Mr. John” was not there, but his two white assistants and Luzindela were present, and they asked the Zulus what they wanted.

These replied that “they had come to ask the authorities to appoint them some place at which they might stay, awaiting the permission to go forward to Cetshwayo.”

One of the white men asked them what was wrong with the place they were at already, to which they answered :

“It appears that the authorities object to our

staying there, as on Saturday we were blamed again for doing so. But we truly supposed that the matter had been settled, after the Governor telling us that his objections to our going to Sobantu were for the future, and saying, 'Go back now, and stay at that place, since you have chosen it for yourselves.' And we shall be quite content if the authorities allow us to stay on at Sobantu's."

Said the white man, "We will report your request to Mr. John, who will take it to the Governor."

On Tuesday they sent in an attendant, who received the shin-bone, and was ordered to tell them to come in themselves at once, since they were making a request to the authorities. So on Wednesday they all went, and were taken into the office to "Mr. John," who greeted them kindly, and asked Ngcongwana what was the matter with him, and promised him a bottle of medicine. He talked pleasantly, and laughed with them for a little time, and then said, "Well, then, what you say is that Zululand is in such a disturbed state that you don't wish to go back there now, and you wish the Governor to allow you to stay on where you are until you are allowed to go to Cetshwayo." They agreed to this, and he continued, "Come, Posile and Mgwazeni, and touch the pen, since it was you who made the request on Monday. You too, I know, are in this matter, Ngcongwana, but you do not sign, because you did not come in on Monday, being ill." So they made their marks on a paper, and Mr. John said it would show (prove) their truth, that they had really made this request. And he took

leave of them pleasantly, giving them the bottle of medicine.

The poor fellows, in fact, had become so used to brow-beating and repulse that they were as grateful for the least ray of good nature on the part of one of the "authorities," as though it had been actual benefit, as in one sense it was, raising a little the hopes which had been so rudely dashed to the ground twelve days before.

It was nearly a month later, December 26, before they heard anything more of their probable fate. Mr. H. Shepstone had returned, a day or two before, from Capetown, and, as soon as this was known, Ngcongchwana sent Mgwezani and another to wait upon him, but they found that he had not yet come up from Durban. It was known that he had seen the King, and would probably accompany him to England, and the chiefs Ngcongchwana and his party were therefore most anxious to see him. They sent in each day to ask if he had arrived, and at last, on the Thursday following, the whole party went in to town, and found him there. They came back saying :—

"We have seen Mr. H. Shepstone, and he was very friendly with us. He read out our names from a paper, asking 'Which of you is Ngcongchwana? which is Posile?' &c. He named us all, Mgwezani, and Ngobozana, and the others. We told him that the two last mentioned, Ngobozana and another, were still in Zululand, and he asked, 'Will they come?' Said we, 'Certainly, if you let them know, sir.' He said, 'The King also wants certain medicines,' and named them from the paper, and said that the girl Mpansi is still ill in her chest. Then he said, 'And now, my men, we must collect our testimony, for on ahead there [in England], whither we are going, there will be great questioning by the authorities as to

things that have taken place, and we must be able to answer thoroughly, and bear witness for the King.* What can you say now about people having been killed because they refused to buy guns?' We said that no one had ever been killed for that reason. And he asked about the girls being killed, &c., and we answered him with the words which we spoke before to you.† 'Ah, well,' said he, 'you speak to the purpose. But it is not time yet to start. The cold of England is terrible now, but I am expecting a letter to say when we are to start, and I will then tell you.' "

The chiefs were so inspired by this cheerful reception that they next ventured to send a couple of messengers to the Resident, Mr. Osborn, who chanced then to be in Maritzburg, to ask him whether—as it had been said [officially, equal to "ordered"] that cattle "eaten up" by Hamu and Zibebu were to be returned—he would be good enough to recover Ngecongwana's cattle for him from Zibebu? On their return they reported that Malimati was quite gracious, and asked the number of the cattle.‡ The men said they did not know the exact number.

* This was to be the first visit to England of Mr. H. Shepstone, as well as of the Zulu chiefs, and probably more amazing to him than even to them, since the education which he had received at Capetown was such as to have excited his imagination somewhat beyond their expectations.

† They refer to the answers given to the like questions put to them at Bishopstowe when they came down with the first deputation, and when they gave a complete justification of the King on these particulars, showing that John Dunn had introduced the guns against Cetshwayo's wishes, and that in the very few cases (nine) of the killing of girls under the marriage law which really took place, Cetshwayo was not to blame, as it had been done by the chiefs of their districts in accordance with an old-established law which he had wished to abolish, and without his consent.

‡ These poor people had done nothing on earth on account of which the Resident had reason to be otherwise than "quite

“ Well,” said he, “ Ngcongwana had better come in himself to-morrow and tell me, and name a man too who shall go with my policeman and fetch them for him, since he himself is going to Cetshwayo.”

So on Saturday they all went in to Mr. Osborn, and Ngcongwana reported on their return that “ Malimati was quite friendly; he sat down with us, and talked, as we are doing now. I said to myself, ‘ *Hau!* but this is curious, seeing the way in which he and I last parted ’” (when Mr. Osborn refused him a pass to Maritzburg, saying, “ Go and tell your lies in your own way ” [i. e. without my help]). Ngcongwana enumerated the cattle of which he had been robbed by Zibebu’s *impi*, and mentioned a man who might fetch them for him, and he spoke also of some cattle of Posile’s which had been taken by Mfanawendhlela, and of which, he said, the same messenger could take charge (that is to say, if the Resident would give orders to these two greedy kinglets to disgorge this portion of their prey). To all this Malimati readily agreed, saying that he was returning to Zululand on Monday [and could therefore attend to the matter himself].

He then asked them, “ And do you Zulus all say that it is I who brought this destruction on you, as Hamu and Zibebu do, who insist that they acted by my orders, and keep on accusing me of this? ”

gracious” to them. Their sole offence lay in their persistent loyalty and affection for their captive King, of the existence of which sentiment it was not *convenient* to let the British public know.

“ We replied, ‘ Well, yes, sir ; we too say so, for we continually reported all our troubles to you [with no result], and then Hamu and Zibebu went to you [to the Inhlazatshe meeting], and, coming away, they straightway attacked us.’

“ Said he, ‘ For my part I deny it altogether : I had nothing to do with them. The business I had to do with was Sitimela’s. There I did direct John Dunn, Zibebu, Siwunguza, and Mgitshwa to attack.’

“ Said we, ‘ Well, sir, if you now find Hamu, and Zibebu unmanageable, Mnyamana, and Maduna, and Ziweddu have always been dutiful, and they will support you now.’ We repeated to him that we all—all Zululand—pray for the King’s return. Said he, ‘ Oh ! you Zulus !’ and so we parted in quite a friendly manner, to our great amazement and satisfaction.”

The Resident told them that he had “ nothing to do ” with the injuries which they had received. But, however that may be, such words as he addressed to the well-meaning but weak-kneed kinglet Siwunguza in a like case, that is to say, concerning the two men whom Siwunguza had sent on the first deputation—viz. that if he had nothing to do with it (i. e. if he were innocent in a matter which had offended the Natal authorities), he “ must eat up their cattle as a proof thereof ”—*may* have been intended as a mere philosophical axiom, without special application, but sounds remarkably like a strong hint. On his own showing, too, he made himself a party to the violent actions of the four disloyal (to Cetshwayo) kinglets,

since, if "he had nothing to do with them," as he says himself, he should have punished them in some way "as a proof thereof." Indeed, it is difficult to see why such a point was made of maintaining Zibebu in his chieftainship on Cetshwayo's restoration in 1883, since, unless he *did* attack the Princes and others by order of the Resident, he had broken at least three* of the conditions of his appointment. He had therefore no claim whatever to be upheld by British authority and promises forced from Cetshwayo, and would appear to have been thus upheld for the sole purpose of annoying the King and creating disturbances in Zululand.

For the present the ban of British displeasure, which had stirred up Hamu and Zibebu to attack these chiefs, and compelled Siwunguza, against his will, to repudiate and punish them, being thus apparently removed from those who prayed for Cetshwayo, Posile decided to go up himself to see after his cattle, as, according to Mr. H. Shepstone, he would have time enough to do so before going to Capetown; and he

* *Viz.* : The third condition concerning firearms, freely used by Zibebu's *impi* in the attacks on Maduna's people.

The fourth condition—"I will not allow the life of my people to be taken for any cause, except after sentence passed in a council of the chief men of my territory, and after fair and impartial trial," &c.—the old women killed by Zibebu's *impi* immediately after the Inhlazatshe meeting, and others, being resident in his district and therefore his "people" in the sense intended by this condition.

The sixth condition—"I will not make war upon any chief or chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British Government through the Resident," &c.

started on January 3, thus effectually disproving the insinuation which had been made in support of the assertion that these Zulus had come down unauthorised by any of the kinglets, viz. that they refused to go back to Zululand because they dared not face the chiefs whose names they had used.

They waited altogether four months at Bishopstowe, for the promised summons to Capetown; but at last, on Monday, February 6, 1882, Ngcongwana, Mgwazeni, and two hair-dressers (required by the King), having been summoned by telegram, were sent down to Durban, whence they embarked the next day for Capetown. Posile and Ngobozana were still in Zululand, but were to come down afterwards, as the telegram stated. The special purpose with which this portion of the second deputation (the second actually reaching Pietermaritzburg) had so gallantly persisted in their efforts to get a hearing was now fulfilled, and they were sent to cheer the captive King in his loneliness by telling him how devoted to him still were the hearts of his people. But the wider and more important aim of all these embassies, the release of the King, seemed to them no nearer than before; for means were found by which they were so suppressed and discredited that for many months the truth, so unpalatable to South African politicians, concerning Cetshwayo's well-deserved popularity with his people, was prevented from reaching England's ears. The means to this end may be recognized in the reply given in the Legislative

Council by direction of Sir E. Wood, in which it was stated that "each of the eight appointed chiefs named by these men denies categorically having ever sent such a deputation."

It was plain that there was some serious error in this reply, but what it was did not appear until the publication of the official Blue Book (3182) on the subject.

From this it appears that the eight appointed chiefs, or kinglets, were never asked whether they had sent any members of the deputation which arrived in July (that is to say, the first portion of the fourth that *started* and the second that *arrived*), and which, though less high in actual Zulu rank, was of far more consideration in the eyes of the Government, since it contained representatives of some of the appointed chiefs. The eight chiefs had only been asked whether they had sent the second portion, which had been delayed and met the others on their way home, and which, though forming part of the whole body which was deputed by the eight appointed chiefs, had been sent expressly by Mnyamana and the two Princes, with a special request that the three chiefs composing it should be sent to Capetown as companions for the King. This appears clearly from [3182, pp. 109, 111, 136] where each of the eight kinglets "denies categorically having sent" Ngcongwana, Posile, and Ngobozana. The Resident, it seems, purposely abstained from asking the other most important question, for he says (p. 176), "I made no allusion to Mfunzi, Sidindi, and other

Zulus having been to the Government on a similar or the same errand."

This circumstance, acknowledged by the Resident himself, cannot be too severely commented upon, for it is an excellent sample of the manner in which the before-mentioned official spiders of South Africa weave their webs, and, under the guise of obtaining the *exact truth*, manage to extract that which they require to justify themselves.

The first party of this deputation included men who had stated that they were individually sent by such-and-such appointed chiefs, one of them bearing Seketwayo's "Letters Patent" as a proof; yet, in questioning the eight appointed chiefs, Mr. Osborn "made no allusion to Mfunzi, Sidindi, and other Zulus" who composed it, *and whom, therefore, the eight kinglets did not repudiate.*

The *second* portion of the deputation could only be said to have been sent by the "eight appointed chiefs" in a general sense, because their party originally belonged to the other, and had been intended to accompany it. But they had formally stated that they were especially sent by *Anyamani, Maduna, and Ziwedu*, requesting leave to go and stay with Cetshwayo at Capetown, and only spoke of the appointed chiefs—who, in the sense above mentioned, might be said to have sent them—when the authorities refused to accept their first reply.

The eight chiefs had been thoroughly frightened about the consequences of sending the former party, and it is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that

when the question was put to them about the *second party* only, with the members of which, individually, they had nothing to do, they merely replied as they did, and as they could do with verbal accuracy, without committing themselves to a confession (which was not required of them at all) concerning the previous party.

CHAPTER VI.

WE must return once again to the now "famous" Inhlazatshe meeting between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Zulu chiefs in order to give some account of a very striking circumstance which is said to have occurred upon that day, and which throws much light upon the apparent hesitation of many of the chiefs from that time forwards to express any fervent desire for their King's return. The subject of Cetshwayo's return was forbidden to be discussed by Sir G. Colley in 1880, and the subsequent action of Sir E. Wood, the Resident, and others certainly was plainly in the same spirit of repression throughout the whole period of Cetshwayo's detention. But a noteworthy instance of the terrorism employed in forcing the Zulus to assume a convenient attitude occurs in a speech reported to have been made in Sir E. Wood's name by his interpreter, Mr. Rudolph,* the correctness of which report is vouched for by a large number of respectable Zulus of the highest

* Sir E. Wood, knowing no Zulu, was, of course, at the mercy of the interpreters, who, although it is to be presumed that they expressed the *spirit* of what he said to them in English, may probably have added some harsh *words* of their own.

rank. The words were these, quoted before, but without special attention drawn to the point, "We turn you out, Maduna, Dinuzulu, and Ziwedu [two of the King's brothers and his young son], because you are always saying that you want the 'bone' of that scoundrel (*ishinga*), whom we have done away with."

From quite a different source, and certainly one from which Cetshwayo and the Zulus never received a beneficial word except by accident, comes additional evidence that the lowest depth of ignominy had been reached by wanton insult in England's name to a fallen foe. The following passage occurs in an editorial of the *Natal Mercury* of October 1st, 1881, portion of which I italicise:—

"Take for instance the following letter from J. H. W. in the Newcastle District:—

"Sir,—It is a surprise to many others and self in the district to see it published that the journey through Zululand taken by Sir E. Wood was perfectly satisfactory. In this part of Natal we had heard the reverse.

"In the first place not half the chiefs were present, and many of those that went *were very cross and threatening after the language used towards Cetshwayo*, he being called *ishinga*, the meaning of which is little less than scamp or rascal.'"*

The epithet in question was mentioned—always with grief and indignation—at one time and another, by every Zulu who, having been present, described what passed at the Inhlazatshe meeting, and it certainly seems impossible that what was asserted, at different times, by so many respectable men of good

* In point of fact it is no 'less' at all, but it is literally *scoundrel*.

position, should be a mere invention, for which there could have been no imaginable motive at the time their statements were made.

Immediately after the meeting the distressed Princes sent down two messengers, Mfutshane and Mlilwana, to report all that had passed to the Bishop of Natal and one or two others in the colony whom they believed to be their friends. One of the two, Mfutshane, was present at the meeting himself (as, of course, were the two Princes who sent them both), and "heard with his own ears the interpreter Tshele (Mr. Rudolph), who spoke quite audibly, use the words, 'Do you think we will give back to you the bone of that *ishinga* whom we have done away with?'"

It will be remembered that a reply* was given in Sir E. Wood's name, on October 11th, 1881, by the Colonial Secretary, to a question put in the Legislative Council as to "whether the Government was in possession of any information regarding the alleged desire on the part of some of the appointed chiefs in Zululand to have the late King reinstated," and that the reply pooh-pooed the deputation, and was calculated to cast doubt upon the genuineness of their mission. The preceding chapters have sufficiently proved the incorrectness of that reply, which need be alluded to only because it was the immediate cause of a letter addressed, on October 14th, to the Governor by the Bishop of Natal, and in which the latter gave a full report of the composition of the two deputations,

* See p. 18.

and the rank and authority of the principal members, with the main points of what he had learned from themselves of their mission and of their hopes and wishes in undertaking it. This account was naturally far more complete than any which had previously reached the Governor's ears ; for while (to quote the Colonial Secretary's words) "neither of the parties were, as they should have been,* accredited to this Government by the Resident in Zululand," and consequently received small attention and no encouragement from the Government officials, to the Bishop they could fearlessly speak out the whole truth, expecting, at all events, no *evil* consequences to follow. They had, at least, full comprehension that the truth *only* was acceptable to him, and entire confidence in his wish that they should obtain justice, and in his readiness to do all in his power to that end. Yet they learnt by bitter experience that (owing to intense official jealousy) his good word was less likely to help their cause with the authorities than to produce scant courtesy and consideration towards himself. Of all those who came under the heading of "Authorities" during the troubled times between 1879 and 1883, the late Sir H. Clifford was the only one who seemed to recognise the value given to the Bishop's opinion upon Zulu and other native questions by the exceptional character of his opportunities and disposition, which greatly enhanced what in any case could only

* And would have been, had it depended on themselves instead of upon the Resident, who so frequently refused or evaded their requests for a "pass."

be entirely disinterested action in one who, owing to his position alone, could not, directly or indirectly, have had the smallest personal concern in the matter.

The Bishop's report of the deputations contained mention of the sentence spoken to the Zulus at the Inhlazatshe meeting in the name of Sir E. Wood, and in which Cetshwayo is spoken of with contempt as a scoundrel (*ishinga*), and this is the only point alluded to in the short letter of acknowledgement received a few days later, and in which several questions were asked as to the names of the Zulus who had reported the use of the word *ishinga*, and whether they themselves heard it spoken, and so on. The Bishop's reply, including the sentence already quoted from Mfutshane's report (*supra*, p. 138) and that from the correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* (*supra*, p. 137), gave the required information, at the same time expressing the hope "that they will not be allowed to suffer for having discharged their duty to those who sent them, as," he said, "I fear has been the case with others." This was written in consequence of information just received as to doings in Zululand of the manner in which some of the chiefs were reported to have been coerced into repudiating and even punishing their own messengers by the Resident and his men, the whole of which information the Bishop now laid before the Governor.

On November 7th he wrote again, as follows:—

"SIR,—I think that I ought to report to your Excellency that other evidence has reached me from Zulus of rank besides that of Mfutshane and the writer in the *Natal Mercury*, which supports

Mfutshane's statement, that Mr. Rudolph did actually apply the word *ishinga* to Cetshwayo in interpreting your Excellency's words at the Inhlazatshe meeting, though perhaps he may have forgotten the circumstance, or in the excitement of the moment may hardly have been himself aware of doing so.

"Your Excellency is doubtless aware that a party of Zulus came down subsequently to Mnyamana to complain of Zibebu's violent action, and the dreadful massacre of the Aba Qulusi by Hamu's *impi*, both of which have occurred since the meeting. They saw the Secretary for Native Affairs on Friday last, and were told (as they have informed me), that they must go back to Zululand, and get through Mnyamana a pass from the Resident, without which they could not be heard. On their way back to Zululand they called yesterday (Sunday) at Bishopstowe, to see Ngcongwana and pay their respects to myself, and I took the opportunity of inquiring if any of them had been present at the meeting, and could tell me what Mr. Rudolph had said in your Excellency's name. The principal person among them, Fokoti, brother of Zibebu, said that 'he was present at the meeting, and heard with his own ears the interpreter (Mr. Rudolph) say, "Your offence, Maduna, is that you went down saying that you were going to ask for 'the Bone.' Bone of what, forsooth? Is there any one whose bone is asked for when we have thoroughly killed him? Did we not kill that scoundrel (*ishinga*) who was disturbing the land? We order you to be off, all three of you, Ziweddu, Maduna, and that fellow's child, and go down to John Dunn!" This was the word which stopped the very breath of Mnyamana and the Princes, and choked them with amazement and despair.'

"Another of the party, Nyokana, induna of Mnyamana, said that he also was present, and confirmed all the words of Fokoti.

"They said also that as soon as they began to say that the proceedings of Zibebu and Hamu appeared to the Zulus to be the results of the words spoken at the meeting, the Secretary for Native Affairs stopped them, when they would probably have given the words of Mr. Rudolph, as above, and said 'he did not want to hear about that; but where was their pass?'—and so dismissed them.

"I have, &c.,

"J. W. NATAL.

"Sir H. EVELYN WOOD, V.C., K.C.B., &c., &c."

From this it is plain that both the Governor at this time, and those who followed him (unless such important documents as the above-quoted letter were suppressed by the recipient) had what most intelligent persons would have considered strong reason for doubting the completeness (to say the least of it) of the reports received from their own subordinates, yet no attempt seems to have been made to obtain any more light upon the subject than the said subordinates themselves would give. The only full explanation of the strange fact that they continued in office and were apparently believed on no further grounds than their own word would seem to be the not very far-fetched supposition that the reports they gave were such as their superiors desired to receive, and were determined to believe.

A previous chapter dealt with the aggressive conduct (p. 92) of the kinglet Zibebu towards those living in his territory who ventured to pray for Cetshwayo's return, and it must now be shown how J. Dunn and Hamu, the other two chiefs who have shown themselves violently opposed to the King, proved themselves unworthy of Sir G. Wolseley's choice. In point of fact, there seems little doubt that, but for J. Dunn and other white men's interference, none of the eleven Zulu kinglets would have taken any active measures against Cetshwayo's cause, for Hamu had in the first instance spoken warmly on his behalf to Sir E. Wood, and with good reason, for Hamu, who was always a quarrelsome and ill-behaved person, had been forgiven and protected by his large-hearted

brother times out of number, during the latter's and their father Umpande's reign. Even Zibebu surprised and disappointed the other members of the reigning family by his enmity; for, as one of the Princes remarked, in speaking of Sir G. Wolseley's settlement, "when Zibebu was appointed chief over us we were glad, and looked upon him as [representing] our father."* Both these chiefs had the greed and violence in their natures stirred up and directed by the influence of the Europeans who may well be called the evil geniuses of Zululand. Communications from at least one of these have often appeared in the Natal journals, and have no doubt formed the basis, from time to time, of telegrams to the London *Times*. J. Dunn's attack on the chief Sitimela, and massacre of the Mtetwas, to which we have before referred, was the matter in which his bloodguiltiness was the greatest. No full account of these atrocities appeared in any of the Natal journals; and, though it can hardly be doubted that the editor of the *Natal Mercury* received information on the subject from its correspondents in "Dunn-land," it would seem that either their accounts must have suppressed a great deal of the truth, or else that the editor modified them to suit his own policy (as usual) for publication in his local journal, and communication to the London *Times*.

It is, at all events, incredible that Sir E. Wood should have received a correct report of this horrible

* Resident's Report. Mpande, Cetshwayo's father, was first cousin to Mapita, Zibebu's father.

butchery of hundreds of unresisting fugitives, men, women, and children, when he publicly gave thanks in Her Majesty's name, before the assembled Zulus at Inhlazatshe, to chief J. Dunn for his detestable action, exceeding infinitely in savage cruelty and brutality anything that ever happened under Cetshwayo's rule; and when, again, in his address to the Legislative Council of Natal, he commended "the vigour and decision shown by chief J. Dunn, in carrying out the advice of the Resident."

From the voluminous evidence which exists upon this subject, the following "statement made by an Englishman of good standing" is selected because while it is thoroughly supported in all important particulars by the independent reports of the Zulus themselves, it is more concise, and, entering into fewer details, will prove less trying to the reader. After describing the circumstances under which Sitimela (the son of a chief who, in the days of Tyaka, had refused to submit to Zulu supremacy, and had fled the country) visited the sections in Natal and Zululand of the great tribe once ruled over by his father, and was forcibly expelled as a pretender from the latter country by the chief Mlandela, influenced, it is said, by J. Dunn, the writer proceeds:—

"Sitimela again visited Zululand in July 1881, to recover his cattle and other property which he had been obliged to leave behind. On his arrival many of the Mtetwas again visited him, as the hereditary chief of their tribe. J. Dunn raised an impi at the request of Mlandela and went and attacked Sitimela, who sent messages to say that 'he was there with the knowledge of the

Natal Government, and, his mission being a peaceful one, he would not fight.'

"Dunn then gave this order to his people, 'Go and stir him up (hambani niyekumoka—irritate, rouse him).' The result has now become a matter of history. Some of Mtetwas did fight in self-defence; but that Sitimela either joined in the fight, or countenanced it, is not true in fact. Such a statement could only be made as an attempt to justify a shameful wrong and brutal slaughter, which it is to be hoped—for the honour of England—will yet be fully inquired into, when, no doubt, many startling facts will be brought to light. There will be abundant evidence forthcoming, whenever an investigation does take place.

"The men said to have been killed on John Dunn's side were of the party sent by that chief to *oka* or provoke the Mtetwas, and who wedged themselves right into the camp. To say that the people under Sitimela began the fighting is false, for Sitimela would not and did not fight."

The "result," which "has now become a matter of history," may be given shortly in John Dunn's own words (with a few necessary corrections), taken from his official report to Sir Evelyn Wood [3182, p. 83]:—

"Yesterday about daylight I sent some of Mlandela's men on to a hill to watch Sitimela [i. e. to *oka*, provoke Sitimela's people, and draw on a fight, which they did by seizing the cattle of a small kraal, which chief Dunn does not mention]. When Sitimela saw the men [seizing the cattle], he [some of the people with him] charged them, and killed seven. Then I called upon my men and attacked Sitimela's men and routed them, and burnt their kraals and took their cattle. *The men are still in pursuit, and the rebels may expect no mercy.*"

Even without the corrections made above, on the authority of many of the Zulus, J. Dunn's own words condemn him, and show that, in that he, a white man, with all the advantages of his race, and opportunities for education, could act, without the

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smallest excuse, as savagely as the lowest barbarian could possibly do, he was even more unfit, because more dangerous, for his post, than Hamu or Zibebu themselves. According to his own account, the battle began at daylight, and was soon over, yet on the *next day* he writes that his men are "still in pursuit, and the rebels may expect no mercy"! The action was the more savage in that the people with Sitimela were not a trained band of soldiers expecting warfare, but a large party of men with their families, engaged in peaceably visiting their old chief's son, and whose only thought of fighting was the feeling that, judging from past events, Sitimela himself might need their protection. J. Dunn did not himself follow the pursuit, which was carried on far into Somkele's country, led by Colenbrander [Zibebu's white man] with a force of the Mandhlakazi [Zibebu's own tribe]; and Dunn asserts (*Mercury*, March 3rd) that "no women or children were killed the day of the fight," which may be the case, as they were, naturally, not to the front in the first instance. But on the *next day* after the fight, the day of the flight and massacre—when, under his own orders apparently, the fugitives were to "expect no mercy"—men, women, and children were butchered indiscriminately, except such young girls as were taken captive as booty. Nor can J. Dunn shield himself from blame for the consequences of his own unprovoked and unwarrantable attack by saying that he was not present with the pursuing force, since he raised and started it under his white coadjutor, Colenbrander, and took no ex-

ception to, nor tried to vindicate himself from, the savage slaughter of the second day. He merely says that "no women or children were killed the day of the fight," in which he is supported by Colenbrander, who writes: "I was present during the whole engagement . . . during the whole of the routing and subsequent pursuit, and I am quite prepared to endorse chief Dunn's statement that no women or children were injured."

Yet in every Zulu account "Johan" (Colenbrander) is mentioned as leading (on horseback) the force of which it was universally said, "*That impi swept clean!*" Nor can these two white men, who make no secret of having encouraged and led the Zulus under their command to the slaughter of their countrymen, exonerate themselves from further bloodguiltiness and ferocity, unless they can produce, or otherwise account for, the thirty-eight wives and children of men of note, of whose names a list was made at the time, and unnumbered others of the common people, whose parents and husbands report them as killed by John Dunn's force upon that day.

A little later in the same year (1881), a letter appeared in the *Natal Mercury*, dated Oham's (Hamu's) Camp, October 15, from a Mr. H. J. Nunn, who has filled under Hamu, for many years past, the same sort of post which J. Dunn held under Cetshwayo, living also in the same style as J. Dunn, i. e. Ngcongwana states, with a small harem of only five or six black wives, whereas J. Dunn has a very large one. Mr. Nunn's statements are evidently meant to

protect Hamu from the consequences of his proceedings by saying—as J. Dunn has done in his own case—that they were authorized by the Resident; in other words, by the English authorities. But what he says respecting Mnyamana, Maduna, and the Aba Qulusi requires a great deal of correction, which has been supplied by Ngcongwana and his party, among whom Ngcongwana himself lives under Hamu, while Mfutshane is one of the Aba Qulusi.

“To account for the present unsettled state of northern Zululand,” says Mr. Nunn, “it will be necessary to refer back twelve months for the primary causes, as it was well known here at that time that there existed a combination between Mnyamana, Maduna, the Aba Qulusi tribe and others, against Hamu, Ntchingwayo, and other constituted (appointed) chiefs.”

The only “combination” was between Mnyamana, Maduna, the Aba Qulusi, and others (which “others” included eight appointed chiefs), to pray that the English authorities would restore Cetshwayo to them. Nor was a ninth (Hamu) always averse to the object in question, since he had himself expressed personally to Sir E. Wood, and very distinctly, his desire for the return of Cetshwayo, eighteen months ago, on the occasion of the visit of the Empress to Zululand,* and had sent since to Maduna, proposing to join the “combination,” of which Ntshingwayo was himself a member,

* As related to the Bishop of Natal by Sir E. Wood himself, as well as by Zulu witnesses.

instead of, as Mr. Nunn represents him, an object of its enmity.*

“Meetings were held at Mnyamana’s kraal, at the Isikwebezi,” continues Mr. Nunn, “between Mnyamana, Ndabuko (Maduna), the heads of the Aba Qulusi tribe, Mkosana, who had just returned from the ex-King Cetshwayo, and the Kafir Sitimela.”

This meeting, held first at Maduna’s kraal, and then at that of Mnyamana, was for the express purpose of welcoming Mkosana for Cetshwayo’s sake. It included eight kinglets or their representatives, and a number of other chiefs, but not Hamu, Mfanawendhlela, and Zibebu—nor, of course, J. Dunn and the Basuto Hlubi.

There was never any communication between Sitimela and Maduna or Mnyamana, though Mlandela, the kinglet of the district, and Sitimela’s uncle, sent to report the latter’s arrival to the Princes, as to the real heads of the Zulu people.

“Mnyamana and the Aba Qulusi tribe,” says Mr. Nunn, “persistently refused to deliver up the King’s cattle and guns.† Towards the end of last year (1880), while I was stopping at Hamu’s kraal, a Kafir, representing himself to be a policeman of the Resident’s, came to Hamu with a message that it was Hamu’s business to collect the King’s cattle and guns in his territory, and to deliver them up to the

* Ntshingwayo sent down 6*l.* as a thank-offering to the white authorities for Mkosana’s return, regarded as an earnest for that of Cetshwayo.

† The Aba Qulusi gave up many of their guns and 100 King’s cattle to the English force after the war.