

deputation did not arrive at Maritzburg until May 24-5, 1880, a week after Sir Bartle Frere wrote, so that there had, as yet, been no opportunity for the invention of the absurd, malicious, and groundless stories which were afterwards spread abroad against the Bishop of "intriguing" in Zululand, fomenting discontent and sending emissaries to "agitate" the Zulus in favour of Cetshwayo's return.

Again, it is indeed amazing to find a man in Sir Bartle Frere's position so ignorant of the facts of what had taken place almost under his very eyes as to assert that Sir Henry Bulwer's refusal to allow Mr. Colenso (and another lawyer) to act as Cetshwayo's agents in Natal was "entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government!" This was so far from being the case that Lord Carnarvon *recognised* their original appointment, writing to Sir Henry Bulwer, "I request that you will inform Mr. [Dr.] Smith and Mr. Colenso that the desire of Her Majesty's Govern-

been made plain. Perhaps, therefore, he did *not* know at the time what orders he had given, or had intended to give. Let it be allowed also, that when he made his speeches in the House of Lords nineteen months later, he was still under this misapprehension (although there are circumstances which make this more difficult to believe than the former supposition). Granting all this, there remains the fact that Colonel Crealock's confession concerning the "order" was made on May 18th, 1882, and published about three months later, and that, *still* Lord Chelmsford is silent, though, however much misled he may have been, he has now known for two years that he has publicly laid unjust blame and dishonour upon a dead officer, whose name, owing to falsehood, has never yet received the official recognition and national honour which it so well deserves.

ment in this matter is that the boundary question shall be fully and fairly discussed, and a just arrangement arrived at, and that you will refer them to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to whom has been committed the duty of negotiating on the subject."

The above was written, of course, in ignorance of Sir Henry Bulwer's strenuous objection to an appointment which he looked upon as an "interference" with his own dignity and prerogatives. The Zulu indunas who had made the appointment in the King's name* were frightened into backing out of the matter, and Cetshwayo, his chief object being to do what was right in the eyes of the British Government, dropped the idea at once on learning how displeasing it was to the Governor of Natal.†

* A request was sent through these indunas by Cetshwayo to the Bishop of Natal that the latter would put the Zulu claim (to the disputed territory: afterwards pronounced by the British Commissioners to be a just one) into writing, to be sent to Sir H. Bulwer and the Queen. But the Bishop had nothing whatever to do with the appointment of the diplomatic agents.

† During a personal interview with Cetshwayo in January 1878, Mr. F. E. Colenso, whilst promising to perform all services within his power as a man of law for the King, impressed upon him the wisdom of his trusting implicitly in the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and taking no step which might possibly interfere with his Excellency's plans for the settlement of the Transvaal Border dispute. Mr. Colenso further, in accordance with what he knew to be the desire of his father, informed the King that the acceptance of the Diplomatic Agency had taken place without the knowledge of the Bishop; that it had occurred in the course of his, Mr. Colenso's, professional practice, with which his father had had nothing to do. The demeanour and disposition of the Zulu King appeared to Mr. Colenso to be deserving of the greatest sympathy and respect.

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that had the appointment been accepted by Sir Henry Bulwer, and carried into effect, the Zulu war would never have taken place, for all that was needed to prevent it was that the Zulu King should have been allowed the right to employ some educated and friendly Englishman, possessed of a competent knowledge of the Zulu tongue, to make his wishes, feelings, and intentions known to the British Government and public.

Finally, for Sir Bartle Frere to talk of what would or would not conduce to "harmonious relations" between the Government and their helpless captive reads very like a combination of bad joke and heartless mockery.

A few months after Mr. and Miss F. E. Colenso's vain effort to visit Cetshwayo on their way to England, Dr. and Mrs. R. J. Colenso made a like attempt on their way out to Natal, with the like "inevitable" result, but on this occasion, the King having passed from Imperial into Colonial custody, Mr. Sprigg, Colonial Secretary, gave the refusal [2695, pp. 52, 53]. He was challenged on the point by Mr. S. Solomon (M.L.A., Capetown) on May 13th, 1880, and Mr. Sprigg's reply amounted, in effect, to the statement that he had given "impartial refusals" to everybody.* He had a good deal to say on the subject, although the one sentence of fifteen words quoted from would have amply ex-

* Which, surely, could not have been done out of *kindness* to Cetshwayo!

pressed such meaning as he had. The point (if so it can be called) of the rest appears to be an argument about the phrase used that "Dr. Colenso got a point-blank refusal from the Colonial Secretary." Now Mr. Sprigg said that the application had been made for Dr. Colenso by a friend, and had been replied to in the negative by his—the Colonial Secretary's—Secretary; therefore, as there was no direct communication between Dr. Colenso and Mr. Sprigg, the latter argued that the former had not received a point-blank refusal. Such quibbling would be beneath notice were it not as well to point out to what manner of men so much authority was entrusted.*

A curious instance of the unwillingness to be frankly favourable to Cetshwayo is given in the *Cape Times* for July 11th, 1882. The writer begins by declaring that "It had been well if those who talked of the hardship of Cetshwayo's captivity could have

* The tone of what passed in the House of Assembly, especially the remarks of the *officials* on this occasion, is instructive. Mr. Solomon had said [2695, p. 53], "He thought if any one had a right to see this chief (Cetshwayo) it was Dr. Colenso, and he repeated that the chief, in respect of the late war, had committed no offence against God or man, and he did not see why he should be kept in this wretched captivity." (The Attorney-General, "Oh!") "The Attorney-General said 'Oh!' That remark from him was not surprising, seeing that he looked upon the captive as one of our 'natural enemies.'" (Hear, hear.)

And again, on Mr. Sauer saying he believed that there were people at large who were much more deserving of punishment than Cetshwayo, the Attorney-General cried "Oh!", and "Hear, hear" again followed the remark that he would not agree with the sentiment.

seen the spot in which he has been located for the last three years as seen yesterday” Then follows a description of the *surrounding and distant scenery* visible from Oude-Molen, which might, no doubt, have been some consolation to a landscape-painter during a temporary imprisonment, but could certainly have had no soothing effect on the miseries of the captive Zulu King,* who would have preferred the bleakest corner of his own country in freedom, and amongst his devoted subjects, to captivity with the loveliest view on earth to be seen from his prison-house. The writer says nothing of the King’s actual dwelling-place, of which another eye-witness had written, “There possibly may be rooms more cramped, more desolate, and more bare than that in which Cetshwayo lives, but I hardly think it possible;” nor does he speak of the land given with the poor cottage upon it for the Zulu King’s use, wretchedly barren, poor, and, in winter, bleak—as worthless a piece of ground as could have been selected anywhere within reach of Capetown.

The writer in the *Cape Times* proceeds to describe the King’s appearance, saying that he was thinner than of yore, but that “captivity has not saddened Cetshwayo’s face, nor dulled his intellect, nor shaken off the edge of that marvellous diplomatic cunning which is peculiar to the native chieftains of South Africa.”

* The artistic feeling of the Zulus has certainly yet to be developed, but that it is dormant and not absent may be gathered from the readiness with which they learn to use their eyes when any trouble is taken to teach them.

Here we have again the stereotyped accusation of "cunning" thrown in Cetshwayo's face, and this time plainly by one who had personal opportunity of observing his bright frank bearing and open countenance. The conversation which ensued is described, showing that the King had perfect faith in the justice of his cause, and *therefore* in his restoration to his kingdom, as soon as he should have had this longed-for opportunity of explaining matters to "the Queen." Also that he was sure of his people's glad reception of him when he should return, and of their quiescence meanwhile, when they should learn that he had really been allowed to go to England to plead his and their cause. The bare report of Cetshwayo's words is simple and touching enough, and nothing but the most determinedly perverse and unfriendly spirit could have dictated the comment of the *Cape Times* which follows:—"It may be noted as significant that the King conceives that his visit to England will restore rest for a period in Zululand, a period between his departure from the Cape and his return to his native country. Why rest? If rest comes immediately Cetshwayo leaves these shores, then the intrigue must be perfect."

According to the writer's own account, Cetshwayo had said, "Yes, people would sit still when they heard that their King had gone to England," and said nothing about "for a period." His simple and evident meaning was that he had heard of the anarchy caused in Zululand by his absence, and of the desire of his people for his return, and he natu-

rally believed that they would be still as soon as they knew that so great a step had been taken towards the fulfilment of their hopes, especially as he had written to the heads of the nation on the 17th of May bidding them be quiet [3247, p. 88]. The result justified his expectations. The sudden lull in Zulu disorder which ensued was, of course, ascribed to various other causes, but this was the true one, and it was due to no "intrigues," as so wildly imagined, but to the simple love and loyalty of the Zulu people for their King, for whose sake they bore tyranny, insult, and loss through all the years of his absence, in hopes of his return.

"We said that Cetshwayo was a diplomatist," continues this writer. "In proof of this, he yesterday said that he should be glad to see, when he returned to Zululand, many white people coming to see him, and, imitating writing, he said especially newspaper men. This was conveyed to us in the most becoming way, and, if there were any satire in it, the King had his enjoyment, and we were not hurt. Let us hope that all Cetshwayo's enjoyments in the future will be as harmless." *

The above is plainly intended to contain some satire, but the writer might have spared himself the trouble of labouring over it had he remembered how often the Zulu King had lamented the want of clerical knowledge amongst his people, saying truly that, if there had been any one with him in 1878 to write the truth for him, and to explain matters between him and the English, there would have been

* This phrase insinuates that his amusements in the past had been far from harmless, but this is mere "formula" without any discoverable foundation in fact.

no war. All that Cetshwayo wanted was light, and that the truth should be published concerning his words and deeds, and, taking for granted, as he innocently did, that every English newspaper correspondent would write the truth as far as he knew it, he naturally wished to have one at his side when he should return to power.

Various anecdotes were naturally related and published concerning Cetshwayo's behaviour on the voyage to England, and as unfortunately is habitual with our modern press, every detail, however trivial, of his dress and habits, every petty personal peculiarity, was described for the public benefit, down to the amount of food he required, the size of his boots,* his predilection for personal cleanliness, and his opinion of the British bull-dog. One of the most frequently repeated stories about him is that of his indignation against a brutal (white) fellow-passenger, who tossed a live cat overboard in his presence. The King, it is said, protested against the act as one of wanton cruelty, and never ceased to show his dislike for the person who had committed it as long as they remained on board together.

It is curious and painful to observe the petty jealousy shown throughout by nearly all the Colonial papers (even a few English ones) of every kindness and evidence of respect and good-feeling shown

* The Zulu King's hands and feet were by no means large for a man of his height. The size of his boots of course tells nothing, as they would necessarily be very much too large (to fashionable apprehension) in order to be comfortably worn by feet which had never known such confinement before.

towards the Zulu King. Nor was this grudging and spiteful spirit wholly to be accounted for by his having been, however involuntarily, in the position of an enemy. It arose chiefly from the colour of his skin, which to a certain portion of the South African colonists is intolerable, except in an inferior, and to such people the inability of the majority of the British public to understand or enter into their foolish and unchristian feelings is a most grievous offence.*

* In all such passages the writer wishes it to be understood that allusion is made to a *portion* only, although a large portion, of the Natal colonists. But unhappily that portion is not only large, but "noisy," and the minority is small who really recognise the coloured man as a fellow-creature; these latter, while knowing that the greater part of an untaught race must, of necessity, be inferior to the educated portion of a civilised nation, yet realise that such a state of things may prove to be a temporary one, that already there are striking exceptions, and that many a coloured man, even without the advantages of civilisation, is a nobler man and, in his life, a better Christian, ay! even although he has never heard the name of Christ as yet, than those amongst the "superior" race who would grudge him any position but that of slave. That the slave-holding instinct of a considerable portion of the South African colonists is not exaggerated, may be gathered from what has lately taken place in Natal with regard to the *master and servant's ordinance* (i. e. *white* master and *black* servant). By the old law of the Colony, in force up to 1876, the magistrates had the power of inflicting the lash upon native servants for trivial offences, neglect of duty, absence without leave, and other matters which were purely civil offences, coming under the head of breach of contract. The majority of the magistrates being entirely in sympathy with the master class, to which they belonged (being therefore themselves liable to all the unavoidable inconveniences of untrained and ignorant native service), made common cause with the complainants in such cases, until, in fact, there was little difference between the effect of the law in Natal and that in the Transvaal, where a master, whether justly displeased or merely

Instances of this temper may be found in the Colonial papers at the time, one of which, at the end of a column of selected paragraphs from English papers upon Cetshwayo's arrival in England, heads the last (from the *World*) with "sensible," thereby showing its sympathy with a sentiment that it was truly a disgrace to the British press to have uttered, and which was expressed as follows:—

"Says the *World*, 'The manner in which Cetshwayo has been received by the British public would be amusing if it were not disgusting. This gormandising black savage, who cost us many of the flower of our youth, thousands of lives, and millions of money, has scarcely landed, before a young lady presents him with a valuable locket, and all Southampton is waiting to clasp his enormous paws. The airs the fellow gives himself are tremendous. He would not receive the Governor of Madeira, but sent word that "the King sleeps," and, on awaking the first morning at Melbury Road, he expressed a wish that the people should be thanked for the way in which they had cheered him." This really only wants the insertion of "was graciously pleased to express" to read like a bit of our own Court Circular.'

out of temper, could simply send a native servant to receive so many lashes, without giving any reason why. The main difference, indeed, may be said to lie in the fact that in Natal, the *women* servants could not, by law, be flogged. But without that additional atrocity, the system was bad enough to be a crying disgrace to a colony under British rule. In 1876 a regulation was introduced by which no sentence of flogging could be carried out without application made to, and permission received from, the Governor, and this rule for a time considerably lessened such punishments for lighter offences. But the regulation has been, and still is, a most unpopular one with the masters, and many attempts have been made by members of the Legislative Council to reintroduce the lash at will. Responsible government, it can hardly be doubted, would produce that effect at once, and is earnestly opposed on such grounds as these by those who have the interests of the natives at heart.

The young lady's present may not, perhaps, have been a judicious one—of that the recipient's gratification or indifference would be the only measure—but it was a kindly meant and an innocent act on her part to give it; and the *World* appears to have equally objected to the ordinary English courtesy of hand-shaking (although that in itself did away with any resemblance to British Court etiquette).* The "enormous paws" may be well allowed to pass, but is pure fiction, as Cetshwayo's hands were noticeably small and well-shaped, and the writer must indeed have been hard up for some fault to find when he uttered his sneer at the poor King's grateful wish to show that he felt the kindness of his reception in England, after all the tribulations and humiliations through which he had passed since Sir Garnet Wolseley's first discourtesy to his captive at Ulundi.†

* Cetshwayo must have learnt it from his captors, as it is not a Zulu custom.

† The first, but not the last, though the former act showed more want of manners on Sir Garnet Wolseley's part, and the latter more lack of heart. The second instance is mentioned by Sir B. Frere in the despatch already quoted [2695, p. 50], where he says: "I know of but one instance in which he (Cetshwayo) has asked to see any one, and his wishes have not been complied with; and that was in the case of a military officer of very high rank and official position, passing through Capetown; who did not see any reason for complying with Cetshwayo's wish to see him." When Sir Garnet Wolseley passed through Capetown in 1880, and refused, as above-mentioned, to comply with Cetshwayo's request, the latter sent him the following letter [2695, p. 31]:—

"The Castle, Capetown, May 3, 1880.

"Cetshwayo sends his greetings to Sir Garnet Wolseley; he is much disappointed at finding Sir Garnet Wolseley is so much engaged during his short stay in Capetown that he cannot give him an

This extract from the *World* continues in the original:—

“The fact that this delightful creature is accompanied by two of the leaders of his forces at Isandhlwana and Rorke’s Drift will

interview, and is much distressed at hearing he is leaving the country. He wishes to tell him that, during his stay in the castle here, he has been living in the hopes of being pardoned. He trusts His Excellency will speak in his favour to Her Majesty the Queen, whose pleasure he is waiting, and whose will he will submit to. Cetshwayo still lives in the hopes that he may some day be allowed to return to his native country, and join his wives and children. Since he has been living in the castle he has received little or no news of his family in Zululand, and is ignorant of what Sir Garnet Wolseley has decided on with regard to them, and is anxious to hear how his wives have been disposed of, and what will be their future. He wishes to say that, although Sir Garnet Wolseley is a great man, yet he has the heart and feelings of other men, and therefore can appreciate Cetshwayo’s desire to return to his native country. Cetshwayo has always heard that England is not only a great country, but also a merciful one. Cetshwayo wishes His Excellency a pleasant and safe voyage.

“The foregoing was dictated to me, through Mr. Longcast, the interpreter, by Cetshwayo, this 3rd day of May, 1880.

(Signed) W. RUSCOMBE POOLE, Capt.,
Staff-Officer in charge of
CETSHWAYO.”

By way of showing the King how thoroughly he had misjudged his composition, Sir Garnet Wolseley would not see him, and himself remarks [*ibid.*], “To Cetshwayo’s prayer for pardon I returned no answer.” He did, however, send “instructions to the British Resident to make inquiries regarding Cetshwayo’s family,” about which, after “settling” Zululand, the General does not himself appear to have known anything at all, and so deeply did he feel the captive’s appeal to his “heart and feelings,” and such energetic steps did he take to have the King’s mind set at rest, that it only needed from then, May 3rd, 1880, to April 25th, 1882—two years all but a month—to obtain the official information for which Cetshwayo had begged. This, as the

increase the admiration with which the visit is regarded by those who lost relatives in the Zulu war. We forget too quickly. Let us read again the records of that sad time before we give ourselves up to welcoming the cause of it."

This paragraph is stated to be from the pen of Mr. Edmund Yates, and one cannot but regret that so well-known an author, whose many and popular works have given him some influence over the public mind, should have thus descended to the level of the most ignorant colonial jingo, and should have tried to stir up the bitter feeling, natural, although unreasonable, which is sure to exist after deadly warfare between any two nations, but which it should be the part of Christian and educated men to calm.

It will be enough for our purpose to select a few passages out of the many newspaper accounts of Cetshwayo's arrival in England published at the time, those chosen giving what the present writer, with her special opportunities of knowledge, and after personal acquaintance with the Zulu King, believes to be a fair description and probable in all respects, palpable blunders being corrected.

Before leaving Madeira, it was said, letters were written by the King to each of his wives, and sent ashore to be posted. If this was so (which seems likely, judging from Cetshwayo's habitual care for his family), either his custodian, Mr. Shepstone, or

General had come straight from Zululand, he ought himself to have been able to supply at once, or at all events, the information should have been obtained from the British Resident in Zululand within the month.

else the authorities in Natal, must certainly have neglected their duty, for no news at all was received by the King's wives, although, perhaps, the women attendants left at Oude Molen—and for whose comfort during his absence he had especially begged that an interpreter might be provided—may have had news of his safe arrival so far.

The story told of his refusing to see the Governor of Madeira, because his Excellency had not “first sent a state messenger to see if the King of the Zulus” would receive him, is simply nonsense. Either the native attendants may have said, as a simple truth, that the King was asleep, or else he was not informed by the custodian or interpreter of the rank of his visitor. Whatever may be the actual explanation of the tale, there cannot be the smallest doubt that Cetshwayo would have readily received any one whom Mr. Shepstone advised him to see. He was far too anxious for the success of his enterprise to risk it by any such “airs” as Mr. Yates has it.

“The *Arab*—says the *Standard*—with the Zulu King Cetshwayo and his suite, arrived in Plymouth Sound this morning (August 3rd) at five o'clock, after a much longer voyage from Madeira than had been anticipated . . . and the *Thames*, tender, speedily made her way . . . to the vessel. . . . On nearing the *Arab* the head of the Zulu King was seen above the bulwarks, but before the tender came alongside it had disappeared, as Cetshwayo objected to be stared at, and had retired to his cabin. He was, however, persuaded to receive the ‘newspaper men,’ who had come on board for the express purpose of ‘interviewing’ him, and who gave the public the benefit of their first impressions, which appear to have been far from unpleasant.

“Cetshwayo was dressed in a thick pilot-cloth coat, and wore a

cap, under which was a circle indicating his royal faction.* He seemed in the best of health and spirits. He has a jet-black face † and hair with just a tinge of grey. The King's good temper seemed unbounded. He shook hands heartily with all who bade him welcome to England, laughed and joked with Mr. Shepstone, Mr. Dunn, and his chiefs almost incessantly, and the opinion passed upon him in homely phrase by one of the sailors of the tender was that which, after all best seemed to suit him, 'a down-right jolly old chap.'

"In reply to your correspondent, who welcomed him to Plymouth, he said he was delighted to be in England, he had long wished to pay England a visit, and he had been eagerly looking out to see what sort of a country it was.

"The morning was one of the loveliest of the year. The water looked its bluest, and the wooded slopes of Mount Edgcombe never appeared more pleasant. Cetshwayo was delighted with the harbour, and the deep green of the land, and the great buildings which he saw, the lighthouses, the breakwater, and forts. But he wanted to know was not Plymouth a small place. . . . He said he had enjoyed the voyage, after the start, very much, and that the weather had been very agreeable until within the last two or three days, when the climate had been rather colder than he liked. However, it was all right again now. He declared in the most emphatic way that there never ought to have been any war between him and England; and ascribed the fact that there was one, to the little grey-headed man (meaning Sir Bartle Frere) and some of the Colonial newspapers, against whom he is deeply prejudiced. He believes that when he gets ashore he will obtain the consent of the Government to his return. His people, he says, want him, and he thinks John Dunn is the only stumbling-block in the way of his restoration. Unless he is restored, he holds that there will be war; but he is confident that the English people will not disappoint him, because he believes that when he is able to see the Government for himself, and state his own case, he will be able to show that justice was on his side."

The correspondents of other papers give substantially the same account, the *Echo* stating that "the

* This is a mistake; the head-ring is worn by all Zulus who are married men.

† Dark brown, by no means "jet black." This is the mistake of an unaccustomed eye.

ex-King had even gained on board the *Arab* the appellation of the 'first gentleman in South Africa.'"

Cetshwayo was taken at once to London, a house in Melbury Road, Kensington, having been prepared for his reception, and due pains were evidently taken to provide for his comfort and amusement. The latter, however, he could not fully appreciate, his whole mind and heart being occupied with concern for his people's troubles, anxiety for their welfare, and hopes of his return to them. His visit to England was not, he felt, for pleasure, but strictly and seriously for business of a character overwhelmingly important to him and his. The *Daily News* remarks :—

"Our agitated life is nothing to Cetshwayo, our smoky air is not for his breathing, our art (such as it is) * to him is meaningless. He knows very well what he likes: he likes free air, absolute dominion [?], and an affectionate harem, not too many clothes, and as much exercise as he can take. He has a home-sickness for the old happy time when all these were his own, and unless we restore him as King of Zululand, we can do little for him that he is likely to enjoy. This, according to many men of sound judgment, well acquainted with the politics of South Africa, is a step that our own interests as well as a sense of justice dictate. A peaceful and united Zululand is more likely to be promoted by his restoration, according to these authorities, than by any other course that can be taken. In the meantime he is our guest, and it is the duty of hospitality to make his sojourn with us as pleasant for him as possible. A horse-race, or a good day on the moors, he might appreciate; but, unless we misread his character, evening parties will not minister to his entertainment."

"Cetshwayo does not regard his visit to England as a pleasure excursion," says another journal, "and it is doubtful

* The parenthesis is the *Daily News's* own, which the author declines to seem to adopt.

whether he will appear much in public. He is filled with a serious purpose, and is overwhelmed with the importance of his mission. He says openly that he has come to plead with the Queen and the Home Government for his restoration to the Zulu Kingdom. It is touching to read of his eagerness during the voyage to reach his destination, and there is something truly pathetic in the spectacle of a dethroned monarch making a pilgrimage to the land of his conquerors. Whatever may be the object of the Government in bringing him over, it is in the light of a pious pilgrimage that Cetshwayo regards his visit. He is hopeful of the result, and looks forward to his interview with 'the great Queen' as the realisation of his ardent longings. Apart from legal technicalities, or rather in spite of them, he is still a captive among a strange people, and his natural intelligence and sensitiveness cause him to feel his humiliating position with painful acuteness."

These suppositions proved correct, nevertheless Cetshwayo was too intelligent a man not to take an interest in much that was shown him during his stay, especially in such machinery and mechanical inventions as were explained to him from time to time, and he was of too buoyant and hopeful a disposition not to extract some pleasure by the way. He paid a visit to the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House, where he was very kindly received :—

"On being introduced," says the reporter, "the Prince shook Cetshwayo's hand warmly, and through the medium of the interpreter introduced him to the Princess of Wales. In the course of conversation the Prince inquired if Cetshwayo had recovered from his illness, and expressed great interest in the King's enjoyment of his visit to this country. . . . Previous to departing (from Marlborough House) Cetshwayo presented the Princes Albert Victor and George with two sticks made of wood brought from Zululand."

But the visit of which he thought the most was, of course, to Osborne, to see that Sovereign Lady towards whom, through all his miseries, he preserved

a deep and simple loyalty which never wavered. The visit was described as follows :—

“The special train, with Lord Kimberley, Cetshwayo, Mr. Shepstone and the three Zulu Chiefs, arrived in Portsmouth Dockyard at 11.15. A large crowd assembled on the jetty, curious to see Cetshwayo, who was received by Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar and Admiral Ryder. The *Fire Queen*, the Commander-in-Chief's yacht, was in waiting to convey the ex-King to Osborne, for the purpose of having an interview with Her Majesty.

“Cetshwayo was attired in a dark suit, with a tall hat which shone resplendent in the bright sunshine, no less than did the dark and shining features of the ex-King, who by his pleasant smile, and dignified deportment, created quite a favourable impression. . . .

“When Cetshwayo and his party were ready, they proceeded on board the *Fire Queen*, the crimson-covered gangways used on the occasion of Royal visits being brought into requisition. The crew doffed hats as Cetshwayo reached the deck, and from the *Tyne* troopship lying astern of the *Fire Queen*, as well as from the flagship and other vessels in the harbour, the greatest interest was exhibited in the Royal party.

“The *Fire Queen* arrived at a quarter past twelve, and the party drove to Osborne, and were conveyed in the Queen's private open carriages with postilions. The Queen received the ex-King in her private reception-room. . . . Her Majesty gave Cetshwayo and his suite a very cordial reception, and during the quarter of an hour or thereabouts that the interview lasted, conversed freely with the ex-King through the medium of the interpreter.

“Cetshwayo subsequently expressed himself as highly gratified with his visit to the Queen, whose dignified and yet gracious and affable bearing evidently impressed him, and during the return journey he was in the best of spirits. When the interview was ended, Cetshwayo was shown over the house and through the gardens. At half-past one luncheon was served to the visitors, who were joined by the Earl of Kimberley, Sir H. Ponsonby, and the Ladies-in-Waiting.”

On his return journey to Melbury Road, after his visit to the Queen, Cetshwayo was heartily cheered by large crowds, both at Portsmouth and Victoria

Station, and thus ended a day which the Zulu King certainly regarded as one of the proudest and most hopeful of his life.

The adverse colonial papers, of course, kept up a running commentary of sneers at every instance of kindness or courtesy shown to the Zulu King, but in the midst of their disgust, which culminated with the reception of Cetshwayo at Osborne, they comforted themselves with one reflection, viz. that he had been made to lunch there *with the upper servants!* This, it seems, was the idea conveyed to the colonial mind by the words "Master of the Household" and "Ladies-in-Waiting"!

Her Majesty, indeed, like all others who came into personal contact with the Zulu King, seems to have been favourably impressed with him. It was a sign of royal good-feeling that she desired his portrait to be painted for her, and that he fully appreciated the honour done to him in this respect is plain from the following story which was given in all the newspapers at the time, and which seems to be a well-attested tale:—While he was sitting for his likeness, a deputation from the National Temperance League called upon him in Melbury Road, for the purpose of impressing upon him the great evils inflicted upon native races by the use of alcoholic liquors, and to ask him to discourage, as far as possible, the importation, manufacture, and use of such drinks in his own country. After waiting half-an-hour the deputation were informed by Mr. Fynney that Cetshwayo was sitting for a portrait, by order

of Her Majesty, who had specially sent an artist that morning. It was, therefore, with great regret that the King found it impossible to receive them.

The following conversation ensued between Mr. Fynney and Mr. Rae, a member of the League:—

Mr. Rae.—Do you not think he could spare ten minutes from the sitting to-day?

Mr. Fynney.—The gentlemen who accompany the artist are very desirous the portrait should be finished as soon as possible.

Mr. Rae.—I do not think we need delay the process, if you could try to arrange the meeting.

Mr. Fynney.—I have been trying, and have asked the King to give you a short time, but he positively says, No. He is sitting for the portrait, and I cannot see that he can leave it. There is one thing I should like to say, namely, that the Zulu nation are not drinkers of spirits—that is, the Zulus themselves—and, with the exception of their own beer, and that is harmless, are a most abstemious people. I will ask again if he will see you, as you desire it.

The deputation then waited for another quarter of an hour, when Mr. Fynney returned, and said he greatly regretted that he could not possibly prevail upon the King to see the deputation. The King had said, “No; this is a request from her Majesty, and as it is the wish of my Mother, the Queen, I cannot disregard it, much as I wish to see these gentlemen.” Mr. Fynney added that Cetshwayo would be happy on any other day, when he was at liberty, to have an interview with the members of the League, and

to receive their statement. "It is," the King had said (alluding to the Queen's command), "as urgent as a matter of life and death, and I cannot neglect the wishes of the Queen." *

"On being asked to express an opinion upon our Queen, he said," writes the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, "'She is born to rule men, she is like me. We are both rulers. She was very kind to me, and I shall always think of her.' We spoke of Bishop Colenso," continues the same writer, "and the name roused him to instant vigour. He rolled on his seat, and showed his very gums in his eager talk, while his hands waved in the air, and he took snuff violently. 'The Bishop,' he said, 'loves all Zulus.† His heart is as big as all London for my nation. I love him, and he has done everything for me.'"

This writer speaks of an "ominous expression" passing over the King's features at mention of John Dunn, and foretells evil to the latter should he ever be a captive under the "dusky gaze" of that "ruthless face," which expressions are about as inapplicable as that about the "enormous paws." The "London correspondent" plainly writes on a preconceived

* It will be observed that it was purely Cetshwayo's feeling of duty in obeying the Queen's wish which actuated him, and no disregard for the motives and opinions of the Temperance deputation. The Zulu King was never addicted to strong drink himself, and even those amongst his enemies who tried to bring the charge against him at the beginning of his captivity were compelled to withdraw it, or rather, to put forward the statement, "he has quite overcome the predilection for 'square face' which marked the earlier days of his captivity," which would hardly have been the case had he ever shown any such "predilection" at all. Had he ever been allowed to reign again, it would have been well worth while to put him on his guard, for his people's sake, against that terrible foe to nations still in their childhood, and of the evils of which he had really hardly had the opportunity of judging.

† He might have said with equal truth "all his fellow-men."

idea, and another writer about the same time (and not a very partial one either) more truly says, "His temper is amiable, and his disposition generous. He does not appear vindictive, and refers to John Dunn's alleged ingratitude with indignation, but without bitterness."

A visit to the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich appears to have interested him greatly, and to have brought out especially his keen intellect and quick comprehension of the various mechanical principles explained to him. On leaving, he addressed General Gage (commanding Woolwich Garrison), through the interpreter, saying that he could not express the pleasure which this visit to the "great workshop" of the Queen, his Mother,* had given him. He had now seen the wonders of the English nation, and had witnessed where England gets her power from. "You are indeed a wonderful people, and what I have seen has filled me with astonishment," he said, concluding by expressing warm thanks to General Gage for so kindly showing him everything. To this General Gage replied, "I can only assure the King how pleased we have been to have had the honour of showing him the sights of Woolwich Arsenal. I hope that in the future we shall always be the firmest of allies with him, and he with us." On the General's reply being interpreted to Cetshwayo, the King's face beamed with animation and pleasure, and he spoke again at some little length

* It must be borne in mind that, from a Zulu, the title of parent is the highest and most respectful that can be given.

He said, "I may say that I have almost ceased to be astonished. I feel that I have grown up, so to speak, in a day; that from a childhood of the understanding I have suddenly sprung to manhood. I have a great deal to report to my nation when I return, for which I shall hardly be able to find words, but I have seen the might of England, and the goodness and kindness of the English nation."

But most important of all to the future of Zululand were Cetshwayo's interviews with Lord Kimberley at the Colonial Office, on the 7th, 15th, and 17th of August [3466, p. 105]. This was what he had come for, to plead his cause before the Queen through her representative, to explain or deny the accusations brought against him, and to obtain his own release by showing that he had never deserved his capture and imprisonment. It may readily be imagined that a different tone on his part would have proved more comfortable and convenient from the official point of view. If he would but have allowed the plea of "guilty" to be made for him, expressing contrition and promising amendment for the future, it would at least have been gratifying to the feelings of those who had wrought his downfall, and whose strongest objection to his restoration lay in the fact that for England to grant it as a point, not of mercy, but of *justice* and expediency, virtually signed the condemnation of a whole string of notable names. But Cetshwayo never learnt the lesson of diplomacy which his European neighbours and conquerors had striven so long and hard to teach him. He remained

simple, honourable, and truthful to the last—a man of his word to the bitter end—even when his adherence to it, and the knowledge that he would adhere to it on the part of his less scrupulous adversaries, white and black, were costing him his kingdom, his liberty, and at last, unhappily, his life.

The Zulu king's own words on behalf of himself and his people are more forcible and convincing than anything which can be said for him by others, and it is in unwilling acknowledgment of this fact that his (white) enemies are so fond of talking of his "cunning," his "craft," and "wiliess." But, in point of fact, no such terms are applicable to any portion of Cetshwayo's dealings with either friend or foe. His chief strength throughout lay in the fact that having nothing to hide, he was absolutely frank, truthful, and straightforward. He had never been either the secret treacherous foe to England, nor the cruel tyrant to his people that his opponents tried to make him out, and when his own simple, manly words made the fact apparent, those opponents could only endeavour to throw discredit upon them by the parrot-cry of "Oh, the wily old savage!"

The first interview at the Colonial Office, on August 7th, may be given as it stands in the Blue Book, being short, and very much to the point [3466, p. 105].

"Cetshwayo was accompanied by three chiefs and a native interpreter" [besides Mr. Shepstone and Mr. Dunn, who acted as interpreter. Mr. Ashley, M.P., and Mr. Bramston were also present at the interview]. "Lord Kimberley inquired of Cetshwayo whether he was satisfied with his treatment here (in England),

and Cetshwayo replied that he was. Lord Kimberley then invited him to make any statement as to his case that he desired. Cetshwayo replied that he wished to know what he had done wrong; why he had been punished. He said that he threw himself, as it were, at the feet of Her Majesty's Government. Lord Kimberley said it was of no use now to go into the past; but that Cetshwayo must know that his army was regarded as threatening the peace and safety of the Queen's dominions.

"Cetshwayo said that he never had any intention of attacking the Queen's dominions, that he had never sent his armies across the border during the war, and that he had been defeated and captured while in his own country.

"Lord Kimberley observed that, whatever the future arrangements in Zululand might be, one thing was certain. The Queen could not allow a Zulu armed force to exist, as formerly, under his reign; Cetshwayo had seen that our power was too strong for him, and that would always be the case; but we could not allow our peaceful colonists to be alarmed and their security threatened.*

"Cetshwayo said that his father Panda, and Dingaan before him, had made large armies, but that he himself had not created a single new regiment; that his predecessors had, nevertheless, always been friendly to the English, and that he had never had any intention of being otherwise; that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was taken away and new men came, and there was no friend to advise him; and that as regards his keeping an armed force, he was quite willing to obey the orders of the Government, but that regiments were wanted to attend on the King, to build kraals, and to do other work which he ordered.

"Lord Kimberley said there would be no obstacle to peaceful works, but that regiments for war, such as existed formerly, could never be allowed.

"Cetshwayo said that he quite understood that.

* *Vide* the language of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal (vol. i. p. 371, *ad fin.*):—"The view of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General, and also of his Excellency the High Commissioner, were both based on the assumption of an invasion of Natal by the Zulus—a contingency which, though it was of course a *possibility*, as it had been a possibility for the last thirty years, was, in the opinion of the Government, in the highest degree improbable, unless, indeed, it should be brought about by compromising action on our part."

“Lord Kimberley then asked if he had anything to say as to the present condition of Zululand.

“On this point Cetshwayo referred to the three chiefs who had recently come from the country. The sum of what the chiefs said was that only four of the appointed chiefs were unfavourable to Cetshwayo's return, namely, John Dunn, Umfanawendhlela, Uhamu, and Usibebu. They complained especially of oppressive proceedings on the part of Dunn, Usibebu, and Uhamu. They mentioned specially Somkeli and Umlandela as favourable to Cetshwayo's return, and said that Chingwayo had also expressed himself favourably, but did not dare to say so now.

“Finally, Lord Kimberley referred to the reports which had reached this country of his cruelties.

“Cetshwayo said: How could he reply to mere general accusations? Let a particular case be stated, and he would explain and defend his conduct. He entirely denied any indiscriminate killing such as he had been accused of. In conclusion, Cetshwayo said: Let the Queen not take him merely by the hand. If you take a man merely by the hand, he may slip from you. Let Lord Kimberley rather grasp him by the arm, and let the Queen take him by the waist, for then will ‘they hold him fast.’

“Lord Kimberley then said that the interview would terminate for that day. The matter was too important to be disposed of at once; he would only now inform Cetshwayo that his statements would be considered.”

The second interview took place on August 15th, and the following is the official report of what passed [*ibid.* p. 106]:—

“*The Earl of Kimberley* (addressing Mr. Dunn).—Will you tell the King first, that the other day, as our conversation was of a general character, I did not think it necessary to have a full record kept of what was said then, but as this conversation will be upon matters of importance, I have given instructions to have what is said duly written down. (*Mr. Dunn interpreted this to the King.*)”

Many readers will regret that no “full record” of the first interview was kept, since even from the short account given above, it was plainly of the utmost importance for the decision of the rights of Cetshwayo's

case, his innocence or guilt, and, in fact, of all upon which the amount of power and independence to be rightly restored to Cetshwayo must depend. It is difficult, therefore, to comprehend how Lord Kimberly could think "it was of no use now to go into the past," since upon that the future so much depended, and it is impossible not to ask whether, if that past, and the King's own statements upon it, had been carefully considered, Her Majesty's Government might not have been convinced that the wisest and safest as well as most just course would be to restore him to his position of King over Zululand, instead of reducing him to the nominal chieftainship of a portion of his previous dominions—nominal even there, since the promises exacted from him left him bound hand and foot, at the mercy of all who chose, or could be induced to oppose him.

After these preliminaries,

The E. of K. continued—Tell him that Her Majesty's Government have very carefully deliberated upon the whole question of Zulu affairs, and I am able to-day to inform him generally what they have resolved upon. (*Mr. Dunn interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—He will be good enough to listen very carefully to what will be now said, and it will be afterwards explained to him again, and as often as he pleases after our interview, in order that he may completely understand what is put before him. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Her Majesty's Government have determined to consider the possibility of making arrangements for his return to Zululand. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—The following are the main conditions on which Sir Henry Bulwer, the Governor of Zululand, has been authorised to proceed. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—First, a portion of the country, to be hereafter defined by Her Majesty's Government, will not be placed under his rule, but will be reserved for other purposes. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Secondly, a Resident will be appointed by the Queen to advise him and report to Her Majesty. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Thirdly, he will be required to enter into engagements with Her Majesty for the just and peaceful government of his people, similar to those by which the thirteen Chiefs are now bound. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Say that I am not aware whether he is well acquainted with those conditions, but that I will read to him shortly the heads of the conditions, and afterwards, as they are long, they shall be fully explained to him by Mr. Shepstone. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—I will now read the heads of the conditions. The first is that he shall observe the boundaries assigned to his territory by the Queen.

The E. of K.—Secondly, that he will allow all men to marry whom they choose, according to the usage and customs of the people before the establishment by Chaka of the military system.*

The E. of K.—Thirdly, that he will allow all persons living in his territory to pass freely where they please, to work in Natal or elsewhere.

The E. of K.—Fourthly, that he will not allow to be imported into his territory by the sea coast any arms, or ammunition, or goods, or merchandise without the permission of the Resident.†

The E. of K.—Fifthly, that he will not allow the life of any of his people to be taken without an impartial trial, and after sentence passed by a council of his chief men. ‡

The E. of K.—Sixthly, that he will not allow the practice of ‘smelling out’ for witchcraft. ‡

* For this condition Cetshwayo would be prepared, as it was part of Sir Bartle Frere’s *Ultimatum* in 1878. It must also be remembered that the said “military system,” as carried out under Cetshwayo’s rule, has been greatly exaggerated by his (white) opponents. In point of fact, only Zulus who entered the army were forbidden (like British soldiers) to marry without leave, and they enrolled themselves voluntarily; there was no obligation, except that of custom, or “fashion,” although it was, no doubt, a very general one.

† The portion of this condition with regard to merchandise seems somewhat petty and *mercantile* for a great nation to require.

‡ These two conditions only require what Cetshwayo had himself, of his own accord, tried throughout his reign, and (with regard to the sixth condition, before it) to carry out. It is a matter of undisputed history that he disbelieved many of the

The E. of K.—Seventhly, that he will surrender all persons to justice who are fugitives in Zululand from the Queen's territory, and deliver them up to the Queen's officers—I mean, of course, when they have committed a crime against our law—in order that they may be punished by the Queen's authorities.*

The E. of K.—Eighthly, that he will not make any treaty with any chiefs, people, or government outside the territory assigned to him without the sanction and approval of the British Government. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Ninthly, that he will not make war upon any chief or chiefs, or his or their people, without the sanction of the British Government. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Tenthly, if he has any dispute with any chief, people, or government, that he will appeal to the arbitration of the

witchcraft superstitions of his people, and tried to combat them. His kraal *Ekubazeni*, which contained, in 1879, "four circles of huts" (i. e. between 3000 and 4000 persons), is a sufficient proof of this, for every man in them was an accused *umtagati* (wizard), whose life Cetshwayo had saved during his father's reign, when the "council of his chief men" would have put them to death. It was a mistake into which the Home Government was led by the determined hostility of the Natal Government officials and Sir Bartle Frere to Cetshwayo of supposing that the King required restraining by "his chief men," the great Zulu Council, &c., in his taste for blood. In point of fact, he was far more mercifully disposed than they; in this, as in other things, much beyond his age amongst his own people. As his brothers said of him in 1880, "there has never been known one like him amongst us Zulus before, so good, so kind, so merciful . . . he shrank from shedding blood. . . . He never killed, except for grave offences; the whole country swarms with people who owe their lives to him, and who fled to him, as the merciful prince who did not kill." And whenever during his reign any Zulu law of special severity was carried out, it was in reluctant acquiescence on the King's part to the councils of these "chief men" whom he was now ordered almost to obey.

* An extradition condition would readily be accepted by Cetshwayo, who had always acted up to the principle scrupulously. See latest case, that of one *Jolwana*, accused of the murder of a European in Zululand, captured and delivered up by Cetshwayo to the Natal authorities, but returned by them as beyond their jurisdiction.

British Government to assist him. Of course that means chiefs outside his territory. (*Interpreted.*)*

The E. of K.—Eleventh, that the succession to him shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of his people, and the nomination of each successor in turn shall be subject to the approval of the Queen. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Twelfth, that he will not sell or alienate any part of his land or territory. (*Interpreted.*)†

The E. of K.—Thirteenth, that he will permit all people now residing in the territory which is to be assigned to him to remain there, provided they recognise his authority, and that any person who does not wish to recognise his authority may be permitted to go elsewhere unmolested. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Fourteenth, that in all cases of dispute where British subjects are concerned he will abide by the decision of the British Resident; and in all cases where crimes are committed by British subjects, or by his people against British subjects, he will pass no sentence except with the approval of the British Resident. (*Interpreted.*)

The E. of K.—Lastly, in all matters whatsoever not included in these conditions, that he will govern, order, and decide according to the ancient laws and usages of his people, and that he will engage and solemnly pledge his faith to abide by and respect the letter and spirit of these conditions without equivocations or reserves. (*Interpreted.*)”

Since any innovations made by Cetshwayo on the “ancient laws and usages of his people” were distinctly in the direction of humanity, this last was indeed a blind condition. It pledged the king *not* to use his own superior judgment and gentler heart for the improvement and civilisation of his people, but to give way to their more barbarous impulses whenever the “ancient laws and usages” of the

* This he had persistently tried to do, during many years, in the case of the Zulu-Transvaal boundary.

† His determination to act as is here required of him had long been the chief obstacle in the way of Boer appropriation of Zulu territory.

people required. How, even in civilised England, would such an enactment operate? Let us go back but a hundred years and consider the result. Only a blind confidence in the statements of the few Europeans who had ruled in South Africa, and brought about all the misery of the last ten years there, can account for the drawing up of this last condition. Sir Bartle Frere had declared Cetshwayo to be a blood-thirsty and cruel tyrant, Sir Theophilus Shepstone (knowing little) and Sir Henry Bulwer (knowing nothing of him) had endorsed the accusation, and the result was that conditions were imposed upon the Zulu King which, had they been necessary would have been absolutely useless, and which, as the ones in question were needless, simply acted as a clog upon Cetshwayo's power of restoring peace and order to his distracted kingdom, when at last he reached it.

The conversation which ensued after the rehearsal of the conditions made it plain enough that the cutting off of land, as mentioned in the first condition, was the main point to be considered in Cetshwayo's eyes. He did not speak, indeed, until required to do so, and then only in the most quiet and courteous manner, but that condition evidently lay heavy on his heart. Throughout his troubles, *his people and his people's good* seem rather to have concerned him than his own, and this proposition to either take from them a portion of their own country, or to oblige them to become subjects of another power, "pressed hard" upon him, as he said. In commenting on this point, he told the Earl of Kimberley that "a very large portion of his country has been

already cut off [alluding to the disputed territory, decided by the British Commissioners of 1878 to be rightfully part of Zululand, but handed back by Sir Garnet Wolseley as a sop to the Boers, at the end of the Zulu War,*] and that for some time he has had very little country left to him, and he says his people are all crowded together, and that he is like one living on the top of a rock."

The Earl of Kimberley advised him to "wait to see how much country will be reserved" before taking so unfavourable a view of his position, and after a few more remarks on either side, and thanks expressed by Cetshwayo, "for the courtesy and kindness" with which he had been received, this interview came to an end, to be resumed when the King should have had time to think over what he had heard.

It would seem that much had been expected from Cetshwayo's joy at his own promised release, and that his silence and apparent depression at the close of the recapitulation of the conditions was rather a disappointment, and Lord Kimberley urged upon him more than once that this was the first time any such hopes had been held out to him at all. But to understand the feelings with which the Zulu King heard the conditions of his restoration, it must be remembered that he knew himself to be absolutely guiltless of those evil intentions towards Natal, &c., which had been the supposed ground of the invasion of his country, and his own capture, and that he had preserved a most complete and touching faith in England, and

* See vol. i.

England's Queen, and in justice being done by her as soon as the truth was made plain. To his simple ideas of justice it was self-evident that when it was discovered that he had been punished for faults which he had never committed, the punishment would be remitted, not in part, but altogether. But he had not been allowed fully to state his case, and the sentence was one of pardon, not of exoneration. Nor can his disappointment at the proposed further reduction of his territory be fully understood without a fuller knowledge of the border question, the history of the disputed territory, and the gradually contracting Zulu dominion, than is possessed by most English readers, as well as a greater insight into the relations between the Zulu King and people. It must not be overlooked that Cetshwayo was essentially the King at heart. He was not a mere despot, ruling for his own benefit, and caring only for his own satisfaction, but the father of his people, anxious for their happiness, and aiming at their good according to his lights. It was for their sake rather than for his own that he pleaded for the undivided restoration of Zululand, knowing well as he did what a source of evil to them, and of endless confusion, would prove an attempt at reservation of a portion of the country under other control than his. It has often been argued by those who opposed his restoration, that even granting the injustice of our invasion of Zululand and capture of Cetshwayo, and supposing that, were it to do over again it would be left undone, yet that it was impossible now to do

justice to him without sacrificing the interests of his people, and much scorn has been showered upon the supposed sentimentalists who, in pity for the miseries of one captive, forgot—it was said—those of a whole nation. But the argument, however forcible in itself, rested on fallacious grounds, namely the long-exploded notion that Cetshwayo was a cruel tyrant, under whose bloody yoke his people groaned, and that, therefore, although his capture was undertaken and achieved on false or mistaken grounds, the error should, for the sake of his people, be left unrectified. In point of fact, the interests and happiness of King and people were bound up with each other, and it was the knowledge of the unhappy condition of Zululand which had made Cetshwayo's captivity so intolerable to him. Again, he had always fully recognised the great truth that he held his land not as his own, but in trust for the Zulu people, and it was their rights rather than his own which he strove to uphold in pleading against the proposed reservation of a portion of the country.

The third and final interview took place on August 17th, when, in addition to those already mentioned, Mr. Fynney, who had not accompanied Cetshwayo from the Cape, but had crossed by another steamer, to act as additional interpreter, was present.

After one or two preliminaries—

“*Mr. Fynney.*—He says, my Lord, that the conditions which were given to him the other day are more than satisfactory; that there is no condition in which he has anything to complain about. He

says: 'This I may explain is made outside any remark that I may wish to make about the piece of land referred to by your Lordship the other day. The other conditions explained to me are more than satisfactory.'

The E. of K.—If he wishes to speak as to the land tell him to speak freely.

Mr. F.—He says that after the kind way in which he has been met and the conditions being so satisfactory, he feels as if he had been raised up from the dead—raised out of his grave, so to speak, and felt that he was to be seated again. But the land which belonged to his father is now very small, and the country is not as big as it was; it is a small country, comparatively speaking, and the idea of another piece of land being taken from that little country has buried him up to his knees again. In coming to England he felt that on hearing that he was to be raised up, that he was raised from the dead, so to speak, by the gracious action of this nation; that it had encouraged him to ask for more graciousness with reference to this slip of land. He had been encouraged to speak to the English nation the feelings of his heart, and he asks that his feeling with reference to his piece of land, that his representations and feelings here may be made known to the Government, and also to Her Majesty the Queen, with respect to this piece of land; and in that matter he throws himself on Her Majesty's mercy, and also hopes for the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

The E. of K.—Has he anything more to say on this point?

Mr. F.—He says he has finished on that point, but there is one subject which he wishes to mention, that is this: that he has heard no word yet with reference to John Dunn.

The E. of K.—First, as to the strip of territory, he should understand that the reservation of a part of the territory will not be as a punishment to the Zulu people or himself, or for the purpose of injuring him or the Zulu people; that no more will be reserved than is, in the opinion of the Government, absolutely necessary, and that he must remember that the past cannot be simply undone without regard to good faith which we have pledged to others. Secondly, with regard to John Dunn, my observation applies to him as well as to others. John Dunn must be treated fairly and justly, like others.* If the British Government and the Queen treat John Dunn as a friend, we shall expect Cetshwayo to do so

* "Cetshwayo shook his head here," says the Blue-Book report.

too, notwithstanding what may have happened. He will remember that a war has been fought with us, and that he killed many of our people, and that as we are friends now with him he must behave in the same way to John Dunn, though he may have grounds of complaint against him.* Then tell him that I know he has grievances about his family, who, he thinks, have not been well treated; but that all that will be put straight when he goes back; and that if he is a friend to us we shall be careful that no one, neither John Dunn nor any one else, shall do him injury.† Then, lastly, say to him about this piece of land, that I have only told him very generally about this matter, because definite arrangements could not be made until the great question of his return was decided, and that he must wait until he hears precisely what will be done. That Sir Henry Bulwer must see the Chiefs and people after it is known that Cetshwayo is to go back, which he has not yet been able to do,‡ and that he may be quite sure that we mean to treat him in a kind and friendly manner in every way as far as the necessity of the case will permit, and that all that he has said upon this point will be told to the Queen and my colleagues, but that he must quite understand that this does not imply that a change will be made upon the point, that he must not expect that I can give him any hope of a change. Ask him whether he has any other particular point that he wishes to ask me about. I will not go through all the conditions again unless he wishes it.

Mr. F.—He says that with reference to the other conditions he had heard them gratefully, and cheerfully accepted them; and that he is led to speak about this piece of land because the Government here is unaware, being in England, of all the local circumstances. The Government is unaware of how he has been treated by John Dunn, how John Dunn has treated him; and further, as a Prince, he says that that part of Zululand which is now occupied by John Dunn is a piece of land which was the Prince's portion, and where his cattle were sent to. He says the Government do not know how John Dunn has treated him, and how things are going on there; and he has now thrown in his words, relying upon the kindness of the Government.

* The absurdity of any comparison between Cetshwayo's position towards England and Dunn's towards him is self-evident.

† A little later we shall see, alas! how this promise was kept by those commissioned to "restore" Cetshwayo.

‡ He never attempted anything of the sort.

The E. of K.—Ask him to say what he particularly refers to about John Dunn's treatment of him. I wish to hear it.

Mr. F.—'I picked John Dunn up walking with empty hands. He was not a man that was sent to me by the Government, he was not a man holding or coming to me with any position whatsoever, but came to me empty-handed, and I picked him up. I picked him up, and when I did pick him up, I took care of him, and he grew great under my fostering care, and I permitted him to live there as my subject close to my own big kraals, near my military kraal at Ginginhlovu. I allowed him to remain on that piece of land as my subject whom I picked up.'

The E. of K.—What did John Dunn do of which he now complains?

Mr. F.—'John Dunn persistently misrepresented me. On the one side, he misrepresented the British Government and the English people to me. On the other side, he took my words, he came to me, and, as I thought, as my friend, took my words, got at the feeling of my heart, and turned my words on their back. The words also of the Government of the British nation he turned on their back to me. John Dunn told me a year beforehand that the war was to be fought against me; and why? Because he knew thoroughly the action he had taken, and how I had been misrepresented by him. John Dunn, when his plans were effected by the war, has taken what belonged to me—my property, and when my people have expressed the wish for my return, or ask for my return, he has seized and eaten up their cattle, and has constantly represented to the Government that it is not the wish of the people that I should return; and any person who has wished for my return has been punished or ill-treated by John Dunn. Whilst I was a fugitive, going from place to place, I caught some of John Dunn's messengers with messages which he had sent to Usibebu, in which he said, "Help me to turn out the King and the Royal Family, and I will be instrumental in getting you placed as one of the chiefs over the country." John Dunn has been the cause of all; John Dunn, through his action, was the cause of the war.* Through John Dunn's action, I consider, the land was destroyed; it was he who sent the words round and misrepresented things. When I was seized, John Dunn took my property; he

* All these speeches of the King's might be much better translated, but even in this bald form they are forcible and impressive.

took all that he could possess himself of, and he is now building and creating his harems through and by my property—the very property that he has been using for that purpose. And now, when I am liberated, and when I feel that I have been so treated and injured, I feel as if there is an assegai placed by my side. Who was John Dunn? Who is John Dunn? What was John Dunn? and who would he have been if I had not raised him up? The English would never have heard of him; and I feel that it is placing an assegai by my side to let John Dunn be near me. He took my property and my cattle away from my children, and caused my people and my children to suffer hunger.’

The E. of K.—Say these are the results of the war.

Mr. F.—He says, my Lord, that there is a difference in Dunn’s case. Dunn was not in the war; he was only my subject.

The E. of K.—But he joined us in the war.

Mr. F.—‘Who would stay with a rat in his hut that ate his food? I must again express my grateful thanks for what has been said and what has been done. I feel that, although of a different nationality, I am now born an Englishman. I am encouraged also to speak. I ask in my turn that you will bear with me in saying what I do, and understand that I speak it in gratitude; but that I do not see how it would be possible ever to live with John Dunn in Panda’s, my father’s, territory, the land which belonged to him. I cannot see how we can live in the same country or near each other. I cannot do it—it cannot be done. I am more than grateful to the English people, and they will now have had a chance of seeing me, and the nation has heard what I have had to say about my government and so on, and the English nation will now have a chance of seeing really what I am, and what my government will be. I am encouraged to speak, and I must again say that it is utterly impossible for John Dunn and myself to live in the same territory, or near each other. Who am I to cry to? Who am I to go to, to tell my feelings and my sorrows to, if not to the ones from whom I was born? The English nation, so to speak, stands in the light of a father to me, and I must speak the feelings of my heart, and I cannot live with John Dunn. In the house where a man is born he speaks decidedly, and speaks earnestly. I cannot therefore—I dare not—reserve my feelings. I have to speak out my sentiments and the feelings of my heart, and I say that it is utterly impossible for John Dunn to live near me; if he does, then that simply means further trouble.’”

In reply to these representations, Lord Kimberley told the King that all he asked of him, and what the Government required of him, if he returned, was "to keep within his own borders, and to keep the peace;" and, after some repetitions on either side, his Lordship continued:—

"Now I wish to go to another matter. It is well that he should know that of course it will take some time to make all these arrangements, and communications must be made with people in Zululand, and much will have to be done before he can go back; and although the Government are anxious that everything should be done as quickly as possible, still there must be time, and he will know that himself. And he should also know that some arrangements will have to be made for him to pass the interval, and that he must be ready to consent to such arrangement as we shall make, and that they will be directed to his personal comfort and convenience.

Mr. F.—And Cetshwayo wishes also to say: 'Of course, whilst I am perfectly patient, awaiting the action of the Government, I do ask that when things are settled I may be enabled to return as soon as possible, for I am afraid of the sea; as the year goes on, the sea gets so very cross.'

The E. of K.—Say, certainly. I will arrange for him to leave this country as soon as I can, but he will have to wait on the other side of the water. We will take care of him, and send him back during fine weather. Tell him, if he acts well, he may always consider me his friend.

Mr. F. (for the King).—'I cannot take your hand alone; I take your arm, and I ask your Lordship to lie on one side, and then on the other.*' (Cetshwayo here took his Lordship's hand and right arm to indicate his pledge of friendship.)

The E. of K.—Say that, whether I am in office or not, I will always listen to his words if he acts well.

* This is in allusion to a previous remark of the King's while still pleading against Dunn's being forced upon him. "There may be a talk over-night, and a man lie on one side, and lie on the other, and by the next morning he may see that another course might be taken, or an improvement made. That is all I ask."

Mr. F.—"I have gratefully accepted all that has been given me, and now I say, My Lord, watch me."

To the day of his death Cetshwayo was entirely loyal and faithful to his word given thus to Lord Kimberley. It has yet to be shown by what means his actions were subsequently misrepresented.*

There is no reason to doubt the intended good

* Towards the end of this interview, the chief Umkosana, anxious lest his King's earnest appeal against Dunn should give offence, asked leave to say that "the child (i. e. Cetshwayo) in speaking out as it has done, has simply spoken to its father, simply spoken through having been encouraged to do so by the grace received. There is no self-will in the child in any way, but it simply wishes to represent its feelings to its father."

The figurative form of this speech is worth noting, as it corroborates the Bishop of Natal's rendering of the too often repeated phrases of the Zulu deputations, i. e. "We are sent by the Zulu chiefs to return thanks for Mkosana, who was the skin in which the child (Cetshwayo) was wrapped, meaning that having got back the skin, they hoped to get back the child also." And, again, that they had come "to ask for the bones of Cetshwayo, 'their bone,' [what was left of him in power as well as person] according to native custom—in other words, to ask for his restoration to Zululand under any conditions which the British Government might think fit to impose."

The Bishop's interpretation of these phrases was vehemently denied by those officials interested in making out that the Zulus did not desire their King's return; but a single illustration of the manner in which they were questioned, with the supposed view of eliciting their actual meaning, is enough to show how worthless were such denials. During an interview between Sir Evelyn Wood and the three chiefs who, while forming part of the fourth deputation [see vol. i. chap. i.], had also their own especial request to make that they might join the King in his captivity, the following words were spoken, according to the Blue Book [3182, p. 174]:—

"*Sir E. Wood*, speaking.—*Q.* Your request is to go to Capetown, and you have no message about skins, &c. ? (!)

The Chiefs.—*R.* Yes; we have no message about skins."

faith and kindness of Her Majesty's Home Government towards Cetshwayo and his people at this time. That a piece of territory should be reserved *sufficient for the support of any Zulus who, at the actual period of the King's restoration,** desired to quit his country, and to come under British rule, no one would dispute, nor would such an arrangement have given just cause of discontent to any one concerned. Cetshwayo left England satisfied that this was what was intended, and although there is no mention made of the concession in the official reports of the interviews with the Zulu King, it is plain that the intention to force Dunn upon him was seen to be a mistake, for nothing more was heard of it. Cetshwayo certainly did not give way on that point, but the more general agreement to "respect the border limits which we may draw, and keep the peace," are substituted for Lord Kimberley's express stipulation, "If the British Government and the Queen treat John Dunn as a friend, we shall expect Cetshwayo to do so too." After the King's forcible representation of the wrongs which he had sustained from John Dunn, it would indeed have been monstrous to

* Had this proposition been *honestly* carried out, it is doubtful whether it would have been necessary to reserve *any land at all*. Zibebu, Dunn, and Hamu had all three forfeited British promises by breaking the conditions on which they were made, i. e. by the slaughter of many defenceless persons, while although the Basuto Hlubi had undoubtedly a claim on *us*, we had no right to satisfy it at the expense of the Zulus. Amongst the common people, criminals only would have fled to the reserve had no unfair means been used against Cetshwayo by his white enemies. The grounds for this assertion will be given in their proper place.

insist upon such a condition, and the merest common-sense must have made it plain that to do so would be a proof—not of firmness, and a determined course of action, but of sheer unreasoning obstinacy, ever allied to the greatest weakness. The border limits were necessarily left to Her Majesty's future decision, but Cetshwayo trusted in its fairness, and was, perhaps, not yet fully aware of how far Sir Garnet Wolseley had tossed the Transvaal border decision of 1878 into the bottomless abyss of Boer pacification, at the expense of England's word to the natives. It was therefore with high hopes and a lightened heart that Cetshwayo took leave of his new English friends, and turned his face to cross the ocean once more towards his home.

One of his last visits before departing was to Mr. Whiteley's famous establishment in Bayswater, with which he seems to have been extremely pleased.

"It has been Mr. Whiteley's fortune," says a London paper, "to be brought into more frequent and friendly contact with Cetshwayo since his arrival in this country than any other Englishman. He has therefore had most excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the King's characteristics and with his views relating to England. . . . Mr. Whiteley informs us that in his communication with Cetshwayo he has found him to be exactly the opposite of what, according to popular notions, might be anticipated. 'I went over to see him a day or two after he came,' relates Mr. Whiteley. 'He was very pleased indeed to see me, and he entered into a most intelligent conversation. He asked me a number of very shrewd questions about my business. For instance, How long had I been in business? How many people did I employ when I started? How many had I now? What number had I engaged in making articles to be sold? What number had I at work as salespeople? What were the proportions

of men and women? Numbers of questions such as that, which showed a very clear apprehension of what commerce and business meant. Altogether I found him an exceedingly nice fellow. Some people seem to have the impression that he has a rough manner, that he is a sort of savage, a half cannibal, a barbarous, cruel, unsympathetic man. I assure you he is nothing of the sort. He is peculiarly good-natured, and wonderfully pleasant company. If he meets anybody that will jest and joke with him, there is nothing he likes better. He is fond of chaffing those with whom he is familiar, and he can stand chaff just as well as he can give it. He is very fond of paying a compliment, more especially where a lady is concerned. He is a big, burly man, about forty-six years of age, standing over six feet high, and he weighs over twenty stone. But for a black man he is very good-looking, and were it not for the thickness of his lips, he would be handsome. In conversing he expresses very pleasing, and sometimes refined sentiments. I brought my two little children over to see him one afternoon, and he chatted with them for over half an hour. He said afterwards that he had met nobody since coming to England who had pleased him so much as these children. The little girls were also delighted with him, and would have liked to stay longer.' Mr. Whiteley on one occasion told him that he thought the Government had made a mistake in declaring war against Zululand and in making him captive, and added that he believed in saying so he represented the feelings of the great mass of the English people, who were really most amicably disposed towards him. Cetshwayo said he was delighted to hear that, and he quite believed it was true. From what he had seen of the English people, he could not believe that they would inflict such injustice upon him. If they had been the cause of his misfortunes, he forgave them, but he could not bring himself to think that they had. It seemed to him as if some fiend had been at work against him. He said that when the English soldiers attacked him in Zululand, nothing could have been more unexpected on his part. He was not at all prepared for war, but, under the circumstances, he had just to do the best he could to protect his people and his country."

Before departing, Cetshwayo called upon Lady Holland, at Holland House, to thank her for having placed Holland Park at his disposal during his stay, although he had not been able to make that use of

the permission which he might have done but for the crowds of people who watched his every movement whenever he went abroad.

“He took back from England,” says one report, “many handsome and costly souvenirs of his visit, including a stick with silver head and silver ferule, given to him by the Prince of Wales, beautiful Cashmere shawls from the great ladies for his wives and female suite, superb railway rugs and piles of prints and other dress stuffs for the use of persons who prefer the garb of Norah Creina. But of all his mementoes, that which he values most is a great silver goblet presented to him by the Queen, and bearing the inscription:—‘Presented to H.M. King Cetshwayo by H.M. Queen Victoria, August 14, 1882.’ In addition to this goblet, the Queen gave him with her own hands a photograph of herself, rather larger than cabinet size, charming him the while with the gracious words, ‘I respect you as a brave enemy, who will I trust become a firm future friend.’”

Arrangements had been made with the Cape Government that Cetshwayo should land at Capetown, and reside again at the farm Oude Molen, pending the arrangements for his return to Zululand, and Lord Kimberley wrote thus to Sir Hercules Robinson on August 29th [3466, p. 115]:—

“Cetshwayo should, of course, be treated with every consideration, and allowed free intercourse with all such persons as he may wish to see; but at the same time careful attention should be paid to his proceedings, in order that Sir Henry 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, and to allay any impatience which he may feel at the unavoidable delay in his return to his own country.”*

* How this friendliness of the British Government was evinced by the Natal Government will be seen hereafter.

Lord Kimberley also wrote, directing Sir Henry Bulwer to take whatever steps were possible towards collecting such cattle of the King's as were then in the hands of the chiefs (Hamu, Zibebu, and Dunn in particular) who had taken possession of them illegally after the war, and he writes as follows:—

“The want of cattle is evidently a point on which Cetshwayo feels the greatest anxiety. He frequently alludes to his poverty, saying that if he returns with empty hands he will only be going back to fresh troubles. If it should be found to be impracticable to collect the cattle which formerly belonged to him, the natural alternative would seem to be that the chiefs and people who are willing to receive him back as their ruler, should make a contribution from their own herds for his support.*

“Either, however, by the collection of his cattle, or by some other arrangement, it will obviously be necessary that proper provision should be made for his maintenance and support on his arrival in his own country; otherwise, in the absence of any means for his support in a manner suited to his station, he would find himself compelled to resort to arbitrary measures to supply his wants, a contingency which it is most important to guard against at the outset of his new rule.†

* This has a plausible sound, but it must be remembered that it was precisely those “chiefs and people” who had been plundered and impoverished on account of their loyalty to Cetshwayo by Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu, and even (under pressure) by some of the kinglets favourable to the King's return. If any King's cattle remained amongst the loyal chiefs they were very few compared to those confiscated by the British, or taken by the three disloyal chiefs named above. In fact such an arrangement was practically a heavy tax on Zulu loyalty, which must have been deep-rooted indeed to withstand all the efforts made to destroy it.

† The result of this admonition was the magnificent gift in the Queen's name of 360 head of cattle (according to native accounts 345)! Of these, 243 were a mixed herd, many of them old oxen and cows, which had been picked out by Zibebu and Hamu as the most worthless of the King's cattle which they had seized, and therefore most proper to be handed over to the Resident, and the

“The chief Unconewana also complained that his cattle had been seized by Uhamu, because he has supported Cetshwayo, and you should consider whether any intervention is possible on his behalf.”

However kindly these directions may have been meant towards the King, it is plain that again, as so often before, our British policy was that of *making other people pay our debts* when the necessity of their being paid at all was made apparent. *We* had done all the mischief in Zululand, *we* had stripped the King of all his possessions, and the whole country of a large portion of its wealth, by confiscating cattle, burning kraals, and destroying crops, but it did not seem to occur to our rulers that *we*, therefore, should bear the cost of restitution when it became plain that justice demanded it. To tax the people we had injured

remaining 100 were young cattle, the produce of the former while in Mr. Osborn's hands. It is notorious that the great bulk of the King's cattle fell into the hands of Dunn and Zibebu—e. g. the great herd of the “*Inyoni kaipumuli*,” white cattle flecked with black—which they, by some means or other, kept for themselves, while the King's brothers, and even his aged grandmother, had been stripped of their own cattle, on the pretence that they belonged to the King, and must be handed over to the Resident, as ordered after the war.

The loyal Zulus, i. e. all except these few chiefs, did indeed joyfully bring offerings of their cattle to the King as soon as they knew he had actually been returned to them, and, so to speak, empty-handed. But this was quite reversing the proper Zulu order of things, namely that the King should bestow upon his people, not they upon him, and placed Cetshwayo in a false position from the first. Nor did even the cattle thus received really add to his wealth, since he gave them back, as it were, at once, to feed the crowds who flocked round him, first to greet, and then to protect him—of all which a full account will appear in its proper place.

much, on behalf of the King we had injured most, was the only means thought possible of getting out of the difficulty, and probably the proposal to solve it by levying a tax on some one object of unnecessary British luxury would have struck all except some half-dozen so-called "enthusiasts," as a preposterous idea.

Nevertheless, the real loyalty of the Zulu people was so great that, but for one fatal mistake, the plans of the Home Government to restore peace to unhappy Zululand might have been crowned with success in the restoration of Cetshwayo and the subsidence of all party strife under his rule. That mistake lay in the fact that the whole matter was left to be carried out by the knot of Natal officials, who had for long been openly antagonistic to Cetshwayo, working under one with almost boundless power to make or mar, who had evinced throughout a persistent personal dislike for the King, who never spoke a good word for him since the war, and who had done all in his power to prevent his release. Failing in that, Sir Henry Bulwer gave his whole mind to preventing the King's restoration, in which effort he was greatly assisted by the officials above-mentioned, and succeeded in it to an extent quite unimagined at present by the British public. The story of the Natal officials' success has yet to be unfolded.

CHAPTER III.

WE must now return to the Great Deputation from Zululand, which we left* retracing their steps to their own country, after vainly endeavouring to obtain a hearing from the Governor, in order to pray for the return of Cetshwayo, and to represent the injuries under which they suffered in consequence of his absence. Deeply disappointed as they must have been, they submitted quietly and respectfully to Sir Henry Bulwer's orders, and left the colony as peaceably and inoffensively as they had entered it. Their last request, that the chiefs of the party might be allowed to come into Maritzburg, and take leave of the authorities, having been, like all previous ones, refused, they started, as ordered, on Monday, May 8th, 1882, intending to go straight to the Residency at the Inhlazatshe, and there repeat their prayer for Cetshwayo, so soon as the Resident should arrive, according to the Governor's instructions. They feared, however, that they might meet with opposition from Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu, and might, perhaps, be obliged to defend themselves, and get rid of these three disloyal chiefs, although

* See vol. i., chap. vii.

they had no wish or intention to fight, if they could avoid doing so.*

The first telegram which reached England on this subject, appeared in the *Daily News* of April 28th, 1882, from its Maritzburg correspondent, the editor of the *Natal Witness*, and was regarded as semi-official at that time.

It ran as follows:—

“PIETERMARITZBURG, April 25th.

“A serious crisis exists in Zulu affairs. A Zulu deputation, numbering nearly 2000 persons, chiefs and followers, is now waiting a few miles from here for an audience with the Governor. The deputation essentially represents the ex-King's party; † three of Cetshwayo's brothers are present in person; it also includes several chiefs living under John Dunn, who come to protest against his authority.

“The deputation comes without a pass from the Resident, which makes matters more critical.‡

“Great care is necessary to prevent civil war, and terrible bloodshed in Zululand.”

“Thursday, [April 27th].

“Sir H. Bulwer has declined to see the Zulu deputation, and directed the members of it to return home. Great fears are felt for their safety on reaching Zululand.§ The deputation, which is

* The Prince Maduna (Ndabuko)'s endeavour throughout was to obtain justice and his brother's release by quiet and peaceable means, which fact makes it all the more cruel that for party-purposes he has been so persistently and falsely branded as “turbulent,” &c., &c.

† The writer is silent as to the fact that the representatives of the three appointed chiefs headed the deputation, though they were included in a long list of the principal men composing it, which had appeared in the *Natal Witness* of April 17th.

‡ For an account of their vain efforts to obtain such a pass, see vol. i.

§ They thought it possible that they might be attacked on their return by Duna, Hana, and Zibebu; and, while they had no fear

upwards of 2000 strong, has been fed, while in Natal, mainly by the liberality of the colonists.* Serious troubles are anticipated, especially in John Dunn's district, which adjoins Natal."

The *Times* of May 2nd published a telegram from its Durban correspondent, editor of the *Natal Mercury* :—

"The Zulu deputation, numbering fully 1000 [1 2,000] persons, has returned to Zululand after eight † days' sojourn near Maritzburg. It appears that they had followed the Resident into the colony without waiting for the decision which he was to obtain from the Governor regarding their reception.‡

"Their action being unauthorised and defiant,§ and calculated to bring the authority of the Government into contempt, Governor Bulwer very properly declined to receive them. Bishop Colenso repudiates any sort of connection with the movement,|| the origin

as to the ultimate result of a struggle, they wished to avoid the necessity of civil war, as Cetshwayo had warned them to do. Any anxiety they might feel was due to the fact that, although they had left a strong party of adherents in Zululand, these were not mobilised, and attacks might be made by their enemies on kraals whose principal male defenders were away.

* The 2000 Zulus received from colonists during sixteen days' sojourn three sheep, with a little meal, sugar and coffee. From Natal natives two head of cattle and two sheep. But they brought down thirteen head of cattle of their own, and received another from the Bishop of Natal. They said, however, that all the natives at the kraals where they stayed were very hospitable.

† The deputation arrived near Maritzburg on April 20th, and set out on their return on May 7th, so that they left after *sixteen*, not *eight* "days' sojourn near Maritzburg."

‡ A full explanation of this circumstance is given in vol. i.

§ Their action was *not* defiant, as they left all their weapons behind them in Zululand, and behaved throughout their stay in Natal with the utmost propriety and respect to the authorities.

|| Bishop Colenso had done nothing of the sort. He had stated in the *Natal Mercury* that the two deputations which came to Maritzburg in May 1880, and July–August 1881, were "as wholly unexpected by himself as they were by the Government." He has