

given that chief's version of the matter, the (loyal) appointed chief, Somkele, who had taken Sitimela's part at the time, rose and strongly denied the truth of the tale, his people supporting what he said, until Cetshwayo put a stop to the dispute, saying [*Advertiser S.C.*]

"We have not come to hear [try] cases, but to hear the law from Somtseu [Sir T. Shepstone]."

"At last [Zulu account] came Mkosana, sent by the King to tell Umnyamana to finish, as he was the principal person present.

"So Umnyamana thanked again, and said that Somtseu must not be angry with them for speaking out their minds. To whom were they to speak if not to him?

"Said Somtseu, 'Very well, Umnyamana, I have now put him in your hands,' and he took leave."

The *Mercury* special correspondent gives Umnyamana's concluding speech thus:—

"The cattle make two different sounds when they bleat, and there are heard two different sounds among the Zulus [i. e. upon the Sitimela affair, the dispute about which had just been stopped, and to the 'arguing' upon which Umnyamana had, says the *Mercury S.C.*, objected]. We have stated our grievances to you, Somtseu, because we want you to hear us. We have our hands open to receive, and you have been good enough to give us the King, and now we thank you for your kindness."

The official report omits all mention of the dispute about Sitimela, which is described by the correspondents as the main disturbance of the day, the only other occurring when Siunguza and Umgitshwa tried to justify themselves. Sir T. Shepstone, on the other hand, writes [3616, p. 55] of Dabulamanzi's speech—

"This was the only occasion on which I found it necessary to interfere during the three hours occupied by talking; but I felt

bound to attempt, at whatever risk there might be, to prevent the discussion from degenerating into excited and dangerous as well as untruthful declamation."

There is certainly nothing *untruthful* in what Dabulamanzi said, judging from any of the reports of his speech, or even from the fragment quoted by Sir T. Shepstone himself,* and the chief does not appear to have been more "excited" than many of the other speakers. But the circumstance which leads one to feel that Sir T. Shepstone must have made some mistake in this portion of his report, possibly through incomplete notes taken for him at the time,† is that he *here* introduces Umnyamana's apologetic speech, which was not spoken till the end of the meeting, and then in direct allusion to the dispute about Sitimela, and not in connection with Dabulamanzi's speech at all. Sir T. Shepstone writes [3616, p. 55]:—

"Umnyamana apologised for Dabulamanzi's language by saying that all cattle did not low in an identical voice; that the lowing of one was pleasant, that of another unpleasant, and that I must think nothing of the expressions which Dabulamanzi had used."

The Zulus say that Sir T. Shepstone "was plainly angry" with Dabulamanzi, but whatever apology his displeasure may have drawn from Umnyamana,

* "To you Zibebu's blood is as sweet milk, it must be preserved, and taken the greatest care of; while ours is worthless and common, and may be shed by any one disposed to shed it." This, unfortunately, was not "untruthful," though it might well be "objectionable" to those who deserved it.

† The Zulus say that Mr. A. Shepstone cannot possibly have taken down all that was said at the meeting, and that during part of the time he was not writing at all.

as master of the ceremonies, the simile about the lowing of cattle was used simply with reference to the difference of opinion concerning Sitimela, and had nothing whatever to do with any of the subjects properly appertaining to the re-installation ceremony.

Recording a final incident, Sir T. Shepstone says [3616, p. 56]:—

“To enable Cetshwayo to move comfortably down towards Ulundi, and to afford him shelter until huts should be built for him by his people, I presented to him, in the name of Her Majesty’s Government, the little waggon in which he had travelled thus far, and the six bell tents which he had occupied from the time of his landing.* He thanked very much for them, and said that they would be a great convenience to him. I trust that my having done this will meet with your Excellency’s sanction. The meeting and ceremony, and arrangements for Cetshwayo’s comfort, including *the loan* † of two waggons to convey his baggage, being over, we took leave of and wished him every success.”

The *Advertiser* special correspondent records the above act of generosity thus:—

“On leaving, Cetshwayo was presented with the five tents he was using, and the ‘red ’bus’ which had transported himself and ‘the ladies of the Royal House’ from Port Durnford. But in order not to overwhelm him with too great a weight of obligation, the value of this gift was carefully lessened by the abstraction of the four mules and harness.” And the Zulus say, “the four mules, which had dragged it hitherto, were taken away by Somtseu’s party.”

With this magnificent parting-stroke the Special Commissioner returned to Natal with Her Majesty’s troops, leaving the Zulu King bound by his loyal

* It will be remembered that Sir Hercules Robinson had promised to get these bell tents for Cetshwayo if he could do so.

† Author’s italics.

word not to defend himself, not to help himself, not to allow his people to do either one thing or the other for him, and with orders to enforce vexatious laws, yet to raise no force for the purpose. Meanwhile Zibebu was placed with uncertain boundaries to provoke his neighbours, and with no restrictions whatever against arming his people, or collecting his *impis*, if he chose.*

Before leaving this portion of our subject it may be as well to realise what were expressed as Sir Theophilus Shepstone's own conclusions upon all that had passed between Cetshwayo's landing at Port Durnford, and his re-installation as King over a small portion of his original kingdom.

The 52nd paragraph of his report [3616, p. 58] runs as follows :—

“52. A feature which I should be wrong not to bring to your Excellency's notice was that on every occasion when I was addressed

* “We hear also that Zibebu is actively engaged in mounting and drilling as many of his men as he can” [*Times of Natal* (Carter), Feb. 27th]. “Cetshwayo is not to establish any military kraal, or military system. But the chiefs [i. e. Zibebu and Hamu], on the other hand, have their men drilled, and an organisation, now more or less perfected, which may be employed in an effective manner” [*Merc. S. C.*, Jan. 24th].

“While Cetshwayo is subject to the English Government in many things, and rules his country only in conjunction with the British Resident attached to him, Zibebu is free of any such restraint, and therefore practically enjoys more power in Zululand, and holds a far higher position, than Cetshwayo himself. It would not be unfair to compare Cetshwayo to a *chief* in Zululand . . . and at the same time it can be said without fear of contradiction that Zibebu is now the only *King* in Zululand” [*Times of Natal* (Carter), Feb. 17th]. This is certainly not what the Home Government intended.

by Zulus, whether in large or small numbers, by men or by women, on the subject of Cetshwayo's return, all concluded by impressing upon me that unless the hand that restored him, meaning Her Majesty's Government, also controlled and guided him [? supported and protected him], there would be little hope of peace and quiet for the country, because, added some of them, and especially the women, he will be misled and importuned and guided by those who love blood and covet other people's property."

The first portion of this accusation may be rectified and made to agree with the facts of the case by a slight alteration of terms as suggested above, but it is difficult to account for the latter except either by adopting Sir T. Shepstone's own view [3616, p. 43] of

"the puzzling phases of Zulu conduct . . ." which "compel recourse to knowledge, other than that to be gathered from their professions, to form a correct estimate of their real feeling," or *else by assuming misrepresentation of the words of these people.*

The present writer by no means assents to this sweeping assertion of Zulu insincerity, having found the proportion of honest, straightforward speakers amongst this people at least as large as would be expected amongst Europeans under similar circumstances. There were, no doubt, many of the weaker sort and sex, who, knowing that, in case of further war, they could not help themselves, desired to stand well with both sides, and took the opportunity of commending themselves to Sir T. Shepstone's kindly notice. The common people were, of course, wildly ignorant of what was to be the fate of the country. The English had once before swept it with fire and sword, and carried off the King without any apparent cause; now they

were bringing him back again, but who could tell with what intent? He was plainly still a prisoner, and the very sight of our troops was enough to terrify them with recollections of shot and shell, of cannon and of rockets. Under these circumstances whatever tendency to untruth and equivocation there might be amongst the Zulus would naturally take the direction indicated by Sir T. Shepstone in paragraph 52; although the meaning which he attaches to the "feature" is manifestly incorrect. That the majority of the Zulus, men and women, rejoiced greatly at Cetshwayo's return has been sufficiently proved in these pages. That he himself had always been inclined to a comparatively merciful form of government, and was of too decided and sagacious a character easily to be "misled" or "guided by those who love blood, and covet other people's property," has already been made equally apparent. It is remarkable, also, that while Sir T. Shepstone makes a general statement upon this subject, without giving a single instance, or quoting a single name, the correspondents make no allusion to the circumstance whatever, which is especially singular in the case of the *Mercury* special correspondent, who never loses an opportunity of crying down Cetshwayo, and the restoration policy. Nor can the omission have been made to screen the speakers, which could not have been either possible or necessary if "all" or even the majority of the Zulus spoke in the same manner, while the like care in the case of single individuals, said to have spoken against the King (e. g. Mfanawendhlela,

Siunguza, and Mgitshwa) was certainly not observed. It can only be said that the determined prejudice evinced by the Natal officials engaged in the affair is sufficient in itself to justify the assertion that they were utterly unfit to be entrusted with the re-installation of Cetshwayo.

Sir T. Shepstone's next paragraph may also be given in full.

" 53. When Cetshwayo landed he was in an aggressive humour,* he thought that he could without difficulty take command of the country, and that the messages sent by him to the people would be instantly obeyed.† He was not sparing of these, and the tone he assumed was that of a ruler already in possession, and inclined to insist upon his rights.‡ If he had succeeded in his efforts he would at once have become master of the situation, and the expedition would have been placed in very awkward circumstances.§ In his first message to the people, which he sent without my knowledge, and in many subsequent speeches, he showed his inclination to repudiate the condition which provided for the reservation of

* The account given by the *Cape Times* of the mood in which Cetshwayo left Capetown, and by the *Natal Advertiser* S. C., of the bright and happy spirit in which he landed at Port Durnford, dispose of this charge.

† This assertion has already been sufficiently dealt with.

‡ Cetshwayo naturally felt himself a King again as soon as he set foot upon Zulu shores, especially after the considerate treatment which he had received in England. It was not to be expected that he should understand or conform to the rigid system of etiquette apparently required by Sir T. Shepstone, i. e. that he should consider himself a mere private person, or rather a humble prisoner until the Special Commissioner's word suddenly made him a King once more.

§ What can Sir T. Shepstone possibly mean by this. He cannot, surely, intend to countenance the absurd suspicions of Mr. Osborn's informant about Usutu plans for attacking the expedition? The notion is too preposterous to have been seriously entertained for a moment by any member of the official clique.

territory.* . . . It was not until after several days' personal observation of the anxieties and misgivings of the inhabitants as to the consequences to them of his assumption of rule over the country† that Cetshwayo seemed to realise the change that had taken place in their minds, and became nervous and apprehensive of the consequences of his restoration to himself.‡ There can be no doubt that the fears of the people were very great,§ and that their distrust in the possibility of Cetshwayo's being restored without reviving the old régime, very strong [*sic*], || so strong indeed that but for the conditions, and the trust of the Zulu people that Her Majesty's Government will permanently secure to them the privileges

* What Cetshwayo really meant and said on this point has already been made plain. The passage omitted here is the one about the girls of the Royal Household, already considered at p. 127.

† Rather of the consequences to themselves and to Cetshwayo of the *impossible* state of things ordained by the "conditions."

‡ On finding that Zibebu and others were encouraged to be hostile towards him.

§ First at the reappearance of British troops, and then at the rumours that Cetshwayo was to be restored shorn of all power to help or protect them in any way.

|| What "old régime" is here indicated? It had long been proved that Cetshwayo's previous rule had *not* been the cruel and tyrannical one which the apologists for our invasion of Zululand in 1879, had tried to make it out. The devotion of his people to him during the war, and, afterwards, when they suffered ill-treatment, and even torture, rather than betray him to his pursuers, their persistent entreaties for his restoration and joy at his return were sufficient to establish this point, without the fact that there were only six cases in which a person had been killed by Cetshwayo's order during his whole reign, each of the six being a man convicted of some crime, or Undabuko's touching statement made in 1881, "there has never been known one like him among us Zulus before, so good, so kind, so merciful. Our fathers, who were old when we were born, all say so; and we, who have grown up with him . . . we have seen no one like him. For those three Kings who were brothers, our fathers, they killed people, great and small, and for a little thing, a mere nothing—it was their custom. But he is of an entirely different nature; he shrank from shedding blood."

which the conditions are intended to confer.* My belief is that the restoration would have been attended with unmistakable proofs that we were forcing a dreaded ruler upon an unwilling people, in so far as the great majority were concerned. Fortunately, however, the scheme under which this measure has been carried out, contains so many self-adjusting balances, all the springs of which, in the case of Cetshwayo, as in that of the people, are put into operation by the instincts of self-preservation and self-interest, that if only time can elapse to enable the people to acquire such confidence in the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, as will encourage them to resist the efforts which Cetshwayo and the Ultra Usutu

* Sir T. Shepstone himself says, "very little reference was made by the speakers to any of the other conditions; the land question seemed to engage all their attention," and, in fact, it was not possible that the majority should at once take in the probable bearing upon themselves of most of the conditions. There were 13 in all, including Sir H. Bulwer's. Two (5 and 10) did not necessarily affect the Zulus at all; five (3, 6, 7, 9, 11) were such as they could not thoroughly comprehend without deliberation and experience [3466, p. 113]; one, (8) "I will not sell, or in any way alienate or permit or countenance any sale or alienation of any part of the land in my territory" [p. 114], was already a law of their own which had existed as long as the Zulus themselves; another (1) was a matter of course, "I will observe and respect the boundaries assigned to my territory by the British Government," and was too vague for comment, while the second, and the latter half of the fourth, however well-intentioned, or salutary, were innovations on old-established customs and prejudices, the introduction of which is sure to meet with opposition, whether amongst blacks or whites. Of the remaining two, Sir H. Bulwer's definition of No. 1 was protested against by every speaker, and his other, concerning the girls, was a mistake [3616, p. 54]. The really humane portion of it—protecting the girls from punishment—was unnecessary, and might safely have been left to Cetshwayo, while the rest was an altogether unjustifiable interference with the social customs of the people, and with the rights of the parents. It is plain, therefore, that Sir T. Shepstone was mistaken in attributing the Zulus' acceptance of Cetshwayo to their confidence in these conditions, against which they protested as far as they understood them, or felt that they were affected by them. (See end of this chapter for copy of conditions.)

party will, it is to be expected, make to overbear them; this self-adjusting machinery will act in the direction of ultimately securing peace to the country, and will grow stronger by such action, but it must not be forgotten that the foundation of the whole scheme is the retention and firm rule of the Reserved territory, and the presence with Zibebu of some efficient representative of the Government to guide him in the very difficult position in which he is placed."

If any readers have followed the story thus far, and still retain that faith in Sir T. Shepstone's conclusions upon Zulu matters, with which, perhaps, they began, it is time for them to lay this volume down, for they would not be convinced though one rose from the dead to inform them. But to those who are not to be blinded by authority, by official statements, and a respectable name, it must by this time have become patent that this official report does not harmonise with the actual facts of the case such as they are undeniably shown to have been after a careful examination and comparison of several different accounts. We have seen that Cetshwayo left Capetown and reached Port Durnford with feelings of sincere gratitude, friendship, and respect for his "friends" the English, but that he was met, on landing, with cold suspicion from the leaders of the British expedition, and actual insult from their subordinates. His spirits were soon damped by this treatment; he found that his loyal subjects were prevented by threats from offering him a welcome, while the few who were his enemies, e. g. Dunn and Zibebu, were treated with special favour, and allowed to utter threats concerning him unchecked. He found that he was still a prisoner, and that the white

men in whose power he was were not his friends. Naturally he became "nervous and apprehensive," as all this was made plain to him day by day; but it was this, and no "change that had taken place" in the minds of his people which thus affected him. As for them, their "anxieties and misgivings" were only too natural and well founded, but they were certainly not in the direction suggested by Sir T. Shepstone. He says that "their distrust in the possibility of Cetshwayo's being restored without reviving the old régime" was very great; but what their expressed distrust and disappointment really meant he might have gathered from their own speeches, even as recorded by the *Mercury* special correspondent. What they felt was that Cetshwayo was not a King, *could not be* a King, if thus stripped of half his kingdom, and all his property and power.

"We were very glad to hear that he was coming back; *but, still, if you had brought him back as a King, we should have been more thankful*" [*Mercury* S. C.]. "We thought you would make the King a greater man than ever, and make the [Zulu] country larger instead of smaller." "We thought that, as he is now the son of the Queen, she would give him some of her land as well" [*Advertiser* S. C.]. "Instead of your taking land away from him, we thought you would give him more country than he ever had before. But now, to-day, when we hear your words, we are very much disappointed. We who live on the other side of the Umhlatuze [in the proposed Reserve] let us speak of these things" [*Mercury* S. C.].

After all that had happened, it is amazing that Sir T. Shepstone could still speak of Cetshwayo's restoration as "forcing a dreaded ruler upon an unwilling people"; the words are simply an echo of Sir Bartle

Frere's old, exploded war-cry. But the concluding passage of the quotation is neither more nor less than a full confession of the intentions with which the Natal officials undertook to carry out (and spoil) the just and wise intentions of the Home Government. The Zulu people's personal interests were to be enlisted against the King: his power and influence were to be lowered as much as possible: his territory curtailed: Zibebu set to oppose him on the one side, the Reserve to entice and draw away his people from him (if possible) on the other: the "conditions" binding him not to strengthen his authority by its use even within the narrow limits assigned to him, he was to become a mere puppet, and the "self-adjusting machinery" of disorder and misrule was to "act in the direction of ultimately securing peace to the country" by—bringing about Cetshwayo's death, the division of Zululand between ourselves and the Dutch Boers, and the utter destruction of the Zulu nation!

*"Terms, Conditions, and Limitations of Cetshwayo's restoration;"
assented to by him in England, August 1882.*

1. I will observe and respect the boundaries assigned to my territory by the British Government.

2. I will not permit the existence of the Zulu military system, or the existence of any military system or organisation whatsoever within my territory; and I will proclaim and make it a rule that all men shall be allowed to marry when they choose, and as they choose, according to the good and ancient customs of my people, known and followed in the days preceding the establishment by Chaka of the system known as the military system; and I will allow and encourage all men living within my territory to go and

come freely for peaceful purposes, and to work in Natal, or the Transvaal, or elsewhere, for themselves or for hire.*

3. I will not import or allow to be imported into my territory, by any person upon any pretence or for any object whatsoever, any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or any goods or merchandise by the sea-coast of Zululand, without the express sanction of the British Resident, and I will not encourage, or promote, or take part in, or countenance in any way whatsoever, the importation into any part of Zululand of arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or of goods or merchandise by the sea-coast of Zululand, without such sanction, and I will confiscate and hand over to the Natal Government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into my territory, and I will punish by fine or other sufficient punishment any person guilty of or concerned in such unsanctioned importation, and any person found possessing arms, or ammunition, or goods, or merchandise knowingly obtained thereby.†

4. I will not allow the life of any of my people to be taken for any cause, except after sentence passed in a council of the chief men of my territory, and after fair and impartial trial in my presence, and after hearing of witnesses; and I will not tolerate the employment of witch-doctors, or the practice known as "smelling out," or any practices of witchcraft.‡

* An account of the full meaning of the so-called "military system" has been given at p. 371 *supra*.

† The "British Resident," to whom such power was given, should have been such as Cetshwayo desired, viz. an English gentleman of position and education, sent to be the eyes and ears of the Queen, not a mere young official of the Natal Government, imbued with all its prejudices and completely under its influence.

‡ The custom of "smelling out" may be applied either to the pointing out of a thief or murderer, or to the discovery of a lost snuff-box or of a cow which has gone astray. Though forbidden by law in Natal, and punished, when found to have been practised in serious cases, it must be often "winked at" by the authorities in Natal, being continually practised in minor matters all over the colony, and even in the streets of Maritzburg, close to Government House. The *Native Commission* says (p. 14, par. 44), "The general opinion seems to be that the influence of these doctors is on the decrease, from their practices being dealt with criminally;

5. The surrender of all persons fugitives in my territory from justice, when demanded by the Government of any British colony, territory, or province in the interests of justice, shall be readily and promptly made to such Government; and the escape into my territory of persons accused or convicted of offences against British laws shall be prevented by all possible means, and every exertion shall be used to seize and deliver up such persons to British authority.

6. I will not make any treaty or agreement with any chief, people, or government outside my territory without the consent and approval of the British Government. I will not make war upon any chief, or chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British Government; and in any unsettled dispute with any chief, people, or government, I will appeal to the arbitration of the British Government, through the British Resident.*

7. The nomination of my successor, and of all future successors, shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of my people, and shall be subject to the approval of the British Government.

but we regret to have heard that, in order to discover thieves, *white men at times employ such men.*" And in one of Lady Barker's books will be found a full account of a "smelling out," which took place at her house as an afternoon's amusement under her patronage, and in the presence of Sir T. Shepstone. The Rev. R. Robertson states of these "doctors" (*Digest*, p. 698) that Cetshwayo "has twice during the last ten years very considerably reduced their number," and Major Poole says (*Digest*, p. 713), "Cetshwayo once had serious thoughts of getting rid of these pests, and told them that, as his companies were suffering from there being so many of them (witch-doctors being exempt from soldier's service), he should collect them, and order them to build a kraal in some out-of-the-way part of the country, and live there together, away from everybody else."

* The condition, "I will appeal to the arbitration of the British Government through the British Resident" must have appeared to the Zulus as simply adding insult to injury, after their experience (under Sir G. Colley, Sir E. Wood, and Sir H. Bulwer) of the futility of appealing through Mr. Osborn to the Government, and, still more, after their appealing patiently and perseveringly to the British Government in the matter of the disputed territory, the result being that at last it was proved to be theirs, and then annexed to English territory, and finally given to the Boers.

8. I will not sell, or in any way alienate, or permit or countenance any sale, or alienation of any part of the land in my territory.

9. I will permit all people now residing within my territory to there remain upon the condition that they recognise my authority, and any persons not wishing to recognise my authority, and desiring to quit my territory, I will permit to quit it, and to pass unmolested elsewhere.

10. In all cases of dispute in which British subjects are involved, I will appeal to and abide by the decision of the British Resident; and in all cases where accusations of offences or crimes committed in my territory are brought against my people in relation to British subjects, I will hold no trial, and pass no sentence, except with the approval of such British Resident.

11. In all matters not included within these terms, conditions, and limitations, and in all cases unprovided for herein, and in all cases where there may be doubt or uncertainty as to the laws, rules, or stipulations applicable to matters to be dealt with, I will govern, order, and decide in accordance with ancient laws and usage of my people.

These terms, conditions, and limitations, I engage, and I solemnly pledge my faith to abide by and respect in letter and in spirit, without qualification or reserve."

As to the "further conditions," these were devised (apparently) by Sir H. Bulwer, and heard by Cetshwayo for the first time on December 11th, when he was required to sign them, without being allowed to say a word—without being consulted as to the justice, or the righteousness or the possibility of the "successful working," of those conditions—"Cetshwayo had to choose between those terms and an exile at Oude Molen" [p. 275 *supra*]. It may be observed that Cetshwayo does not appear to have been informed as to the extent of territory cut off for Zibebu, which was larger even than he had under his rule before, and included the kraals and people of the King's brothers, Ndabuko and Ziwedu.

Additional Conditions, framed by Sir H. Bulwer, and imposed upon the King at Capetown, December 11th, 1882.

1. I will observe and respect the boundaries of the territories placed under the appointed chief Zibebu, as also those of the territory which Her Majesty's Government have decided shall be set apart as reserved territory with a British Resident Commissioner, and I will not attempt in any way to interfere with any of the people living in those territories.

2. I undertake to leave without interference all girls who, prior to the war in 1879, formed part of what was known as the Royal Zulu House, and who since that time have been married, as also their husbands, parents, guardians, and other relations, and I will make no claim on any of them in respect of such marriage. And I also undertake to hold no one criminally or otherwise responsible for any act of whatsoever nature or kind done or committed during my absence from Zululand, and I will not punish or proceed against any one for such in any way.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON January 28th, the day before the re-instalment, the special correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* wrote as follows:—

“Speaking of Natal natives reminds me that some of those who have come in have not done so merely to satisfy their personal curiosity; there are others who are pointed out as *known emissaries of Bishopstowe.*”

And these words were repeated in the *Times of Natal* for February 20th, after various coarse and unworthy slanders insinuated against the Bishop of Natal, such as

“*the false report of the Bishopstowe Witness correspondent,*” and “the trio [the Bishop, the editor of the *Witness*, and the S. C. of the *Daily News*] *might have wriggled out of a charge of misrepresentation*” [*Times of Natal*, February 17th], “*three separate parties . . . to rank them in the order of prominence as determined by their violence*—(i) *the Colenso party, (ii) the Sutu party, (iii) the Zibebu party,*” and again, “*the white agitators in Natal, who wish for the dominion in South Africa of the black race, and the prevalence of a Kafir rather than an European civilisation,*” “*the exposure of*” their “*fraud,*” &c. &c.*

* This writer, though, unhappily for his own credit, not *speechless*, was, for some quite incomprehensible reason, almost incoherent with rage. In one sentence he accuses the Colensos of “enormous hatred” for Sir Henry Bulwer for Cetshwayo’s sake, and says that “the Zulu nation in the eyes of Bishopstowe begins, centres,

The Bishop sent a note to be published in the *Times of Natal*, contradicting what had appeared in that paper and the *Mercury* about "emissaries from Bishopstowe," yet a few days later the assertion was repeated in the former paper, on which the Bishop wrote as follows:—

"To the Editor of the TIMES OF NATAL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, Feb. 20, 1883.

"SIR,—In your issue of to-day you repeat and italicise the statement that 'there were present at the Restoration, and prior to the act of Restoration, emissaries from Bishopstowe, one European and Natives'—adding, by way of explanation, 'emissaries, so much in the sense of the word as it implies secrecy of mission, as regards at least the 'European,' that he took the greatest care to keep his mission secret, and went so far as even to deny, point blank, that he was acting in a capacity which we knew he was acting in.'

"I had, of course, as much right, if I had pleased, to have sent 'emissaries,' white or black, to bring to me a true account of what passed on the occasion, as the *Advertiser* had to send Dr. Seaton [for the *London Standard*], or the *Mercury* to send yourself [for the *London Times*], or the *Witness* to send Mr. Mullins [for the *London Daily News*]. But I have to repeat that the whole statement above, italicised by yourself, is absolutely false. And I am at a loss to know how you can venture to assert that you 'know' that the 'European' in question was an 'emissary from Bishopstowe,' when he, it appears, as well as myself, has contradicted, 'point blank,' the assertion in question.

"As regards the 'Natal natives,' who (you stated as S.O. of the *Times*) were 'well-known emissaries from Bishopstowe,' no such

and ends in the person of the son of Mpande," yet in the next breath he asks if "all this raving of the Cetshwayo party . . . is not rather directed and prompted solely by personal animosity towards the Governor of Natal."

The—shall we say—*ravings* of Mr. Carter would be worth little notice had they stopped at publications by a colonial editor in his own local paper, but they were forwarded through the *Mercury*—perhaps with a little pruning for readers in England—to the *London Times*, and many of them are supported by official reports.

'emissaries' were sent to be present at the late Restoration, whether prior or subsequently to the act of Restoration; nor have any been sent, as you insinuate, at any time during my residence in the colony, as 'emissaries' from Bishopstowe to Zululand, either by myself personally or by any one of my family, or by any one under my influence or authority.

"But, as you have repeated positively your original statement, I have a right to request, as I now do, that you will oblige me by mentioning the names of the natives in question, as also that of your (presumably) white informant, so that, if necessary, I may take steps accordingly.

"J. W. NATAL."

To this letter, the editor replied by a leader as follows:—

"We are sorry to have to refuse point blank to oblige the Bishop of Natal with the names of the emissaries who attended the Restoration, or with the names of either the Europeans or natives who pointed them out. The Bishop's statement—'nor have any been sent, as you insinuate, at any time during my residence in the colony, as emissaries from Bishopstowe to Zululand, either by myself personally, or by any one of my family, or by any one under my influence or authority,' is, in the face of the official proof furnished to the contrary in one of the last year's Blue Books, quite sufficient to prove that the Bishop has such an extraordinarily short memory that it is useless to give him specific information. It is not a question of our veracity as against that of Bishop Colenso, but a question of His Lordship's veracity as against that of the Kafirs he employs—but which he asserts he does not employ—to carry verbal messages for him to Zululand, and to receive reports from that country.

"Singularly enough, there appears in the *Natal Mercury* of yesterday a letter from a correspondent in Zululand, of whose trustworthiness our contemporary is satisfied, and that letter contains the following paragraph:—'Just as the Government party arrived at the Amahlabati, a Kafir messenger passed, and he said he was sent by the Bishop of Natal to Mnyamana, to tell him not to be deceived by Sir T. Shepstone, who wished to give the Zulu King one arm and to cut off the other, whereas the Queen had given back to the King the whole country.'

"It is also with reluctance that we are compelled to state that we decline to enter into any controversy upon the subject, for

reasons that will be obvious to nineteen out of every twenty men, who know how discussions with regard to Zulu affairs between His Lordship and any one else in the colony invariably terminate." —Ed. *Times of Natal*, February 22nd, 1883.

Answer by the Bishop. There is no "official proof to the contrary" in last year's Blue Books. There are insinuations, suggestions, accusations, "to the contrary," the latter based on statements of two unknown natives, who said that, when in Zululand, they had heard of such "emissaries," but (N.B.) *whose names are not given*, which is just the course followed by Mr. Carter on this, as on a former, occasion. Such charges were made without the knowledge of the Bishop, who was therefore unable to reply to them at the time, and only became aware, in this matter as in others, that he had been accused to the Secretary of State, when he saw the Blue Books some months afterwards. In point of fact, the accusations in question are absolutely untrue.

The "Kafir messenger" mentioned in the *Mercury*, was probably Mnyamana's son, who was sent down by his father to await the actual news of the King's having left Capetown, and who, after waiting some weeks, started at last with no other message than the telegrams just published in the local papers, viz. from Capetown, that "Cetshwayo had left Oude Molen," and from London, "Government repudiate annexation."

"Discussions with regard to Zulu affairs between the Bishop and any one else in the colony," have usually terminated by the Bishop producing facts which have overthrown the fallacies of his opponents, or requiring them, as here, to produce their proofs and substantiate their statements, which they have never been able to do.

Another member of the "trio," who, in Mr. Carter's opinion, might contrive to "wriggle out of a charge of misrepresentation," was Mr. F. Reginald Statham, editor of the *Natal Witness*.* This was the first, though not the last, occasion on which his name

* Author of 'Alice Rushton, and other Poems'; 'Glaphyra, and other Poems'; 'Eucharis, a Poem,' under the name of Francis Reynolds; of 'Free Thought and True Thought,' and other works of Sociology; of 'The Zulu Iniquity,' 'Blacks, Boers, and British.'

was honoured by being coupled with that of the foremost champion of truth, justice, and humanity in South Africa, the Bishop of Natal. Indeed, for some time after Mr. Statham's arrival in Natal in 1877, he had taken the popular colonial view of what was called the Bishop's "interference" in politics. As late as October 1881 this misapprehension was shown by an article from which a passage has already been quoted in this work, and in which the Bishop is alluded to as "an unofficial and irresponsible person, working in the dark," and interfering with colonial interests.*

But a further acquaintance with facts led the editor of the *Witness* to the discovery that the Bishop was right in Zulu matters, and, in the face of the colonial unpopularity which was certain to ensue, Mr. Statham took up the Zulu cause.

The result was one honourable to Mr. Statham, and especially so because there were reasons which made it not only peculiarly difficult for him to step forward boldly as the champion of the weak against the strong in South Africa, but an act of courage deserving full recognition,† However, up to this time he certainly had never been accused either of

* Mr. Statham first came to Natal in 1877, and was therefore not personally acquainted with the occurrences of 1873-4, when the Bishop first found himself obliged, as a man and a Christian, to "interfere" in so-called political matters, on behalf of the injured chief Langalibalele and his tribe. Mr. Statham was also absent from the colony between December 1879 and September 1881.

† See 'The Zulu Iniquity.' By F. R. Statham.

partisanship for the Bishop of Natal, or for Cetshwayo, nor yet of negrophilism. In a letter to the *Daily News*, dated May 1883, he says [‘Zulu Iniquity,’ p. 46]:—

“I was not . . . twelve months ago in favour of Cetshwayo’s restoration. Beyond all other risks, there seemed to be this—the risk of stirring up irritation and suspicion in the minds of European settlers against the native races generally. When, however, it was decided to restore Cetshwayo, there was only one thing to do—to restore him thoroughly, and make him your friend. This was what the [Home] Government intended, and this was what the country [England] approved.”

Mr. Statham had had some connection with the literary staff of the *Daily News* while in England in 1880, and upon his return to South Africa in the following year, he was asked by that journal to act as its correspondent in this part of the world. When the re-installation expedition under Sir T. Shepstone was about to start for Zululand, the principal colonial newspapers of course selected special correspondents to accompany the party for the benefit of their own papers, and of such English ones as they were in the habit of supplying with information, and the editor of the *Witness* amongst the rest.

“A few days before the end of the year,” he writes, “I had asked a gentleman then temporarily attached to the Commissariat and Transport Department, to act as correspondent with the escort into Zululand on behalf of a local paper. This gentleman . . . promised to do his best. I was, therefore, greatly surprised to receive a note from him a day or two later stating that he must decline to fulfil his promise, as he had been told that he would not be allowed to correspond for a newspaper, or that, if he did, his letters would have to be submitted to the staff officer before they were despatched. That, it will be admitted, was a fact of great significance; and I must confess that, knowing there was and could be

no pretence of a military necessity for such precaution, it was this communication that more than anything else led me to suspect that some underhand work was going on. My impression was further strengthened by the information I received from Colonel Curtis, in a note still in my possession, that "as regards any correspondent of a paper, he was altogether under the orders of superior authorities." It was this condition of things that convinced me my only chance of obtaining reliable information was to send into Zululand a gentleman so well acquainted with the country and the language and the people that he could be entirely independent of the military expedition.

Mr. J. Mullins was, therefore, chosen, and, as it turned out, a better choice could hardly have been made. In addition to the above-mentioned qualifications, he had no possible interest in the matter apart from the good of Cetshwayo and the Zulu people, and the accuracy of his accounts has since been proved beyond question.* Not so, however, did it appear in official eyes, for Mr. Mullins' reports gave an entirely different view of events from their own, and, it must be acknowledged, a very inconvenient one for them. For instance, he heard from the Zulus themselves how they had been frightened from the shore on Cetshwayo's arrival by threats of bullets, and this fact, with another statement concerning official inspection of letters and telegrams sent by the correspondents, was telegraphed home to the *Daily News* by Mr. Statham, and produced some sensation. The Earl of Derby at once telegraphed out to Sir Henry Bulwer for an explanation on these

* It is a notable fact that his accounts are supported by the S. C. of the *Advertiser*, Dr. Seaton, wherever that writer could escape from the difficulty of his own want of acquaintance with the Zulu language and the trammels of official influence.

two points, and on January 29th the latter replied [3466, p. 254]:—

“Officer escort reports that in establishing Tugela military telegraph newspaper correspondents allowed to send messages if signed by staff officer.* After 31st December signature no longer required, but, by mistake, one message refused because without signature. *No foundation for other statements.*” †

It has hardly yet been made quite clear that there was no sort of control exercised over the communications of the correspondents. The fact was denied, but not in such terms as to preclude the supposition that, without going so far as to suppress or refuse to forward obnoxious messages, the authorities with the expedition desired to *know* what was being said about their doings. It is made plain by the passages quoted from Colonel Curtis, and from the person first selected by Mr. Statham as correspondent, that perfect liberty there was not, but it remains uncertain what, exactly, was the state of the case.‡ The other, still

* It is explained that this restriction was imposed “in order to ensure precedence being given to military telegraphic messages of an official nature.” [Lieut.-Col. Curtis, 3616, p. 15.] To an ordinary un-official intelligence some simpler means of securing the desired result might seem preferable to one which certainly had the *appearance* of an official censorship of the Press.

† *Author's italics.* It has been abundantly shown that this assertion was a completely mistaken one.

‡ The memorandum from the telegraph clerk received by the editor of the *Natal Witness*, gave an entirely different excuse for the refusal of the one message which it is acknowledged was accidentally rejected, namely, that the message could not be sent because the Lower Tugela Office was a purely military “office,” which, Mr. Statham learned from the manager of telegraphs in Maritzburg, was not the fact, the office having been opened for general use under military control.

more serious accusation, that the Zulus had been driven from the shore by threats, elicited flat and indignant denials. Sir Henry Bulwer, in a despatch of March 21st [3616, pp. 13 and 88], forwards one on the part of the military officer in command, and, in a subsequent despatch, speaks in strong terms of the wrong done to himself by Mr. Statham in forwarding such reports. But the denials on the part of the military officers did not really affect the question at all, as no one ever supposed that the threats had emanated from them, or, indeed, that they knew anything about them. On the other hand, no denial has ever appeared from the civilian leaders of the expedition, and it remains a fact that the Zulus describe how they were frightened away from the shore by threats made, with or without authority, by subordinates of the said civilian leaders.*

* This statement was made at Bishopstowe, as already stated, by Mnyamana's messengers, as well as to Mr. Mullins by other Zulus. Mr. Samuelson also writes (letter republished in *Times of Natal*, September 28th, 1883): "All kinds of rumours were spread to frighten the Zulus, and deter them from meeting Cetshwayo on his landing, so that the Home Government might imagine that the Zulus did not care for Cetshwayo—such rumours as the following:—'Do not you Zulus be deceived, and so go to meet Cetshwayo; it is not Cetshwayo whom the English are bringing to you, but only his image; it is a trap for you Zulus. The English are coming with many vessels, and they mean to capture all who go to meet Cetshwayo, and who show that they are glad at his restoration; then they will carry them off to India as slaves; women, children, and cattle will be sold.'" Mr. Samuelson remarks: "That they should believe such rumours may seem absurd to an intelligent European; but the Zulus have been so used since the Zulu war, that they will believe anything which said that the English were going to punish them."

But this was not all. The whole series of *Witness-Daily News* telegrams had the same unpardonable fault of representing facts as they were, and not as it was officially desired that they should appear to be, and the circumstance was not allowed to remain unnoticed. The "Aborigines' Protection Society," to whose humane and disinterested efforts on behalf of the weak and helpless too much honour can never be rendered, addressed the following letter to the Colonial Office, on January 20th, 1883, through Mr. F. W. Chesson, Secretary [3466, p. 256] :—

"MY LORD,—I beg to inform your Lordship that, at a meeting of the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society held on Wednesday last, Mr. Dillwyn, M.P., in the chair, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Alderman Fowler, M.P., and seconded by Mr. H. Richard, M.P., was unanimously adopted :—

"That the attention of this meeting having been called to several telegrams relative to the partition of Zululand and the arrangements made for the return of Cetshwayo which have appeared in the *Daily News*, copies of these telegrams be sent to the Earl of Derby, with an earnest request that he will investigate the charges made, and take such steps as may be necessary to vindicate the good name of the country."

Mr. Chesson summarises the inclosed telegrams in the following paragraph :—

"I was desired to ask your Lordship's particular attention to the following statements:—(1) That although the Zulus as a nation desire Cetshwayo to be their King, yet the best part of Zululand has been withdrawn from his rule, and the new boundary leaves him only the most rugged and barren part of the country ; (2) that while the territory on the Natal border is called a "Native Reserve," and nominally remains independent, it is really annexed to the British possessions in South Africa, and is intended to provide an outlet for the native population of Natal ; (3) that the Zulus inhabiting this territory are anxious to live under Cetshwayo

and will refuse to be governed by any one else; (4) that no official intimation was given to the Zulus as to the date of the King's arrival, and that many of those who would have been present when he landed at Port Durnford were driven away by threats; and lastly, that a military censorship of the press has been established in Zululand, so that neither telegrams nor letters can be sent unless they are sanctioned by members of the staff."

Of the truth of these statements, with one exception, there can now be little question. The first is a simple matter of fact proved by the maps, and the accounts of all travellers in Zululand. No one has attempted to deny it.* That the (Natal) official *intentions* were such as they are described in Mr. Chesson's 2nd clause, is readily to be gathered from the Blue Books. Sir Henry Bulwer proposes to use the "reserved" portion of Zululand as an outlet for Natal natives of Zulu origin in his "Report" [3466, p. 148] on the "settlement of the Zulu country," and includes the idea in his "scheme of arrangements" for the government of the Reserve, sent home in October 1882 [*ibid.*, p. 206]. Sir Theo. Shepstone also writes [*ibid.*, p. 221]:—

"Then, again, when the Zulus, now straightened for land to occupy in Natal, find that in a portion of Zululand they can enjoy British protection as well as in Natal, they will migrate to the protected portion, and by so doing they will not only improve their own condition, but relieve the tension which their presence in Natal creates."

And that this intention, although checked for a while by prohibitions from the Home Government,

* Mr. Samuelson, who is well acquainted with both King and country, writes of the portion left to Cetshwayo as "his small, thorny, and uncomfortable cage," and of the "half of his country" which was taken from him as the "most valuable in every respect" [*Times of Natal*, September 28th, 1883].

is, nevertheless, in course of being carried out, may be gathered from a passage in the (English) *Times* of July 1884, "That territory [the Reserve] is now substantially part of Natal." *

The third statement quoted by Mr. Chesson has been proved by the Zulus in the Reserve themselves. The *have* refused to be governed by any one but their rightful King, until it has even become a question whether England should not go to war with them upon the point. Nor is there any doubt about the remaining clauses, with the one possible exception of that concerning a military censorship of the press, which remains an uncertain point, except so far as it is allowed that the staff officer's signature was necessary before messages could be sent.

Nevertheless, Sir Henry Bulwer writes that [3616, p. 88], he had "felt obliged on two or three occasions to warn Her Majesty's Government of the unreliability of the information sent home by the Maritzburg correspondent of the *Daily News* to that paper," and on March 21st, 1883, he wrote a despatch upon the subject, in support of his previous warnings. This despatch deals with two separate subjects—the attitude of Sir Henry Bulwer towards the Transvaal Government, and his action upon the Zulu question.

On the former subject there can be no doubt that Sir Henry Bulwer had just cause of complaint against

* Nomgamulana states "he was a chief across the border. He was placed there about February by Mr. Jan [Mr. J. Shepstone]. Before that he was on the Natal side, about Rorke's Drift."—Report of Trial, *Natal Witness*, September 15th, 1883.

the editor of the *Witness*, who had somewhat hastily charged the Governor of Natal with two separate acts of a nature "distinctly unfriendly" to the Boer Government, neither of which acts Sir Henry Bulwer had committed. The first accusation was that "the deputation of Transvaal [native] chiefs demanding British assistance to resist the payment of taxes, has been invited by Sir Henry Bulwer to state its complaints in Maritzburg," and the other that "Sir Henry Bulwer refuses to allow the Transvaal Government to purchase artillery requisites in Natal without the permission of the Imperial Government."

The Transvaal chiefs in question were from the north of that country, belonging to tribes which had never been conquered by the Boers, and had never submitted to them. They had, however, become British subjects during the British occupation of the Transvaal, and upon its retrocession they were handed over to the Boers, in spite of their own protests and entreaties. The "artillery requisites" could only be required for the purpose of crushing and subduing these or other so-called "rebels" against Boer authority. England had decided to leave them to their fate, and to show that "confidence in [Boer] intentions regarding the native population" which Mr. Statham elsewhere demands*—a "confidence" which is all the more touching, because however good their *intentions* may be, the Boers have as yet done nothing

* In a telegram to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, October 6th, 1881.

to merit it; and all the safer, because it is not ourselves, but the unfortunate natives whom we trust to the untried quality.* However, Sir Henry Bulwer would not, of course, have been justified in acting contrary to England's decisions, though many might sympathise with him, if, on this occasion, he found his duty a distasteful one, and the fact remains that he did *not* encourage the native deputation, and did *not* prevent the Boer purchase of artillery requisites. Mr. Statham [‘Zulu Iniquity,’ p. 51] fully acknowledged that in this respect he had been misinformed, pointing out that the fact of the Transvaal Governments having been equally misinformed with himself was some justification for the error in his case.

But while Sir Henry Bulwer was undoubtedly in the right in this portion of his despatch, it is impossible to say the same with regard to what follows. Having given the two instances mentioned above, he continues [3616, p. 90], “Such is the character of the information that the correspondent of the *Daily News* sends home to the paper which employs him,” and then asserts that the telegrams sent by Mr. Statham upon Zulu matters, so far as he had seen them, were “most of them misleading,” and that they contain “serious misstatements and unjustifiable assertions and imputations.” As a matter of fact,

* The present writer is, and has always been, entirely out of sympathy with Mr. Statham's views and publications upon the Dutch question of South Africa, and considers it an absolute duty never to lose an opportunity of opposing them.

the two Transvaal telegrams of October 16th and November 3rd appear to have been the *only* mistaken ones sent by Mr. Statham at all, while the whole of the Zulu ones are shown in these pages to have been substantially true. Sir Henry Bulwer writes [*ibid.*, p. 92], "There is not one word of truth in any of them. They are pure inventions, without even the shadow of a foundation." It can only be said that Sir Henry Bulwer was utterly mistaken and had been much deceived; yet this would hardly have been possible had not his own prejudices been so immovably fixed that he was simply incapable of believing anything that disagreed with them. His despatch was of course a direct attack upon Mr. Statham, in return for the latter's severe comments upon the actions of the officials, including himself, and was evidently intended to procure Mr. Statham's dismissal as correspondent of the *Daily News*, in which those comments had appeared, as he lays what he calls the "misrepresentations and imputations" before Lord Derby, in order that the latter may "bring them to the knowledge of the managers of the *Daily News*, and, if necessary, under the notice of Parliament."

On the 24th April, shortly after this despatch must have been received, Mr. Ashley, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the often-quoted reply in the House of Commons, that the Maritzburg correspondent of the *Daily News* was never well informed," and that he had, in fact, been in the habit of supplying that paper with false

information. Mr. Statham's own answer [*'Zulu Iniquity,'* p. 47] to this may be quoted:—

“It will be obvious to the common sense of every one that an atmosphere of unpopularity is not an atmosphere in which falsehoods are manufactured, and that it is never worth the while of any one to manufacture falsehoods at the imminent risk of ruin to himself, and all connected with him.”

Part of the last telegram inclosed by Mr. Chesson ran as follows [3466, p. 257]:—

“He [Cetshwayo] wishes his friends in England to understand that he was forced to sign the [Capetown] conditions under a threat of not returning to Zululand at all. He hopes the matter will be handled gently, as he feels sure the English people will see justice done.”

This was in reference to the message sent by Cetshwayo to the Bishop of Natal, through Mr. Mullins, to whom the King said, soon after he landed:—

“I was told that the country was to be cut off from the Umhlatuze, and that to the north also a large piece was to be cut off for Zibebu; and that, if I did not sign, I should never return, but remain always at the Cape. So I signed under protest, knowing that the land belongs to my people, and that I had no right to sign it away without their consent, and trusting that, as the English Government have listened to my prayer once, they will do so again, and set this thing right, and restore to us our country. And this is what I shall tell my people when they inquire of me how I came to do this thing, and I shall tell them that they must be patient and quiet meanwhile. And do you say to Sobantu that I commend this matter to him, and that I pray him to bring it before the English Government, and not to do anything hastily, but first to let all my friends in England know what is being done here.”*

* To Mr. W. Y. Campbell the King said:—“Kimberley told me, the Queen says you are to return, she gives you all your country; but at the same time Kimberley said there will be an *indawana* (literally a *small place*; it may mean 6 acres or 60 acres, possibly 600, but by no interpretation can it be made to mean one-

Two days after the reinstallation Umnyamana summoned to his presence his two trusty messengers, Mtokwane and Melakanya, who were engaged with

third of Zululand) taken off; it will not be much. I got anxious and remonstrated. I asked, is my return satisfactory when you speak of taking off a piece? Kimberley replied, it will be a piece of very little importance to you. Still I was anxious to know clearly where this *indawana* would be, and I asked if it would be on the Tugela bank, or somewhere, and Mr. Henricus Shepstone, who was near me, said yes, likely it will be about the Tugela. I then said to Kimberley, well, we shall see what the small piece will be that the servants you send will cut off; and he seeing my anxiety, assured me that my country was not going to be sliced, that I was to apprehend nothing serious, as the place would be small. The Umhlatuze was never once mentioned to me. The name of Zibebu was never mentioned to me, nor of any one who was to get the *indawana*. I feared the place was for Dunn, but they assured me that the Queen had no intention of giving any of Zululand to Dunn. This is what took place in Kimberley's house in England [the Colonial Office]. I was relieved by the assurance given; and I left for the Cape, and one day there Governor Robinson told me 'orders have come for you to go on your home journey.' I was glad at this. He then unfolded to me a lot of novel stipulations, which he told me came from London through Bulwer. I was sure they were not from London, because they were quite new to me, and I attributed them to Bulwer acted on by Misjan [Mr. J. Shepstone], who bears no love to either me or my people. . . . When Robinson told me that south of the Umhlatuze was taken from me and that Zibebu was confirmed in his command, I cried out and asked, Hulumende, whence these laws? They were never given in London. You say you will take all my south lands—all over the Umhlatuze. You say, also, you will give Usibebu lands in the north. Where, then, is the country I am being returned to? You elevate Usibebu; you give him, my once subject, lands. Why is he thus specially elevated? He alone singled out from the thirteen and all the others debased? Robinson replied, Usibebu positively declined to be with you or under you, and so we arranged the matter by separating you. I said, well if Usibebu is thus my enemy why should he be given a portion of

the other Zulus in cutting wood for building a kraal for the King. They found him in company with the Princes Dabulamanzi and Shingana, and two other

Zululand and made my neighbour? Why should he not be a stranger in body as well as in heart? And referring to the Umhlatuze I am dumbfounded over; there is the very portion of the lands where my father's headmen and my own mostly live; it is my chief cattle country; cut off that territory and you cut off my best possession; you leave me nothing; you remove the old Tugela landmarks and you put new ones in the heart of the very country the Queen gave me. You efface the Zulu country by your up-and-down slicing. What, then, has become of my recent new birth at the hands of our Queen? All this was taken silently and unrecorded. At last Robinson interposed, and said, 'Well, all this talk opens up a new discussion. I had made arrangements with General Smyth for an escort, but now your attitude will necessitate my countermanding them and you will have to stay here.' I retorted that that was an unfair way of dealing with me. Here was I alone and being saddled with *umtetwa* (laws) applying not only to myself, but to the Zulu nation at large. The nation's heads were not present; they were absent and ignorant of all this, and when I went to them with it they would be surprised indeed. Robinson replied: 'I have nothing to say to all this. As the matter stands you have an agreement with London, and it looks as if you were unwishful to fulfil it. This will look bad.' I replied: 'I have an agreement with London, but this is not it, and I must be allowed to protest against this new thing.' I protested because I knew it meant mischief. I knew things could not go naturally, and I must be allowed to speak my protest, and not be silenced or accept in silence. We had a long discussion about the land, and Robinson eventually said, 'Well, we must end this matter. You must accept the conditions laid before you.' I then said I wished him to clearly understand then that I protested against these conditions, and also that if mischief arose in the country it would not be my fault; also, that on my return I should still ask that the London agreement should be carried out, as I knew nothing of these Natal-made conditions. I only knew those given me by my Queen through Kimberley. I told Robinson that I had never heard till now that I was to be shorn of my lands

chiefs, one of them from the "Reserve," and Umnyamana said to the men :

"I am sending you now to Sobantu. You two were present at the meeting with Somtseu, and heard all that was said, and you can report it all.

"The message which I send is this.

"I do not see where the King is to put the Zulu people. They all wish for the King ; but the land has been taken away from us. Mbopa's tribe, Mfusi's tribe, and the tribe of amaNkengane, with the sub-tribes of Gqikazi and amaNhlwenga, part of the tribe of Masipula [Mpande's prime minister], and some of my people—all desiring the King—and even the kraals of the Princes Ndabuko and Ziwebu, and those of large portions of their tribes, are given to Zibebu. Seketwayo's land is reduced by what has been given to the Boers [the 'Disputed Territory']; and more land is to be cut off from him for Hlubi the Basuto, beside all the district south of the Umhlatuze. It is a mere strip that will be left to Cetshwayo, and we do not see how this can be done. We protest against it, the whole Zulu people, both those who have always prayed for the King, and those who, before his return, were weak-kneed and held back. We protest, all of us, against the cutting off of the land.

"You will ask Sobantu to send a telegram in our name—in the name of the headmen of the Zulu people—to protest to the Queen against all this which is being done in her name. And I see that the people of those districts will soon be following you, going themselves to protest.* What, indeed, is it intended should become of them ?

"I do not, of course, send you without the King's sanction. Go now to him, and hear from himself.

and people. Robinson said, 'No, we take no people ; we only take a portion of your land, and we will not interfere with your people.'

"Mr. Saul Solomon, at the Cape, was a friend of mine, and he advised me to accept under protest and get back to my country, and that constitutional means would be found to set things right. So, the day before leaving the Cape Robinson said to me 'Sign.' I said, 'Yes, sir, I will sign ; but let us clearly understand that my signing does not imply acceptance of your boundary cutting, and we shall talk it over and d' cuss it from Zululand and try and understand each other.'"—['With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhl,' p. 7.]

* The people of the "R serve."

“So Mgwazoni* took us to the King, with whom we found Somkele and Seketwayo. We reported Mnyamana’s words, and the King said, ‘I have no further word. I was in the hands of the English. My fathers do well to send you. I have already sent my own message to Sobantu.†

“Go, then, and say that the Zulu people protests, as I do. What they said at the meeting with Somtseu was exactly what I feel and wished to speak if I had been able. Ask Sobantu to send a telegram, so that you may bring me back an answer from England.”‡

Cetshwayo was now left to make the best of the situation, such as it has already been depicted, and the *Times of Natal* was quite right in its conclusions that [*Times of Natal*, February 12th, 1883]

“By nothing short of the working of a miracle can the settlement itself become a permanent one, or even endure for a period of twelve months.” A “settlement which every man acquainted with the present circumstances of Zululand knows cannot endure for many months,” continues this writer [Feb. 17]. “What,” says the *Advertiser* [*Adv. S. C.*, Feb. 17] at the same time, “has the restoration in Zululand accomplished? It has replaced the hereditary potentate by conditions which it is impossible to fulfil.”

Speaking of Zibebu’s appointment, the same writer remarks that it

“can only breed discontent and jealousy throughout the Zulu nation. Not only the Sutu party, who had already experienced his tender mercies, but all the deposed chieftains, and most notably his own two brothers [who were not ‘appointed’ chiefs], declaimed against the retention of independent power by Zibebu; and, however anxious Cetshwayo may be to fulfil his obligations, I doubt if his utmost endeavours will prove sufficient to prevent the powerful Sutu party

* One of the chiefs who had attended the King at Capetown.

† The message sent through Mr. Mullins, and already forwarded to England.

‡ Part of this message from Umnyamana has previously been quoted in this volume.

from endeavouring to revenge their wrongs on this chief. . . . Had Cetshwayo been fully restored as King over all Zululand—had he been completely reinstated in the position he held before the Zulu war—there might now be no fear of civil war in Zululand. The Zulus would have received and welcomed him back as King, and settled down again under his sway. They might, under such circumstances, have admired the clemency of the British Government in restoring and reinstating a foe whom it had conquered, though they could not have completely understood it. As things are now, they can neither admire nor understand. Cetshwayo is restored to them, but he is not the same Cetshwayo as of old. He is shorn of a large area of his country, and of more than half his power. . . . John Dunn, and Hlubi, and Zibebu—and Zibebu most of all—are set up in opposition to him, or at any rate as authorities—in what was once his land and his only, and his people, equally with himself, fail to understand the usefulness, the justice, or the policy, of such an arrangement.”

Thus far the situation was apparent to any well-intentioned observer such as Dr. Seaton, but the recorder of these forebodings was yet unaware of that most fatal fact which destroyed any chance of peace in Zululand which the “conditions” themselves allowed, namely, that *three different boundaries between Zibebu and the Usutus had been officially announced to the Zulu people*. In preparation of the inevitable disturbances to ensue, the *Times of Natal*, and *Mercury*, soon flamed with exaggerated reports or false rumours, one report being headed “Cetshwayo breaks the conditions!” while another commenced “Breach of the Terms of Settlement.”

The earliest of these attempts to discredit Cetshwayo's actions was one in connection with the mealie-gardens which Umfanawendhlela had planted over and around the old King Umpande's burial-place. The King had waived his undoubted right to take

immediate possession of the site, and remove the desecration from his father's grave, until Umfanawendhlela's crops for that year should be reaped.* But, unfortunately, these gardens were in close proximity to the place selected for the reinstallation of the King. No provision whatever having been made for feeding the great numbers of people who were sure to flock together to witness the ceremony, they were soon short of food, and helped themselves from the mealie-gardens round about. They completely stripped the gardens of one of the King's mothers; they took large quantities from those of his aunt, and also from other gardens, including those of Umfanawendhlela. But the latter was the only one to complain, the others treating such an occurrence as inevitable unless the European officials had caused food to be provided for the people. Yet this simple and, as far as Cetshwayo was concerned, unavoidable circumstance was reported by the *Natal Mercury* of February 6th, thus:—"Cetshwayo has eaten up all the crops of Umfanawendhlela, the ex-chief who was adverse to his return," and by the *Times of Natal*:—

"The Sutu party has destroyed all Umfanawendhlela's gardens and others [N.B.] about there, and killed five men. I give this last bit of news for what it is worth [i. e. nothing, for the report of any *killing* was afterwards contradicted], though my source of information is exceptionally good." And again, "news from

* Sir T. Shepstone reports, "Cetshwayo intimated [to Umfanawendhlela] that he should require his old sites, but that the women and children might remain to watch the crops" [3616, p. 48].

Umfanawendhlela's territory confirms the reports respecting Cetshwayo's actions. The Sutu party ate up all the mealie and *amabele* gardens, raided cattle, and, in fact, resumed the same tactics which they so long exercised against Zibebu.*

The *Times of Natal* follows up this first report:—

“*From a source which is perfectly reliable*, we publish the information to-day that Cetshwayo is at his old tricks again, and has already commenced the eating-up process, which he so successfully practised to his own advantage and to the injury of his enemies in former days. He has, so the information goes, eaten up all the mealie gardens of Mfanawendhlela, an act in itself sufficient to provoke an immediate outbreak between the rival parties in Zululand.

“Mfanawendhlela, it must be borne in mind, was the chief appointed by Sir G. Wolseley to occupy that central district in Zululand, including the site of Cetshwayo's military kraals Ulundi, Emahlabatini, and Inhlazatshe (Mr. Osborn's late place of residence). Having no scruples as to the choice of ground on which to plant mealies, this chief selected the richest spots round about the site, and the site itself, of the Ulundi Kraal, and round about the scone of Mpande's burying-place hard by, as also the sites of several of the former outlying military kraals, with which the ground rising from the White Imfolozi was formerly studded. Whatever may be the superstitions or etiquette of the Zulus generally in regard to such localities—however much they may revere such ground or hold it sacred—this has nothing to do with the flagrant breach by Cetshwayo of his engagements given but a fortnight ago.

“*What Cetshwayo's solemn word, pledged over and over again at the Emtongjaneni meeting, is worth is now apparent.* The one condition, which was most frequently and forcibly impressed upon him, was that he was to molest no one for any act done during his absence, that he was to begin entirely afresh, and punish no one for anything that had been done during his exile. Again and again he agreed to observe these conditions, and yet *he does not wait a fortnight before deliberately breaking his word.*

* This accusation against the Usutus is entirely false, though it is truly made against Zibebu himself, of whom Mr. Campbell writes as “worrying and harrying the Usutu party and the King's brothers and relatives in the days of his chieftainship as one of the thirteen.”—‘With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhla,’ p. 38.

“It is not denied (!) that the King has wreaked his spite by ‘eating up,’ or destroying the ‘mealie gardens’ that had taken the place of his old abode. This in itself is just such an arbitrary and aggressive act as might have been looked for, and, should it lead up to more ‘killing,’ no one will be surprised. Every effort will be made by the party of disorder and agitation in this colony to hush up and make light of any despotic or destructive pranks on the part of their *protégé*. This was industriously done by Bishop Colenso and his confederates prior to the Zulu War, and subsequently. But facts are facts, and we shall, as heretofore, make it our business, as it is our duty, to chronicle, as fully and faithfully as possible, the doings of the restored King.”—Ed. *Merc.* [Mr. J. Robinson, Durban Correspondent of London *Times*], Feb. 17.

Meanwhile the Zulus from all parts of the country, including the Reserve, were flocking together to greet and serve the King. The very large numbers who thus voluntarily attended him are mentioned [3616, p. 69] by several independent witnesses, and it is impossible for any one acquainted with the Zulu language and feeling to doubt that the joy at Cetshwayo’s return was widespread and general. This was as true of the inhabitants of the proposed “Reserve” as of any other part. Mr. W. Grant reports at a somewhat later date:—

“The whole [? main] body of Zulus in the Reserve are entirely with the King. As I passed through, the expression on every lip was ‘Si yatanda Inkosi,’ i. e. ‘we love the King,’ [3864, p. 101], out of eleven of the most important chiefs belonging to the Reserve, eight were seen by me at Ulundi with the King, the remaining three had been to visit him, and returned to their homes, but were heartily loyal.”

These chiefs of the “Reserve” had already heard enough doubtful and even alarming intelligence of what the mistaken kindness of the British Govern-

ment, passed through the inimical medium of the Natal official mind, had prepared for them, to be very uneasy, and their uneasiness was increased by messages from Mr. J. Shepstone, British Resident Commissioner in the Reserve, summoning them to attend him at once, which summons was repeated until not only did Mr. Fynn, the new Resident with Cetshwayo, and Umnyamana, strongly advise them to obey, but the King himself laid his commands upon them to do so, enjoining them at the same time, to behave quietly, so as not to offend the power (England) in whose good intentions he still believed, although it was plain that she had thoroughly misunderstood the wishes and feelings of his people. The greater part of the chiefs in question departed, though most reluctantly.* They felt that their going would, in spite of themselves, be construed into submission to the policy of the Reserve, and repudiation of Cetshwayo, and that they could hardly behave "quietly" and avoid offending this peremptory representative of Her Majesty without giving him some grounds for asserting that they were, to use Mr. Shepstone's own phrase again, "*loyal to us.*" And so it actually happened. The majority sooner

* Four of the principal chiefs in the Reserve, Qetuka, Nobiya, Godide, and Ndwandwe, and two of rather less importance, did not, however, go themselves, but sent representatives. This proceeding was quite in accordance with Zulu etiquette, and could only be regarded as disrespect by Mr. Shepstone from some such overweening notion of his own importance, and fancied superiority to Cetshwayo, as that attributed to him in the report made to the King a little later (see p. 448).

or later waited on "Mr. Jan"; and whether, through their own weakness, or through his diplomacy, and their ignorance of precisely how advantage would be taken of any temporary submission to official hectoring, in the end they nearly all appeared upon Mr. Shepstone's lists of those who, he said, intended to remain in the Reserve, subject to quasi-British authority. On the part of the officials every effort was made to produce a respectable appearance (on paper) of Zulus claiming British protection against Cetshwayo, and every step which he took on the other side was fiercely denounced as a breach of his conditions, interfering in the Reserve, and so on. Sir Henry Bulwer says [3616, p. 65] on this point, that

"From the moment of his landing he began to break the conditions with regard to the people of the Reserved territory by sending messages to them with the object of persuading them that the territory would come under him, and of inducing them to recognise him."

What "messages" the King really sent has already been made plain, and it is curious to observe how the spirit of the English terms was gradually modified to suit the views of those who aimed at annexation. When the Home Government agreed that "on grounds of good faith locations must be assigned to such of the chiefs as might not be willing to return under Cetshwayo's rule, and it follows that a certain part of the territory must be reserved," but "no more than is necessary, &c.," and when it was explained to Cetshwayo that a small piece of land would thus be cut off, it certainly was not intended

that he should be debarred the right to communicate with nearly half the Zulus, or to stimulate their loyalty by such bloodless means as, alone, were in his power to use. The people of the Reserve had been told to make their choice, and no particular time was fixed by which that choice must be made, though generally (and repeatedly) it was laid down that all emigrants should be allowed to remain where they were until they had harvested their crops. This could not be for several months to come, and the majority of the people hoped that, by that time, the unnecessary character of the whole arrangement would be proved "to the satisfaction of the [Home] Government."

Meanwhile Cetshwayo certainly had a perfect right to communicate with all these subjects of his who had let him know that, in any case, their allegiance was his. And while the whole question still hung in the balance, it is difficult to understand under what pretence Sir Henry Bulwer could accuse the King of breaking his promises, unless he intended the words (from one of the conditions of his own framing) which he quotes as disregarded by Cetshwayo [3466, p. 240], "I will not attempt to interfere with any of the people living in those territories" [3616, p. 65], i. e. Zibebu's and the Reserve, in a far more tyrannical sense than they would generally be supposed to bear. The phrase would naturally be taken to mean that after the removals (if any) from either side were over, and the Reserved territory settled, Cetshwayo should not "attempt to interfere with any of the

people who had repudiated his rule," but it would hardly be interpreted to mean that from "the moment of his landing" Cetshwayo was forbidden to speak to his brother Dabulamanzi and the many other loyal chiefs from that district of their intentions, and might not while as yet they had taken no decided steps, use his personal influence to keep as many as possible loyal to himself.

There seems to have been much confusion of mind upon this point on the part of all personally concerned. The removal of A. to one side, and of B. to the other of a given boundary in the middle of Zululand, according to the respective preferences of A. and B. for the government existing on either side of the said boundary, might look very neat and simple on paper, but practically it was an impossible scheme. Tribes cannot well be thus removed from their old accustomed homes and lands except by an armed force, or in fear of their lives. Had Cetshwayo's name been a terror to the Zulus, as Sir Henry Bulwer imagined, no doubt the "Reserve" would quickly have been flooded by flying families, careless of every consideration but that of safety, and this, apparently, was what the Home Government had been led to expect by Natal advices. But no such eager flight took place. Many Zulus were reported by Mr. J. Shepstone as intending to remove into the Reserve, but very few actually did so. Large numbers determined to remain in it, not because they wished to disown Cetshwayo, but, partly because of the practical difficulties involved in the removal of con-

siderable tribes into a country already fully occupied, and partly because they were acting on Dabulamanzi's suggestion that they should stay quietly at their homes, but without renouncing the King, and so [3616, p. 12] "show to the satisfaction of the Government, that no necessity for a reserved territory exists." The Home Government certainly held that the Reserve was still unsettled. Lord Kimberley wrote in reply to Sir Henry Bulwer's scheme of arrangements for its governance [3466, p. 217]—

"So much must depend on the numbers and character of the chiefs and people who may elect not to remain under Cetshwayo's rule, that . . . it would be premature at once to settle the details of the administration of this reserve."

And on April 12, in reply to a despatch from Sir Henry Bulwer of the 15th February, Lord Derby refers him to the above answer, saying—

"Her Majesty's Government are not disposed to depart from the decision communicated to you in my predecessor's despatch of the 30th November last."

As we have seen, the assembled Zulus at Emtongani sent, or imagined they had sent, a protest to England against the division of the country, through Sir T. Shepstone. He promised to forward their representations [3616, p. 56], but, while the promise was merely formal, representing not the smallest wish on his part to support, or in any practical sense "forward" their prayers, they received the undertaking in earnest, and waited anxiously for a reply. The King had also sent his message to the

same effect, through Mr. Mullins, to the Bishop of Natal, requesting the latter to forward it to England, which, of course, was done at once, and, as we have seen, Umnyamana and the great chiefs soon after sent a similar one in the same manner. Cetshwayo himself had had practical proof of the rapidity of communication of the ocean cable, and, although his people neither knew the great distance between their country and England, nor yet understood anything of the means by which it is practically annihilated, they expected an answer pretty soon.

Meanwhile they thought it advisable to send a formal message of the same description to the Natal Government, and, after a small preliminary deputation had reported themselves to Sir T. Shepstone on March 14, a large and important one was announced to the Government five days later, consisting of Shingana (Cetshwayo's half-brother), the noted chief Sihayo, and thirteen others, all either men of note, or else representing some of the most powerful chiefs, both in the Reserve and beyond its limits. A few days after they had delivered their message to the Government, they repeated the substance of it at Bishopstowe, as follows :—

“ We are sent by (*uZulu*) the heads of the Zulu people to give thanks to the White House (the English) for this that they have done in restoring Cetshwayo. Our fathers say, ‘ We see that you do not forsake a covenant, for in restoring him you are carrying out the old covenant of friendship which Tshaka made with the English. Once before you fulfilled that covenant when the small-pox was raging and the people dying, and we were saved by English medicine. And now again you have raised us from the

dead by bringing back Cetshwayo. For this we shall always be thankful, that you have given him into our arms, saying, too, that he is now the son of the Queen, not of Mpande only. But where do you intend that we should set him up? There is no place left to us. And this is a complaint which we cannot conceal even while returning thanks, since it is to you that we make it—to his own people (friends) who have restored him. We complain that we are now told that the country is to be cut off at the Umhlatuze; whereas so many chiefs of the Zulu nation live with their tribes south of that river. We are told too that to the north, land is to be cut off for Zibebu, who is just one of Cetshwayo's dogs—which news astounds the whole of Zululand to-day. For the land belonging to many chiefs is now cut off for Zibebu.

“The Zulu people are bewildered by the order that whoever wishes for Cetshwayo is to cross the Umhlatuze. They say, ‘Hau! who is there, great or small, who does not wish for Cetshwayo? Have we not all petitioned for him?’ . . .

“We do not understand why the country is to be cut into three parts, for the Government, for Cetshwayo, and for Zibebu. We thought that the King belonged to the Queen with the whole country.

“All these words we have spoken at the S.N.A. Office. We have been in twice. The first day I (Shingana) only was called into the room, and Sihayo came with me. . . . We did not speak then the words about . . . [the] beating [of] Hozana, &c., because that was a disgraceful affair, not fit to be mixed with words of thanks and prayer, and because, also, Hubu's and Mjiba's turn had not yet come, who were the proper persons to speak them [being eye-witnesses].

“The next day four of us went into the office. Only Mr. Methley [clerk and interpreter] was present at first, . . . we began to speak as alone, repeating what we had said to Mr. Symonds (acting S.N.A.) the day before. But as soon as we began, ‘We are sent by *uZulu*,’ he stopped us, saying, ‘Don't say that you are sent by the Zulu people. You are in fact sent by the Sutu. Has Zibebu, too, sent you then?’ But we denied altogether, saying, ‘The Sutu is only one tribe under the King; we are sent by the heads of the Zulu people.’ ‘Count them up then!’ said he. Said I, ‘Will not the sun have set before I've done, since, to begin with, there are all those whom you know,

who came down to pray for Cetshwayo [2000]. How can I count over the whole nation?' He kept continually objecting and stopping me, until I had to remonstrate, saying, 'Sir, this is stopping our mouth; you are not allowing us to speak our message.' When we spoke of the Umhlatuze line, he said, 'But don't you know that the line cutting off that country was drawn by Cetshwayo himself? Why! that was the means by which he got himself released. Where is Langalibalele [who has no land to give up]?' I replied, 'The King told us that he was forced to sign, and was told, "If you make any objections, you will delay your return indefinitely. The right thing for you to do is to sign now, and make your protest when you have reached home." Also, he said, "I was never told of all this in England; it was only proposed that I should give up a little bit of land, where Dunn is living—as it were, the piece which I formerly allowed him." And we replied, "Nkos, we have been misled in supposing that you were really restored. You are still a prisoner, if you are separated from your country and people. Can you carry us all on your head then?—us, who shall not give you up, since we have all been praying for you." And he replied, "Go, then, my friends, and report this, and ask where are you to set up your King?"' Mr. Methley had a paper and seemed to be writing down our words; but he behaved very oddly, writing a little and then dashing the pen across his writing, over and over again, and hiding away his paper under others when Mr. Symonds came into the room. We had told Mr. Methley saying, 'There are others with us from south of the Umhlatuze, who have also a message to give,' and Hubu and Mjiba had come in by his permission. It was soon after this that Mr. Symonds came in.

"He made us repeat our words, and asked us if these were all. We said, 'Those are all ours,' and Hubu, half-risen, came forward to speak, when Mr. Methley said, 'Yes, we have heard all that you have to say about the land south of the Umhlatuze.' And thereupon he, together with Mr. Symonds, got up and went away, leaving us gaping—for one cannot insist on a Chief's listening to one, if he does not choose to do so. So the story of the beating was not told."

What was meant by this allusion may be gathered from the words of the Zulus, as quoted from the

Natal Witness of March 20 and May 16, 1883, in the declaration made in Court on behalf of Mr. J. Shepstone in an action for libel, and published in the *Times of Natal* of September 15 :—

“On March 14 four messengers came to Natal from Zululand with a message to Sir T. Shepstone, complaining that Cetshwayo was in danger of starving, all the Royal cattle being in the hands of the ex-appointed Chiefs. From these messengers we obtain details of Mr. John Shepstone’s treatment of certain chiefs of the Reserve territory, who had visited Cetshwayo. When the headmen, Madwaba, Siganda, and Hozana went to Equndeni, where Mr. John Shepstone was staying, they found that three other headmen had been brought before the S.N.A. by his policemen, and were then inside the house. Madwaba and the other two were ordered to remain outside. Mr. Shepstone came out and demanded to know why they had delayed so long. The headmen replied that they had been waiting to come with Mavumengwana, . . . but when they heard that the former had been taken prisoner, they followed. Mr. Shepstone said, ‘What have you come about, then? Where are the others whom I sent for—Qetuka, Melelesi, &c.?’ The deputation replied by pointing out the representatives of these chiefs. Mr. Shepstone then asked, ‘Where are they themselves?’ They replied, ‘They are building the King’s Kraal.’ Upon this Mr. Shepstone became very angry, and said, ‘Is Cetshwayo greater than I? Do you respect him more than me? Is he not under me—under my feet? Is he not just my dog, whom I have dragged here by a string round its throat?’

“‘Why do you stand looking at them?’ (addressing his own men). He then snatched Hozana’s stick from his hands, and struck him on the head within the heading, drawing blood. Mr. John’s men then set upon the chiefs with sticks and sjamboks, and beat them badly. They could not get away, because they were surrounded on all sides; and they are there in Mr. John’s hands now—as far as the messengers now in Natal know—except Madwaba, whom Mr. Shepstone made strip off his blankets, and show the mark where he had been struck—there was a great sjambok weal over his shoulders, from his back to his chest. Said Mr. John, ‘Yes, they’ve really hurt you,

Madwaba; it is because you despised my call. You may go home.' But he was the only one allowed to go. All the above was told to the messengers by Madwaba himself on the way down, and he added 'Does Mr. John really think that he can separate me from the King, now that I've seen him?' Madwaba is of the family of Masipula, Mpande's Prime Minister, but lives south of the Umhlatuze. Hozana is a maternal relative of the King. Sangcongco, younger brother of Melelesi, was cut on the leg in trying to get over the fence. Ndunge, under Qetuka, brought up blood in consequence of the blows he received. Ndwandwe's people reported to Cetshwayo that Mr. Shepstone had eaten up their cattle; but Mr. Fynn, who was present, said that they were not being eaten up, but had been seized as a fine for the chief's delaying to obey the call of Mr. Shepstone. Ndwandwe, Qetuka, and Melelesi were ordered to pay each 10 head of cattle, Matshana Sitshakuza 5 head. In addition to that, whenever Mr. Shepstone sends a policeman, that man to whom he is sent has to pay the policeman one head. This, it seems, is going on all over the country south of the Umhlatuze; but the boundary which has been declared by Mr. John strikes off from the Umhlatuze *before reaching the source*, and proceeds to the north."—*Witness*, March 20.

This was a second-hand statement, i. e. made by men who had heard it from some of the beaten chiefs, but that of May 16th was taken down from the mouths of the complainants themselves, and a specimen of their accounts may be taken from the same paper [*Times of Natal*, Sept. 15th, 1883]:—

"He [Muntumpofu] said:— I was with the King when messengers came from Mr. John [Shepstone] to call the whole of the people who lived south of the Umhlatoozi. Mr. Fynn said to the King, 'Mr. John has been calling the people a long time now; let them go to him to hear the words which he brings from the Government.' The King said, 'Let all those men whom Mr. John has called go straight to him; do not go home. I do not know what he calls you for, but you will hear from him.' A number of us left together. On the way, three