

of which is attributed to sinister intrigues \* of serious significance.

“Mr. Gladstone's remarks in Parliament concerning the possibility of Cetshwayo's restoration have caused much apprehen-

---

himself explained how far he had anything to do with the last great one, i. e. having told Zulus who asked him for advice that “it was no use for the ex-King's brothers, and his personal friends only, to make application on his behalf; but, if it was really true, as they asserted, that ‘all Zululand’ wished for his restoration, they should go to the Resident and ask for leave to come down to Maritzburg, and make their wishes known in a proper manner to the Government.”

\* These “sinister intrigues” were merely the very natural efforts of Mnyamana and the Princes to bring to the ears of the Governor, and through him to the English Government, the general desire of the Zulu nation for the restoration of the King. But Sir H. Bulwer had set his face against that restoration, and therefore he, and those who supported his policy, never failed to stigmatise every action of the Zulus *which might tend to a disposition on the part of the Home Government to restore the King*, as “defiant,” “turbulent,” “rebellious,” or whatever terms might best suit their purpose. The Zulus could not ask for their King in “a proper manner,” because Sir H. Bulwer did not choose that they should ask for him at all, and thus he speaks of this orderly and respectful attempt to make the feelings of the people known to him in the following terms:—

“Unfortunately, the ill-timed agitation that has of late been set up by the leaders of a party in that country [Zululand], not only tends to increase the difficulties, and to embarrass the due consideration of the question, but threatens, unless more moderate counsels prevail, to disturb the public peace in some parts of the country.” (Sir H. Bulwer's speech at the opening of the Legislative Council of Natal, June 8th, 1882.)

True—so decided a proof of loyalty to Cetshwayo *did* “tend to increase the difficulties,” of hiding from the British Government and public the fact that Zululand, as a whole, prayed for Cetshwayo's return, and there is no doubt about it that nothing could so decidedly “threaten . . . the public peace” in Zululand, as Sir H. Bulwer's action in refusing to receive the deputation, and sending it back, therefore, branded with British disapproval of its errand, a proceeding highly calculated to embolden the three disloyal

sion here, where such a policy would provoke vigorous resistance."\*

Meanwhile the despatches received in Downing Street from Sir H. Bulwer, made light of the whole matter, for, to quote Mr. Courtney's reply to Mr. R. N. Fowler, in the House of Commons, his telegram "merely refers incidentally to a demonstration at Natal by the ex-King's brother."† (*Daily News*, April 28th, 1882).

On May 8th, the *Daily News* publishes another telegram from its Maritzburg correspondent:—

"Native reports from Zululand state that the present agitation there is largely owing to a message purporting to come from Cetshwayo, stating that he would return soon, and that the chiefs must prepare to meet him at Maritzburg. The message is explicitly stated to have come from Bishop Colenso. John Dunn has returned to Zululand. There is evidence that he has threatened vengeance against the chiefs who complained of him."

The writer cannot possibly have been ignorant of the absurdity of the statement concerning the Bishop

---

chiefs, Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu, in their tyrannical and aggressive course, and to crush the spirit of such Zulus as, inwardly attached to the King's cause, lacked courage to assert their opinions, and meet the threatening consequences.

\* This is simply a specimen of the editor of the *Mercury's* favourite assumption of representing "colonial" feeling. As a matter of fact, although, at the Natal elections for the Legislative Council of 1882, he raised the *anti-Cetshwayo* cry to obtain his own re-election, he was yet rejected by the constituency of Durban, which had supported him on previous occasions.

† Mr. Osborn (the Resident for Zululand) went out twice to converse with the heads of the deputation, on the 21st and 24th of April, and took down the names of the principal men. Sir H. Bulwer must, therefore, have known when he sent the above telegram that three appointed chiefs were represented amongst them.

of Natal. He was perfectly well aware that the Bishop, at this time and for some weeks previously, had expected daily that the order would arrive for Cetshwayo to be taken to England, and *could* not, therefore, have sent a message to the chiefs months beforehand, "to prepare to meet him in Maritzburg." This consideration of mere common sense might have been thought sufficient to prevent his publishing so ridiculous a report (without one word of dissent), even had he not been aware, as he was, that the Bishop had already publicly denied the like accusations.

Surely nothing but a heroic spirit of determined loyalty to their King would have moved the Zulus to make any further demonstration in his favour at once! The cold reception they had met with might have been expected to damp their ardour for a while, and was, no doubt, intended to have that effect. Yet it failed. On May 30th, two messengers reached Maritzburg, sent by Dabulamanzi to make a report to the Government of the state of things in Zululand upon the return of the Great Deputation. They made five several attempts on five following days to obtain an interview with the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. J. Shepstone, but were put off with excuses each day, having, however, three unofficial interviews, one with Sir T. Shepstone, who received them with apparent kindness, but said that, being out of office, he could do nothing for them, and two with his son, Mr. Theo. Shepstone, who, each time, told them to "come again to-morrow." On the

fifth day, June 3rd, they received at last their answer, through the *Induna* of the S.N.A. (who did not see them himself at all). It was, as usual, a refusal to receive them, and the order—repeated and obeyed in vain so often before!—that the Prince (Dabulamanzi) should go to the Resident, Mr. Osborn, “or his representative, if he is not there himself” [query, clerk? The one perhaps who insulted the Royal women; see p. 103, vol. i.], and get him to write down his words for him, and give him leave to come to the Government in Maritzburg. And, they were told, even if Mr. Osborn refused to do so, Dabulamanzi might *go on asking for a pass till he got it*, but was not to come without.

So they started for Zululand again next day, having been kept waiting a week only to be told at the end of it to go and make their report to Mr. Osborn [or the winds!].

They had been sent, as they said to their friends, to inform the authorities that Dunn was threatening to “eat up” all the people in his district who had joined the deputation. Dabulamanzi wished the Governor to know this, so that he might understand, if disturbances took place, that it was no fault of theirs, as they should only fight in self-defence when attacked by Dunn, as, indeed, they had told Dunn that they would do, in presence of the Governor.\* They said that when Dunn hurried home (as he did after the interview with Dabulamanzi and others before the Governor), he gave out that he had left

\* See p. 208, vol. i.

the Princes in bonds (*botshiwe*) at Maritzburg, whereas he himself had been dismissed with honour, "Mr. Jan" \* having escorted him out of town upon his way. And he forthwith summoned all the chiefs and headmen of his own district to come to him, and some of the neighbouring appointed chiefs as well. One of these obeyed the call, and so did some other men of rank, about ten or twelve in all. But the appointed chief Siwunguza, when setting out to go to him, met the deputation returning, with the Princes amongst them, and found that they had not been in bonds at all, but were going, by order of the Governor, to make their prayer for Cetshwayo through Mr. Osborn, at Inhlazatshe. Upon this, Siwunguza joyfully turned and joined them, as did some others, even of the few who had been prepared to submit to Dunn, armed, as they had thought him, with fresh powers from the Government at Maritzburg. The bulk of the chiefs and headmen, however, had refused to listen to Chief Dunn, who had set them all against him by his assertion that they were opposed to the King's return, and that the taxes paid to him by them were a proof of their content at the King's absence. Mavumengwana, the head of one of the powerful tribes in Dunn's district, entertained the Princes Maduna and Dabulamanzi, with the bulk of the deputation, for three days, killing a beast as a sacrifice to the *amadhlozi* (ancestral spirits) for them, and presenting his followers to Maduna, saying, "They are your

\* Mr. Jan = Mr. J. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs.

tribe, not mine, O sons of Mpande! We are all with you, and will go with you to Mr. Osborn to pray for Cetshwayo." And all the people of Southern Zululand began to collect for the same purpose. But Maduna sent to turn these back, bidding Dabulamanzi and all the Southern Zulus remain (as Dunn was threatening them), to protect their homes, until the arrival of Mr. Osborn, who had not yet come from Maritzburg, when he, the Prince, would let them know, that they might all move up together to Inhlazatshe. "We heard," said the messengers, "that Dunn sent a vehicle to fetch Nongena,\* being determined that he should attend his meeting. But he refused, saying, 'I have done with John Dunn for ever!' And, truly, the hearts of all Zululand are now turned towards Inhlazatshe, praying for Cetshwayo."

A little later, July 1st, a fuller account of these proceedings was brought by three Zulus of position, sent by nine important chiefs living in Dunn's district, and most of whom had considerable tribes attached to them. Their message was to the Governor, but as they had brought no "pass" from the Resident, they never had an opportunity of delivering it. "Part of our message," said they, "is to explain that we all, who live in Dunn's district, have been absolutely forbidden by two Indunas of the Resident, who came accompanied by two of Dunn's, to go to the Resident to pray for Cetshwayo." And this although they had been told by

\* Nongena, a very old chief, too feeble to come on foot.

the authorities in Maritzburg, when they came as part of the recent deputation, that they were to go back and make their prayers and complaints at the Inhlazatshe to the Resident, and ask him to write them down, and to give them a pass to go to Maritzburg. Their story showed how, after the events described by the former messengers, Dunn had, by repeated messages and threats, borne down the somewhat feeble spirit of Mavumengwana, who finally went to him, as required, and, being thoroughly badgered and brow-beaten, admitted one point, at least, which Dunn was desirous of asserting, namely, that he had heard that the Zulus were said to have paid taxes in order to keep Cetshwayo away "from the two young men, who had been to see after Posile at Bishopstowe."\* But on Mavumengwana's return to his companion chiefs the latter blamed him severely for having said this, since, in point of fact, both they and he had first heard the matter from two of Dunn's own men.

With Mavumengwana returned a couple of Dunn's policemen, and one of his white men, with the important addition of two of the Resident's police, who, whether authorised to do so or not, invariably assumed a tone of command amongst the Zulus, and as invariably threw in their influence, that is to say the influence of their master, on the side of tyranny, and oppression of the loyal Zulus. For a few

\* Nothing, indeed, was known at Bishopstowe of the matter until it was published, on Dunn's own authority, in the *Natal Mercury*, by Dunn's friend, the editor of that paper.

months such conduct might have been carried on without the Resident's knowledge, but when it is found to have lasted throughout the three years of Cetshwayo's absence, it is difficult not to suppose that it was regarded with indifference, if not approval. These men proceeded to call a meeting of all the Zulus in Dunn's district then at Mavumengwana's kraal, as they had refused to go to Dunn's kraal, and he was determined they should hear what he had to say. The violent and insolent language used by him is not worth recording now, but it included utter contempt towards the Governor and other authorities at Maritzburg as well as towards Cetshwayo and the loyal Zulus, and many vaunts as to what he and *his friends in Durban* could, and would do, to vindicate their power. Dunn's messengers were supported in all they said by the Resident's Induna, who also forbade the Zulus of Dunn's district to go to the Inhlazatshe at all. "The words of the authorities are these only which I have spoken,\* there is nothing further for you to hear from Malimati (the Resident)."

Meanwhile messengers came to Dabulamanzi and the other chiefs, from Maduna and Mnyamana, to say that "Malimati (the Resident) tells us that he hears from Dunn, that the people of his district do not

\* That "at Maritzburg, it was said (i. e. ordered) that all people on this side of the Umhlatuze should pay taxes to Dunn, and that he had power to 'eat up' cattle, and turn people out of his district." He also informed them that they would never see Cetshwayo again, as he had been "broiled down for fat, with which to anoint magically the English soldiers"!

want Cetshwayo at all—they were only beguiled by Cetshwayo's brothers." \*

So all the chiefs and headmen whom Dunn had threatened gathered together at the Inkandhla† to take counsel, and fresh members of the party were still arriving when these three men were sent down in haste to tell the Governor again, "We do pray for Cetshwayo, all of us," and that "John Dunn is now threatening us with an *impi* from Durban," ‡ and that the Resident's own policemen "forbid us to take our prayers and complaints to him at Inhla-zatshe, as the Governor had told us to do."

The messengers attended at the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs daily for a week (from Monday, July 3rd), receiving a daily "shin-bone" of beef. On the fifth day, July 7th, they spoke with the S.N.A. (Mr. John Shepstone), who said that "he had no word for them, but the chiefs who had sent them should come down in person" (Dabulamanzi, the principal one amongst them, having only just gone

\* This was the pretence constantly put forward by the Natal officials to discredit the movement in Zululand in favour of Cetshwayo's return, but not a shred of evidence has been produced that any single Zulu ever even professed to have been thus beguiled.

† The *Inkandhla*, afterwards Cetshwayo's place of refuge.

‡ A writer in the *Natal Witness* of August 11th, 1882, dating from the Lower Tugela a week before, says, "It is being freely said that Dunn has sent emissaries to Durban in quest of [white] recruits. Ten shillings per diem and rations is his bribe, but very few, I fancy, will come forward at that price. A meeting of his people was called the other day, ostensibly to talk over the advisability of sending an *impi* to prevent the encroachments of the Boers . . . I learn . . . that the real object of the meeting was to lan a march on Ndabuko (Maduna)."

up). They replied that they would send one of their party to call the chiefs, and would await their arrival, to which the S.N.A. agreed. Their messenger started on July 9th, and on Sunday night, the 23rd, the return envoy reached Bishopstowe. Next day he went in to the S.N.A. Office to report that "Dabulamazi had sent him to the Resident to ask for a pass, according to the Governor's word," but Mr. Osborn had refused it—also that "the Prince and Zeyise \* had now gone in person to ask for a pass for the whole party, and had sent him on beforehand to announce to the authorities at Maritzburg that they were coming." † The Indunas at the S.N.A. Office told him "Since they are coming themselves, there is no 'word' for you." The subsequent treatment of the chiefs thus sent for, when they came, is so characteristic of the way in which the Office for Native Affairs in Natal habitually trifles with the feelings and convenience of these people—shifting its ground as often as suits it, without the smallest regard for justice, truth, or humanity, deceiving, temporizing, and insulting by turns—that the account will be best given in the words of the Zulus themselves.

On Saturday, August 12th, eight of the nine chiefs

\* Zeyise, one of the nine chiefs in Dunn's district. See p. 105.

† It will be remembered that their not having thus sent beforehand, or, rather, *long enough beforehand*, was made one of the pretences for blaming the Great Deputation. It was always noticeable with what care the Zulus avoided anything that had once been made by the Government a ground of offence.

who had been summoned by direction of Mr. J. Shepstone, several of them aged men, with representatives of the ninth and others, arrived at the Umgeni (about 12 miles from Maritzburg). Sunday and Monday were the black and white days of the New Moon, and the Zulus therefore remained where they were. Next day they moved on to about five miles from Maritzburg, and sent in Mbewana (the man who had been sent up to call them), and two others, to report their arrival to the S.N.A. They saw Luzindela, the Induna, and announced the Prince and the chiefs. He asked "Had they a pass from Malimati?" They replied that "The Prince himself would answer about that." Then he asked, "Where had they been all this time (since they were sent for)?" Said they, "We have been delayed by the difficulty of travelling with such aged men. We pray the authorities to appoint us a place to sleep at." Said Luzindela, "Do you not know, then, the kraals where you stayed before?"—[i. e. when the Great Deputation was left to lie out upon the hills, or in any kraals in which they could find shelter]—"Go and sleep there, and come again to-morrow." \*

Next day (August 16th) they went in again. Said Luzindela, "Speak, then!" Said they, "What should we say, since we spoke yesterday?" Said he, "Speak! and let me hear by whom this Prince and these chiefs have been called." Said they,

\* Here we have the common spectacle of the little authority imitating the official arrogance of the bigger one.

“Were you not present when they were called?”\* Said he, “It was never said, ‘Go and call them.’ Did you not say, ‘We left them coming?’” Said Mbewana, “Well, I do not understand you; for you were in the room when Mgamule told Mr. Jan (Shepstone) that his knees [i. e. their weakness] prevented his journeying so much, for which reason he would send me.” Said Luzindela, “You misunderstood! It was because you told us that they were already on the road that it was said, ‘Let them be quick, then!’” [So easily do masters find followers to “swear to what they say”!]

On Thursday the same men were sent in again. And this time another *Induna*, “Tom,” was with Luzindela, who asked them the same question, “Who had called them?” Said they, “We have nothing further to say on that point; but that you should now announce us to the *Inkos*’ (Mr. Jan). But Dabulamanzi told us to say that he himself and Zeyise went to Malimati, and spent a whole day praying for the pass. Malimati was writing a paper while he spoke, apparently taking down their words; but in the end he refused them the pass. And so Dabulamanzi has come down without it.” While speaking with the messengers, Luzindela was called into the Office. Coming back presently, he said, “The *Inkos*’ says you will hear from him (when you are to come in to him).”

Meanwhile, a policeman had gone out to the

\* In Zulu this interrogative form of answer implies assertion, as “Were you not present?” = “You were present.”

Prince to inquire for the pass from Malimati. But Dabulamanzi replied that "he could not report all that matter by messenger; he begged leave to bring in his words himself."

Men from Dunn had arrived in Maritzburg a day or two before Dabulamanzi and party, and were met by his messengers at the S.N.A. Office, where they saw Dunn's men called in to have audience with Mr. Jan, while they were left waiting day after day outside. On Thursday they found that Dunn's party was increased by some men from Mavumengwana and three other chiefs, who had arrived in charge of Dunn's policeman, Mkatini. And on the same day messengers from home reached Dabulamanzi, to warn him that Dunn had told Mavumengwana to go down and make as if he had joined the Prince's party, and act as a spy for Dunn. Mavumengwana had refused to do this, but had sent men to be his ears, and so had the three other chiefs. On Saturday (August 19th) after waiting for a summons to no purpose through Friday, the Prince and party sent in messengers to ask for food, as they had received none all these days, and were very hungry. Luzindela, whom they found in company with Dunn's men at the S.N.A. Office, just drove them away, saying, "What! are you coming here with your tricks from Zululand? Be off! Nobody sent for you!" But Dunn's men were seen going through the town carrying beef.

Two days later\* a messenger from the S.N.A.

\* During this time they were so much pinched by hunger, owing to the neglect of the Government officials, that they went

Office came to them, to say—"What! are the Princes and the chiefs here all this time? Why do they not come in to Mr. Jan?\*" Do they not know that he is the Governor's representative? How can he feed them if they do not come to him? Do they get anything to eat out there?"

It was too late to go in that day, but they went the next morning, the whole party. The *indunas* of the S.N.A. asked, "What has all this crowd come for?" They replied, "Here are the nine chiefs who

---

to the Bishop of Natal and represented their case to him, receiving food from him at once. But they must have been hard pressed before doing this, since Ndabuko, with a delicacy and genuine gratitude not often equalled even amongst civilised people, had strongly impressed upon all the members of the Great Deputation that, knowing the Bishop's readiness to give to all who required, and how much he had already done for them in many ways, they must not, on any account, ask for presents at Bishopstowe, and must be careful not to impose on the kindness of their best friend.

\* They *had* been in to "Mr. Jan" four days out of the five. If it is argued that the native *indunas* alone were responsible for the neglect and insult under which they had suffered, and that the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. J. Shepstone) was ignorant of their arrival, it must be answered that it is notorious that official subordinates, such as these *indunas*, behave as they know their masters wish them to do, and that, especially in so old established an office as the one in question, the *indunas* would not *dare* to act thus, unless encouraged, or at least permitted by the authorities. These men (the *indunas*) except as reflecting the sentiments of their masters, could have no possible interest in the Zulu question, unless, indeed, those masters had promised them lands and spoil in Zululand when the country, or a portion of it, should finally be annexed. The above account of the treatment of these Zulu messengers is given in their own unsophisticated language, as taken down from their mouths by competent persons from day to day, and translated as literally as possible, because their own simple story will carry conviction with it, as perhaps the same *facts* more elaborately related might fail to do.

were called; of the rest, some have come of their own accord, because they too wish to pray for Cetshwayo's return, and others have come in attendance upon the chiefs their fathers." They did not see Mr. Jan that day, and were told to "come again to-morrow." They received some meat, but very little; it could not possibly have been meant for one meal for the nine chiefs alone. As a matter of fact, only three of them got any of it.

The next day (Thursday) they went in again early, and waited all day outside the office of the S.N.A., but were told in the end, "You have come too late, come again to-morrow." They again received a little meat—four small pieces.

At this stage *the Press* interfered—for once (in Natal) on the right side. With one signal exception,\* for many years the Natal press had universally

\* That of the *Natal Colonist*, whose editor, Mr. John Sanderson, made a gallant stand against public opinion, and in the cause of justice to the natives, thereby sacrificing his own interests completely, and losing popularity, personal friends, livelihood, and, finally, it may almost be said life itself. He defended Colonel Durnford from the unjust charges brought against him by the colonists in connection with the Bushman's River Pass affair in 1873; he made a determined protest against the injustice done to the tribes of Langalibalele and Putini in the same year; and his voice was one of the few raised against the prosecution of the Zulu war. In consequence of these repeated and fearless struggles with *popular evil*, and his determined opposition to the dishonest machinations of what has since fitly been named the "official clique" of Natal, the support to his journal declined, it became impossible longer to maintain it, and the sad effects of disappointment in right endeavour, and the apparent failure of every effort made to stem the tide of oppression and deceit, helped to shorten another good man's life.

supported the *stronger side*, i. e. every measure tending to the oppression of the aborigines, and their reduction to the convenient condition of mere servitors of their white fellow-creatures. But about this time the *Natal Witness*, under the control of its present editor, Mr. F. R. Statham, began to emancipate itself, slowly at first, but later on, by a gallant stroke (which has yet to receive its meed of approbation from the thinking public)\* from the bonds of officialism and (so-called) "colonial interest," which still hold its brother journals. Even before the date given, the *Witness* (under the same editor) had shown signs, from time to time, of having the courage of its own opinions in face of the multitude, and upon unpopular subjects. It was an article from Mr. Statham's pen which, after the battlefield of Isandhlwana was openly examined for the first time, on May 21st, 1879, gave to the Natal world the true meaning of the discoveries made there, and pointed out, in thrilling language, the deep injustice which, until then, had been done to the true hero of that melancholy day, Colonel Durnford, R.E.

On the present occasion a reporter for the *Witness* came up and questioned Dabulamanzi, while waiting outside the S.N.A. Office on the Thursday, as described above, and this proved the last day of their weary detention. The conversation as published in the *Witness* is too long for reproduction here, but

\* See account of action for libel brought by Mr. J. Shepstone against the *Natal Witness* in 1883, *infra*.

several most important facts were elicited by it. Their "direct mission in coming to Natal" was "to ask for the immediate return of Cetshwayo." They had not known before they left Zululand that the Government had decided to restore him,\* and they were both greatly rejoiced to hear it, and sure that "all Zululand would rejoice as well. We are all happy, and the whole country will be happy. We will not have a good night's sleep until we have seen him. We will all go singing the whole way back to our kraals, because of his restoration. Even the old women who cannot walk will get up and walk [with joy] when they hear he is coming again."

Further, they said that even the appointed chiefs would welcome the King gladly, with the exception of Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu, by whom they declared that all the disturbances in Zululand had been caused. Dunn, they said, was universally hated, he had followers only because Cetshwayo was away; on his return, Dunn's men would all fall away from him. The Zulu nation had not the slightest hatred to the British Government, and would rejoice to receive Cetshwayo back at their hands, and with their goodwill. The questions and answers concluded,

\* One of Sir Henry Bulwer's most persistent assertions about the Great Deputation is that many of those who composed it were induced to join it by assurances from the Princes that Cetshwayo was about to be restored, and that therefore their appearance was owing to fear of incurring the King's displeasure rather than to any desire for his return. As a fact, the Princes themselves knew nothing of the good news until the Deputation reached Natal.

Dabulamanzi, after a short pause, made the following voluntary statement :—

“ We are all glad to hear that Cetshwayo has gone to England, for he has gone as if to see his father, Mpande, to get instructions, and to pay his compliments to the Queen. He has been sent to England to see what the strength of the British nation is. Since we have heard to-day of the return of Cetshwayo, we shall all die happy. There will be no more fighting in the land again as long as we live. We will all die with grey hairs. We will all get fat now. We don't want those three chiefs. All the rest of the chiefs, and the people, hate them. We hate them, and rank them as offal. Now I am satisfied that I have had my say.”

It was a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the very day after Dabulamanzi thus had his “ say,” in the hearing, of course, of some of the Government *indunas*, Mr. J. Shepstone did, at last, after putting them off from day to day so long, find it possible to give them an audience. They were confronted by several of Dunn's followers,\* who accused them of laying complaints against Dunn, “ just because they hate him,” and without real grounds of ill-treatment by him. This charge the Zulus never denied, so far as that their own personal grievances (i. e. Dunn's oppressive rule, the seizure of their cattle, &c.) were matters of small importance in their eyes compared with their great desire for Cetshwayo's return. What they desired was, not that Dunn should be obliged by

\* The *Times of Natal* (Government organ) tries to make out that these men were not sent by Dunn, but came down of their own accord, to defend him from the charges brought against him by Dabulamanzi and party. This palpably improbable statement is sufficiently confuted by the fact that some of the men who formed Dunn's party arrived in charge of one of Dunn's own policemen.

the British Government to restore cattle, or do other small acts of justice, but that he should be removed altogether, and their own King restored to them. Dunn, who had betrayed both King and country, and who, after years of kindness from Cetshwayo, had never ceased, since the latter's downfall, to bear false witness against him, and to oppose every chance of his release, was simply odious in the eyes of the Zulu nation, and his supporters on this occasion only assisted Dabulamanzi's case by pointing out the fact. The latter, however, and the chief men with him, declined to discuss these minor questions of Dunn's misrule upon this occasion. The news of Cetshwayo's probable return put aside all their own personal troubles. "We have come to cry and plead to the Government for the return of Cetshwayo, and not to complain of anything we have against John Dunn."

Dabulamanzi touched also on various important points: on the indignation of the people at finding that the taxes paid to Dunn were represented by him as paid to prevent Cetshwayo's return; on Dunn's threats against those of the people in his district who had "prayed for" the King; and on the fact that they were left without any resource but a direct appeal to the Natal Government, since Dunn's threats were enforced by "three policemen from the Resident, *to whom we should have made our complaint,*" and since the Resident refused to give them the passes for which the Natal Government had told them to ask, in terms which they under-

stood to imply that he would be directed to grant them. Finally, it was confidently asserted by some of those present at this interview, that even Dunn's own men remarked, on hearing of the King's probable release, "Immediately Cetshwayo returns, we will leave Dunn and join our King;" and that one of them \* had said before the S.N.A., "Why did not Dabulamanzi tell us that he was coming down to ask for Cetshwayo's return? We would all like to see him back."

The main body of the returned deputation, including the representatives of the appointed chiefs and Maduna, had gone on to the Inhlazatshe, after waiting the three days at Mavumengwana's, that they might not reach the Residency before Mr. Osborn.

On the way they learned that Zibebu and Hamu had already taken a step towards fulfilling their threat to the Deputation: "If you are rejected, and come back without what you are asking for (i. e. unprotected by British favour from our vengeance for your attempt to bring back Cetshwayo), we shall wipe you out." Two separate attacks were made, one by an *impi* from each chief, taking possession of many kraals, appropriating or destroying the stores of grain, but taking no lives, the people having fled with their cattle at the approach of the attacking force. At one kraal, however, the master, Ndabezimbi, whose two brothers were away on the Deputation, having

\* The first mentioned of these men would seem to have been some of those who had come reluctantly, under compulsion from Dunn, to take his part before the Government, but the latter was his own messenger and representative.

with him about one *ivio* (company) of his men, resisted the attack successfully, and drove off the *impi* (Zibebu's), being wounded himself in the encounter. His success did not last long, however, for the attacking party had but gone for reinforcements, with which they returned, and driving out the owners, took possession of the kraal, whereupon the Sutu people collected to defend themselves and to protect the Princes, saying, "Let us avenge Ndabezimbi, and go back to our own homes, from which we have been turned out by Zibebu. It is only you, sons of Mpande, who have been restraining us all this time. But Maduna said, 'No, wait a little! Are we not still praying for Cetshwayo?'"—meaning that any act of violence on their part, even in retaliation, would prejudice the King's cause with the British authorities. And he reported the matter of Ndabezimbi to Malimati (Mr. Osborn) on his arrival, who said, "Truly, sons of Mpande, I see that it is you who are attacked this time. But are you not praying for Cetshwayo? And am I not attending to that affair for you? Let this be. You have not yet been given leave to assert yourselves."

The exact words of this speech are not vouched for, but the general tenor was to prevent the King's party "asserting" themselves. Siziba, a very trustworthy messenger, repeats Maduna's words after a subsequent interview with the Resident. Maduna did not tell this messenger much, only that he did not understand the Resident's words, for what he had said was, "I have always said that it would be right

for the Princes to be returned to their own homes." The Prince remarked, "Why does he speak evasively, saying 'I have always said' instead of 'I say'? And why does he not call Zibebu and speak before us both? Does he not know that if I went to my old home now upon this 'word,' Zibebu would attack me at once, and there would be shocking fighting? I am not at all afraid of Zibebu, but it would at once be reported that 'here is Ndabuko (Maduna) making a disturbance.'" Kilane, a messenger sent by Sir H. Bulwer to see what was going on, gave the same report of the matter to the S.N.A. and also spoke to him warmly on behalf of Dabulamanzi, when the official said to him (Kilane) "I hear that Dabulamanzi is making a disturbance. Do they think they will help themselves so? The power which will help them will come from the Governor [only it never did]. Dabulamanzi sees that his brother is gone to the Queen, and so he sets himself up." But the Government messenger replied, "No, sir! Dabulamanzi is slandered. It is not he who is making a disturbance, but John Dunn who wants to turn him out." A very brief report of Kilane's statement on his return is given in the Blue Book [3466, p. 89], but it includes nothing beyond the bare reply of Mnyamana to the "message" sent him by H.E., and does not touch upon what might be regarded, if desired, as mere talk, such as the above about Dabulamanzi. Mnyamana's reply, as it appears in the official report, is, however, sufficiently to the point, as far as he is concerned [*ibid.*].

“ You ask me why I disturb the country,” he says. “ I do not deny that I have had an armed force here with me, but it was not to disturb the country. It was to protect me, or the people under me, from Hamu, who has never ceased to trouble me, and continues to do so. I have sat still all this time and continue to sit still, because I fear [respect] the Government.

“ Four of my principal kraals (one being that of my induna) have been seized by Hamu, the women and children driven out, and they are now occupied by Hamu’s people, and many of my people have in consequence deserted their kraals.

“ Who am I that I should make war upon any one? What I did was in self-defence. I am ill, as you see me, or I would go with you to thank in person, but as I cannot go I send . . . one of my principal men with you as proof of my sincerity and [to show] that I now feel that I am known to the Government.”

The message for which he expresses his gratitude was, he said, the first show of interest in him from the Natal Government since the “ settlement ” after the war, and is as follows [3466, p. 58]:—

Natal, June 15th, 1882.

“ Reports have reached the Governor here that the Zulu country is in a disturbed state, and that this disturbance is caused by you and others, with your support.

“ It is said that you have collected an armed force for the purpose of attacking ‘ Uhamu,’ an appointed chief in whose territory you live, and that you and others have collected an armed force to attack Usibebu.”

“ Is this true ?

“ If so, why is this ?

“ Upon whose authority can you be acting ?

“ If you consider that ‘ Uhamu ’ has wronged you, the way for you is clear, and if it is found that you have just cause of complaint, then justice will be done you, but you cannot take upon yourself a right that belongs to the Government only. Proceedings such as yours cannot fail to bring further trouble on the people of the country.

“ The Governor, therefore, in order to save time, sends messengers direct to you with the expression of his trust that you will at once send the people you are said to have with you to their homes, and

that you will induce the others to do the same. If you have a complaint against 'Uhamu,' the Governor will be ready to hear what it is, and to cause it to be inquired into, and to set matters right.\*

"You must know that the people cannot live in peace while armed parties traverse the country, and it has surprised the Governor to hear that you are the first to take up arms against another."

That Mnyamana or any of the "Sutu" party † had been "the first to take up arms," was a complete mistake, and the repeated admonitions to them to disperse, not to arm themselves, &c., &c., were practically commands not to defend themselves, and to remain quietly, each family at their own kraal, while the disloyal chiefs attacked and destroyed them piece-meal. A comparatively small body of armed men in this manner may easily overcome and put to death a scattered population of immensely larger numbers, and this is precisely what has been allowed, if not encouraged, in Zululand. In 1880 had Mnyamana and the Princes raised a standard for

\* This and the former sentence, "the way for you is clear . . . justice will be done you," must have seemed to the Zulus an utter mockery! How often had Mnyamana and the Princes laid their complaints before "the Governor" during the past three years, and what justice had they ever received? Even the small and partial restitution of cattle which Sir E. Wood ordered to be made to them by Hamu, was never enforced, of which fact Sir H. Bulwer was perfectly well aware when he sent this message to Mnyamana, for he had mentioned it, and that "it is evident from Mr. Osborn's report of the 31st May [3466, p. 47], that the cattle were not paid at that time," in a despatch written the very day before (June 14th, 1882).

† The King's adherents, i. e. the great majority of the natives, have now become so commonly known by this name "Usutu," that it is hardly possible not to adopt it, though it properly belongs to Cotshwayo's own tribe only.

Cetshwayo \* the numbers of his adherents would have been too great to allow of even a show of opposition, but the policy of the anti-Cetshwayo Government officials has all along been to encourage and strengthen the few chiefs who were willing to oppose him, while the remainder were kept down. In 1881 Hamu's *impi* slaughtered over a thousand (1200) unprepared men, who had they been collected and ready for the attack would have easily held their own. These, the Aba Qulusi, were amongst Cetshwayo's most loyal and courageous subjects. That the like murderous attacks on separate portions of the people contributed still further to the lessening of the numbers of the King's men after the (so-called) restoration will be shown in its proper place. Meanwhile there could hardly be a stronger proof of the great majority on the King's side than the fact that, even after the massacre † on repeated occasions of so many of them, they are still strong enough to hold their own.

The Zulus generally, however, were not so patient as Cetshwayo's brothers forced themselves to be for his sake. They rose throughout the country, and ran together in arms to help the Princes, and in an engagement which shortly ensued, they routed Hamu's *impi* completely. On this Hamu at once displayed that spirit, or want of it, for which he is

\* As, without doubt, they would have done had they then known all that was to follow.

† It is impossible to call that a *battle* in which the slaughter is all on one side, as, for instance, one of Hamu's white men wrote of the Aba Qulusi, "Out of an army (?) of about 1500, few escaped . . . our casualties are eight killed and thirteen wounded."

famous.\* He fled to his cave, sending messengers to Mnyamana and Undabuko, asking innocently *why they had attacked him!* and assuring them of his good-will to Cetshwayo. Zibebu's *impis* did more serious mischief before their career was stopped. They received several repulses at first, but Zibebu had then, as afterwards, white men with him, and, with their assistance and leadership, he succeeded in driving out one strong party, and burning their kraals, with three poor old women in them.

It would be wearisome to repeat the stories of all the attacks and reprisals which followed before the fighting was stopped, partly owing to Mr. Osborn's entreaties, and partly by Maduna's influence.

That comparatively few lives were sacrificed instead of the frightful slaughter committed on previous occasions by Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu,† is undoubtedly due to the newly revived hopes of Cetshwayo's return. The three unfriendly chiefs had not, at this time, the *power* to do as they had done before, while the leaders of the great mass of the loyal people had not the will to involve the country in a civil war of serious dimensions.

The heads of the Great Deputation saw the Resident at the Inhlazatshe on May 30th, and Mr. Osborn writes next day to Sir Henry Bulwer of the interview thus :—

“I have the honour to state that Undabuko and Usiwetu,

---

\* Hamu was the only Zulu chief who deserted his king and country, and came over to us at the outset of the war of 1879.

† See vol. i.

accompanied by a following of about fifty men, came to me yesterday, and asked to be furnished with your Excellency's answers to representations made by them through me at Maritzburg on the occasion of their late visit to Natal.\*

"With the view of insuring accuracy, I carefully noted down at the time what was said by them in making their application, and the replies I gave them. I annex hereto for your Excellency's information a statement of the particulars of the interview.

"The applicants' real desire is to secure for their occupation and use, and for that of their followers, a tract of land excluded from the territories of the appointed chiefs, and over which no such chief is to exercise any authority. I have already, on different occasions, explained to the applicants that the object they seek to obtain is impracticable, and advised them to come to some proper arrangement with a chief, by which they could secure sufficient land for their occupation and use. But as such an arrangement involved their recognition of the chief, they have *for this reason* † not been

---

\* This, it will be remembered is what they were ordered to do by the Natal Government.

† It will be remembered that, at the Inhlazatshe meeting with Sir E. Wood (Aug. 31, 1881), the "word" they received was this: "You, Maduna, Ziwedu, and Dinuzulu, we give you to John Dunn [their worst enemy]. As for your cattle, if Zibebu has eaten up thirty, he shall give you back ten, or if forty, he shall give you twenty, and keep twenty in any case. But this is only on condition that you go to John Dunn; if you do not go to live under John Dunn, Zibebu shall return you none." There is no evidence that they were *ever* given leave to place themselves under any of the more loyal appointed chiefs, who would have treated them with due respect. Their choice lay between Zibebu, who had already treated them with violence and insolence, and Dunn, whose very name must have fired their blood after his behaviour to Cetshwayo. Mr. Osborn here leaves it to be supposed that the Princes were free to locate themselves in the district of any chief who would receive them, but there is not the smallest sign that any such proposition was ever made. The only alternative suggested, even at this late period, is from Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Osborn [3466, p. 100]: "I am of opinion that it would be very desirable you should make an arrangement with Umfanawendhlela, in whose territory, I understand, the two brothers have been living, by means of which

willing to act on my advice. They, therefore, prefer their request to your Excellency, in the hope of realising their desire of being placed in a position which will render them independent of the appointed chief."

The most remarkable statement of this *ex parte* report is that the applicants' *real desire* was to secure for their occupation and use, &c., a tract of land independent of *the appointed chiefs* (i. e. the whole thirteen, including the eight friendly to Cetshwayo).

---

they and their immediate followers may have ground sufficient for the purposes of planting during the approaching season." Umfanawendhlela, it will be remembered, was the *ninth* appointed chief—neither heartily loyal to Cetshwayo like the eight who petitioned for him, nor prepared like the three, Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu, to oppose him. [The thirteenth, Hlubi, the Basuto, has throughout been simply obedient to the Natal Government, and would contentedly have accepted Cetshwayo's rule had the Government desired that he should do so.] It was never even proposed to locate the Zulus with any of the appointed chiefs really loyal to the King. The policy of the moment was to trample down, if possible, the hereditary dignity of Cetshwayo's family, and to teach the people—if that could be—that the members of it were now but common men. But, as it was also part of the South African policy of, not alas! the *moment* but the decade, to put a fair face on all things before the British public, such a despatch as the one now under consideration served the purpose well.

Sir Henry Bulwer's phrase "*their immediate followers*" is a somewhat vague one, to be accounted for, probably, by the fact that the followers of "the two brothers" numbered some thousands, every one of whom, however, would have claimed to be an "immediate" follower. When Mr. Osborn spoke to some of the chiefs a little later, proposing to take the Princes back to their homes, but not the tribe, "the latter naturally protested, and when the matter was reported to the Princes themselves, they said, "Is this the Governor's word, that we are to return alone? are not our people our garments? Are we to sit in our own kraals naked? Is this setting the country to rights? It is killing us again!"

Except as a mere assertion of Mr. Osborn's, and repeated on his authority by Sir Henry Bulwer, there is not anywhere the smallest trace of any such desire on the part of the Princes. Having been turned out of their homes by Zibebu and stripped of what little remained to them of their possessions, they had indeed asked for some place where they might lay their heads without being subjected to the insolence of their quondam subjects, Dunn and Zibebu, but the interpretation here given to their request by Mr. Osborn is one which utterly and cruelly misrepresents the character and conduct of these Princes. This is fairly proved by the Resident's own words. Having particularly stated that "with the view of insuring accuracy," he "carefully noted down at the time" what the Princes said, and what he replied, we may assume his report to express *all* they said, and it will be seen that it is quite impossible to extract any such meaning from the words as recorded by Mr. Osborn himself.

His statement runs as follows :—

"Inhlazatye, Zululand, May 30th, 1882.

Appear Undabuko and Usiwetu, accompanied by about fifty men. Usiwetu, addressing the Resident, says [3466, p. 39]:—

'We have come to see you and greet you. . . . Our words were spoken to you in Maritzburg; they are with you, and belong to you. We wish to hear from you about them. We ask your answer to them. We have nothing to add to what we said in Maritzburg.'

*Resident.*—The words you spoke to me at Maritzburg were, as you know, for the Governor's information, and not mine, and therefore, not to be replied to by me [*ibid.*, p. 40].

*Uswetu.*—We were told to come to you here, and we do so now. We ask you to give an answer to what we said to you at Maritzburg.

*Resident.*—You were told to come to me here to make your representation for the Governor's information.

*Usiwetu.*—When we were told at Maritzburg that we could not see the Governor, we stated to you the things we wished to know, and you wrote them down. We were told to return to Zululand, and come to you here.\* This we have done now, and we ask for the Governor's answer.† We have purposely come to-day to receive it. We have not come to state any grievance. If you showed the Governor our words spoken at Maritzburg, we think you will be able to give us his reply to-day.‡

*Resident.*—You were told at Maritzburg to return to Zululand and tell me here what you wish to bring to the knowledge of the Governor; that I should show your words to him, and obtain his reply, which I would communicate to you. I am now willing to hear and write down anything you wish the Governor to know.§

*Usiwetu.*—It cannot be necessary that we should repeat now what we said to you at Maritzburg, and was written down by you. We said to you then that we had only two things to represent, viz. to pray that Cetshwayo may be restored, and to state our troubles (grievances) [that is to say, their persecution at the

---

\* This statement of facts is strictly true.

† The Governor's answer—i. e. to their great prayer for Cetshwayo.

‡ Surely nothing could be more natural and reasonable than this slight doubt which appears from time to time in the words of the Zulus! They *still* believed that the British Government loved justice and mercy. Yet in answer to their earnest and repeated prayers and representations, they had not received the smallest portion of either. There were but two alternatives left them; either to lose all faith in England and her Queen, or else to believe (what is undoubtedly the case, as far as the highest Home authorities are concerned) that their petitions had never reached the ears of those for whom they were intended.

§ This reads more like the behaviour of a regular school bully than that of a representative of Her Majesty. It will be remembered how the same bullying took place on the hill near Maritzburg, when—although the Zulus reminded Mr. Osborn that they had already told him all they had to say before he left Zululand—the Resident insisted on their repeating it all again and again, asking the same questions at each meeting, and receiving (although under some quiet protest from the Zulus) the same replies.

hands of Zibebu and Hamu, which arose out of Cetshwayo's banishment]. We still make these representations, we have no other to make. We expected \* that you would bring the Governor's answer, and we came here to-day to receive it.

*Umtyupana (Jubane).*—We are surprised. We were told at Maritzburg to return to Zululand and apply to you. You tell us now that you are unable to give a reply to our representations. The season is advancing, and we have no place to cultivate.

*Usiwetu.*—We shall be thankful if you will ask the Governor for an early reply. We have no homes.† Our great trouble [i. e. their immediate and pressing trouble] is that we have no land to cultivate.‡ We ask you to beg the Governor to give us a speedy reply, as our trouble is great.

*Resident.*—I will send to the Governor *the words you have just spoken* [author's italics], and communicate to you without delay any reply he may send."

English readers will probably find it hard to credit that the above speeches of the Zulu Princes were characterised by Mr. Osborn [3466, p. 42] as "neither friendly nor civil." While Sir Henry Bulwer [*ibid.*] writes to the Resident (June 10th): "I do not think the tone adopted by Usiwetu and Undabuko towards you in any way such as it ought

\* The word most probably used here would be more correctly translated "hoped," "believed," "trusted," than "expected," or the latter in the sense of "looked for." But the word *expected* gives a short and unceremonious sound to Ziwedu's speech. The same effect is produced by the habitual omission of the universally used form of courteous address "*nkos'*" (sir), without which no Zulu would dream of speaking to a superior.

† This was literally true; the Zulu Princes were homeless and destitute, but for the loyal and loving support of the people who had been stripped of much of their wealth in consequence of their loyalty.

‡ As this actually meant that they had no means of support save from the charity of their brother's late subjects, their need might truly be called great, without that desire for independent power of which Mr. Osborn accuses them.

to have been." Surely only two classes of human beings could have submitted *more* quietly to the will of the ruling power—either spiritless slaves, dreading and obeying a tyrant's rod, or else the very few, the best and highest beings in the scale of humanity, Christian philosophers in the broadest, noblest sense of the words, who might see beyond the authority, and despise the tyranny exercised upon them. We could not expect the latter from these poor, untutored, yet noble-natured barbarians, and it is a disgrace to our name and nation that we should have tried to enforce the former.

The closing words of the Resident give, perhaps, as plain an example as can be desired of the persistent manner in which the *real main* desire of the Zulu petitioners, for Cetshwayo's restoration, was suppressed, put aside, and hidden from observation, while lesser but more immediate grievances were forced into the foreground as "the applicants' *real desire*." Men who hardly know where to turn for their own livelihood, and who feel that presently their wives and children as well will perhaps be asking in vain for food, may easily be led for the moment to speak of instant relief of their own and their families' wants as deliverance from "our great trouble," yet it does not follow that the very same men would not sacrifice their own lives and the well-being of their families most cheerfully to the release and restoration of a monarch so much beloved as was the captive Zulu King, Cetshwayo. And it is

an undeniable fact that the Zulus, while suffering most at the hands of their persecutors, never failed to put forward their "prayer for the Bone" as the first consideration to be named, and even when beguiled into earnest statement of their personal and immediate afflictions, *the King* was always mentioned first. "We said to you that we had only two things to represent, viz. to pray that Cetshwayo be restored, and to state our troubles," says Ziwedu; "we still make these representations, we have no other to make." Yet as soon as they spoke of the second representation without further repetition of the often stated "prayer for Cetshwayo," the Resident seized his cue. "I will send to the Governor *the words you have just spoken*," i.e. those about their landless and destitute condition, which he did, omitting from his covering despatch all notice of their principal and never-forgotten plea for their King, and asserting unblushingly that "the applicants' real desire" [i.e. only real one] was to obtain land for themselves, independently of any of the thirteen kinglets. There is no need to take anything beyond the Resident's own letter and report to convict him on this occasion (as on many others) of failing to represent the *real* cry of the people, and substituting for it some minor complaint, of which, cruel as were their personal grievances, they all lost sight at once, whenever the main object of their petitions was put forward.\* Nor are such expedi-

\* As at the Inhlazatshe meeting with Sir Evelyn Wood, Dilikana exclaimed, "O Zulus! is it possible that you are wasting

ents peculiar to Mr. Osborn. Sir Henry Bulwer had before him the "statement of the particulars of the interview" given at pp. 128-30, as well as the Resident's despatch, when he answered the latter, commenting upon the former. He also carefully omits all allusion to the first and main prayer, "that Cetshwayo be restored," and confines himself to the second, saying that if the two Princes, or either of them, "would desire to come into Natal to see me on this subject [i.e. the question of a place where they can be located, not, be it observed, of Cetshwayo's restoration], you may give them the permission to come, provided they do not come in with a larger number of followers than ten persons."\*

And this was all! The Zulus had made this great effort to bring their desire for Cetshwayo's return to the knowledge of those who held him in captivity, and after travelling so far, enduring so much, and risking more, after praying in vain for an answer to their petition at Maritzburg, and being ordered to return to Zululand, and carry it again to Mr. Osborn, after being made to wait while the prayer—already

---

the time thus over your separate affairs? why do you not speak for the King's family . . . And our King? I thought our intention in coming here was to pray for him. [The literal translation, as given in another place, is "*your King*" and "*your intention*," but as Dilikana was one of themselves, and was merely recalling them to the point which they all had at heart, though they had been led away from it for the moment, the above rendering is the more correct.]

\* This restriction would in itself prevent anything like a general or influential petition on the King's behalf.

well-known to the Governor—was sent back to him again, for the answer which the Resident might, at least, have brought with him, from Natal, when he returned; after all this, when the earnestly desired answer came, it contained not one word about their main petition, not even so much as an acknowledgment of its receipt.

This deliberate quashing on the part of Sir Henry Bulwer of the prayer in question is the more remarkable, since the last ten lines of Lord Kimberley's despatch to him of February 2nd, 1882, Table of Contents [3174] No. 8, "Informing him of his appointment as Special Commissioner for Zulu Affairs, and instructing him as to the line of policy to be pursued," run as follows:—

*" . . . the chiefs and people, in order to avert the disasters which must result from a struggle for supremacy, may desire that Zululand should be reunited under a paramount chief [ibid., p. 18].\**

*" If any representation to this effect should be made to you from Zululand, it will require careful consideration. But in any case it must be remembered that the British Government cannot put aside the engagements into which it has entered with the Zulu chiefs as long as the chiefs on their part fulfil their obligations, unless in pursuance of the clearly expressed wish of the chiefs and people themselves, and that in any alterations which may be made in the settlement, the main objects to be kept in view are the maintenance of peace and the security of the border."*

Such representations had repeatedly been made to Sir Henry Bulwer: to twelve out of the thirteen kinglets one or other of Lord Kimberley's exceptions applied; while even if the Basutos had not been as ready as they were to acknowledge Cetshwayo upon

\* Author's italics throughout.

the Natal Government bidding them do so, the forcing an alien race upon the Zulus at all was a monstrous piece of tyranny. We were certainly bound to reward the Basutos for their services to us against the Zulus in 1879, but we should have rewarded them at our own cost, instead of at the cost of the Zulus. It would have been no more than simple justice for the Government to remove the Basutos altogether, if necessary, buying suitable land for them within the Natal borders, but, as it was, Sir H. Bulwer had not even that difficulty to contend with, for the Basutos were willing to become subjects to Cetshwayo while he was willing to receive them as such.

Sir Henry Bulwer being determined to look upon the Princes (particularly Undabuko) as the sole disturbers of the public peace in Zululand, persistently ignores whatever he hears to the contrary. In enumerating the motives by which he supposes that they and others were actuated in joining together to petition the Government (or, as the Governor puts it, "creating a disturbance") he studiously avoids any mention of such a possibility as regard for Cetshwayo, in the existence of which sentiment he is resolved to disbelieve. Undabuko's intention, according to Sir Henry Bulwer, is [3466, p. 55] to make "himself master of Zululand;" when it is impossible to deny that an appointed chief has expressed himself in favour of Cetshwayo's return, the former has been "got over" by Undabuko; Umnyamana "has been led to join" the

Princes by every imaginable motive *except* loyalty to his King; reported attempts on the part of the Usutus to recover cattle and other property of which they had been robbed by Zibebu and Hamu, or even to obtain food for their children from their own kraals, from which they had been driven out, are always spoken of as "raids" upon Zibebu, &c.; Ndabuko always "takes up arms in his own cause," instead of, as it should be phrased, "in his own defence, and that of his people;" and, finally, the Governor's and Resident's despatches bristle with such expressions, hurled against the Usutus, as "actively conspiring" against the (three) appointed chiefs, "refusing to acknowledge" them, "disloyal conduct," "wilful disregard" of their authority, &c., &c., one and all of which mean that the people in question joined in the petition for Cetshwayo's return, or expressed their sympathy with it. This, and this only, is the meaning of it all; and it must be left to Sir Henry Bulwer to explain how he intended to carry out his instructions, and learn the real desires of chiefs and people, while an expression of a wish contrary to those of the Natal Government and the three chiefs favoured by it, was regarded by the former, and treated by the latter as rebellion and misbehaviour of the deepest dye.

From the accounts of what really happened after the return of the Great Deputation to Zululand, it would appear that restraining messages from Sir H. Bulwer were far more required by Zibebu and his associates than by Umnyamana and the Princes.

When serious hostilities appeared imminent, the Resident summoned the princes and chiefs of the loyal Zulus [i. e. loyal to their King] to meet him in the neighbourhood of Mnyamana's kraal [3466, p. 95], where he had gone to procure the dispersion of the force collected there for that old chief's protection against Hamu. Sir Henry Bulwer writes of this to Lord Kimberley, on June 26th [*ibid.*, p. 93]:—

“They delayed doing this [coming to meet the Resident, when called] for two days, but on the morning of the 17th instant they came, attended by about 1200 men.” \*

Here Sir Henry Bulwer's arithmetic is in fault, since he subtracts 16 from 17 and gets 2. Mr. Osborn, in the despatch on which the Governor is reporting, says:—

“I started on the 15th. . . . I arrived the following day, and immediately placed myself in communication with them (Mnyamana, Undabuko, and Siwetu) requesting them and the headmen with them to meet me at my encampment. . . . To this message they answered that they would comply with my request, but they doubted their ability to come to see me on that day as some of their headmen who will have to be present at the interview were absent, and will have to be sent for.† . . . Shortly after noon on

---

\* Sir H. Bulwer concludes this short despatch, ‘He (the Resident) did not anticipate any trouble with Zibebu, who had always shown himself amenable, and disposed to be guided by the advice given him by the Resident.’ Are we then to suppose that Mr. Osborn was personally responsible for all Zibebu's violent and tyrannical conduct?

† Mr. Osborn here remarks, “From this reply I concluded, correctly as eventually appeared, that they would not come to me that day as they would take time for consultation in reference to

138 DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE OF NATIONAL PARTY.

the following day, the 17th instant, Umnyamana, Undabuko, Usiwetu, and Tshingana, accompanied by about 30 headmen, and about 1200 other men, most of the latter being ringed men (Amadoda) [married men = householders, men of position, not mere young fellows of no importance] came up to me all unarmed,\* having first duly announced their approach by messengers. On their arrival they greeted me in a friendly manner, and throughout the interview which followed their conduct and bearing was respectful."

Although the above seems a trifling point to insist upon, where so much is necessarily omitted to spare the time and patience of the reader, it is a characteristic instance of the manner in which Sir Henry Bulwer was led by prejudice against Cetshwayo, and therefore against his supporters, to adopt the style and language of a partizan in commenting upon what reached his ears concerning them, even on the rare occasions when his middlemen found it possible to furnish uncoloured accounts. No one can read Mr. Osborn's report and Sir Henry Bulwer's summary of it, without observing that the former for once speaks well of the conduct and manner of the Princes' party, while the Governor gives quite a contrary impression.

Returning to Mr. Osborn's account, it appears that, after hearing from him the object of his visit, namely, to disperse their army, they assured him

my visit." It does not appear *why* what they said should not have been the simple truth.

\* In his report of what he said to them occurs the phrase "it is not proper, nor is it indeed possible to hold an inquiry while all the men are standing with their weapons in their hands."

[*ibid.*, p. 67] that it "was not their intention to proceed with the impi against any one, neither did they assemble the impi, the men forming it had come together of their own accord, to protect the chiefs, especially Undabuko and other sons of Umpande."

After a few remarks from the Resident upon the folly of taking matters into their own hands,\* he continues, "I then added that the first step that should be taken was to disperse the impi by sending all the men assembled to their homes." The headmen objected to this, saying that advantage would be taken by Zibebu and Hamu of their exposed condition if the men were sent away, and they suggested that Hamu and Zibebu should be called upon to disperse their impis first.

"I at once pointed out the unreasonableness of this suggestion," says Mr. Osborn, "and after much argument on the part of the headmen . . . it was thought that a simultaneous dispersion of all the impis might meet the case. . . . After some discussion . . . they all agreed to my proposal for which they thanked me."

It does not appear why it should be "unreasonable" to expect one side to do what the Resident recommended to the other, as the "first step" in the "wisest and only proper course" [*ibid.*] for them to follow, but at all events he is able to report within the week that all the impis on either side were said to have dispersed.

At this interview the Resident directed Umnyamana and Undabuko to follow him to the Inhlazatshe,

\* They had found but little protection at the hands of the authorities.

to state their case for the Governor's consideration, and they agreed to do so at once.

Their meeting took place on the 28th and 29th, and Mr. Osborn reports on July 2nd [*ibid.*, p. 93], saying, "I had hoped to be able to hear also Uzibebu and Hamu in reference to these matters. But a delay having occurred in their appearance or that of their indunas, I deem it advisable not to wait any longer . . . ." He incloses the following statements made before him:—

*Hemulana* (representing Umnyamana, who was too ill to attend): "I am sent by Umnyamana to speak for him, and to say that since the time of the war he has had the care of the King's (Umpande's) children [and grandchildren, e. g. Cetshwayo's children]. When the war was over the white chiefs said Umnyamana and those he had care of, and his people, were to continue to occupy their lands, and that the appointed chiefs were not to disturb them on the land.\* Notwithstanding this, the chiefs soon after the settlement seized Umnyamana's cattle, and the cattle of the ex-King's brothers. They said they did this on the order of the Resident. After this General Wood came here to speak about our cattle. He said the ex-King's brothers were to remove into Dunn's territory. Very soon after he left the chiefs, Zibebu and Hamu had [the Princes'] cattle seized, took away or destroyed their

\* On this Mr. Osborn remarks [*ibid.*, p. 94], "He, however, omits to mention the condition attached to this permission, with which he was and is well acquainted, viz. that all who lived in any territory had to recognise the authority of the chief of that territory. It was the wilful disregard of this condition by Umnyamana that led Hamu to act as he had done towards him."

This "wilful disregard" on the part of Umnyamana of the "authority of the chief," merely means that he "prayed for Cetshwayo," and sheltered the Princes when turned out by Zibebu. It is necessary to bear this fact in mind whenever Sir H. Bulwer or Mr. Osborn use phrases implying rebellious conduct towards the appointed chiefs. "Rebellion" meant affection for Cetshwayo, however peaceably shown.

grain, causing also loss of life. Umnyamana then came with them, Undabuko and Usiwetu, to the Resident as they had been driven away with the assegai. Soon after this the Resident went to Natal, and on his return he sent messengers to Hamu to advise him to hand over to Umnyamana the cattle awarded to him by Lukuni (General Wood). Hamu replied that he would not comply, as he had seized Umnyamana's cattle on the Resident's order, and he requested the Resident to send the messengers by whom he ordered him to make the seizures. Umnyamana says further, that Hamu attacked and killed the Abaqulusi in the presence of the Resident, who had gone to the spot to prevent his doing so. The Abaqulusi was the tribe who had charge of Umpande's sons remaining in the land.

"After this the sons of Umpande (Undabuko and Usiwetu) wished to go to Pietermaritzburg to see the 'Makosi' there, and to 'konza' (pay their respects to them), as they belong to them, and to state their grievances. They asked the Resident for leave to go, shortly upon which he himself started for Maritzburg.\*

---

\* It must be remembered that all this was addressed to, and reported by the Resident, therefore there is no want of candour in the omission of the fact that they "asked the Resident for leave"—*in vain*.

Throughout Mnyamana's messages and speeches, it is always evident how impossible it was for the Zulu mind to comprehend or adopt the new state of things forced upon them. It was less that they *would* not than that they *could* not accept the appointed chiefs in positions which all the traditions and ideas of the nation denied them. Men in some cases of lesser rank and power, in many instances of equal importance only, set above them by the mere arbitrary will of the conquerors who then quitted the country, could command neither affection nor respect, and had Cetshwayo fallen during the war, the thirteen Kinglets would have been done away with within the year. It was only the hope of the King's return which, after the first stunning effects of the war had passed away, induced the Zulus to submit, in order to propitiate the nation who held him captive, to the chiefs whom the Government had forced upon them.

Sir Henry Bulwer himself acknowledges this fact, that the Kinglets were not accepted by the Zulus, in his "Report on the Settlement of the Zulu country" [3466, No. 79], in which he says,

They then followed him, thinking, as they would find him there, that he would obtain access for them to the Governor, but Umnyamana has since learnt that the Resident met them twice outside the town, and refused to allow them to see the Governor. . . . On their return, they had no place to go to, as Hamu had seized Umnyamana's one [own] kraal called the Mavageni. . . .

"Umnyamana says that the Resident is already aware of the oppression suffered by the sons of Umpande, the children of Chaka, who was the friend of the English chiefs, and who belonged to them. These children belonged to the English chiefs. Must they continue to suffer? The season before last they were driven about and could not cultivate any crops, and again last season when they were driven away from their homes. Their cattle had been seized. What are they to do? Are they again not to be permitted to cultivate at the ensuing season which is near at hand? The land they were driven from was not required for any purpose, it is still lying vacant."

The remainder of Umnyamana's message is well summed up in the concluding sentence: "All the troubles in the country arise from the circumstance that the white 'Makosi' gave to some chiefs the lands which originally belonged to others, who were thus placed in a wrong position."

Nothing could better illustrate the complete folly of the "settlement" after the war of 1879, when one man [Sir Garnet Wolseley] imagined that by the mere power of his word, he could crush out all the traditions of a feudal people, destroy their respect for their hereditary princes and chief men, and force them to submit to the arbitrary rule of whomever he

---

"Do the appointed chiefs possess in themselves the paramount and supreme authority over the people? The people do not recognise that the appointed chiefs possess it" [*ibid.*, p. 141]; and though he denies that inferior rank on the part of the Government nominees interfered with their influence, he shows very plainly that they were in a false position.

chose to appoint. The thing was impossible, or, rather, it could only have been done in one way, i. e. by keeping a large British army indefinitely in Zululand, to force submission to the appointed chiefs. Under those circumstances, the third generation might, perhaps, have seen the actual change effected, or a shorter time, at the cost of some dozen heavy engagements, by which a generation might have been wiped out more speedily.

After Hemulana, Usiwetu's representative, and then Undabuko in person spoke to the same effect, the latter saying [3466, p. 97]:—

“We, with our people, and their families, have all this time been living with others. We cannot do so much longer, and if we are not to cultivate next season, I know not where we shall go. The short crops of last season will prevent others from continuing to keep us.”\*

---

\* On this Mr. Osborn remarks, “It must be remembered that General Wood arranged with Chief John Dunn for a suitable place for them in his territory, an arrangement which they would not avail themselves of.” No one was better aware than Mr. Osborn how cruel and absurd a proposition was the said arrangement, or how impossible it was for the Princes to “avail themselves of” it. He also speaks of a “counter statement” of Zibebu's that he had persecuted his brothers because they “had joined the Usutu party with whom they were actively conspiring against him,” and had taken part last year with Usutu *when the latter armed with the view of attacking him.* These italicised words do not appear to have had any origin except in Zibebu's own mind. There is not the smallest sign of any such attack having been contemplated, and it is very certain that none ever took place, although Zibebu's misbehaviour to the Princes would have been more likely to precipitate than to prevent it, had anything of the sort been intended, as it

Of the persecution of these Princes by the appointed chiefs notice has already been taken, but the stories of the chief Umsutshwana and of the induna Ungamule, which follow, will be new to the reader [*ibid.*, p. 97].

*Umsutshwana* (chief of the Umhletshi tribe in Uzibebu's territory: "I come to state my complaints against Zibebu, who has oppressed me and my tribe, which is a large one, for a long time past, and is continuing to do so. Last year I informed the Resident that Zibebu had eaten up my tribe, taking away all our cattle. I could not then give the number taken because the tribe was so large, and lived on such an extensive tract that I could not ascertain it without calling the people together, which I would not do out of fear of offending Zibebu. I have not yet ascertained the number of cattle taken from us on that occasion, but I have now sent some men to find out; I believe that over a thousand head were taken. This seizure was made because we were charged with having aided Sitimela in the rebellion he got up against Umlandola,\* which charge I and my people denied. Previous to this seizure Uzibebu charged us with secreting royal cattle, which charge we also denied, but notwithstanding which he seized and took from us 320 head of cattle as a punishment. The royal cattle that were kept in our tribe were collected by Dunn immediately after close of the war. The cattle so collected numbered 140 head and were taken away by Dunn; two head remained with my brother Umiti as his due for having taken care of the cattle. It was the custom that those who had care of king's cattle were to retain their reward when such cattle were removed. It was on account of those two head of cattle having been found in my brother's possession that Zibebu made the seizure of 320 head from us. After this Zibebu said he had heard that I had been to the Resident with Undabuko, and that I had spoken against him.

certainly was not. For the rest the "active conspiracy against Zibebu" began and ended with their petitioning for Cetshwayo's return. Sir Henry Bulwer and Mr. Osborn repeatedly speak of this "arming" and intended attack as facts, but there is no available evidence of anything of the sort.

\* See vol. i.

I admitted that I had been to the Resident, but denied that I had spoken a single word to him. I said I never opened my mouth. As he, however, seemed displeased, I sent him an ox to appease him. He was, however, not satisfied with this, and demanded more cattle from me as "isivumu" (recognition); failing my compliance, I was to leave his territory with my people. He also accused me of having visited Mkosana on his return from Cetshwayo at the Cape. I admitted having been to see Mkosana, but denied that in doing so I had erred. To satisfy Zibebu I and my people had to pay him thirty-six head of cattle as "isivumu." . . . We remained at our kraals until Cetshwayo's brothers went to Pietermaritzburg about a couple of months ago. I sent men with them to represent me in the prayer for Cetshwayo's restoration. For having sent these men Zibebu was angry, and ordered me and my whole tribe to leave his territory at once. A few days after this order was given, one of Zibebu's own brothers came to me late in the evening and warned me and my people to leave our kraals at once as Zibebu's impi was coming to surround us.\* On getting this information we slept in the open that and three following nights, fearing attack. During the third night Zibebu's impi did come and surrounded my kraal, and finding no people in the kraal the men of the impi destroyed all the grain and loose property they could find. . . . I do not know how many of the kraals were thus visited and plundered, but I have seen some twenty. . . . Our people gradually got pushed lower down as the impi approached, until they took refuge in an uninhabited part of Somkeli's territory, where they and all our families have encamped in the thorns (mimosa bush), and where they are still encamped. They have no huts there to go into, and their cattle and corn have been seized. . . . We do not know where to get food for our families. My father was a great chief under the Zulu kings, and when he died I succeeded him over our large tribe. I did not object to Zibebu being chief over me as the English said he was to be so. But Zibebu has no greater rank in the nation than I have,† nor is he stronger than I am; I could have resisted him with

---

\* Umgamule says, "We do not like to mention the name of this brother of Zibebu's, as we fear that Zibebu will punish him severely should it come to his ears."

† Sir Henry Bulwer says [3466 p. 141] that the Zulus made no objections to the appointed chiefs on the ground of inferior rank, and that "as a matter of fact, the greater number of the appointed

success when he oppressed me, and I can do so still, but I refrain because he had been appointed by the English. I and my tribe now have suffered so much oppression from him, that I will never acknowledge him again. I will only acknowledge the English, and as you are put here by the English chiefs I will only acknowledge you as my chief, and as having authority over me and my tribe.\* I will not acknowledge any other, I and my tribe always belonged to the King only, and the land on which we lived was ours. We did nothing to Zibebu to merit being treated in the manner described. I ask the Resident to send men to the spot to see whether or not what I have stated is true. I ask to be allowed to return with my people to our homes from which Zibebu has driven us, and that all our property, the cattle, grain, &c., which were unjustly taken from us by Zibebu be restored to us by him. I did nothing wrong to Zibebu, gave him no cause whatever to treat us as he has done. I restrained my people from offering any resistance when our cattle were seized, and the other acts of violence perpetrated against us. I did this because I was afraid of you (the Resident), as I might be blamed for any fighting and loss of life that might occur."

(In answer to a question from the Resident)—

"I did not come to report to you these things immediately on their occurrence as I was afraid of Zibebu. Whenever any one has

---

chiefs were men of high position in the country." It will be manifest at once that not "the greater number" but all of them ought to have been chosen from such, but "as a matter of fact," although most of them were of *high* rank, the greater number were not of the *highest* rank, and the only Prince selected, Hamu, was the one who had deserted his country to the invaders. Here we have Umsutshwana speaking of Zibebu, certainly (as the King's cousin) next in rank, as having no greater rank in the nation than himself, and most of the kinglets were inferior in position to some of the chiefs placed under them by Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement.

\* Such phrases as these are frequently quoted to show that the Zulus desired English rule—i.e. not Cetshwayo's—but the following words of this speech, "I and my tribe always belonged to the King only," indicate what in all such declarations was either spoken or intended, "let us have *English rule if (or since) we cannot have our own King.*"

been to report anything to you the chiefs \* eat them up. I, however, come to you now, which is as soon as I could; I had first to see to the safety of the people of my tribe, and my own family."

Ungamule, an induna of Cetshwayo's "city of refuge" Ekubazeni, where he sent all the accused people whom he saved from death during his father Umpande's lifetime,\* residing under the chief Umtshwana, gave a like account of having been obliged to pay an "isivumu" of "20 head of cattle, four goats and two half-crowns" [*ibid.*, p. 99], of having been found fault with by Zibebu for friendliness to Undabuko,† and for sending to greet Mkosana on his return from the Cape,‡ for which last

\* For full accounts see vol. i.

† He said, ". . . I noticed that Zibebu was not friendly towards me, and on asking him [why], he said it was because I had gone to Undabuko, when the latter sent for me a little time previous. I told him to remember that I was the induna [under Cetshwayo's rule] who had special charge of them [the Princes] and their house; if he did not wish me to have anything to do with them he should release me from them, and let it be known that I have no more to look after them. [That is to say that this honest man, having had a special charge conferred upon him by competent authority, could not think himself released from it except by competent authority.] He replied that he had nothing to do with this. I then saw that he was still angry, but said no more, and returned to my home, where I remained quietly."

‡ Could anything be more indicative of the *suppression* of Zulu loyalty to Cetshwayo than the fact that welcome offered to Mkosana—who, coming back from the King's place of banishment with the news that he was still alive and did not despair of seeing them all again, was like a messenger from another world to these poor faithful fellows—that such welcome was regarded and treated as an unpardonable offence by the few appointed chiefs most under white influence (i. e. "amenable")? nor is there the smallest sign amongst the official papers, that the Natal Govern-

offence Zibebu had seized his cattle and that of his people, "510 head of cattle and 400 goats." Umgamule appears to have done his best to avoid collision with Zibebu; refraining (as did Umsutshwana) from personally joining the Great Deputation on Cetshwayo's behalf,\* and had endeavoured, in various ways, to propitiate Zibebu by treating him with due respect as an "appointed chief." But he knew that in their hearts they were loyal to Cetshwayo, and *that*, in his eyes, as in those of his patrons, was *the* unpardonable offence.

When Umgamule sent men to represent him (although he purposely did not go himself) with the Great Deputation, Zibebu warned him [*ibid.*], that "he (Zibebu) had already once hit me a blow, and created a sore on me; if I chose to rub and irritate that sore, and carry it to the Government (in Natal) as evidence against him, I may do so, but he would strike me again on the same spot, and bruise the sore." [N.B. This is the man who according to Sir H. Bulwer and Mr. Osborn "had always shown himself amenable" to the Government.] The narrator's account of the way in which they were driven from their homes, and their property confiscated or destroyed, agrees with that of the previous speaker, and he described how their families, women and

---

ment ever deprecated the actions of these chiefs in punishing every sign of loyalty to Cetshwayo, even after the Home Government had expressly stated its desire to know how "the chiefs and people" felt upon the subject.

\* Though not from want of loyalty to the King.

children, were then still camped in the thorn bush with no other shelter than they could make out of branches and grass.\* “Our men,” he says, “come out occasionally to the immediate neighbourhood of the homesteads from which we have been driven, and remain about the dongas (small ravines, dry water-courses) and bushes for chances to recover some corn or other property.” †

Sir Henry Bulwer’s comment [3466, p. 100] upon Mr. Osborn’s despatch of the 2nd and the above statements contains the following sentence:—

“There is nothing, as far as I can see, in the statements which you have forwarded to me that furnishes an explanation of Undabuko’s proceedings in taking up arms. He has not apparently attempted to explain it.” Determined prejudice could hardly go further! In the first place Undabuko is here forced into the foremost place, i. e. the position of responsibility, as the man who had ordered the Zulus to take up arms, although on all other occasions the Government had pointedly denied him the dignity of being a person of any consequence at all.

\* This was in winter, when the nights are always bitterly cold, even when the days are warm, which is by no means always the case.

† A trustworthy Zulu, six weeks later (August 6th), said that the only disturbances since those which took place immediately on the return of the Great Deputation from Natal had arisen from some of the people turned out by Zibebu driving off the latter’s people (who had taken possession of their kraals), not in order to repossess them, but to take away some of their own stores of grain, without which they, with their women and children, would have perished, and that Mnyamana, Ndabuko, &c., were waiting patiently to hear the result of Cetshwayo’s visit to England.