

CHAPTER IX.

THE Governor's determination to prevent Cetshwayo's restoration if possible was by no means lessened by the strong proof of how large a proportion of his people desired it, to be seen in the fact that in spite of all the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise, and all that official influence could do to check them, so many men had joined the last and Great Deputation. Rather, he appeared to take umbrage at their venturing to make any demonstration in favour of the King whom he had declared that the nation did not, could not, should not, want.* In accordance with the "Instructions" which he had received on his appointment, he had previously given the Colonial Office at home to understand that he would shortly pay a visit to Zululand, with the object of finding out for himself what the real wishes of the people were with regard to their King's return. But after the visit to Maritzburg of this great deputation, Sir Henry Bulwer thought fit to telegraph as follows to the Earl of Kimberley [C. 3247 p. 43]:—

"April 26th.—I sent a telegram on 10th inst., proposing to visit Zulu country in order to ascertain personally state of affairs in

* [3174, pp. 15-18.]

country and feeling of chiefs and others, but cable broke. Now hardly time to complete visit within the time when my presence required in Natal. Resident also in consequence of a large demonstration which ex-King's brothers have brought into Natal, thinks my visit at present moment would be misunderstood and unadvisable, therefore the telegram is withdrawn. I have written about demonstration."

In spite of the peaceable and orderly conduct of the 2000 Zulus, of the proof which they had offered of their good intentions in the fact, almost unparalleled amongst their people, of their travelling so far without weapons, of all their anxious efforts to carry out their enterprise in such a way as to give no offence to the authorities, Sir Henry Bulwer persisted in regarding them as "engaged in an active agitation threatening the peace of the country" [3466, p. 76], writing in June 1882, "But if there is to be any restoration of the ex-King it ought not to be the result of agitation such as this, for if so it will be a premium upon agitation" [*ibid.*, p. 26].

The Governor, in his repeated use of the term "demonstration," seems to forget that the word in itself implies no turbulence nor lawless disturbance. The Zulu people truly desired to *demonstrate* their affection for their King, but they could not possibly have done it in a quieter or more orderly fashion, and Sir Henry Bulwer's anger against them arose precisely from the fact that they *had* "demonstrated" that devotion in which he did not wish to believe himself, nor yet to allow the Home Government to believe. The latter had plainly stated their view that the restoration of Cetshwayo should now

depend upon the wishes of the Zulu people, into which they had requested Sir Henry Bulwer to inquire, and at the very moment of the arrival in Natal of this expression of their views there appeared upon the scene this large deputation. The coincidence in time was a pure accident, although Sir Henry Bulwer consistently set it down to "intrigues" on the part of the Bishop. The wishes of the Zulus, then, were to decide the matter, yet Sir Henry Bulwer maintained that the very fact of their having ventured to express those wishes was a sufficient reason for refusing them. No fault could be found with the manner of their petition except that it and their visit were made without permission, and that was sufficiently justified by the fact that they had tried in vain to obtain such permission.* But the Governor was determined that they should gain nothing by their move, and he at once set himself to find reasons for delaying the proposed visit of Cetshwayo to England, which visit, it was generally understood by this time, would, if it took place, be but the prelude to his restoration.

As early as July 15, 1881, Lieutenant-General Leicester Smyth, Deputy Governor at the Cape, had forwarded a request from Cetshwayo "to be permitted to go to England, accompanied by certain named chiefs, for the purpose of pleading his case before Her Majesty," and concluded his despatch

* See Sir E. Wood's words to Ngcongwana, &c. [3182, p. 175]: "If you were refused a pass, I think you were justified in coming to me for one" [i. e. to Maritzburg].

with these words [3247, p. 1]: "It was a painful interview, for Cetshwayo was in great mental distress, and his dignified and gentlemanlike deportment always inspires sympathy."

Indeed, the letters dictated by the King himself to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kimberley are truly noble and touching in their sentiments. It would be hard for a British statesman to express himself with more dignity, propriety, or indeed with truer Christian feeling and sense of justice than this uneducated Zulu King. The following is one of his letters [*ibid.*, p. 2]:—

"OUDE MOLEN, July 15, 1881.

"I am writing to you, Mr. Gladstone, to ask you why you keep quiet, and do not talk [speak] for poor sufferers like me. To whom can we poor sufferers resort, if you, so great a man and the great chief of the nation, will not talk kindly for us? Pray do not, even you, act like this, and keep me longer from my native land and family. In whom can I now put my trust? Talk kindly for me to the Queen, and retain the old friendship of the Zulu nation. Is it not good for the Queen to have friends and loyal rulers [under her]? Make me happy, and make me a stronger friend than ever of the English. Put me back with some good and discreet men, if you do not trust me. Let me now have a favourable answer to this letter, and do not leave me in the cold after having forgiven the Boers (that deserved much more punishment than I), the Basutos, and the Afghans. Make me a greater friend of the English nation.

"If you could split my heart, and understand it, I am sure I would be here no longer, but in my native land. Put me back with good and discreet men to look after me and direct me.

"I am sure you have no law by which you can rightly keep me here. You have not given me a chance of explaining for myself and of seeing those people that falsely calumniated me proving what they have said against me. I feel unwell, and am daily getting worse."

“OUDE MOLEN, July 15, 1881.

“I am writing to you, Lord Kimberley, to entrust you with my case. Do you kill me like this because I am a black man? My country would not have been destroyed, and I would not have been taken captive, if the Zulu matters had been from the very first properly looked into by the Imperial Parliament. When I was taken captive I had hopes of being released as soon as my case was properly known. I thought I was taken captive by a magnanimous nation, that would let me go free as soon as the mistake was ascertained. I thought the English valued a friend. My father was their friend, and I was their friend. Who could be a greater friend of the English than I, who remained quiet in my country till I was attacked and taken captive? I fought, when I was attacked, just to ward off a falling tree, as it were, even as any other person would do. I request you to look to my case, and not to my colour, and not to leave me to die here while my family is being scattered, and is dying off on the hills. One of my wives has died already during my captivity. I really do not know what to do now, seeing that I have stated my case and the causes of the war, and yet I receive such a heart-breaking reply from you. I also wished you to allow me to have all those that falsely calumniated me before me and you to prove their statements.

“I am dying here; but I am not told for what reasons I can rightly be kept here apart from my country and family. Your last despatch * has made me feel so heart-broken and despondent that I may, without thinking, do wrong to myself, and put an end to my miserable existence.

“The Boers who rebelled against the English, and attacked them, and did many more things punishable, you have left without the least punishment. Towards the Afghans and the Basutos you have acted in the same way as you did to the Boers. By what law are you punishing me so dreadfully, who never did anything against the English nation, and who was always their truest friend? I request you, if you even now do not trust me, to put me back into my country with good and discreet men to look after me till the Zulu nation tell you that they wish me to be

* [2950, No. 69] “. . . cannot encourage Cetshwayo to hope that he will be released from the detention which paramount considerations of policy render unavoidable.”—June 15, 1881.

again their ruler. In this way it will be proved whether I am one that ought to be ruler of the Zulus. I am sure you are a nation that ought not to bear a grudge. I used to think, and still think, that the English are a magnanimous and brave people. I do not know how you can think that I am a man fit to bear a grudge, especially against my great friends the English. How can you imagine that, if you restore me to Zululand, I would ever attempt anything against my benefactors, seeing I never once attempted, or intended to attempt, anything against the English? You are a Christian nation, and ought to know that we all are of one Father (i. e. God, who made us all). I am sure you cannot be told in the Bible to treat a person like you treat me. You are a nation of heroes, and ought not to act thus. How can a great and brave nation like the English ever entertain the idea that I would bear a grudge against them, seeing that they invaded my country, beat me, and took me captive, not willingly, but through misrepresentation? I say you can do at least this for me (although I am not equal to the sea): allow me to go to England, and, with some chiefs (if any will be bold enough to go with me), state my case personally before you. If you consider that the expenses of the voyage will be too great, I will try my best to refund you the money when I am, by the kindness of the English nation, restored."

These letters seem to have produced something of their due effect, for, on September 14, a telegraphic message was returned that "we are disposed to entertain Cetshwayo's request to visit England."

As it was already late in the year, however, it was explained to him that he must, of necessity, be content to wait until the English winter should be over, both because he certainly would not be able to endure the rigours of an English winter without great danger to his health, and also because "many things interesting to him cannot be seen during that that season" [3247, p. 5].

While these negotiations were taking place, Lord Kimberley, struck by General Smyth's foreboding

that the captive King would commit suicide if longer detained in custody without hope of release, asked the opinion of Sir Hercules Robinson [3247, p. 2], who had now taken up the reins of office again, as to the possibility, "by any means compatible with paramount public interest," of relieving "the irksomeness of his detention away from his own country," and requested the Governor to "consider whether a much greater degree of personal liberty might not be allowed him on his engaging not to make use of it to return without permission to Zululand," and the same letter asked Sir Hercules Robinson's opinion upon the proposed visit to England. The Governor's reply [*ibid.*, p. 6] shows his entire comprehension of the fact that the captive King was not to be coaxed, like a child, by indulgences and treats, into forgetting the fact of his captivity. "With reference to the advisability of his visiting England," he writes, "as this seems, from the telegram I yesterday received * from your Lordship, to have been determined upon by Her Majesty's Government, I need merely remark that I think the visit very desirable, provided it is not intended that Cetshwayo should, upon his return to South Africa, revert to his present condition of captivity at Oude Molen farm. His sole object in undertaking a sea-voyage, which he greatly dreads, is to secure his restoration to his country and to his family; and if his visit did not produce that result, I

* Quoted *supra*: "We are disposed to entertain Cetshwayo's request," &c.

fear it would only serve, by raising false hopes, to enhance the painfulness of his position," and he encloses a "minute" from his Ministers expressing the same opinion.

On the subject of a "greater degree of personal liberty" Sir Hercules Robinson writes [*ibid.*] that "if he is to remain in this colony" he does not seem to care for it. The unhappy King, in fact, cared for nothing but his hope of release, and if he were to be detained a prisoner at Capetown, it mattered little to him whether or not he might please himself in minor matters. He wrote repeatedly, by the hand of his interpreters, to Sir Hercules Robinson and the Earl of Kimberley, to the Prime Minister [3247, pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15], and finally to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and the burden of his prayer was always the same—to be allowed to go to England and plead his own cause, to be confronted with his accusers that he might prove his innocence. His keen understanding seized at once upon the fact that [*ibid.*, p. 13] "the same plans are now used to keep me in misery as were used when my country was invaded," i. e. that the truth about the wishes of the Zulu people was suppressed by "the Natal people," just as the slanders of the latter against him in 1878 had brought about the invasion of his country by the British. For he writes to Her Majesty on December 13, 1881 [*ibid.*, p. 12], "If you and the Home Government had known about the truth of the grounds of the Zulu war, the war would not have been made against me." Very touching

are all these letters, and it is remarkable with what sagacity he seizes upon and explains all the main points of his case, never allowing himself to be led away into side issues, or to waste time and strength on trivial questions. His entreaties to be allowed to make his voyage to England at once could not be entertained, for, although he writes "I do not mind the cold—the winter cold is as nothing to me, provided I can get to England, and state my case" [*ibid.*, p. 7], he had, of course, no conception of what that "winter cold" would be. But, though this one delay was imposed upon him out of kindness, the same cannot be said about the official inattention to the one other petition which Cetshwayo made repeatedly, viz. that some protection might be extended to his helpless family in Zululand, and to the loyal brothers who had already suffered so much through their devotion to his cause.

On May 2, 1881, he writes to Sir Hercules Robinson [*ibid.*, p. 1]:—

"I beg you to look with kindness on Zululand and me, and see how Zululand is now being ruled. I look on you as the father of my children,* and I beg you kindly to consider my case, and look at the situation of my poor children who are in trouble, seeing that the cattle that the English kindly left them (the children) have all been taken away by some of the present ruling chiefs."

* Amongst the Zulus, the term "father" is always that of greatest respect and affection, and is applied, indeed, regardless of age, or even sex; as, for instance, grey-headed old men will salute Bishop Colenso's tiny grandson, three years of age, as "Baba" ("Father").

And again, on October 18 [*ibid.*, p. 7]:—

“The news that I get from the papers about Zululand that my people are fighting among themselves, and especially that Undabuko and Usibebu are fighting, does not allow me to sleep. I am afraid that my family have now to sleep in the veldt [are now homeless] How is it that my family is being ill-treated by one of my subjects, Usibebu, who has been troubling my family so much, and is still doing so, and no one puts a stop to it? It is the same as death to know that my country and family are being so badly handled.”

And on December 21 [*ibid.*, p. 13]:—

“I know myself that the mouths of the Zulus are shut, and their feelings suppressed by the Natal people. . . . Malimati (Mr. Osborn) has done his best to keep back the Zulu wishes. Mr. Osborn soon [readily] allows men like Usibebu to go to Natal, but stops my brother Undabuko and those that wish me back, and wish to express the wish of the Zulu nation.

“My family has been allowed to be driven away from their homes and plundered by Usibebu. How is this? Why is it allowed by the English Government? Why does the English Government listen so much to Natal lies; and why does it not see to matters more carefully? I beg you to let Lord Kimberley know about my family that is now in trouble. . . . I was attacked and taken captive because it was said that I shed blood, although I did not. How now, when so many people are killed in Zululand, what do you English say to it? I am not in Zululand now. . . . Be careful about John Dunn: he does not wish me back because he has appropriated all my property. Be careful: he wishes to cheat and blind you.”

On September 27th (five months later) Sir H. Robinson wrote to Sir Evelyn Wood as follows [3247, p. 10], after recording Cetshwayo's anxieties and unhappiness about the position of his family in Zululand, and his fears that they were almost in a state of starvation:—

“He states that he is informed that the cattle which were left for their maintenance have since been seized by the chiefs John

Dunn, Usibebu, and Hlubi, and that he is, in consequence, very anxious to obtain intelligence as to the health and welfare of his wives and relatives.

“ I will feel obliged if you will instruct Mr. Osborn to inquire as to the alleged seizure of the cattle, and to ascertain the present whereabouts and condition of the various members of the ex-King’s family.”

Yet upon March 3, 1882, more than five months later still, he writes again [3466, p. 10], this time to Sir Henry Bulwer:—

“ SIR,—I have the honour to forward a letter addressed to your Excellency by Cetshwayo, which has been transmitted to me, together with a letter to myself, in which the ex-King renews his inquiries after the condition of his family.

“ In connection with this question I have the honour to observe that Sir Evelyn Wood, in a despatch of the 10th of October, 1881, in reply to my despatch to him of the 27th of September, 1881, stated that he had instructed the British Resident in Zululand to make inquiries on this subject; I have not, however, as yet, been furnished with the information which Cetshwayo is so anxious to receive.”

The King’s letter to Sir Hercules Robinson (enclosed) gives an account of Zibebu’s violent ill-treatment of his (Cetshwayo’s), family and their people, and relates how he and his followers “drove away my family from their homes; he deprived them of all their goods. Much corn he took away; some he spilt along the roads; into a great quantity he threw dead cats and dogs, and many other dirty things; some he burned with fire. The people that act so badly in Zululand say that Sir E. Wood and Mr. Rudolph told them to do so at the Inhlazatshe meeting. . . . I tell you for a truth

that the Zulu nation is in great distress. They know not what to do because they are ill-treated and have their mouths shut. They never receive a proper hearing from Mr. Osborn or from Mr. Shepstone when they get the luck of coming so far; when the Zulus talk about me they have all their cattle taken away from them, and some [are] driven away from their homes by Usibebu, at the instigation of John Dunn, for he is the one who instigates those who do wrong in Zululand to do so. . . . Sotondose, Mr. Osborn's Zulu chief officer, has told the Zulu chiefs and people that if they talked about me,* an English army would come and completely destroy them. He also said to the chiefs and people, ‘Do you see how strong and large the English nation is? If you wish to live well, you must do the same as the English; for they have built up their nation by deceit: they say a thing one day, and deny it the next. Now do the same always, and deny that you have asked for the King.’ . . . By such people is Zululand being ruined. By J. Dunn was Sir E. Wood cheated when he said that the Zulus did not ask for me. To the Inhlazatshe had the Zulus gone to ask for me, but a report was spread by Sotondose that Sir E. Wood had come to kill any one who asked for me by means of his soldiers. In this manner, then, are the Zulus treated. They have their mouths shut by terrorism. They have what they say misrepresented.”

* This should probably read “speak *for* me,” in the sense of asking for his restoration.

Sir Henry Bulwer writes in reply to Sir Hercules Robinson, on March 19th, 1882, as follows :—

“ I ascertain that a report was made by the British Resident in Zululand on the 29th of October last, to the effect that twenty-five of the ex-King's wives had come to the Residency, complaining that they had been driven away from their homes by Usibebu, and asking the Resident for a place where they could live. They expressed a wish to go to Natal. They apparently considered themselves as belonging to Undabuko,* the brother of the ex-King Cetshwayo; and as Undabuko had been obliged by the chief Usibebu to leave the latter's territory,† they, as belonging to Undabuko, had been obliged to leave also. Undabuko was, at the time the Resident wrote, about to proceed to Natal,‡ and the women wished to proceed also. The Resident informed them that before he could give them permission to go over into Natal, it would be necessary for him to communicate with the Natal Government; and in the meantime he proposed an arrangement by which they could remain among the people of the tribe of the late Lukwasi, in the territory of the Zulu chief Umgitjwa. The women appear to have been much pleased with the proposed arrangement, and expressed their wish to remain among Lukwasi's people until the return of Undabuko. ‡

“ On the 31st of October the Resident reported that the women were with Lukwasi's tribe, at no great distance from Inhlazatshe, where the Resident was established; that they were not suffering from want,§ although he believed it was the case that the grain belonging

* Naturally, as he was their brother-in-law: who else should have cared for them? Amongst the Zulus, a married woman returning to her father's house during her husband's lifetime is looked upon as disgraced.

† This is a somewhat mild way of putting it, seeing that they were harried with fire and steel.

‡ From these expressions it would certainly appear that the Resident was aware of Undabuko's intention to “proceed to Natal,” and had allowed if he had not approved it; yet, as has already been pointed out, he had refused to let him go.

§ If this were so, it was due solely to the loyalty of the people who sheltered them, since the King's family had been stripped, first by their British conquerors, and again more thoroughly still

to the family had been taken from them at the time they had to leave Usibebu's territory; * that he had every reason to expect they would receive kind and generous treatment among Lukwasi's people.†

"In a letter which I received from the Resident two days ago, dated the 8th day of March, he refers to the wives of Cetshwayo who had been living with Undabuko, and says that they are still living among Lukwasi's people.

"I will write to ask him for further information about them."

It is difficult to believe, what is nevertheless proved from the official despatches, that the unhappy man whom we had torn away from his home and his people, was thus quite needlessly left by British officials in painful uncertainty as to the fate of his family for ten months, in spite of his earnest entreaties for information; the latest he had received being that they had been driven out of their homes to starve upon the hill-side, if even none of them had fallen victims to the assegais of Zibebu's men.

Mr. Osborn does not appear to have been guilty of the delay, which would probably be attributed officially to the fact that during the ten months through which Cetshwayo was left in this cruel uncertainty, Sir Evelyn Wood gave place to Sir

by Zibebu, of all their possessions. It was by no care of the British officials that they did not die of want.

* From this and the previous expression, "They *apparently considered* themselves as belonging to Undabuko . . . and as Undabuko had been obliged by the chief Usibebu to leave the latter's territory, they, as belonging to Undabuko, had been obliged to leave also," it might be supposed that the royal women had *some choice* in the matter. Such of them as found favour in Zibebu's eyes may have had the one alternative of becoming his wives (while Cetshwayo still lived), but they certainly had no other.

† Yes, because Lukwasi's people were very loyal to the King, and gladly spent their substance upon his family.

Henry Bulwer, who certainly seems, for his part, to have lost no time in making the necessary inquiries, and forwarding the result, as soon as Sir Hercules Robinson appealed personally to him.*

But there is no such excuse for those in power at the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, which, through its misrepresentations, either from carelessness or else from interested motives, and through its utter ignorance of the value of truth and justice, has for many years been at the root of all the misery wrought in this part of South Africa.

Even after consent to the Zulu King's visit to England had been obtained from the Colonial Office, difficulties were repeatedly thrown in the way of a speedy fulfilment of Cetshwayo's wishes besides the one touching on his own health, and the rigour of the English winter. It is true that at this stage no *direct consent* is to be found in the Blue Books, the nearest approach to it being the telegram of September 14th, 1881, "We are disposed to entertain Cetshwayo's request to visit England," &c., and on September 23rd, "Inform Cetshwayo that his wishes have been considered, but a visit to England at

* It is a curious fact that no single despatch of Sir H. Bulwer's shows the least touch of relenting towards the unhappy captive King, or even his destitute family. The anguish of Cetshwayo never seems to have touched his heart, nor the dignity and sincerity of his demeanour to have excited his admiration; and he even refused to see him when at the Cape on his way to Natal, although the King had written to request him to give him an interview. In this respect Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir Garnet Wolseley appear to have been singular amongst the British officers and gentlemen who have been brought into contact with the Zulu King.

approach of winter is for various reasons very undesirable. Besides the danger to his health, many things interesting to him cannot be seen at that season. He must leave it to Her Majesty's Government to determine when it will be best for him to come."

Yet, although consent is throughout rather implied than plainly expressed, the intention to consent is made sufficiently clear, by such telegrams as the above, and by the various despatches which follow, debating the questions of the *time* of the proposed visit, its conditions, and the chiefs to be summoned from Zululand at Cetshwayo's request to accompany him to England.

The first of these difficulties arose from the discovery that, if once the Colonial authorities released their hold upon their captive, they could not legally resume the custody of him again without a special Act of Parliament enabling them so to do. As the Zulu King had not been at war with the Cape Colony, and had committed no offence against its laws, it had been found necessary to pass a special Act, after Cetshwayo was brought to the Cape, in order to transfer him, a British prisoner of war, from the custody of the Imperial to that of the Colonial officers. This had been done partly because of the great inconvenience of keeping him at the Castle,* but also in order that he might have more "freedom of movement" (i. e. air and exercise) than he could obtain within the Castle walls. The Act provided that Cetshwayo should be detained in safe custody

* An old Dutch castle, now the military quarters at Capetown.

“*during the pleasure of the Governor.*” The Government, therefore, was competent to put an end to his custody by ordering his absolute release, or by handing him over to officers appointed by the Crown to receive him, and for this purpose, of release or transfer, the assent of the Legislature was not necessary. But, the Colonial custodians having once given him up, all that was provided for by the Act would be accomplished: there was no provision in it allowing the prisoner to be temporarily removed from Colonial custody and again restored to it. Once released from it, Cetshwayo, would be free, certainly as regarded the Cape Colony, and perhaps altogether [3247, pp. 17, 18]. Such is the gist of the opinion given by Mr. Advocate Cole, Q.C., when appealed to by the Cape Ministers at the request of Sir Hercules Robinson, whose attention was drawn to the subject through a published letter, signed by the late Attorney-General of Mr. Sprigg’s administration. Plainly, as matters stood, if Cetshwayo went to England, and returned to the Cape, he became a free man, and could go back to Zululand at his own will and pleasure, unless illegally coerced.

Now, the authorities at home in England were by this time convinced that actual cause for our invasion of Zululand in 1879 there was none, and that an immense deal of trickery and misstatement had been employed to bring it about. Yet they were still under the impression about Cetshwayo’s personal character which had been created by the despatches of high South African officials—Sir Bartle Frere, Sir

G. Wolseley, Sir H. Bulwer, and Sir T. Shepstone. It was indeed true that each accusation of cruelty, tyranny, enmity to the British, and intentions to attack Natal, brought against Cetshwayo, had been challenged, and in every investigated case had been disproved, but nevertheless the general impression remained that he *was* bloodthirsty and tyrannical, that he *had* nourished a secret hatred against the British, and that he would at some later date have attacked Natal, if Sir B. Frere had not forestalled him by declaring war against him first. It would hardly have been reasonable to expect that the British Ministers should have felt otherwise, when an old and trusted servant like Sir Bartle Frere spoke of the "grinding despotism" of this "cruel sovereign" [3222, p. 5], of his "faithless, cruel character" [*ibid.*, p. 29] his "atrocious barbarities" [2260, p. 24], whose "history is written in characters of blood," [2318, p. 183], and another like Sir Theo. Shepstone (long regarded as *the* authority in native affairs) gave the same impression, although, according to custom, in more vague and general terms. Although every instance brought to prove these cruelties, this despotism, this faithlessness, had broken down on trial, the general accusation remained in force. The natural supposition was that *on the whole* Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Co. must be right although they had been proved wrong in every part. In fact, though each count in the indictment had been disproved in turn, the verdict was one of "guilty" because the accusers were such eminent men.

The question, therefore, as to whether this victim of other men's exalted reputations might not become a free man accidentally, through the unintentional lapse of the law framed for his detention, became a serious one indeed. It does not quite appear of what use mere freedom would have been to a man who would still have been practically a captive in the midst of his enemies, and who, without their consent and assistance, could not possibly have regained his distant native land. It was, however, thought necessary to guard against the chance of his claiming those legal rights of which as yet he knew nothing, and measures were taken to that end. The law officers of the Crown in England were consulted, and, while agreeing with the views of their Colonial brethren, they discovered a way out of the difficulty. They were of opinion that by visiting England in the custody of persons named by the Imperial Government [3247, p. 21], Cetshwayo would not cease to be a prisoner of war. He could, they said, during and after the termination of his visit, be dealt with (legally) for all purposes as if he had, from the moment of his capture, been treated in all respects as a prisoner of war. They thought, however, that it would be expedient, if not necessary, that he should be replaced in the Castle, and restored to Imperial custody there, before being brought to England. This decision was communicated [*ibid.*] on March 9th, to Sir Hercules Robinson by the Earl of Kimberley, accompanied by a second despatch [*ibid.*, p. 22] on the same subject, showing that some

anxiety still remained in Downing Street lest we should inadvertently set our prisoner free. In the first place, it was considered necessary to point out to Cetshwayo that a visit to England would not necessarily be followed by his liberty being restored to him, and that he might afterwards still be kept in custody [3247, p. 14]. Again, the Earl of Kimberley asks, "*Would there be any difficulty in procuring the enactment of a further Act, authorising the detention of Cetshwayo in the Cape Colony on his return from England?*" Sir Hercules Robinson's opinion on this point had been already fully stated,* and on April 29 Lord Kimberley telegraphs [3247, p. 43] for a reply to the above question to which Sir Hercules answers [*ibid.*, p. 47]: "I have received a minute from Ministers stating that, having given careful consideration to your request, they regret they are unable to submit to Parliament a measure of the nature proposed; they add that not only are they themselves averse to such a course, but that in their opinion Parliament would not sanction a proposal for giving effect to your suggestion;" and the Earl telegraphs again, on May 8 [*ibid.*, p. 47], "As your Ministers cannot propose measure for replacing Cetshwayo in the same position, it may become necessary after visit to place him in Mauritius or other British possession. Inform Cetshwayo, and if no change in his wish for visit, and he adheres to undertaking given, arrange for his early departure, telegraphing me date."

* See p. 256 *supra*.

The "undertaking" here mentioned referred to one further precaution taken by Lord Kimberley in his second letter of March 9th, quoted above. He writes [*ibid.*, p. 22]:—

"You will explain to Cetshwayo that Her Majesty's Government have not departed from their intention of allowing him to visit England, but that various questions have arisen which must be fully considered and settled before he can leave the colony.

"Among these questions is the position in which Cetshwayo will be placed on leaving the Cape. It is the desire of Her Majesty's Government to accord to him as much personal freedom as possible when he has been again transferred to the care of Her Majesty's officers. He must understand, however, that to this end it will be necessary that he should give a formal undertaking that when he has passed out of the jurisdiction of the Cape Government, he will loyally and faithfully obey and adhere to all instructions and rules which may be laid down as to his conduct and movements, and will without question or hesitation conform to all the requirements of Her Majesty's Government. Unless he gives full assurances to this effect, and understands that he will be honourably bound by them, it would not be possible to allow his visit to this country."

So that, after all, it appears that the best resource of all the politicians and authorities of England for keeping their prisoner safe was to ask him—Sir Bartle Frere's "faithless" king, his "irresponsible, blood-thirsty, and treacherous despot" [2079, p. 140], Sir T. Shepstone's "crowned robber, murderer, and breaker of his word" [2144, p. 191], his "thief, murderer, and perjurer" *—to *pass his word* not to avail himself of any possible chance, whether legal or otherwise,

* Sir Theophilus Shepstone does not, indeed, himself make use of these words, but they occur in an "Address" from some of the Boer encroachers on Zulu territory, which address Sir T. Shepstone forwards (February 1878), with a sympathetic despatch [2079, p. 138], in which he speaks of the "strong language" of the memorialists without a shadow of dissent.

of obtaining his freedom against the will of his captors. It is to be observed that this was not merely putting him on *parole*, as a prisoner of war might honourably be, not to escape or allow of a rescue, &c., Cetshwayo was required to promise that he would not avail himself of his *legal rights*. Had he been such a man as his enemies represented him to be, of what use would it have been to obtain his *promise*? As a matter of fact, he was a man of a singularly loyal and sincere nature. He gave his word, as required, and the matter rested there.

Meanwhile two fresh difficulties arose. The first in point of time was a somewhat mysterious matter, the whole truth concerning which has never been made known. Mr. Shepstone, eldest son of Sir Theophilus, had been appointed to take charge of the King during his visit to England. His name first appears in this connection in a telegram from Sir Hercules Robinson to Lord Kimberley [3247 p. 4], received on September 16th, 1881, in which he says, speaking of "some one to take charge of the party":—

"Two names have occurred to me, either of whom would do to take charge—Henry [Henriquez] Shepstone and Colonel Hassard, R.E. The former speaks Zulu, is unemployed, and wishes to visit England. Colonel Hassard is a great friend of Cetshwayo's and had charge of him after Poole's departure. He is also shortly going to England. Have spoken to neither of them as yet, so do not know if they would undertake the duty."

Some one must, of course, have suggested these names, and informed Sir Hercules Robinson of Mr. Shepstone's wish to go (for the first time) to England; but it is somewhat strange that, under the circum-

stances, it should have been thought that any member of the Shepstone family would be a suitable person to fill the post. Mr. H. Shepstone, in particular, had been markedly amongst the King's opponents before the Zulu war. He had been Secretary for Native Affairs for the Transvaal during the British occupancy of that country, which fact would in itself identify him in the minds of the Zulus with the Boer, i. e. anti-Zulu, interests; he was at the Blood River meeting with his father, when the latter thought to persuade the Zulus to resign their just rights to the "disputed territory," his previous support of their claim to which had been the foundation of that confidence in him on which he would then have worked to deprive them of the land. Mr. Shepstone was also one of the messengers sent, after the Blood River meeting, to endeavour to persuade Cetshwayo personally to give up to the Boers what his representatives at that meeting had refused, and he was the man who on this latter occasion twice brought down upon himself a word of rebuke from the King for the want of courtesy and ceremony with which he addressed him. And, finally, he was one of the delegates who pleaded the Boer claims to the disputed territory before the Border Commission of 1878.*

* It must always be remembered that at this Border Commission, Colonel Durnford, R.E., and his two colleagues decided the dispute entirely in favour of the Zulus. The Report of the Commissioners giving the grounds of this decision is so clear, simple, and conclusive, that its perusal [B. B. 2220, p. 383] is sufficient for every unprejudiced reader, and it remains unshaken by all the flood of objections and sophistries poured upon it by Sir Bartle Frere.

Mr. Shepstone was, therefore, not a man whom the King would have been likely to choose to accompany him to England, especially as the object of the King's visit was to plead his own cause against accusers of whom Sir T. Shepstone was one. In face of Cetshwayo's own words about the latter [spoken in a message to Sir H. Bulwer in January 1878], that "he wishes to cast Cetshwayo off; he is no more a father, but a firebrand" [2000, p. 138], it would certainly have been wiser to select some one in no way connected with him. The choice, indeed, should have fallen on some one who was distinctly and actively a friend to the King, taking his views of the points which he wished to plead in England, or at any rate one who had not been concerned on the other side; and however desirous Mr. Shepstone may have been to do his duty both by his employers and by Cetshwayo, it was, of course, impossible that he should, in that sense, take the latter's part. Amongst the King's friends there can be no doubt that the appointment created some regret, and when a letter, supposed to be from the Zulu King, appeared in the *Morning Post* of January 26th, containing a passage complaining of the appointment of one he could not trust, those who were aware of all that had previously happened did not at first doubt that he had really thus expressed himself. As it turned out, however, he had not done so, the passage in question having been interpolated without his knowledge. Cetshwayo was far too wise a man to raise useless difficulties, or to offend those on whom his future, and that of

his people, might depend, and he was also too just to remember against Mr. Shepstone the offences towards himself which had been committed under authority, and by virtue, of his office as Transvaal Secretary for Native Affairs, Transvaal Delegate before the Border Commission, &c. ; and he was too generous to cherish displeasure on account of the one small personal offence already mentioned, which failure in due respect was, perhaps, owing rather to nervousness and ignorance of etiquette than to any intentional discourtesy.

Cetshwayo, therefore had no ill-will towards Mr. Shepstone, and if he would have preferred a caretaker of another name, he was wise enough to keep the feeling to himself. Indeed, he would probably fancy that there was much to be gained if one of the family—so important to South African ideas—would really be his friend, and from the following letter it would seem that Sir Th. Shepstone had succeeded in justifying himself to the King, although upon what he rested his justification is known only to himself. As it was made quite plain that Cetshwayo had said nothing against Mr. Shepstone, the latter consented to resume his charge. The King's letter to him [3247, p. 34] ran as follows:—

“OUDE MOLEN, March 4, 1882.

“I am writing to you . . . to tell you that I am very sorry when I hear that bad words about you have appeared, since it is said that I say that I do not like to go with you to England, and that I distrust you. I have not made mention about you by the words with which it is said I mentioned you. I do not know why I should distrust you, since we have explained ourselves to one another with your father, Somtseu (i. e. I have explained

myself to your father, Somtseu, and he has explained himself to me), and I saw well that he sympathised with me. Again, I should be an inconsistent person if I said now that I did not like to go with you, since I have already talked to the Governor, and agreed that you should go in charge of me. It would not be manly of me to do this inconsistency. You should not listen to that saying which it is said I said about you. You simply come; I am certainly expecting you in bringing the chiefs here, and then pass with you on to England. I say you must come. Don't think of staying (lit., do not attempt to stay). How could I say you must stay [away], since I have already approved of you? Again, you belonged to the house that handled my matters from the first. For what should I distrust you, since I, too, know that you sympathise with me? The only word by which I mentioned you, even at Government House, is the one that says that I should be thankful that you went in charge of me, above this my interpreter * that I am staying with, but that I should like that this my interpreter be the one to interpret for me. I would acknowledge those words that mention you if I knew them; but I deny them because I do not know them. What should I be afraid of, since the white people would not force me to go with a person that I did not like? Give my respects to all those of your family."

But it is impossible to overlook the fact that the King's own letters, temperate and straightforward as they are, courteous and even kind towards Mr. Shepstone, are not such as justified the choice of the latter for this particular post. The King plainly states [3247, p. 28]:—

"I told him (Mr. Henriquez Shepstone) I would be glad to go with him *if Mr. Samuelson was allowed to go also.*† I wished Mr. Shepstone to take me to the Queen, and Mr. Samuelson to go too, to talk (interpret) for me. . . . I do not want to go with Mr. Shepstone alone. *He cannot talk Zulu well. He cannot speak so well as Mr. Samuelson.*" †

These words were spoken when Cetshwayo was called upon to explain (and repudiated) the disputed

* Mr. Samuelson.

† Author's italics.

passage from the *Morning Post*, and were what he had said at the time to Mr. Shepstone, and had repeated since; and, although the plain-spoken words "he cannot talk Zulu well" are omitted, out of politeness to Mr. Shepstone, the sense of the phrase "but that I should like that this my interpreter be *the one to interpret for me*" is palpably the same, while the whole letter gives rather the impression of a desire to make the best of the matter and of the man, than of hearty and entire confidence in the latter.

It is not possible within our space to enter into the controversy concerning the disputed passage in the *Morning Post*, nor is it necessary, since the main point affecting the present narrative, viz. that Cetshwayo was not its author, has been admitted by both friend and foe.

But the matter entailed one very serious and unfortunate consequence upon the unhappy Zulu King, who was certainly the last person who should have been made to suffer on this occasion. His interpreter, Mr. Robert Samuelson, who had been with him for a long while, and was thoroughly acquainted with the Zulu language—who had become, during their joint captivity (for so it might be called), sincerely attached to the King, and had, of course, had more opportunity than any one else of learning to know and understand Cetshwayo's *own point of view*, his thoughts and feelings, and his own explanations of points contested before the Zulu war—was dismissed by the authorities on account of this affair. His principal, or only, fault, as gathered from Sir Hercules

Robinson's report [3247, p. 35], was that of having written and posted "clandestinely" three letters for the King without entering them in the letter-book or sending them to the Native Department for transmission, "as he was bound to do by the regulations."

Mr. Samuelson's excuse for his action [3247, p. 28] was that "the Governor, some short time before, told the ex-King he should have much more personal liberty than he had before, provided he did not make use of it to return to his country, and I thought from that that he was entitled to write or make me write letters for him to be despatched direct by me, and no record kept in the letter-book." Lord Kimberley's words were, it will be remembered [3247, p. 2]: "I should be glad, by any means compatible with paramount public interests, to relieve the irksomeness of his detention away from his own country, and remove from his mind the sense of injury from which he is suffering; and with this object I should wish you to consider whether a much greater degree of personal liberty might not be allowed him on his engaging not to make use of it to return without permission to Zululand."

If this "much greater degree of personal liberty" did not include the power to write letters to England without official supervision at the Cape, it was a mockery and a pretence indeed. Mr. Samuelson may have been in error in assuming this intention on the part of Government officials, and acting on his own responsibility without direct permission; but, at all events, he was a true friend to the Zulu

King, and had already proved his faithfulness by remaining for many months in most dreary imprisonment at Oude Molen, solely out of regard and pity for him.* Cetshwayo was about to embark on the sea-voyage of which he had so great a horror, to venture upon a visit to that far-away land from which he had already received much injury, and to plead his own cause, and that of his people, before the rulers of the all-powerful nation which had conquered him. At this momentous epoch, this great and trying crisis in his life, he was deprived of the interpreter for whom he had an affection, and whom he trusted, and was forced to submit to the substitution of a stranger, in the selection of whom he had no voice. The whole responsibility of what he meant to say, and how he hoped to plead his cause in England, now rested upon his own shoulders, whereas Mr. Samuelson, with whom he must many times have argued out every point, would have been a great assistance, both in aiding his memory, and also in rightly understanding and interpreting his meaning. The loss of his favourite interpreter must have been a great additional trial to Cetshwayo, who, although he is reported to have "expressed his concurrence" [3247, p. 37] in his removal &c., did so upon receiving official assurance that he was not trustworthy, and must afterwards have understood from Mr. Samuelson's own account that, in whatever he had

‡ "This is a terrible place," writes Mr. Samuelson on Jan. 3, 1882 [3247, p. 16.], "and were it not out of pity for this poor man, I could not remain." Langanibalele's life drags on hard by.

done, or left undone, he had, at all events, meant well and loyally by him, Cetshwayo.

To an impartial person it might also appear strange that, however undeserved the imputations cast upon Mr. Shepstone might be, the choice of a new interpreter should have been placed in his hands, and it would certainly have been better for the vindication of his own integrity that the post should have been given to some one of Cetshwayo's own choice, and over whom no one could accuse Mr. Shepstone of exercising undue control. Nevertheless, on March 1st, the "Private Secretary, Capetown," telegraphs to Mr. Shepstone [3247, p. 30], "Cetshwayo appears to be quite free from all charge of duplicity or blame, and the Governor sees no necessity for your making any alteration in your plans. *If required, could you get another interpreter in Natal?*"* and on May 13 Sir Hercules Robinson announces the appointment of Mr. "Dunn,† *who was strongly recommended by Mr. Shepstone.*"*

The last difficulty in point of time, though the most important in respect of its results, was one raised by Sir Henry Bulwer, who, when all else seemed satisfactorily arranged, put in his oar from Natal. The Great Deputation, of which a full account is given in a previous chapter, had arrived, and Sir Henry Bulwer seemed determined that this "demonstration" in Cetshwayo's favour should do him harm

* Author's italics.

† No relation to J. Dunn, as Sir H. Robinson took care to ascertain.

rather than good. On April 26 he took the first step in this direction by sending this telegram to Lord Kimberley [3247, 43]:—

“I sent a telegram on 10th inst., proposing to visit Zulu country, in order to ascertain personally state of affairs in country, and feeling of chiefs and others, but cable broke. Now hardly time to complete visit within the time when my presence required in Natal. Resident, also, in consequence of a large demonstration which ex-King’s brothers have brought into Natal, thinks my visit at present moment would be misunderstood and unadvisable, therefore my telegram is withdrawn.”

This was shortly followed by another, which does not appear to have been published, but the purport of which can be gathered from Lord Kimberley’s allusions to it. On May 10th the Earl telegraphs to Sir Hercules Robinson [*ibid.*, p. 50]:—

“Inform Cetshwayo report having been received from Governor of Natal that visit used for purposes of agitation in Zululand, and interferes with due consideration of future, Her Majesty’s Government consider it necessary to postpone visit for a time. This decision founded on telegram received from Bulwer since mine of 8th.”

And, on the following day, May 11, he writes more fully [3247, p. 51]:—

“The telegram from Sir Henry Bulwer to which I referred in my telegram to you of yesterday was to the effect that the intended visit of Cetshwayo to England had led to the report of his restoration, and was used to create agitation; that it had been the cause of the recent demonstration of the ex-King’s brothers, and was producing uneasiness in Zululand; that this state of affairs interfered with the settlement of the country, and with the due consideration of the future policy to be pursued; and that in these circumstances Sir Henry Bulwer suggested postponement of the visit for some time. . . .

“Her Majesty’s Government trust that they will before long receive from Sir Henry Bulwer a full report on Zulu affairs with

his recommendation as to the future policy to be pursued, and I have requested Sir Henry Bulwer to inform me when his report may be expected."

Sir Hercules Robinson made one last effort to spare the King this terrible disappointment, for, before carrying out these instructions, he telegraphed again to Lord Kimberley that Cetshwayo had been informed only the day before, as directed in the telegram of the 8th May [3247, p. 52], that he (Sir H. Robinson) "would at once arrange for his early departure. Shepstone," he continues "was accordingly telegraphed to yesterday, to come down from Natal with the chiefs. Before intimating to Cetshwayo this further indefinite postponement, I think it right to let you know how far the matter has gone, as I fear he will be so bitterly disappointed that his life may be in danger;" but he only received the answer, "I must adhere to decision to postpone Cetshwayo's visit," and the direction, "Stop departure of Shepstone and chiefs at once" [*ibid.*].

There was no longer any help for it, and Cetshwayo was informed that the promises that had been made to him were all withdrawn, and that, at the very moment when all difficulties seemed removed, and himself on the eve of his departure for England, the chances of his ever paying that visit, and obtaining the fair hearing of his cause which he so ardently desired, were removed once more into the uncertain future.

The sad shock which this was to the unhappy man is described by Mr. G. Bower, Private Secretary

to Sir Hercules Robinson, who had sent him to break the news as kindly as might be, and to express the Governor's sympathy with him in his disappointment.

"Cetshwayo," he reports [*ibid.*, p. 80], "who had since the beginning of the interview appeared very dejected, complained of a spasm in the heart, and a glass of water was brought by the interpreter. When he had sufficiently recovered to speak, he said 'I am in despair; I can say nothing.'" And again [*ibid.*], "Cetshwayo was completely prostrated by the intelligence of the change in the plan for his early departure, and seemed to be almost stunned with grief." On the following day [*ibid.*, p. 81] Mr. Bower, being again sent by the Governor to inquire after the King's health, found him in the same melancholy condition. "My heart is sore," he said, "I am in despair. My friends have deceived me—whom can I trust now? I do not wish to take people by surprise, but I think I shall soon be dead." The interpreter explained that the King had eaten nothing since he had heard the news the day before, and had spoken of taking his own life.

Mr. Bower endeavoured to explain to him that "the English only wish to do what is best" for him and his country, and that they had no interest in the matter, except the quietness and contentment of the Zulu people. "You yourself," he added, must wish for that—you would not desire to see bloodshed in Zululand" [*ibid.*, p. 81]. Well-intentioned as was his visitor's reasoning, it must have sounded a bitter

mockery in Cetshwayo's ears, as he answered, “There has been more bloodshed since I have been a prisoner than during the whole of my reign. The bloodshed in my reign was, to the bloodshed since, as an ant in a pond of water.”

This was a difficult speech to answer, as, unhappily, it was true; and Mr. Bower falls back upon asserting that “the English wish to avoid bloodshed now and in the future,” and then assures him that his cause is well advocated by his friends in England, and that he must not suppose that they had deserted him.

“What crime have I committed?” exclaimed Cetshwayo. “I have never done wrong. Why am I a prisoner? My wives and daughters—the women of the Great House—have been taken and distributed amongst my enemies in Zululand. Zibebu has taken five of the women of the Great House as wives, and has given others to his chiefs and headmen. The thought of this is eating into my heart. It will kill me. I wish the whole of my family collected where they can be taken care of. Let them be brought together in one place. My property has been stolen; my house has been broken up; my family have been either distributed amongst others or driven out on the veldt. My heart is sore. Let my family be brought together, and the chiefs of the country will contribute towards their support.”

Mr. Bower [*ibid.*] promised to tell the Governor what he had said, and concludes this report: “Cetshwayo seemed so distressed at the thought of the position of his family that, fearing a repetition of

the heart attack of the day before, I changed the subject, and led him on to other topics. After about an hour's conversation I left him less depressed. I urged him, on parting, to take food, but he said his grief was so great that he could neither eat nor drink."

And indeed Cetshwayo's affection for his family and people had frequently been shown during his captivity [*vide* p. 56, *supra*].* His consideration in not asking for three of his greatest chiefs and most loyal supporters to accompany him to England [3247, p. 4], "because they are too old to travel by sea," and his request that some one might be left to interpret for the women who would remain at Oude-Molen during his visit to England, are officially recorded. He was also very anxious for the comfort of one of his household, an invalid girl, who, having been with him when he was captured, accompanied him to Capetown, and was sent back to Zululand in a bad state of health. His inquiries about her welfare, and that of other members of his household in Zululand, made through the Bishop of Natal, were the main grounds for the absurd story which reached Sir Henry Bulwer's ears, of messages, sent for the Zulu King by the Bishop, of a political and dangerous character, stirring up agitation, and fomenting intrigues.† The

* Cetshwayo when in London begged Mr. F. E. Colenso to inform the women at Oude-Molen of their master's health.

† The only message thus sent which could be imagined by the most jealous eye to step beyond the bounds of family matters, was one "of condolence and counsel for his friends and relatives, his brother Maduna and the Aba Qulusi, under the terrible calamity

Governor should have taken for granted that *if* the Bishop *had* forwarded any messages for the Zulu King, they were certainly of a harmless or family nature, but, in his insane suspicion of "interference" on the Bishop's part, no story was ever too palpably false to be credited by him. It would be an endless matter to analyse and confute the many frivolous and groundless charges laid against the Bishop in Sir Henry Bulwer's despatches during 1882 and 1883, and the proof of his folly, however conclusive, would be most tedious to the general reader. The Governor, like most people when they mount a favourite hobby, is perpetually carried away from the real question into side issues affecting his own particular mare's-nest—"unofficial (and especially episcopal) interference"—and expends pages in making out that the Bishop had brought down the Great Deputation, oblivious of the fact that if the influence of any one man could produce such an effect, that fact in itself would show how very strong the (Zulu) national feeling must have been. The Bishop's last published letter*—that addressed to Lord Derby in answer to some of Sir H. Bulwer's accusations—completely demolishes each one upon which it touches, and the reader may gather from it

from which they had suffered [in the massacre of most of the Aba Qulusi by Hamu], as he had now heard fully from Ungcongwana, and of consolation and advice for his family in their great sorrow" [3247, p. 48], [the advice being principally "Stay quiet, and be of good heart"]. For the whole of the Bishop of Natal's letter in which the above passage occurs, see Appendix.

* See Appendix for this "Letter."

that, were it necessary so to do, the remainder might be disposed of in the same way.

The letters which Cetshwayo wrote on the occasion of this great disappointment are most touching and pathetic; he was truly nearly broken-hearted, and the perusal of his words cannot fail to create much sympathy with him and a feeling of indignation against those who persecuted him so wantonly. He wrote repeatedly to his kind friend Sir Hercules Robinson, who had already done what he could to help him, to Sir Henry Bulwer, and finally to his brothers and the other Zulu chiefs, warning them against the "agitation" of which he had been told, and, bidding them lay their grievances before the Governor of Natal, instead of trying to obtain redress by force [3274, p. 88]. But what he desired them to do was, alas! precisely what they had already attempted, and would please Sir Henry Bulwer as little as the King's earnest entreaties to him to allow his people to have interviews with the Natal Government. "Try and do good for me," he pleads to Sir H. Bulwer [3274, p. 89], who certainly evinces not the smallest intention to comply with the request.

His Excellency, meanwhile, having succeeded in making the King's visit to England depend on his own proposed journey to Zululand, hastened to put off the latter as long as possible, and on May 12, in answer to Lord Kimberley's request to be informed when his report might be expected, he telegraphs [*ibid.*, pp. 52, 53], "Native Legislative Council meets

soon, and I shall not therefore be able to visit Zululand before August."

He persistently declared that the "feeling of unsettlement and uncertainty among the Zulu people" at this time arose out of the reports of the King's approaching visit to England, and his possible subsequent restoration; and he writes of "disturbances" caused by the Princes and Umnyamana, which, he feared, were "encouraged from Natal,"* and asserts that the "party" desiring the King's return was in reality a small one. "I am speaking," he says [*ibid.*, p. 58], when writing of "the Zulu people," "of course, of the great majority of the Zulu people. Left alone, free from agitation from within or from without, the thought of the ex-King's return or restoration would not so much as occur to them. Wishes or hopes on the subject they have none, unless they foresee that the course of coming events obliges them to express wishes or hopes which may in no way represent their real sentiments. The evil that most presses on the country at the present moment is the agitation that has been set going by the party to which I have referred, encouraged by the reports introduced from Natal, and the hopes held out to them; and it is this state of things, these reports, this uncertainty, which have created an uneasiness, a disquiet, that are in the highest degree mischievous and to be regretted."

One is tempted to ask what proof Sir Henry Bulwer would have chosen to accept that he had been

* i. e. by the Bishop.

misled in this opinion of the sentiments of the Zulus, but the only answer is that he would have accepted *none*, having once for all made up his mind on the subject. He took no means whatever to obtain an impartial and disinterested view upon it, accepting as the truth whatever he heard from people already committed to the existing state of things, and to preventing, if possible, Cetshwayo's return. "Free from agitation *from within*" the Zulus could not be while their own hearts longed for their King, and no doubt Mkosana's return from Capetown,* bringing the welcome news that he was alive, and even hopeful of seeing them again some day, fanned the smouldering embers of their love for him into a brighter flame. But the hope kept them from violence, instead of leading them to it, and the disturbances in Zululand which followed were due, first to the delay in Cetshwayo's proposed visit and their growing suspicion that their hope would be disappointed, and secondly to the violence and ill-usage sustained by the Princes and other great men at the hands of the disloyal chiefs Hamu and Zibebu, and the traitor chief Dunn, with his unpopular "taxes," and his fines levied on those who spoke for the King [3270, p. 10]. They endured their wrongs with wonderful patience, because they hoped that, by persistence in forbearance, they might, in the end, gain their hearts' desire—their King's return. If they took up arms, even in self-defence, it was only when those hopes had temporarily vanished,

* See pages 34, 35.

and the news that he had at last started for England, in addition to Cetshwayo's own admonitions, did more to prevent their using force of arms, even in self-defence, than all Mr. Osborn's influence and advice [3247, p. 88].

But Sir Henry Bulwer was determined not to see anything on their side of the case, and his telegram of May 12, putting off his own departure for Zululand till August, plainly shows that he meant to prevent the King's return for another year at least. He was well aware that, if he delayed his visit to Zululand till August, and if Cetshwayo's visit to England was not to take place until after that, another winter must come and go before the Zulu King could start for the British shores, and another year must be passed in that captivity which was killing him by inches.

Some such view of Sir Henry Bulwer's conduct would appear to have struck the Earl of Kimberley, for on May 25 he writes as follows [3247, p. 64]:—

“You were informed by telegram on the 10th instant that, in compliance with your suggestion, it had been decided to postpone Cetshwayo's visit to England pending your report upon Zululand. I asked you at the same time when you would be able to visit that country and report, to which you replied . . . that . . . you would not be able to visit Zululand before August.

“The agitation and uneasiness which you describe as prevailing in Zululand, and which it is obvious if prolonged may lead to very serious dangers to the peace of the country, render Her Majesty's Government extremely anxious to receive with as little delay as possible, the expression of your views as to the policy which should be pursued, and, if your means of information should be sufficient to enable you to form an opinion, I need scarcely say that it would be desirable that they should receive it at once, without waiting for your proposed visit.”

The desired report not being immediately forthcoming, after the delay of another month, Lord Kimberley writes again, on June 29th [3270, p. 19], to say that although, in deference to his opinion, Her Majesty's Government had postponed the ex-King's visit, they had done so with reluctance; and, after careful consideration of Sir Henry's despatch [3247, p. 58] and Mr. Osborn's report of affairs in Zululand, they did not feel justified in further delaying the fulfilment of the promise which had been made to Cetshwayo, "unless [Sir H. Bulwer] saw urgent reasons against it" (? *new* reasons).

"To have waited until your report had been received and considered would have been practically to put off the visit to another year, as the season would be too far advanced," Lord Kimberley writes [3270, p. 20], and he recapitulates the telegrams which he had recently sent and received on the subject thus:—

"On the 21st of June I addressed a telegram to you to the following effect:—

"'The delay of Cetshwayo's visit to England does not appear to have averted disturbances in Zululand,* and it is not easy to justify further postponement, especially as the favourable season will soon be over. We think that the promise to him should be fulfilled, and that his visit should take place without further delay, unless you see any urgent reason to the contrary.'

"You replied by a telegram dated the 23rd instant, of which the following is the substance: 'The disturbances in Zululand are caused by agitation, which is the result of interference by persons in this Colony who desire to see the ex-King restored. What has taken place respecting Cetshwayo has been used in a way that stirs

* On the contrary, it had *caused* them.

up agitation. But if Her Majesty's Government think it necessary for the reason given by your Lordship, not to further delay the visit, I do not wish to oppose. It should be understood that it does not in any way commit us to the course to be adopted in regard to Zululand.' ”

These “ reasons ” were certainly neither new nor “ urgent ” and so Lord Kimberley appears to have thought, for on the same day (June 23) he telegraphed [*ibid.*] to Sir Hercules Robinson :—

“ After communication with Sir Henry Bulwer, have decided not to postpone further Cetshwayo's visit. He may, therefore, start whenever ready. Remind him that visit no way commits us as to future course respecting Zululand.”

What was really the nature of the “ agitation ” and “ disturbance ” in Zululand after the return of the Great Deputation from Natal, must be considered in another volume, in which it will also be shown how truly Cetshwayo's own words [3247, p. 13], “ I know, myself, that the mouths of the Zulu people are shut, and their feelings suppressed by the Natal people [authorities]. The same plans are now used to keep me in misery as were used when my country was invaded [i. e. to bring about the war], ” applied, not only at the time of which he was speaking, before his visit to England, but also to the period of, and subsequent to, his “ restoration. ” The misrepresentations and false reports, the suppression of all that told in Cetshwayo's favour, the encouragement of his enemies, the browbeating, and tyranny exercised over his friends, which have characterised all our official dealings with Zululand since 1878, deceiv-

ing the British Government and public, and continually bringing fresh misery upon the Zulus, is still at the present time, in as full force as ever, although the King himself is now beyond the reach of his persecutors. It slandered Cetshwayo anew before his death, it nullified the good intentions of the Home Government towards him, depriving him of half his territory, and tying his hands even from self-defence by conditions and promises. It forced numbers of his loyal people into unwilling obedience to other rule, scattering and disheartening his many supporters, consolidating, strengthening, and encouraging the small body of his real (Zulu) opponents, and finally driving him to appear in the eyes of England a fugitive from his own people, deserted, unloved, unhonoured—triumphantly proving, as those who have brought it about declare, that they were right in always protesting against his restoration, and in denying the assumed devotion of his people. It will now be our by no means difficult task to expose the trickery and tyranny by which this appearance has been created and to prove once more what has so often been asserted in this work, that the great majority of the Zulu people keenly desired and rejoiced in Cetshwayo's restoration, and that had he been restored in a proper fashion, peace and satisfaction would have reigned throughout the land, and all would have been well. But his restoration was managed by the man whose deep and unreasoning prejudices against the Zulu King had been displayed in innumerable forms, who had strained every nerve to prevent it, and undertook

it only under protest, with the unshaken idea that it could not, and the fixed determination that it should not, succeed. This, and not any fault of Cetshwayo's or inherent weakness in his cause, has brought about the present wretched state of things in Zululand.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.

(A.) *Suppression of the Second and Third Deputations,
taken from Zulu account.*

“And now Maduna prepared to come down again to Maritzburg, to pray a second time for the ‘Bone.’ He was coming with those who formed the first deputation, with additional members, namely, *Siwunguza*, one of the thirteen kinglets in his own person, Bubesi, the brother of a second, *Somkele*, whom he represented, and several (eight) others of importance. All had agreed with Maduna to go down and pray the white chiefs to give them their ‘Bone.’

“But, when Maduna went to Malimati (Mr. Osborn, the Resident) to ask for a pass for them to go down to make their prayer, and also to complain of the way in which Zibebu had eaten up their cattle, Malimati refused it, saying that Maduna was setting himself up when, forsooth, neither he nor Cetshwayo was a chief, but they were merely *abafokazana* (common men, poor people), and Maduna must stay at home and leave it to him (the Resident) to report for him to the authorities.

“But Maduna replied that he did not see how that would help him, since his property had been carried off, and though he had reported the fact to Malimati, no help had come to him in consequence. Besides which, he wished to go down to Maritzburg because on his last visit he had told the authorities there that he was coming again. But after some further words about the cattle of which Zibebu had robbed the Princes, the Resident bade Maduna go and speak with Zibebu on that subject, and meanwhile gave no further reply

to the petition to go to Maritzburg to pray for Cetshwayo, which was what they desired to do at once, caring little by comparison for the loss of their property.

“Maduna sent down messengers to Natal to tell the Bishop what they had wished, and what had happened, and they reported as follows:—

“Maduna sends us to say all this, and also that he is anxious not to disregard Sobantu’s (the Bishop’s) advice in any way * or to strike out a new path for himself; he wishes to follow in the steps of his brother (Cetshwayo), who took Sobantu as a counsellor in the affairs of the Zulus. Maduna also sends an entreaty that Sobantu will ask leave of the authorities for some Zulu to go to Capetown, to set eyes on Cetshwayo for them, and to return; for his (Cetshwayo’s) wives and children lament themselves to him (Maduna), and so does all Zululand, saying “If only some one might go and return, saying, ‘It is true! he is alive,’” whereas many people now declare that the ship in which he was put was overturned into the sea, and he was drowned, and that this is what will happen also to any who venture to go down and pray for him. Maduna also would be very thankful if Sobantu would send some one belonging to him to live with him (Maduna) in Zululand, a trustworthy person, who can bear witness for him, because he sees that he will be continually accused of wrong-doing without a cause.’ †

“Maduna’s visit to Zibebu had exactly the result which all concerned must have expected. He went accompanied

* The Bishop’s advice, i. e. that “patient continuance in well-doing,” refraining from violence even in retaliation, which the Bishop of Natal always taught them, and which lesson they nobly obeyed, perhaps too well for their *temporal* welfare.

† Maduna had good reason to fear this. His loyalty and devotion to his brother Cetshwayo marked him out from the first as a target for the King’s enemies and maligners. Every description of false accusation has been brought against the Prince, his (white) enemies even declaring that in reality he was intriguing for the Zulu crown for himself.

by his brother Ziwedú and all the Zulus of the Usutu tribe. And Zibebu said, 'Just let me hear now what you went down Maritzburg to say.'

"Said the Prince, 'We went down to ask that we might be allowed to pray for our "Bone."'"

"Said he, 'Is that a thing, pray, that you would (dare to) speak about openly? Speak the truth about your going, that I may hear.'

"Said Maduna, 'That is the truth.'

"Said Zibebu, 'That is the truth, do you say, when I know all your words?'

"Said Maduna, 'Tell us, then, you, since you know them.'

"Said Zibebu, 'Yes, you went and told tales of us to Sobantu—I hear that from four quarters. You said that I too prayed for the "Bone."'"

"Said Maduna, 'I never mentioned your name for the "Bone" to Sobantu, and you accuse him falsely. From whom did you hear this?'

"Said Zibebu, 'I heard it from Malimati, who says that he denied for me to the authorities, saying that I did not want the "Bone," and he has told me to deny for myself also, since I am going down (to Maritzburg), as he has already denied on my behalf. Only last week there came policemen saying, "Are you in this scrape, Zibebu (le'ngozi eyako, Zibebu na)?"' I answered, "I know nothing about this scrape," and the policemen continued, "So it's Maduna (taking upon himself to do it), because we left him his cattle and family and land! Eat him up now, Zibebu." I do not know, since I have been given power by the English, why I should not just trample you down. *My* father * never went

* Zibebu was a cousin of the reigning line of Princes. His extreme insolence to them, when placed by the English in a position of power to which otherwise he could never have attained, shows in itself the absurdity of Sir G. Wolseley's scheme of shuffling up the Zulus, their prejudices and hereditary rank, to deal them out afresh, bringing all the knaves in the pack to the top—Zibebu, Mfanawendhilela, Hamu, and J. Dunn.

crossing the Tugela to the white men; it was your father, Mpande, who did that, and you are just following his steps. Your father's son (Cetshwayo) is across the water, and you are going in the same direction, swimming the Tugela like little ducks, going down to speak with the white men. Why should we not smash in their little head-rings at once [i. e. knock them on the head]? Let them be off!

“At this Maduna was going, but Ziwedu said, ‘Let us first go to him into his hut, and see if he will not be more pleasant when we are by ourselves.’ But Zibebu, when he saw them, only said, ‘What have you come for? I have nothing more to say to you;’ and so they went away.

“A day or two later, Maduna, by Ziwedu's advice, sent to Zibebu to say, ‘Since we have now spoken together on this matter, fix a day on which we shall both go together to Malimati about it.’ But Zibebu replied that he should not go to Malimati about it; he might perhaps send a message to him, but, if he did, it would not be until he (Zibebu) came back from Maritzburg, whither he was going at once.

“Thereupon Maduna sent two sets of messengers to ask Malimati for the pass, since he had obeyed his directions and had gone to speak to Zibebu about the cattle. But Malimati refused both sets of messengers, saying, ‘No! Maduna must just stay at home, and make his complaints through me.’ But Maduna, seeing that Zibebu had gone on ahead to give his own account of things, set out to follow him to Maritzburg without a pass, with a considerable party as before, but with additional members.

“‘But the whole Zulu people,’ said Maduna's messengers to the Bishop of Natal, ‘is only hampered and held back by these four chiefs, Zibebu, Mfanawendhlela, Hamu, and John Dunn, from coming to pray for their “Bone.” The whole people entreat for their King to be sent back to Zululand. If it were only a fine or ransom that was wanted, there is not a man but would find a beast towards that.’”

Hamu and Zibebu did much to repress this prayer of the people by fining them for their loyalty, the latter even “eating up” the cattle of some who had gone to pay

their respects to the Prince Maduna on his return from Maritzburg (after the previous deputation), because they had done so, whereas, he said, they now belonged to him, Zibebu. These people belonged to Cetshwayo's own tribe of rescued *abatagati*,* which was divided by Sir G. Wolseley between Hamu and Zibebu.

Maduna and his party recrossed the Tugela into Natal at the Lower Drift, and came to Mr. Fynney, the Border Agent, who told them to wait there, until he should have reported them by wire to Maritzburg, and got an answer to say whether the authorities would allow them to come on or not; since he had been blamed when the first deputation had come down, both by the authorities and by Malimati, for allowing the Prince to cross the drift and go on to the city without sending them word first.

The reply was, of course, a refusal. They were to go back and get a pass from the Resident (who had already refused it). "And I, too, my son," said Mr. Fynney, "I forbid you. To go on now would be to act in defiance of the English. Never mind Zibebu, my son; just go back and remain quiet. I see that you believe that Malimati does not speak on your behalf. But I assure you, all the matters which you report to him, he writes them every one." If this were so, it would but prove that, not the Resident only, but the Natal Government also, was entirely indifferent to the miseries of this

* The Zulus who brought the first message from the great Zulu chiefs on Cetshwayo's behalf, after the war, gave the following account of the formation of this remarkable tribe:—

"As for the King killing a great number of people—who are they?" they asked. "We do not know of them. It is false. Why! there is his kraal Ekubazeni! While his father was still alive, he (Cetshwayo) began saving any one who was accused, either by the King or by the indunas, of being an *umtagati* (evil-doer), saying, 'No! do not kill him! give him to me!' and he sent him to that kraal to belong to the Usutu (Cetshwayo's own people). That kraal, when he began, consisted of three or four huts only; and now it has four circles of huts, and every man in them is an accused person whose life Cetshwayo has saved!"