

addressed the assembled Zulus upon their own concerns, informing them that they should pay taxes to the thirteen appointed chiefs, part of the proceeds of which must be given to the Resident, and part paid in salaries to policemen, who were apparently to act as a Border-guard between the Boers and Zulus. Roads must also be made—though this command was given generally, no direction being named,—and other methods of raising a “Revenue” pointed out. All which, whether as command or advice, would have been very suitable had the country been at rest, and had the thirteen kinglets taken firm hold of the reins of office with the approval of the majority in the nation, but was altogether thrown to the winds under the existing circumstances of anarchy; and while not only the nation as a whole was longing for Cetshwayo’s return, and was unwilling therefore to render obedience to other rulers, but eight of the thirteen new rulers themselves asked nothing better than to abdicate their share of power in favour of the King. To draw up a scheme of magistrates, constabulary, public works, and taxes for the benefit of the Zulus at this time was about as wise and useful an enterprise as the drawing of plans for imaginary cities in desert places would have been.

At this point several of the appointed chiefs began to make replies indicative of personal discontent on the subject of their individual boundaries, when one amongst them,* named Dilikana, exclaimed,

* Not an appointed chief.

“ Oh, Zulus, is it possible that you are wasting the time thus over your separate affairs? Why do you not speak for the King’s family? Have they offended you in any way, that you do not speak for them in their distress? And your King? I thought that your intention in coming here was to pray for him? What wrong has he ever done?”

But many of the appointed chiefs had been privately threatened and frightened beforehand, so that, without some word of encouragement from the “authorities,” they dared not speak out their heart’s desire. The Prince Maduna, however, with his brother Ziwedu, and Dinuzulu, the young heir to the throne, were present definitely and openly as suppliants, and the words addressed to them were of a nature to discourage all but the boldest.

“ You, Maduna, Ziwedu, and Dinuzulu,” said Mr. Rudolph, the interpreter, speaking in the name of Sir Evelyn Wood, “ we give you to John Dunn [the man of all others who had most injured the king and country, and whom they had deepest cause to hate]. As for your cattle, if Zibebu has eaten up 30, he shall give you back 10, or if 40, he shall give you 20, and keep 20 in any case. But this is only on condition that you go to John Dunn: if you do not go to live under John Dunn, Zibebu shall return to you none.”

The Princes asked leave to answer, but the white chief refused, saying, “ What answer can you have to give? We turn you out, Maduna, and Dinuzulu, and Ziwedu, because you are always saying that you

want the 'bone' of that scoundrel (*ishinga* *), whom we have done away with. You are always saying that you are going to [pray] the authorities about that. We forbid you that road. What business have you there?" To which they replied: "That is just the point on which we wish to speak." But the white chiefs forbade it, and they were allowed no reply. And to Mnyamana they (the white chiefs) said, "As for you, you have no voice [you cannot speak] here. You refused a chieftainship,† we then told you to go to Hamu; you refused that also. Now we say that of your cattle, which Hamu has eaten up, he shall give you back 700, and he shall keep 600." And, when Mnyamana asked leave to speak, he was told, "We do not wish you to answer; we are laying down the law to you; how should you answer?" [how should you venture to make any objections?] In fact the same words were spoken to Mnyamana as to Maduna and Ziweddu, "We will not have you answer."

There is not the smallest apparent reason for this arbitrary decision that Zibebu and Hamu should retain a portion of the cattle of which they had robbed the Princes and Maduna. It was understood by the Zulus, and was apparently *intended*, as a punishment

* This account was given to the Bishop by messengers sent expressly for the purpose by the Princes. Compare the report in the *Natal Mercury*: "Not half the chiefs were present, and many of those that went were very cross and threatening after the language used towards Cetshwayo, he being called '*ishinga*.'"

† Mnyamana refused the position of "kinglet," looking upon it as an honour *at the expense* of his King.

for their incessant petitions for Cetshwayo's return, and the whole proceedings of the day had no other effect than that of a spur to the growing tyranny and insolence towards the captive King's family and special adherents, upon which Zibebu and Hamu at least would not have ventured but for [what was virtually] British support, whatever the renegade J. Dunn might have done. Immediately after the meeting, Zibebu hurried home, and at once sent out an *impi* to eat up the cattle of his brother Haijana, who had put them for safety at Maduna's kraal "Kwa' Minya." The King's brothers, Maduna and Ziweddu, had not yet reached home, having been summoned by Mnyamana to come to him; but their people turned out, and Mgojana (one of the appointed chiefs) brought men of his own, and led the *impi* to rescue the cattle. Zibebu's people resisted, and they fought, and Zibebu's *impi* was beaten and driven to his kraal, he himself escaping with his life, while Mgojana recovered the cattle.

The *Natal Mercury* of October 22, 1881, furnishes additional evidence of the impression made by Sir Evelyn Wood's visit, and supports the view that the bloodshed which followed on all sides was its direct and logical consequence.

"We have received," says that notoriously anti-Zulu publication, "the following from a trustworthy Zululand correspondent:—

"October 13 [1881].

"I send a line at the last moment to say that things are going from bad to worse, at railway speed. Up to the arrival

of Sir Evelyn Wood the chiefs did not fully realise that they were really independent at all. Now they do, and, if I mistake not, like a beggar on horseback will ride to the devil sharp. Hamu has begun by killing a large number of the Aba Qulusi people. My information is derived from native sources, and may be somewhat exaggerated. It is, that the killed at Isandhlwana were few compared with those killed by Hamu a few days ago.

“‘ Zibebu also, and Ndabuko are, I am told, on the point of coming to blows; and if they do, that will be worse still [?], for Ndabuko will find supporters throughout the length and breadth of Zululand.’”

The above confirms other evidence on two important points besides the one for which it is quoted, namely, the deplorable results of Sir E. Wood's visit. The appointed chiefs mentioned as turbulent are just the two (Zulus) unfriendly to the King, and the *Mercury's* own correspondent helps to prove that King's popularity by reporting that Ndabuko (Maduna, the King's full-brother and warmest friend) would “find supporters throughout the length and breadth of Zululand.”

CHAPTER III.

It was after the visit of the First Deputation that the Bishop of Natal and his eldest daughter went to see Cetshwayo at the Castle in Capetown. The Bishop had made no previous attempt to visit the King, since Sir Bartle Frere's refusal to his (the Bishop's) second daughter and two sons showed that it would be useless. They, however, had laid a complaint in the matter at the Colonial Office, in consequence of which, Lord Kimberley directed that the King should be allowed "personal liberty and intercourse with his friends,"* and after this the Bishop and Miss Colenso arranged to pay their visit. Their account of it may be given in their own words:—

"We landed at Capetown on Monday morning, Nov. 1, 1880, and were met at the docks by a note from General Clifford, saying, 'I have informed Cetshwayo that you will be here shortly, and he is looking forward to your visit. Will you send me a line some short time before you wish to see him, naming the hour, so that he may be prepared?' We fixed three o'clock that afternoon, and at that time went to the 'Castle,' a large stone building surrounded by ramparts, within the city boundaries. We drove in through the gloomy stone arch, past sentinels, into

* 2695, p. 55.

a square court, with one or two imprisoned-looking trees in a corner. The 'Castle' contains all the officers' quarters, and we soon found those belonging to General Clifford, and the General himself, who was looking out for us, and, with Major Poole and Captain Westmacott, led us on at once to Cetshwayo's quarters—across one side of the court, up and down stone staircases, past a sentinel, through a stone passage, where Cetshwayo, we were told, took his daily bath (as he always did at home, only then it was after an eight or ten miles walk), past three Zulus, Cetshwayo's attendants, two men and a youth, who saluted us eagerly, into a long large room, the further end of which is boarded off for the King to eat in, while what remains is partly filled up by two small apartments, also boarded off, one the sleeping-room for Cetshwayo, the other for the women, his attendants. There is about space for a third apartment of the same size on that side of the room; but in this space were sitting, on a coloured blanket spread on the floor, the four women—not *wives*, but women of the royal household—dressed in print gowns and coloured shawls—and there is a fifth younger girl belonging to the party. These are all who are in captivity with him. There remains a long narrow strip of room, lighted by three small windows, with dull glass and iron bars, through which nothing can be seen, 'air and exercise' being supposed to be provided for by his being allowed to walk on a portion (one angle) of the ramparts, which is boarded off from the rest. The only furniture consists of a large engraving of the Queen, presented by Colonel Hassard, three photographs of Cetshwayo's two brothers, and other members of the deputation,* which we had sent him, and which General Clifford had kindly had framed and glazed, two or three towels hanging from a peg or string, and—three bare old wooden chairs in the further corner, on one of which sat the King, in European clothing, waiting for us, and looking eagerly to the door. He rose to welcome us, and clasped the Bishop's hand as if he could not let it go. General Clifford, knowing that we needed no interpreter, kindly left us three alone together.

"His first question was 'His wives and children—were they alive? where were they?'—he had been separated from them all for a year and two months—and he gave a great sigh of relief when we said that at the time when the deputation came down

* The first deputation. See p. 17.

his brother Maduna (Ndabuko) had told us that the children, with their mothers, were with him, though we did not know if all of them were there, and also that he was the father of a new baby, a girl, six or seven months old, of whose birth he had not been informed. This news appeared to give great delight to him and his chief attendant Mkosana, who had now come near, and to the women to whom Cetshwayo at once imparted the fact. We asked him to name the baby, and, after thinking for a few moments, he said, 'Tell them to call it Untombiyolwandhle (girl of the sea), and Unomdhlambi (mother of foam).' 'Ah!' said Mkosana, 'these names will make them weep when they hear them.' This is his eighth child, and he asked eagerly after the other seven by name, saying that Dinuzulu, the eldest boy, with his sisters Simiso and Siyile, were old enough now to 'have eyes'—be reasonable. On being told that Dinuzulu's uncle, Maduna, had, we heard, given him a horse, he said:— 'Ah! and he'll soon ride it too, he's a sharp boy.'

"Then he asked for his brothers. 'Had the two in the photograph really come down to Maritzburg? And Dabulamanzi—had we seen him?'—for he had heard that he had been in Natal. 'And his elder brother, Ziwedu, did we know anything about him? And the indunas, Mnyamana, and Ntshingwayo, and Sitshaluza? And the Zulu people—what were they saying? Did they not care enough about him to give up some of their cattle, and try if the Queen would not accept a ransom for him?' 'Yes,' we said, 'they are quite ready to do that, for they have told us so; but it is not the offering of a ransom that would help at present. For what is said is that it would unsettle, disarrange, the land, if Cetshwayo were now sent back there.' 'How can that be,' said he, 'when the land would belong to the Queen, and I too belong to her, and should only be obeying her orders? I am not asking to be sent back as king, but just to be allowed to live with my wives and children as a private individual. *This* is not being alive—although my neck is spared—separated from all my family.'

"He then went on to ask for his half-brother, Hamu (Oham), saying, 'Lukuni (General Wood) came to see me here twice, and on the second visit he told me that when he was in Zululand (with the Empress), there had come to him Hamu,* Seketwayo, Sihayo, and

* Hamu, who is generally allowed to be a worthless fellow, would, however, never have turned against the King had he not

the Umsebe and Umbangulana kraals, and all the people of Northern Zululand, praying for their Bone,' that is, for the restoration of Cetshwayo as one dead, that he might be buried in Zululand. We said 'Yes—but did he not understand that it was for that purpose the deputation had come down, viz. to pray that their "Bone" might be given back to them?' 'Ah, no!' said he, 'who is there that would tell me here? But was not Ziwedu with them, nor Mnyamana, nor Ntshinywayo?' 'Yes,' said we, 'they too pray for the Bone, and they sent their words by Maduna. They also were on the point of starting with him, when there came a Basuto [one of Hlubi's people], and warned them saying, "What were they thinking of, in going to Maritzburg? It would be very displeasing to the authorities, and they would certainly be killed." So they remained behind, but Maduna, Shingane, and the others persisted and came down, though, as Shingane told us, they felt that "they were throwing themselves over a precipice, not knowing what they might find at the bottom"—at which Cetshwayo seemed amused, though pleased that they should have ventured so much (as they thought) for his sake. And, as he continued to ask, 'Was so-

been encouraged to do so by white advisers, nor has he ever done so consistently, but curries favour with each party in turn. And it would seem that even Zibebu might have been brought to meet Cetshwayo, i. e. receive him as king, had he been in the least encouraged to do so by the white authorities. His speech, reported by the special correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*, that *he would not receive the King unless Mr. Osborn* [the Resident] *told him to do so*, certainly implies that Mr. Osborn's influence [i. e. that of the Natal Government] would have induced him to submit. It was precisely this official determination not to give Cetshwayo the assistance even of a good word which was at the bottom of all the bloodshed that has followed. A little moral influence only exercised by the Government in the King's favour, and the whole country would have returned quietly under his rule. Even honest neutrality would probably have produced nearly the same effect; but, instead of that, by cutting off half the King's territory and people, and thus lessening him in the eyes of the Zulus, by fomenting every seed of discontent sown during four years of anarchy, and by fettering him with promises, while his enemies were encouraged, the good intentions of the Home Government have been brought to nought.

and-so there? and so-and-so?’ We read over to him a list of those present, with which we were fortunately provided, at the end of which he called Mkosana, saying, ‘They know all about us, and all the tribes of Zululand, and they all want to ask for the Bone, all the northern Zulus! Ah! these are pleasant tidings.’

“Next he asked—and very kindly—for J. Dunn. ‘Was not he of the same mind as the Zulu chiefs in this matter?’ We said, ‘No, he had nothing to do with it that we knew of.’ [We did not tell him that J. Dunn had written to the *Natal Mercury*, saying, ‘I intend punishing any of my subjects I find negotiating with the Bishop without my knowledge.’] ‘Well,’ said he, ‘I have heard nothing about him all this time; but lately I heard that he was very ill.’ We said, ‘He has recovered.’ We heard afterwards that Cetshwayo had quite recently dictated a long and very kind letter to J. Dunn, asking after his health and welfare, and we have since seen mention made of this letter in the *Natal papers*.*

“Cetshwayo having stated that the new Governor (Sir G. Strahan) had come to see him a few days before, we asked if he had seen the former Governor, Sir Bartle Frere. ‘Oh, yes,’ said he, ‘I knew him. He was a very kind, friendly man. He sat and spoke with me just as you are doing; his voice was as kind as yours is. I told him that I did not know what I had done—in what way I had offended the Queen, that I should be so destroyed; for we had always been friendly with the English, and, indeed, we were preparing to help them when Somtseu (Sir T. Shepstone) went up to the Boers.† For, on his way up, he sent a messenger to me to

* This was, of course, before the King had heard how anxious J. Dunn was to prevent his return. The feeling here expressed by the King that Dunn would be “of the same mind with the Zulu chiefs in this matter” was at first largely shared by the Zulus, who knew how much Dunn owed to Cetshwayo, and expected him to do him a good turn, which accounts for any of them having submitted to Dunn.

† In a Despatch from Sir Bartle Frere [2740, p. 49], dated September 4th, 1880, the following passage is quoted from an article written by Major Poole, which appeared in *Macmillan’s Magazine* for February 1880:—

“When Mr. [Sir] Theophilus Shepstone went to the Transvaal he sent word to Cetshwayo to say he was going to try and settle the affairs there. Cetshwayo knew that the Boers were at war with Sikukuni, but did not know much about their

tell me to be on the look-out. We have always been friendly; before then, from Tsbaka's time, and since, to the last. I do not know what we have done, and I pray the Queen to let me go back just to live among my children, and let the country belong to the Queen; for though a man be allowed to breathe, he is not really

affairs, except that they were continually having rows with the border Zulus. He sent two messengers to Mr. Shepstone to offer his alliance with the English, in case there should be a war. Mr. Shepstone sent back to say he did not require any help, that the Transvaal had been annexed by the British Government, and that all was quiet. He also told Cetshwayo that he must not go to war with the Swazis, as they were allies to the British."

Captain [afterwards Major] Poole adds, "You will see it corroborates what Cetshwayo now states. He says, '*When Mr. Shepstone went up to the Transvaal on the annexation business, he sent a message to Cetshwayo to inform him of his movements, that he was going up the Transvaal to put matters right there.*' He did this, Cetshwayo says, in the ordinary way, out of courtesy to an ally. The message included the usual complimentary allusions to their being allies, and Cetshwayo sent a message to Mr. Shepstone to offer his assistance, should he require it, and said he would, if Mr. Shepstone liked, call up his army. The messenger followed Mr. Shepstone, and caught him up in the Transvaal. Mr. Shepstone sent back to say he required no help, and added that the Transvaal was now British territory, and everything was quiet."

But Sir T. Shepstone [2482, p. 47] denies that he sent any such message, and says, "In consequence of Cetshwayo's unfriendly reply to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal's remonstrance against the slaughter of the girls [the supposed "formidable message"], which reply had been received shortly before my return to Natal from England in 1876, *it was judged advisable that I should make no communication to him on the subject of my mission to the Transvaal, and I made none.*"

It would seem as if Sir B. Frere, in publishing the statements received from Major Poole, had not perceived how completely they are at variance with those made by Sir T. Shepstone, while agreeing substantially with the account given by Cetshwayo, and with other Zulu statements, as, for instance, that of the first deputation, which was as follows:—

"The King never sent an *impi* against the Boers. At the time

alive if he is cut off from his wives and children. And the Governor listened, and said that he would ask Major Poole to write down all my words. I told them all over again to Major Poole, and he wrote them down, and sent them to the Governor, who called together all his councillors to consider the matter. Then they sent my words across the sea to the Queen, and she collected all her great men and chiefs, but they refused my prayer, and said that I should not go home, and the Queen said no word of objection to them, but just consented. And the Governor came to tell me this, and that my prayer was refused. "However," said he, "I do not see it stated that you are to be kept here a prisoner always." And he gave me the paper which had come from England about this matter. Here it is, written in your own language, I believe.' And he fetched from the next room a copy of a Despatch to the effect that the Queen had been advised not to grant the petition of Cetshwayo.

"We heard, on the authority of an eye-witness, that on this occasion, when told that his prayer was refused, Cetshwayo was evidently greatly distressed. The sweat stood in drops on his face, and the beating of his heart could be plainly seen under his tightly-buttoned coat, although he would not allow any other signs of emotion to escape him. Also, from the same source, we heard that Sir Bartle Frere urged him to practice resignation, saying, 'I, too, am obliged to stay here because the Queen wishes it, an exile from my own country, to which I am longing to return;' to which Cetshwayo replied, 'Yes, but you have your wife and children with you, and you are not shut up as I am, and I should

when Somtseu [Sir T. Shepstone] went up to the Transvaal, Sihayo brought word to the King, which had been brought to him by a messenger, saying that 'Somtseu was going up among the Boers, and it was feared that they might be stiff-necked, and that he might be in difficulty. Cetshwayo must, therefore, send a force to the border to be ready to help him, if necessary.' Cetshwayo said that 'he did not wish to fight—he wished to sit still and remain at peace with his neighbours, as he had been advised to do.' However, he ordered the Aba Qulusi, who lived on the border, to collect themselves, armed, at their *kraals*, to be ready in case they were wanted. And after some time a message came from Somtseu to say that the force must disperse; so it dispersed, without doing anything. That was Somtseu's affair."

not wonder if the Queen pays you besides for staying here'—which was unanswerable.

"We felt obliged to dispel his pleasing illusion as to Sir Bartle Frere's friendliness, by mentioning that it was he who prevented Mr. F. E. Colenso from seeing him on his way to England. [Cetshwayo had heard that he had passed through Capetown, and wondered that, having been formerly employed as a lawyer to act for him, and having visited him at Ulundi, he had not called to see him.] We felt it necessary also to question him as to some of the accusations brought against him by Sir Bartle Frere, e. g. that he had ordered 'hundreds' of young women to be assegaid, as well as invalids in his regiment and people generally. At first he would hardly believe that he understood us aright; but on our assuring him that we were neither exaggerating nor joking, he gave an unqualified and indignant denial on all these points, and, turning to Mkosana, with a shrug of his shoulders, he ejaculated, '*Abelungu!*' meaning 'these white (= English) men!' He then said that he knew only of four girls who were killed, and that these were killed without his will, though he was responsible in that he had consented to the advice of the indunas that an *impi* should be sent out to frighten the girls into obeying the marriage law, which *impi* had exceeded his orders and killed these four. We said that his brothers had told us of four other girls who were killed without his orders, besides the four whom he mentioned; and he said, 'No doubt they were right, but he had only been told of those four. The bodies of the girls near the Pongolo were left where they were killed—not exposed upon the road as far as he knew, and certainly no order had been issued for such exposure.'

"We then asked him about the 'formidable' message of November 2, 1876,* reading it over to him in Zulu. He said at

* This was the message *supposed to have been* sent by Cetshwayo to Sir H. Bulwer in 1876, which appears never to have been forgiven by that Governor, and which was raked up again by Sir Bartle Frere in 1878, to serve as one of his excuses for invading Zululand. The message, as reported, was a very angry one, resenting interference in Zulu affairs, announcing the King's (supposed) intention to "kill" freely in his own country, and placing himself and the Governor of Natal on an equality. It was always a puzzle how Cetshwayo came to send a single message, diametrically opposed in tone and spirit to all his others, before or since

once, 'Those are no words of mine. What indunas is it said were present?' We told him. 'It is said that no induna (Government official) or innceku (Household official) was present, but only some youths in attendance on the King.' 'It is not allowed,' he replied, 'to the Zulu King to speak alone with strangers. They are always taken first to the indunas, and they, if they think fit, bring them on to the King, or perhaps send them on, but never without a head-ringed innceku, who speaks their words for them while they sit at a distance. How could we have spoken face to face? Who is it said were the messengers?' We answered 'Bayeni and Mantshonga.' He said, 'I know Bayeni, a tall black man; but I know no Mantshonga as a messenger.' We said, 'He was a refugee, and is now one of Umkungo's people in Natal, having left Zululand for some crime.' 'Listen now to that!' said Cetshwayo to Mkosana. 'Would such a person have been allowed to come near me? I know nothing about any words of mine quarrelling with the Governor of Natal. I never had any quarrel with him; he always treated us kindly. No, these are not my words; they are those of the messengers [invented by them].'

"We read to him in Zulu the statements of his two brothers, defending him on these points, which gave him great pleasure. 'Ah!' said he, 'truly they spoke to the purpose.'

"Cetshwayo asked kindly also after his brother Umkungo, a younger brother of Umbulazi, who fled to Natal after the great battle in 1856, and is now living with his people as a Natal chief. 'Was Umkungo well, and as stout as ever?' [he is enormously stout] 'And had many of his people been killed at Isandhlwana?' — 'our people,' Cetshwayo said, adding, 'I heard of one whom I knew; his body was recognised.' We told him that many, but not very many, of Umkungo's were killed on that day, and none of those of the other refugee brother, Sikota. We then asked, 'Were any white prisoners taken by the Zulus during the wars?' 'Yes,' he said, 'there was one white man (Grandier) brought to me after

(for this is the only one ever reported, though Sir Bartle Frere made it do duty for many), but it is plain from the above that this message never came from Cetshwayo at all, and, if it was brought to the Native Office in Maritzburg, must have been concocted by the messengers, which is not an unlikely thing, seeing that one of them was an escaped criminal, who ought never to have been sent on such an errand.

the fight at Hlobane.' 'And what did you do with him?' 'I kept him for three days, and then I sent him back.' 'Did he go on foot or on horseback?' Cetshwayo turned to Mkosana, who said, 'He went on a horse.' And Cetshwayo added, 'I gave him meat for the journey, which was carried for him wrapped up in an eating mat, and a large piece of tobacco, and a bottle that size [a large flask] of gologo (grog), of that stuff of yours, gin.' [We had heard independently from Zulu messengers that the King had given such supplies for the road to Grandier. No wonder that, when found, he was a little off his head!] 'I have heard that that white man is now here in Capetown, and I asked them to bring him to see me, but they have not done so.'*

"We had heard that Major Poole had taught Cetshwayo to sign his own name, and we asked if that was true. 'Oh, yes,' said he, and pulled out a sheet of paper, saying, 'Here is what I was doing only yesterday to amuse myself.' The amusement consisted in printing his own name, 'CETYWAYO,'† some eight or ten times in capital letters, and, as our native schoolmaster remarked the other day, when exhibiting this 'copy,' which Cetshwayo, at our request, had given us, to an admiring audience, 'You observe, boys, the King never goes above nor below the lines.' On the

* Grandier. A white man, taken prisoner by the Zulus at Hlobane, and released by Cetshwayo. When he got back to camp he was, as the officer who saw him stated, "quite off his head," and told a sensational story of his adventures, his danger, and escape through his own prowess, which story was believed at the time, but was afterwards proved to be imaginary, and which contained such inaccuracies as that "the two guns captured by the Zulus at Isandhlwana were at the King's kraal (where Grandier had been taken), *but were both spiked,*" which, though stated at the time in one of the Natal journals, is now known to be untrue.

Civilisation seized upon a fiction that was founded upon the incident of Grandier's release, and a horrible effort of imagination appeared in a leading London illustrated journal, in which he was represented as a prisoner at the torture-stake, and Cetshwayo, as a gorilla-like monster, gloating, with a circle of chiefs, over his captive's agony.

† The King learned to spell his name in this way, the Zulu sound, more accurately represented by tshwa, tshwe, tshwi, &c., having for many years been spelt tywa, tywe, tywi, &c., by Zulu scholars.

other side of the page he had written 'MAJOR POOLE.' But this, we believe, is the extent of his knowledge at present, either of writing or reading, though he looked attentively at the large 'ZULULAND,' in the corner of a map which we gave him, as if he meant to try his hand on that. And this, too, seems to be the extent of his indoor 'amusement,' except that we were told General Clifford kindly brings him sometimes to his own rooms to watch a match at lawn-tennis, played in the court before mentioned, his outdoor being the monotonous walk upon the angle of the rampart, as above mentioned. We left with him some photographs and Zulu books, which last he might get Mr. Longcast to read to him, if he would not learn to read them himself, and suggested that he might teach him to play a game at draughts, so as to lighten, in some small measure, his dreary captivity. Cetshwayo said, 'Truly, you give me many things; I shall be at no loss for amusement now.' He produced also, for our inspection, a large English Bible, which Archdeacon Lloyd had given him, but of which, of course, he was unable to read a line, any more than of the Ultimatum, which first Sir Bartle Frere, and then Bishop Schreuder, sent him. An English prisoner might amuse himself with reading and writing. But, how wretchedly must be spent the hours of such a captive as this!—morning, noon, and night!

"It might be supposed that his life is varied by his receiving many visitors. This was no doubt the case while the troops were returning to England, since many of the officers saw him, and expressed themselves very kindly towards him. But when this was over it became another matter. A rule had been laid down by the military authorities, in order to prevent his being made a mere object of vulgar curiosity, that none shall be allowed to see him but those whom he wishes to see. Otherwise, 100 Australians, touching at the Cape, might come at one time to see him, as six Dutch people did while we were there, and were refused admittance. But this rule cuts both ways, for how is Cetshwayo to know who come to him as friends and who as foes? Accordingly, one of his bitterest enemies, the editor of the *Natal Mercury*, was admitted lately, through an order from Sir Bartle Frere,* to see him, though (we believe) against the wish of the military authorities, while a friend of ours, whom we wished to

* Who refused to allow Mr. and Miss F. E. Colenso to see him, in September 1879. Dr. R. J. Colenso was also refused permission a few months later by Mr. Sprigg.

take a personal interest in him, and see him occasionally when we should have left Capetown, was admitted at our request, but with the hope expressed that we would not bring any to see him out of simple curiosity. We ourselves, however, had every facility given us, both by the Governor (Sir G. Strahan), and the Commander-in-Chief (Sir H. H. Clifford), of seeing him as often as we desired; though leave was refused to take him one day to the friend's house where we were staying, and show him a little more than could be seen in his Castle quarters of English civilisation, which we could explain to him in his own tongue, lest it should be made a precedent for others making a similar request. The above will show how closely, after all, he is confined, and what very little relief is afforded to him in his gloomy captivity; though it need hardly be said that within the Castle precincts he has all along received from the military authorities the most kind and compassionate attention.

“When we arrived in Capetown, Major Poole was under orders to leave, and Cetshwayo had also been told that he himself was shortly to be moved to a ‘farm’—save the mark!—in the neighbourhood of Langalibalele, some eight or ten miles from Capetown, where he would certainly be out of reach of almost all but official visitors. This, we were told, had made him very sad, as the only *friends* whom he knows in Capetown are General Clifford and Major Poole, and some of the officers and soldiers who have been kind to him. He had shed tears on taking leave of one of the latter, a non-commissioned officer. And indeed it must be impossible for any one to see much of him, and not feel kindly towards him, his whole demeanour agreeing, as it does, with his brother's description of him, ‘He never wronged any one; there is none like him, none so good, so kind, so merciful,’—he might have added, ‘so sensible and cheerful under all his trouble,’ which, however, was very visible at times to us.

“We, of course, comforted him as well as we could, for the loss of General Clifford, by telling him that we believed the new Governor (Sir G. Strahan) was his friend, and that, if he was sent out of town, it was at least with a kind intention on the part of the authorities in England, who knew that it must be hot and unhealthy at the Castle in summer time, and that such close confinement must be bad for him. However, before we left Capetown, we were told, on authority, that the ‘farm,’ on which he was to be placed was not yet bought, and that it was not settled where he would be placed, while Major Poole would stay with him for the

present. It would, indeed, be hardly a matter for regret should the purchase of the farm fall through; for we have been told that, though superior to Uitvlugt, the abode of Langalibalele, it is best described by its name 'Fig-tree Farm,' so called from the *wild* fig-tree, which grows where nothing else will. But, for any one who knows the Cape Flats, it is enough to say that it is within about two miles of the miserable waste of sand and scrub where Langalibalele is placed, and still exists, as he says, 'like a ghost and not a living man.'

"We paid five visits altogether to Cetshwayo, and on our last we said that we were now going away, and we could not tell what things might happen, nor when we should see him again, though he might rest assured that we should not forget him. But we wished, before we parted, to know what would be his own feeling, supposing he were sent for to England, to see the Queen and the authorities there? He looked distressed, and said, 'The sea would kill him.' But we told him, 'No; you have seen what is generally the worst part of the sea between this and Natal, it would probably be much easier to go to England, only a longer voyage.' 'Ah! yes!' said he, 'I have a notion of the time it takes, for that old clergyman (Archdeacon Lloyd), who came to see me, said that he was going to England, and I hear that he has just come back.' 'Well,' we said, 'the journey is not so bad really. And we, for our part, if we heard that you were sent for should be very glad, for we should say it shows kindness towards him, and is a step forwards, for he cannot be sent back, just as he is now, a prisoner.' 'Do you really think that?' said he; 'and you would wish me to go? I will agree then, at once, if am asked, since you advise it, although I have a great horror of the sea.' And again, after talking about other matters, he repeated, 'Yes, I will certainly agree to go to England if I am asked, since you advise it; and there is nothing that I will not do, if my Father Sobantu wishes it.'"

The Bishop, writing to the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, on January 9th, 1881, says:—

"I saw Major Poole in town last week, who told me that Cetshwayo is to be removed on the 15th January to a place about a quarter of a mile from Langalibalele's (Uitvlugt), where there is a good house, and (as he says) some ground that may be tilled.

I don't believe in the latter at all, from what I saw of Uitvlugt, which is a barren, miserable place. He has now lost General Clifford, Major Poole, and the interpreter, Longcast, for whom a young man, second son of Mr. Samuelson, one of the Church missionaries in Zululand, has been substituted. I hear that he is a good-natured lad, but this is all I know about him, and I hope that he will do quite as well as Longcast. But Cetshwayo will be badly off for friends. There will be some white guardian, like Langalibalele's, but not the same, and Major Poole says that for three months there will be two or three warders to prevent his being annoyed by visitors from Capetown. I doubt very much if he is likely to receive any, except perhaps an official visitor now and then; for the place can only be reached in a circuitous way, first by rail to Ronesbosch, and then by carriage (if you can get one, but there are none for hire at the Ronesbosch station) over a wretched road for two or three miles. Who will take the trouble to make such an excursion to see the poor exile? Is it possible that the Government can be so heartless as to sanction this arrangement for a man who has acted up to his lights so nobly, who has none of his wives or children with him, and no resources in reading or writing, except as a merely temporary measure while they are preparing to send him back to Zululand? Have you noticed his touching prayer in the last Blue Book, in which he promises to put his son Dinuzulu in our hands as a hostage for his good behaviour? What more would any generous statesman desire? Of course, Sir Bartle Frere and his henchman, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and John Dunn—all these are dead against his being restored to his country in any way, though not one of them touches the point of his son being put into the hands of the English Government as a hostage for his good behaviour."

The following letter, addressed to Sir George Colley, High Commissioner of South-East Africa, contains strong evidence of the desire of the Zulus to see Cetshwayo return to Zululand:—

" BISHOPSTOWE, Jan. 4, 1881.

" SIR,—In the Blue Book [C. 2695], which has just reached this colony, I observe that Mr. Osborn, the Resident in Zululand, has reported to your Excellency as follows:—

“ With reference to the application lately made by Ndabuko,

Panda's son, for the release of his brother, the ex-King Cetshwayo, I understand that it has been alleged in some of the Colonial newspapers that several of the appointed chiefs joined in or supported the prayer. I wish to remark that I have reason to believe that there is no truth in the latter allegation, and I do not think that the chiefs desire to see Cetshwayo back in Zululand.'

"I believe that Mr. Osborn is under a mistake in making the above statement. I know that Nozaza came as the representative of Seketwayo, bringing with him Seketwayo's 'Letters Patent,' signed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, &c., and appointing him one of the thirteen chiefs in Zululand, as the voucher for his having been deputed by that chief to say that he heartily joined in Ndabuko's prayer, and also that he took the document with him, fixed in a staff, to the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Maritzburg and also to Government House. I am informed that he took it also with him to Mr. Osborn, and that Ndabankulu, representing Faku (ka'Ziningo), Voko, representing Mgojana, and Mfunzi and Sunduzwayo, representing Siwunguza (late Gaozi), who came down with the deputation to Maritzburg, also went to Mr. Osborn, and were present when Ndabuko and Mayamana were told to 'touch the pen' to the petition for their 'Bone,' and did this, as they doubtless supposed, in the name of the whole deputation.

"If Mr. Osborn did not see these representative men or the 'Letters Patent' of Seketwayo, it was, I suppose, because he did not inquire of whom the deputation consisted, and whom they came to represent.

"I am informed also that a fifth chief, Ntshingwayo, was coming to Mr. Osborn with them, but was delayed a day or two by the death of his wife, and certain ceremonies to be gone through in consequence. And as Mr. Osborn, being pressed for time, went off in haste the next morning to visit the chief John Dunn, Ntshingwayo, of course, was stopped from coming. Nevertheless, he expressed his concurrence in the prayer of the deputation by sending a beast to Ndabuko to thank him for what he had done.

"Moreover, I am informed that two other of the thirteen chiefs, Somkele and Mlandela, who would have been represented on the first occasion if they had had notice in time, were sending, more recently, Bubesi, Somkele's brother, and Masana, Mlandela's son, to represent them, when Ndabuko asked leave of Mr. Osborn for himself and party to go down to Maritzburg, to pray a second time for the 'Bone,' and was refused permission.

"I have reason also to believe that an eighth chief, Mgitshwa, in heart concurred in the prayer of the deputation, though he was

afraid to take part in it, lest the English authorities should be displeased. And I understand that Sir Evelyn Wood informed Cetshwayo at Capetown that Hamu also had expressed to him his desire that his brother should be released and sent back to Zululand.

“ On the other hand, I am aware that chief John Dunn has fined one of the principal headmen placed under him for having sent a representative to join in the prayer for the ‘ Bone ’ without his consent, which, of course, would never have been given, and has announced in the newspapers, ‘ I intend punishing any of my subjects I find negotiating with the Bishop without my knowledge.’ ”

“ As Mr. Osborn’s statement above quoted impugns my veracity, or, at all events, the credibility of ‘ allegations ’ made publicly by me, I respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased to direct inquiry to be made through Mr. Osborn as to whether these things are true :—

“ (1) That *Seketwayo* was represented in the deputation which waited on Mr. Osborn, by Nozaza, bearing his ‘ Letters Patent ’ ;

“ (2) That *Faku* (ka’Ziningo), *Mgojana* and *Siwunguza* were also represented before him on that occasion by Ndabankulu, Voko, Mfunzi and Sunduzwayo ;

“ (3) That *Ntshingwayo* intended to come in person and join in the prayer of the deputation, but, being prevented by Mr. Osborn’s going off to John Dunn before he could arrive, *bonga’d* Ndabuko’s action with a beast ;

“ (4) That *Siwunguza* also intended to come in person, and *Somkele* and *Mlandela* had agreed to send Bubesi and Masana, as above, to represent them, when Ndabuko was refused leave to come down a second time to the authorities at Maritzburg to pray for the ‘ Bone.’ ”

“ I have, &c.,

“ J. W. NATAL.” *

* This letter was forwarded to Mr. Osborn, for report, by Sir George Colley, and on February 11th the latter writes to the Bishop that “ without entering into any reasons which the British Resident in Zululand may be prepared to give in proof of the accuracy of the statements quoted by your lordship from the Blue Book [C. 2665] . . . the present is not considered a propitious time for making the inquiries requested by you, as the minds of the Zulus

The Bishop, writing on December 3rd, 1880, said:—

“One of the two Zulus who came down to announce that the Prince Maduna (as Cetshwayo also called him, though he appears as Ndabuko generally in our account of the deputation), with other representative men, had crossed into the colony, but were stopped on the frontier by Mr. Fynney while he telegraphed to Pietermaritzburg, finding that they did not arrive, went back a few days ago to ascertain the cause of the delay, and met on the way some men sent by Maduna, who arrived here to-day, and came to say that they were refused leave to come on by the authorities in Pietermaritzburg, and had gone back to Zululand. They had been promised a pass to come down with Zibebu, of whom they complained: he was allowed to come on, but not they. You may judge for yourself what is likely to be in the end the result of such repression of their cries for what they deem—rightly or wrongly—to be justice.

“Since my last words were written they have come into my study and told me Zibebu, Mfanawendlela, Hamu, and John Dunn have ‘eaten up’ all those in their districts who came down to ask for their ‘Bone,’ e.g. John Dunn has taken twenty head of cattle from Qetuka. They say also that Maduna will go and apply for a pass from Mr. Osborn, but they don’t at all expect that he will get one, as he has been refused before. Mr. Osborn told him to go and settle matters with Zibebu if he could, and after that come back for a pass; and he did so, and was refused, though Zibebu got one. Of course I cannot answer for the strict accuracy of the above statement. Thus Mr. Osborn may have meant that the same pass should cover Maduna as well as Zibebu, if the latter condescended to take the former. But it is clear that an unpleasant state of things exists in Zululand which some day or other may end in fighting and revolution.”

are very much unsettled by Boer emissaries making certain statements relative to the return to Zululand of the late king.”

Apparently the “propitious time” never came, for the inquiries were never made. However well prepared Mr. Osborn “may” have been to give proofs of the accuracy of his statements, he never gave them: the Bishop’s challenge was never met, and remains without disproof to this day.

It was natural for the Aborigines' Protection Society to ask for what purpose obstacles were placed in the way of the Zulus entering Natal, and making known their grievances to the authorities. It seemed to that Society as mischievous as it was unquestionably high-handed that they should be subjected to such treatment.

CHAPTER IV.

WHATEVER may have been the ostensible object of Sir E. Wood's mission, the practical convenience gained by the Natal Government was the possibility of making the closing assertion of Colonel Mitchell's speech, "Each of the eight appointed chiefs named by these men denies categorically having ever sent such a deputation."

What was the worth of these denials, by what means they were obtained, and how much credit those means reflect upon the Natal Government, must now be considered, and the story cannot be better given than in the words of the Inhlazatshe Zulus themselves. Some men of the chief Siwunguza relate as follows after the meeting at Inhlazatshe:—

"The Amakosi (English authorities), and Malimati (Mr. Osborn, the Resident), and John Dunn, having agreed together, Malimati asked Siwunguza if he had sent down to Maritzburg to pray for Cetshwayo's return, making use of the expression, 'In company with whom do you pray' [equal to telling him that he stood quite alone in making such a prayer]. Siwunguza denied that he had done so, whereupon Mr. Osborn said, 'By whom, then, were Mfunzi and Sidindi sent, who have been down to Maritzburg about that affair? If you had nothing to do with it, you must eat up their cattle as a proof thereof.' So Siwunguza ate up the cattle of Mfunzi. But Mfunzi went to him, and

remonstrated, saying, 'Why are my cattle to be eaten up? Did I go down, then, on my own account? I, an old King's messenger? And how, then, did Sidindi come to go, your brother's [the late chief Gaozi's] own official messenger? Did we trump up a message ourselves?' But Siwunguza answered, 'This is not my doing, but the doing of the White Chief over there'—indicating Mr. Osborn. Mfunzi then went to Malimati—Mr. Osborn—and asked why he had ordered Siwunguza to eat up his cattle. But Malimati also denied, saying, 'It is not my doing, Mfunzi; you are just eaten up by your own chief. Sidindi had also been eaten up; but Siwunguza's men did not tell me the result in his case.'

Another Zulu, of Mnyamana's tribe, stated as follows:—

"Seven days ago, when I was in John Dunn's country, I heard that the three Zulu chiefs (Ncongwana, Ngobozana, and Posile) who came down to Natal, asking to be allowed to go to Cetshwayo, when they reached Inhlazatshe, found the Zulus still gathered together. They were asked by the Amakosi [the 'authorities,' i. e. the Resident or his representative] what they wanted. They said 'a pass to go to Maritzburg.' 'Where do you come from now?' they were asked. 'From Maritzburg,' they replied. 'We do not wish to conceal it; we went to pray for the "Bone," and for leave to go to it.' But all the answer they received was, 'Who told you that there was any such "Bone" left? What do you mean by going after it? We won't allow it.'

"When they got home, Ngobozana found that his cattle had been eaten up by the chief of the district, his brother Siwunguza, under John Dunn's influence—to punish him for praying for the release of Cetshwayo. But he remonstrated with Siwunguza, and the cattle were returned to him." For the same reason Posile's cattle were eaten up by order of Mfanawendhlela, the (appointed) chief of his district, but they were rescued by Posile's brothers [sons of Manyosi, a chief induna in the days of the King Dingane, of a powerful family], assisted by some of Mnyamana's people.

As to Ncongwana, he had been "eaten-up" long

before (by Zibebu), when he went down with the first deputation to pray for Cetshwayo's return.

It will be observed that of the three appointed chiefs who punished men in their districts for praying for "the Bone," two—Zibebu and Mfanawendhlela—were amongst the three (Zulu) kinglets who were traitors to Cetshwayo before their rise to power, and averse to his return thenceforward, while Siwunguza, although amongst the eight faithful ones, was weak-kneed, and had been persuaded to forswear himself, plainly acknowledging to his brother and friends that his conduct was not voluntary, and that he acted under pressure, in fear of the white authorities.

The account given by two of the three chiefs who were so anxious to join the King in his captivity, of their reception by the Resident, to whom they went after failing to reach Inhlazatshe in time for the meeting, deepens the impression of unfair dealings in official quarters.

After relating how they journeyed from Bishopstowe and were delayed by the weather, as already described (p. 45), they continue thus:—

"On the 13th [day of their journey, the 1st of September] we arrived at Inhlazatshe, and found there Mnyamana and the Princes, the sons of Mpande and some of the chiefs; others were still arriving, or on their way, and Mgitshwa (one of the appointed chiefs) came with us; but Lukuni* was gone, the meeting was over, and there had been no talking whatever.

* It cannot be concealed that—if the "Meeting" was really intended to do the Zulus any good—*Lukuni* [Sir Evelyn Wood]

“On the day of our arrival a policeman of Malimati (Mr. Osborn) had come and told Mnyamana that Ngobozana and Posile were to be eaten up, because it was said, ‘What business had they to go down to Maritzburg?’ When we heard this, Ngcongswana said, ‘Let us, however, deliver this letter which Ofi [Mr. Theoph. Shepstone, M.L.C.] has given us to take to Malimati; for, in fact, we were not refused by the authorities at Maritzburg; only it was said that we had gone without a letter from Malimati, and must return and fetch it.’ Mnyamana was somewhat revived by the sight of this letter; but still he said, ‘What is the use? Letters from the authorities have been beforehand with you; the (appointed) chiefs are said to deny having sent you; you will only be punished (Botshiwe),* from what I hear from Malimati’s policeman.’

“Next day (September 2), Posile and Ngobozana went to their homes, as they had heard that they were to be eaten up. But Ngcongswana insisted on delivering the letter to Malimati, and took with him Siziba, to explain how we had gone down supposing that our ‘letter’ had gone before us. And Siziba told Malimati that, when he went last to ask for a ‘letter,’ the Inkos’ (Mr. Osborn), was away, and the induna Sotondose said, ‘The letter has gone;’ and so (said Ngcongswana) ‘we went down after it’ (see p. 39). Malimati then questioned Sotondose, who confirmed Siziba’s words. When Malimati had read the letter of Ofi, he said, ‘By whom were you sent down [to

made a most serious mistake in ignoring all the habits, customs, and ideas of this half-conquered race, and trying to force upon them at a stroke the military precision implied by his fixing a single day, on which all must be present, and all complaints must be heard, then or not at all. Such an arrangement would be absolutely incomprehensible to the Zulus, whose counsels and “parliaments” of all kinds are well known to be of the most lengthy description. They would not believe it possible beforehand, and when it was carried out could but regard it as a farce, intended to cheat and ruin them. That this was the impression actually left upon the minds of the people is shown by their every allusion to this unlucky meeting, and to Sir Evelyn Wood.

* *Botshiwe*, literally *bound*, the word commonly used by Natal natives for imprisonment in gaol.

Maritzburg]?’ Ngcongwana replied, ‘I was sent by Maduna (the Prince Ndabuko), Ziwedu, and Mnyamana.’ But he would not receive that answer, and said, ‘Tell me which of the (appointed) chiefs sent you.’”

They then gave the same list of men representing such and such chiefs as they had given on several previous occasions, which Mr. Osborn made them repeat over again several times, as though he doubted the truth of their statements. At last Ngcongwana, after the fourth repetition, remarked,

“Are you, then, deaf, that you do not hear my words?” whereupon Mr. Osborn’s policeman interposed, exclaiming :

“Is that the way you speak to the master (Inkos’)? * You are saved by that letter of Ofi ; † if you had brought one merely from Sobantu (the Bishop), we should have flogged you.”

Then said Malimati, “You are telling lies ! All the appointed chiefs deny that they sent you.”

Ngcongwana replied to this insult, “I am not telling lies, for the money sent by those chiefs (as earnest) reached Mr. John Shepstone (acting S. N. A.).”

“How much was it ?” asked Malimati.

* It is noticeable here how, while demanding almost servile respect from these men—no common Zulus, but chiefs of rank—the British Resident saw no necessity to preserve even common courtesy towards them.

† A son of Sir T. Shepstone’s, commonly known as “Offy Shepstone” by Natal Colonists, a colonial lawyer, but without any political position to account for Mr. Osborn’s permitting this singular language from his subordinate in his presence.

Siziba replied, "There was £6 from *Ntshingwayo*"—

"Go on," said Malimati.

"And £3 from *Seketwayo*"—

"Well?"

"And £5 from *Siwunguza*"—

"Any more?"

"We are speaking of the appointed chiefs," said Siziba; "but, if I am to name the others, there was £5 from Mnyamana, and £5 from Sitshaluza."

"You are telling lies," said Malimati again. "Over there in Natal in whose company were you supposed to be? In that of Ngobozana and Posile? [meaning "why do you, Ngcongwana, come here alone?"] What did Mr. John [Shepstone] say to you?"

"He said," was the reply, "'Is Malimati, then, a mere peg stuck in the ground? We ought to hear of this matter through him.'"

Ngcongwana then asked Malimati to give him a letter to the Governor [Sir E. Wood], and to get him and his companions sent on to the Governor.

"I will not," replied Mr. Osborn, "lest you should go and tell lies at Maritzburg."

After this unsatisfactory interview, Ngcongwana allowed a day to pass, but upon the next he went again and asked the induna Sotondose to announce him to Mr. Osborn; but Sotondose answered, "No! I cannot take in your name, since the Inkos' refused you to your own ears."

A third time Ngcongwana went, accompanied on this occasion by Posile, and, when they asked for a

pass, Malimati said, "Well! and this time by whom are you sent?" They replied, "It is always the same chiefs by whom we are sent—give us now a letter that we may go."

But Malimati refused it, saying, "Go and tell your lies in your own way!" [that is to say, "without my help."]

"On the day after the meeting, viz. the day of their arrival at Inhlazatshe, Ngecongwana was in Mnyamana's hut with him, when Sotondose, Malimati's induna, came and whispered to Mnyamana to come outside with him, which he did. On the following day he told Ngecongwana what had passed between him and the induna. The latter had advised him to 'deny having had anything to do with these fellows (Ngecongwana and party), saying that 'among the English things are denied falsely, no one speaks the truth: the man who can tell lies well is the one who gets on with them. And what do you want with the "Bone"? You had better positively deny (*funga*, swear) before Malimati that you never sent to ask for the "Bone," or ever said that you wanted it. If you do this you will please the English authorities. But, if you say that you do want the "Bone," you will be worthless in their eyes.'"

Mnyamana said that he made no reply to this advice, after giving which Sotondose left him. But, said the former to Ngecongwana, "Be sure that you report this for me emphatically to Sobantu (the Bishop of Natal), and say that this is what hampers me, that, when we have prayed with all our hearts for the 'Bone,' when we have spoken all these words plainly and openly, orders should come back to us from the white authorities that we are to deny all this! For me, I cannot do so, and I shall say to Malimati himself that I cry for the 'Bone,' and

cannot leave the children of Mpande to be turned out of their homes on the hill-side."

And on the day of meeting, before Lukuni (Sir E. Wood) spoke to the chiefs, Sotondose took them aside and spoke with them. "It appears to us," said the narrators, "that he must have said the same thing to them, since he went and warned Mnyamana, so great a man among us all, with all those wicked words about lying, and was not ashamed."*

Mnyamana said, "How can the (appointed) chiefs send men to pray for the 'Bone,' and to see the King for them, and then leave them in the lurch, to be eaten up in this way?" and he sent Ngcongwana to say to the Prince Maduna (Ndabuko), "I, Mnyamana, complain of this. I ask when will Sobantu interfere on our behalf, since things here come to this pass?" And Maduna said, "Indeed I agree with my father † there. For even up to this time, when we are turned out upon the hill-side, while we have kept sending to Sobantu and telling him of all our troubles, he has

* It is of course open to the Resident to deny that he knew anything of these frequent instances of duplicity, &c., on the part of his subordinates. But in that case at least it cannot be denied that a very great mistake was made in the appointment of a man who, although he understood the language and could therefore look into matters for himself, could be so grossly and frequently deceived by his own men, through so long a time—nearly four years—during which every effort was made both by the Zulus themselves, and by their few white friends in Natal, to bring the truth to the surface. Nor is it possible to avoid the observation that the conduct of the subordinates chimed in most conveniently with the known policy of their superiors.

† A term of courtesy used by the Prince in deference to the old Prime Minister's age and rank.

never yet sent any one to us, to see how we are troubled, and that we have only spoken the truth." *

"The second time that Ngcongwana went to Malimati, when Sotondose refused to report him, he heard Ntuzwa, the appointed chief Seketwayo's brother, speaking with the Resident. Ntuzwa had been summoned together with the other chief; but, when he arrived, he found that Sir E. Wood was gone, and followed after him on horseback and caught him up. He asked him, 'How, then, have you settled Zululand?' [meaning 'what sort of settling is this?'] to which Sir Evelyn Wood replied, 'I hope that the sky will give rain enough for there to be a plentiful harvest.' †

"So Ntuzwa returned to Malimati, and Ngcongwana heard them, as aforesaid, speaking together quite distinctly, for he was sitting with (the Prince) Shingana outside, while inside were Ntshingwayo and Sitshaluza also. Malimati asked, 'Have you anything to do with this affair, Ntuzwa, since you represent your brother (Seketwayo)?' Said Ntuzwa, 'What affair?' 'This of Ngcongwana.' Said Ntuzwa, 'Yes, we have to do with it. How should it be denied? But here is Ngcong-

* Compare the above natural, but most undeserved, reproach with the frequent false accusations brought against the Bishop, by both Government and colonists, of sending messengers to Zululand. It need hardly be said that he would have spared no pains in sending such could he have seen any hope of doing good thereby, but the intense official jealousy against him which existed in Natal, made even the most wise and helpful interference on his part impossible, and, what the Zulus at this time felt to be neglect, was in reality due to the sincerest desire for their welfare. They understood this, themselves, a little later. Nevertheless, although under the circumstances the Bishop of Natal judged it best to refrain from using his undeniable influence with the Zulus, it cannot be doubted that great good would have resulted had his willingness to be of use been met by the Government in a generous and sensible spirit, and not with cold repulse, and jealous suspicion.

† Such jesting with the people's misery after the downfall of all the hopes founded upon the meeting beforehand must have had a bitter sound, indeed, in their ears.

wana himself: call him in.' This he said because Ntshingwayo, one of the eight (appointed) chiefs who had sent, or agreed to the deputation, and who was then present, had denied to Malimati that he was concerned in it. 'But as for us,' said Ntuzwa, 'no denial is possible. You had better ask the chiefs themselves, as we who are mere people (i.e. not appointed chiefs) are considered of no account.'"

When the interview was over Ntuzwa came out and told those outside what had passed, saying, "We have had warm words, the whiteman and I, because he wanted me to agree that I had nothing to do with you. But I refused and said that I was in it, and that he had better ask the appointed chiefs (if he did not believe me)."

One day after this a messenger of Malimati stopped at Mnyamana's asking for a draught of beer, and said to Ngcongwana, "We have just come from Seketwayo, who refuses to deny that he had sent Nozaza [on the deputation]; he said, "I have nothing to do with Ngcongwana, &c. ;* they were not my messengers; but the man I had to do with was Nozaza, who went with Mfunzi."

Whether the stauncher conduct of Seketwayo and his men arose from a more resolute spirit on the part of that chief, or from the knowledge that, in the face of his letters-patent sent down with his messenger on the first deputation, denial on his part would be useless, he certainly proved an insurmount-

* Ngcongwana, &c., were sent by Mnyamana, Maduna, and Ziwedu, together with Mfunzi and his party, who came expressly to represent the eight appointed chiefs.

able obstacle in the way of those who were so anxious to suppress the "prayer for the Bone," or at least to make out that it emanated only from a few malcontents, not from the people in general or from the appointed chiefs. Colonel Mitchell's assertion, "Each of the eight appointed chiefs named by these men denies categorically having ever sent such a deputation," could only have been made by taking note of the first part of Seketwayo's reply, "I had nothing to do with Ngcongwana, &c.," and ignoring its close, "but the man I had to do with was Nozaza, who went with Mfunzi [and carried the letters-patent]." But the matter is put in its true light by a letter to the local papers from the Bishop, dated Oct. 23, 1881, in which, after contradicting a report published in the said papers of his having sent "agents" to Zululand, calling for deputations,* he continues:—

"Further, I observe that you published recently in your columns a letter from Chief John Dunn, in which he states that 'there is no truth in the statement about eight of the (appointed) chiefs praying for Cetshwayo's return. This the British Resident can attest.'

"In reply I beg to state that on the first occasion (May, 1880), when a deputation came down to make the above prayer, one of them, Nozaza, brought with him his chief Seketwayo's Letters-Patent,' that is to say, the document signed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, appointing him to be chief, as a guarantee that the man in question was a confidential messenger, and that the chief was a party to the prayer. And, as he certainly would not have come forward *alone* to make such a petition, this fact

* The deputations came entirely of their own accord, and were as wholly unexpected by the Bishop as they were by the Government.

by itself guarantees the *boná fide* character of that deputation as having been sent, as they stated, by five of the appointed chiefs, afterwards increased to eight, to make the prayer in question.

“And the fact, that the same confidential messenger, Nozaza, was sent with the recent deputation, shows that this also came to express the genuine wishes of the eight chiefs, as they stated, whatever attempts have been made to discredit it.

“I will add that, if the chiefs under pressure have been brought to deny that they sent such deputations—Seketwayo among the rest—it only shows how unmeaning are such denials.

“I have taken the proper measures for setting the true facts before the authorities.

J. W. NATAL.”

Yet it is hardly possible to blame those chiefs who flinched and gave way to their powerful white conquerors, especially after reading the sad accounts of how they were frightened, and forced to eat their own words, and even to inflict punishment on their own relatives and friends for having carried their messages faithfully, when it became plain how greatly those messages had displeased the “white authorities,” who, in truth, were far more responsible for the falsehoods told, and the injustice perpetrated, than were the untaught savages, amongst whom “to lie like an Englishman” has of late, unhappily, become a proverb.

One or two instances of the above-mentioned punishments, inflicted on the returned messengers, will be enough to show the means which were taken to stifle any expression on the part of the people for their king's return. There are many such stories, and from amongst them may be selected, The story of Ngobozana, one of the three chiefs who prayed to join the king.

“When Ngobozana hurried home from Inhlazatshe (as already mentioned) he found that Siwunguza—his appointed chief—had ordered that all his cattle should be eaten up, and had called together the headmen of the Tribe to enquire of Ngobozana how he came to go down to Maritzburg. But Ngobozana said, ‘Since it is you, Siwunguza, who ask the question, what can I answer? For it was to you that the princes sent, and it was you who called me from my kraal, and told me to go; and when I suggested that the headmen should be informed, you agreed and told them. And it was you who gave me a beast to offer to the *amadhlozi* (ancestral spirits) that I might be fortunate in going among the English. Moreover, with whom among all the Zulus did the prayer for the “Bone” begin? Was it not with your house, when our brother Gaozi (late appointed chief) sent Sidindi and another, soon after the king was carried away, to pray for him to the Natal Authorities, which prayer was made through Mxakaza (Mr. Fynney, Border Agent)?’”

The headmen all agreed that Ngobozana spoke truly. And in the end he was let off on paying a fine of five head of cattle only. But it is a fact, nevertheless, that Siwunguza sent privately to the Prince Shingana, saying, “In spite of all this that you see happening to my father’s son (Ngobozana), if you, princes, should be going down again to Maritzburg [on this errand], do not, I pray you, pass me by; I shall always have a beast to kill for you.”

And again the story of Mfunzi, the old messenger who had made so many journeys to and fro for the king:—

“Mfunzi’s cattle were also eaten up by Siwunguza—all of them, 70 head. Mfunzi made no resistance, but himself helped Siwunguza’s men to take them, turning the calves out of the huts for them. When Mfunzi came to Malimati (Mr. Osborn) about this, he had tied 70 knots in a string, to show the number of his cattle, and that Malimati might count them for

himself. Malimati said, 'Well, Mfunzi, you see what has happened through your going down to Maritzburg without reference to me.' Said Mfunzi, 'When did we go down without reference to you? We are always asking you for a pass, and you are either absent or you refuse it; and this time Sotondose (Mr. Osborn's Induna) told us that you had sent our letter on, so we went after it. I wish that you should give me a policeman to go with me to Maritzburg, that I may learn by whose order this is done.'

"'Stop now, Mfunzi!' said Malimati, 'and tell me—when you were there, by whom did you say that you were sent?'"

Upon this Mfunzi cast upon the ground a handful of mealie grains, equal in number to the pounds of money which he had carried down to the authorities at Maritzburg from three of the appointed chiefs and others, which was presented to Mr. John (Shepstone) as a thank-offering for Mkosana's return, and with the prayer that the authorities would "pour-on and fill-up;" but Mr. John said that these did not wish to be thanked with money, and told Mfunzi and the others to take it again, saying, "We give it to Maduna for Cetshwayo's children." Mfunzi cast down the grains, naming the eight chiefs who had sent him; and although Malimati contradicted him, saying, 'the chiefs deny it,' he insisted on calling the money to witness that he had been sent by them.

In the case of Posile, another of the three who petitioned to share the king's exile, he was plainly told by the *impi* which attacked his kraal that it was by Mr. Osborn's orders, not by his chiefs desire, that he was "eaten up," and in every instance there was discernible an undercurrent of belief that the punishment inflicted would please the Resident, and

the Natal authorities, and that the outrages thus committed, if not by the Resident's distinct commands, was certainly with his implied approval, and in consequence of hints from him to the appointed chiefs that if they had really nothing to do with sending these deputations, so displeasing to the white authorities, they ought to punish such men of theirs as had joined them, as a proof of their own innocence.

Ngcongwana and Posile give the following account of how they fared upon their next attempt to obtain a hearing at Maritzburg, which attempt was made after the Resident had refused to give them the pass for which they asked on the day after the Inhlazatshe Meeting.

They started again for Natal after their last repulse from the Resident as described above, reaching Bishopstowe once more, on October 26th; but Ngobozana, who still desired to go to Cape Town with the other two, was this time detained in Zululand by his brother Siwunguza, who feared the anger of the White Authorities if he should allow him to come down upon this errand.

The Bishop, who was aware that Cetshwayo had prayed Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor at the Cape, that these three men might be sent to him, at once reported their arrival to Sir Evelyn Wood, whose reply, through his private secretary was a request that he would "refer the Zulus * * * * * to the Secretary for Native Affairs."

Accordingly, on Saturday, October 29, Ngcong-

wana and Posile went in (5 miles) from Bishopstowe, starting at 7 A.M. On their return after sundown they stated as follows :—

“ We arrived at the S. N. A. Office, and presented Sobantu [the Bishop of Natal]’s letter (stating that they had been referred to the S. N. A. Office by the Governor). The Induna Luzindela asked, ‘What have you come for?’ We said, ‘On the same business as before.’ He asked, ‘Have you a letter from Mr. Osborn?’ We said ‘No.’ Said he, ‘That’s the mistake you make. If you would only bring a letter from him, you would have no trouble.’* Then he took in our letter, and presently we saw a letter taken out by another door, and sent up (as we suppose) to Government House. We had to wait a very long time, so that Luzindela went away, and came back again. At last came a messenger with an order for beef for us; and, when the sun was now in the west, we were taken up to Mr. Shepstone’s private house. Here Luzindela gave us a pot of *tshwala* (native beer) to drink, and Mr. John had his horse saddled, and rode up with us to Government House. Here we found Lukuni (Sir E. Wood) and his interpreter (? secretary), and Mxakaza (Mr. F. B. Fynney), and another gentleman (? Colonial Secretary), and Mr. John made the fifth, so that Luzindela said, ‘Why all the white chiefs are gathered here to-day!’

“ Mr. John began by saying, ‘The Governor asks, what have you come about?’ Said we, ‘We have come on the same business as before: when we were sent with Mfunzi and his party to thank for the return of Mkosana, because he was the skin in which the child (Cetshwayo) had been wrapped, and therefore the chiefs who sent us say, “Pour-on, sirs, and fill-up for us of the same, &c. &c.”—by which they meant, again, that they prayed for the ‘Bone.’

“‘That will do—Enough, enough!’ was the reply. ‘The

* These “Indunas,” subordinate native officials of the Natal Government, reflect (naturally) the sentiments and intentions of their superiors, from whom this pretence of blaming the Zulus for coming to them without those credentials from the Resident, which they knew were systematically refused, was as foolish as it was wicked.

Governor asks, 'By whom were you sent?' Said we 'We were sent by Mnyamana and Maduna and Ziwedù; and Mfunzi and Sidindi were sent by *Siwunguzà*; and Gagaqikili by *Ntshingwayo* and Nozaza by *Seketwayo*.*' Said he, 'Were those all?' We replied 'No, for the other five [appointed] chiefs (naming them) all sent to Maduna for the same purpose.' 'And how was it that you told Malimati [Mr. Osborn] that you were sent by Mnyamana and Maduna and Ziwedù only?' 'We told him that we were sent by those, and by the eight (appointed) chiefs also,' naming them 'just as we have done here to-day, and just as we did to yourself, sir, [Mr. John Shepstone] when we were here before.'

" 'The Governor asks who sends you now.'

" 'The same persons send us always,' we replied, naming them again.

" 'But we wish to know whether you are merely sent to Capetown, or do you wish to go of your own accord?' they asked.

" 'As to that,' said we, 'we ourselves wish very much to go; but, at the same time, we are always sent by them.'

" 'And, if we were to tell you to pack up, and start to-morrow?' We raised our fingers, saying 'Ah! that would be good! we should say that truly you are with us, you are a friend to us, son of Sonzica' (patronymic of Mr. John Shepstone).

" 'But how was it that you delayed so much, and did not come to the meeting at Inhlazatshe, although you were at a kraal close by for two days?' they asked.

" 'Said we, we were not at any such kraal, and we did not delay.'

" 'But Malimati's letter here says that you were at a kraal close by for two days before the meeting?'

" 'Said we, it was not so, the letter is speaking untruly. The place where we were kept for two days by the snow-storm was Ndhlongolwana's kraal of Mavumengwana's down far away. We stayed afterwards one day at Ngobozana's. And on that day John Dunn passed by on horseback going to the meeting. On the next day we got to Shingana's, and that was the day of the meeting. That letter of Malimati is not speaking the truth.'

* In this sentence the italics indicate appointed chiefs.

“‘For how long do you suppose you would stay at Capetown,’ he asked.

“Said we. ‘We would stay for five years, or for any length of time.’

“‘And since Cetshwayo is to be taken away to England, which is very much farther off, what will you do?’

“Said we. ‘We are quite ready; we only want to go to him wherever he may be; but, if we can go to England with him so much the better.’

“‘And are you not afraid of the journey?’

“Said we. ‘If we were afraid we should not have come here.’

“‘But where is the money to pay the expenses?’

“Said we. ‘For that we leave ourselves in the hands of the authorities.’

“‘How many of you wish to go?’

“We said. ‘All of us?’

“‘What! all sitting here?’

“We said. ‘There are only two of us here; this is Ngcongwana, and that Posile. The rest whom ye see are attendants.’

“‘And Ngobozana—where is he?’

“‘Sir, he too wishes greatly to go,’ we replied; ‘he has not come down with us, but he wishes to go all the same.’

“‘And Mgwazeni?’ asked Mr. John, reading the names from a paper.

“Upon this Mgwazeni (who was present with the party of Zulus) assented joyfully, wondering who had asked for him, and if he could have been Cetshwayo himself.

“And the paper went further still, naming the young man Guyana, brother of Mgin, so, as the latter was already with Cetshwayo at Capetown we thought the summons must surely come from thence.

“Then Mr. John said, ‘Go now, and come again at the end of ten days. For we shall send a letter to Capetown, and also to Malimati, to enquire what sort of a person is this Ngcongwana, &c.—whether you are fit persons to send—and according to the answers that we receive we will answer you. But we blame you in that you did not come direct to the Government. Was it not a custom in Zululand for a man to go direct to the king’s kraal, and get his words there? And, besides, you can’t expect us to go looking for you, to give you beef wherever you

may choose to be. However, we do not forbid you now. Go, and wait the ten days there where you have chosen to go (i.e. Bishopstowe).’”

It was a pitiful farce this censure of the Zulus for coming down without the permission which they had tried in vain to obtain, and which could not have been so repeatedly refused them without the connivance of the very men who now lectured them, as though they had but to ask to obtain a pass, and had come without one through mere negligence, or want of respect. And, again, the pretended grave reproof because—coming as they did without that unobtainable *pass* concerning which so much had been said, with grave anxieties for what might be the fate of the families they left behind, in consequence of their action, and entering themselves a country which they could not but regard as that of a pitiless foe—they went first, on their way to “government,” to the one spot in all Natal where they knew that they were sure at least of sympathy and kindness, and such comfort as *could* be given by the Bishop and his family, even although it did not lie within his power to help them in the object of their painful embassy.

How their brave and faithful persistence was at last rewarded, with other matters affecting the welfare of the Zulus, must be reserved for another chapter of our sad and humbling tale.

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CHAPTER V.

HOWEVER good the intentions of the "Natal authorities" may have been, there can be no doubt at all as to the effect actually produced by Sir E. Wood's visit to Zululand, and the Inhlazatshe meeting. For, in the words of the correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* for October 22, 1881, "up to the arrival of Sir Evelyn Wood, the Chiefs did not fully realise that they were really independent at all. Now they do, and if I mistake not, like a beggar on horseback, will ride to the devil sharp. Hamu has begun by killing a large number of the Abaqulusi people. . . ."* And these words, published by one of the most persistent enemies Cetshwayo and the loyal Zulus ever had, and who vouches for his correspondent being "trustworthy," only confirm the sad accounts given by the loyal Zulus themselves of the tyranny and ill-treatment from which they suffered in immediate consequence of the Inhlazatshe meeting, to which they had looked for relief from the grievances that they had already endured, but which, great as they were, were together cast into the shade by the misery and bloodshed which followed. It is not too much to say

* Part of the letter given at p. 54.

that, had the sole intention of "government" been to stamp out the devotion of the Zulus to their king, or rather to silence all expression of it, by encouraging the ill-treatment and destruction of those who dared to speak, they could not have acted more effectively than as they did throughout the whole period of Cetshwayo's detention. That, nevertheless, the cry of the people reached the ears of the British public, only proves how deep and strong were the feelings it expressed. From the evidence of a number of respectable Zulus, it appears that Zibebu went straight from the meeting at Inhlazatshe and sent an *impi* to eat up and drive out Maduna, and that he then set himself triumphantly to play the despot in a fashion which did small credit either to his original selection as Kinglet by Sir G. Wolseley, or to the counsel just received from Sir E. Wood. There appears to have been a long standing dispute concerning cattle between him and his brother Haiyana, the latter being their father's eldest son, while Zibebu was *the son of the Chief Wife*. The father, Mapita by name (brother to the old King Mpande), had decided in favour of Haiyana, upon which Zibebu appealed to Mpande. The King, however, refused to reverse Mapita's judgment, saying that the latter knew best to whom the cattle belonged, and that it was an unheard of thing for a son to dispute his father's decision in such a case. For the time being—that is for many years—Zibebu was obliged to submit, but now, finding himself placed in special authority by the English, and encouraged by

them to use it to the utmost, the old grievance came up again, and he took the law into his own hands, for his own special benefit. In the evening, after the meeting, he sent a message to three of his brothers, Haiyana, Fokoti,* and Makoba, saying "To-day my sores are healed, all my annoyances are cleared off. You had better behave yourselves, for I have something to say to you." He was as good as his word, and the threat proved no empty one, for, that very evening, he sent out an *impi* which began to "eat up" Haiyana's cattle from the different kraals of the Sutu (Cetshwayo's own tribe), where they had been put for safety, and which took also Sutu cattle from the Prince Maduna's own people. They even tried to drive off the cattle from Maduna's own kraal, and also from the royal kraal Esisusweni. Maduna and his men had not yet returned from the Inhlazatshe meeting; but, at each of these two places, the royal women themselves came out, armed with sticks, and drove the cattle back, upon which the *impi* was ashamed, and left them in peace, yet they did mischief enough.

Of Haiyana's six kraals they destroyed the principal one, and took possession of the others, and of all the property in them.

Of Fokoti's four kraals, they pulled down one, a second they burnt, and took possession of the other two.

Of Makoba's three kraals, they destroyed one, and took possession of the other two.

* Who gave this account, verified by others.

“They have got all the property of all these kraals,” said the Zulu reporters of this outrage, which they attributed undoubtingly to the influence of *Lukuni* (Sir E. Wood), “hoes, and blankets, and stores of fat, and everything. And two of Fokoti’s mothers, aged women, were unable to get away, and to this day we do not know what has become of them; for all the owners of these kraals had gone with Maduna to the meeting with *Lukuni*, and had not yet returned. *Zibebu’s impi* killed also two old women among the kraals of *Nzuza’s* people, destroying kraals there also, carrying off cattle, and spilling and defiling the grain.”

“News of this was sent to Maduna, who was still in the neighbourhood of *Inhlazatshe*, and he reported it all to Mr. Osborn, who sent a man of his own to go home with Maduna, and see what had happened. But the princes never reached home, being prevented by the *impi* [*Zibebu’s*]. They remained therefore in *Hamu’s* District, and only youngsters were left to keep watch at *Kwa’ Minya* (*Maduna’s* kraal).”

“Maduna now called his own people together, saying ‘Since many of you have not heard the words of *Lukuni*, come and hear from me the heap of troubles with which I am destroyed to-day.’”

But the night before they came together, when it was known that Maduna had called them, the young men left in charge of *Kwa’ Minya* heard that the people of some of *Zibebu’s* kraals near at hand were alarmed at the news, and were taking flight. Where-

upon they—some 15 in number—went out on an expedition of their own, and on finding that the report was true, they attacked the fugitives, and took possession of their cattle, killing a woman and wounding another woman and a man, in retaliation, as they said, for the two old women killed by Zibebu's *impi*.

By this undesirable exploit, this handful of young men did serious injury to their prince's cause, furnishing a handle against him for the enemies who were sure, sooner or later, to find (or make) an excuse for attacking him, but who would never have been able to irritate him into beginning a fray. Throughout these most trying circumstances Maduna restrained himself from all violence for the sake of his brother, Cetshwayo, although he and his men were frequently taunted with such words as these: "You are kept back, by just a single missionary (the Bishop of Natal) who cannot help you, but only writes letters." Yet it was more remarkable that this representative of a dethroned and captive king, a landless prince, stripped of all power and property by the British conquerors, without wealth to purchase or authority to compel the obedience of a single follower, should have been able to control large bodies of fighting men, and to prevent them, repeatedly, from taking vengeance for the injuries and insults put upon him and them; and we need not wonder that, on this (apparently) single occasion, a small party of young undisciplined men,

finding themselves without the control of older and wiser heads, should have broken out into what was, after all, an act of retaliation, and not an unprovoked attack.

When Maduna heard of it, upon the following day, he was very angry, saying, "Who gave leave for this? An evil thing has been done." He gave orders that the young men should be taken prisoners to Mr. Osborn, the Resident, but that, before going, they should return the cattle they had captured to the place from which they had taken them. And he appointed two head-ringed men (that is to say, responsible men of good position), one of them a cousin of his own, by name Gebuza, to go in charge of them, and to see the order carried out.

On the same day Maduna's people came together to him according to his previous order, and he directed them to go hunting in the neighbourhood, and to keep watch for what might happen. During the hunt the firing of guns was suddenly heard, and the hunters exclaimed, "Is not that the *impi*?" (Zibebu's). And, in point of fact, as Gebuza and his companion, Mjwapuma, with the captured cattle, and the culprits in custody, approached the place to which the former were to be restored, four men on horseback galloped up—Zibebu, and his white man "Johan" (Colenbrander), followed by two of Zibebu's retainers. Gebuza and his party ran away, but Colenbrander galloped after them, and shot down Gebuza, and then rode after one of the young men calling him to stop, and dismounted. But the young man turned,

and struck at him with his assegai, which grazed his head ; at which moment Zibebu rode up, and shot the young man down.

From this account, given by Zibebu's brother Fokoti, it appears that, although Maduna's two messengers were in the act of performing a deed of reparation, and had the offenders against Zibebu in custody, to be taken to the Resident, yet not that chief only, but his white adviser, attacked them without asking what they were doing, or giving them time to speak, and, amongst others, wantonly shot down the Prince's cousin, who was innocent of all fault in the matter.

Meanwhile a messenger came from the Resident to summon the Princes before him. They obeyed the order at once, accompanied by a small party only, while Maduna's men dispersed by his orders, and by the advise of Mnyamana, the loyal old Prime Minister of former days, to whom the Princes looked for advice as to a father, and to whom all the old King Umpande's descendants were as sons. And then, when all who could have resisted were gone, Zibebu's *impi* poured in upon the Princes' kraals, pulling down the huts, destroying the stores of grain, killing two more women, two youths, and a head-ringed man.

“ But,” said the speaker in conclusion, “ we see plainly that all these acts of Zibebu's are committed by order of the English authorities, and that this is *Lukuni's* (Sir E. Wood's) *impi* [rather than Zibebu's]. Before Lukuni came, there was comparative quiet,

and they were getting more friendly with us; but now the whole country is roused.”

The two Zulus, Mfutshane and Mlilwana—who were sent on more than one occasion by the Princes Maduna and Ziweddu to report important matters in Zululand to the Bishop of Natal, and to others whom they thought their friends in Maritzburg—also describe how, upon their first return after reporting the Inhlazatshe meeting, they heard as soon as they reached the Tugela, from the white ferryman, that there was trouble in Zululand between Hamu and the Aba Qulusi, and between Zibebu and Maduna. “We went on,” they say, “and found the two Princes, Maduna and Ziweddu on the hill-side” (i. e. turned out of their own kraals), women and children and all, and taking refuge where they could, some in one place and some in another.

These two men had brought with them from Bishopstowe a small quantity of a superior kind of *amabele* (millet) with which Cetshwayo had met at Capetown, and of which he had sent a little to the Bishop of Natal, requesting that it might be sown and propagated for him. The Bishop, accordingly, sent some of it by these men, when they returned to Zululand, to Maduna with the same request, in his brother's name. Maduna being now homeless, sent it on to Mnyamana. But the latter said, “It is of no use. If I showed this *amabele* to Ntshingwayo (the ‘appointed’ chief of the district), he would only go to Malimati (the Resident), and ask if he knew of this, or if I had been sending to Sobantu (the