The Zulu in Three Tenses

12 Sept. 37

E. G. W.

E. L. 3/-

"My" Views

THE ZULU IN THREE TENSES

BEING

A FORECAST OF THE ZULU'S FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS PAST AND HIS PRESENT,

BY

ROBERT PLANT,

SENIOR INSPECTOR OF NATIVE SCHOOLS, NATAL.

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THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

TO

P. A. BARNETT, Esq.,

His Majesty's Inspector of Schools,

Late Superintendent of Education for Natal,

TO WHOSE KINDLY SYMPATHY AND HELP IT

OWES ITS EXISTENCE.

PREFACE.

Written originally for the perusal of friends, I have somewhat reluctantly consented to the publication of this little book with the object of securing, if possible, the consideration of a phase of this "Native Question" not often advanced, viz., that wherever there are "rights" there must be "obligations," so that if we claim the right to control we must be prepared to discharge the obligation to improve.

Whilst painfully sensible of the absence of any literary merit in it, I think it may fairly claim the merit of looking at the subject from a standpoint seldom, if ever, taken before; not the standpoint of the farmer, whose objective, very naturally, is plenty of cheap labour; nor the standpoint of the missionary, who is generally supposed, and with much truth, to concern himself more with the other life than the one that now is. I have tried to look at the subject from the standpoint of what is just to both parties, feeling assured that the "right" is always the best, whether it be financially, morally, or politically; firmly convinced as I am

that it must be true that the more we improve this people the greater will be their value to ourselves.

I have aimed only at suggesting a broad line of general policy, leaving details to be considered when the policy has been accepted—at best only an outline of a policy; but if the thoughtful reader will give the ideas herein suggested an honest and careful consideration, he will, I am convinced, soon recognise that somewhere along this line we are going to find, if anywhere, a practical solution of this very important "Question."

My thanks are hereby accorded to the Rev. Father Abbot of Mariannhill for photos for illustrations, and to Rev. A. Bryant for information kindly afforded.

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

Page 1. For "About a million able-bodied men" read "About a quarter of a million able-bodied men."

Page 11. For "Cetwayo's eldest son" read "one of Cetwayo's sons."

Page 25. I have used one of the ordinary ways of spelling "hreza." I would prefer "khleza" as expressing more correctly the proper sound.

Page 32. For "ganwa" read "gana."

Page 39. For "tola weha" read "tola wena."

Page 47. For "isnangu" read "insangu."

Page 49, last para. For "lion dresses" read "loin dresses."

Page 91, 3rd par. For "infinitely" read "indefinitely."

Page 94. For "Umzilitikazi" read "Umzilikazi."

Page 163. 1st line, insert "other" after "no." 4th line, insert "requires" after "effort."

On illustration facing page 21. For "wizard" read "Sanusi."

R.P.


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THE ZULU AT HOME.

THE ZULU IN THREE TENSES.

PART I.—THE PAST.

CHAPTER I.

History and Character.

That the Zulu man has a distinct objection to systematic and continuous labour, that he is in fact "a stupid lazy fellow," unquestionably accounts both for the inferior social position which he occupies, and for the poor opinion held of him by Europeans generally.

If science is right in asserting of anything that can grow, that its ultimate development is determined very greatly by its environment, an enquiry as to the climatic conditions under which the Zulu has grown up, and into the social customs and surroundings of his past life, is at once suggested; with the twofold object of finding the causes of those traits of character which have proved potent to his degeneration hitherto, and of discovering the key to the problem of how to improve him in the future. And when we remember that we have about a million able-bodied men who "do not want to work," whilst our industries are paralysed for want of labour, we shall see that this quest is a very important one.

The home of the Zulu may be said to be the tract of country on the South African Coast lying between the 27th and 31st degrees of South Latitude, a district about 240 miles long, running parallel with the sea coast, and extending from

the sea, on the average, about 200 miles inland; so that both with regard to its distance from the Equator, and its proximity to the Ocean, it is essentially a sub-tropical country.

The Coast belt, with a width of some 60 or 70 miles from the sea, is so uniformly warm that, except in wet weather and a few exceptionally cool nights in the year, thick clothing for sleeping purposes is quite supererogatory; in the summer months the native servant boys may often be seen lying about in the open air, covered only with a cotton sheet for decency's sake, and even then perspiring profusely, preferring this to the closeness of the sleeping room provided for them.

In their own grass-covered huts, warm, and yet well ventilated, with hard earthen floors, during ten months of the year enough warmth is provided by a mat, with the aforesaid cotton sheet, or a piece of salempore drapery for the girls; and a small fire of wood easily obtained in the Coast districts is all that is needed for domestic comfort even in mid-winter.

In the upper districts, where wood is scarce and the temperature colder, a bounteous provision of nature meets the Zulu's need to the full. The cow dung, which on the Coast would be eaten by insects within 12 hours, here hardens to the consistency of cork, and forms a fuel of great heat producing power; if the fumes are somewhat pungent and offensive, all he has to do is to keep his head near the floor, and he can go to sleep with no fear of being awakened by the cold. The storing of this dung-fuel is a very important matter in these higher districts. All the cow

dung obtainable is collected in the winter months, made up into flat cakes about the size of a dinner plate, and about 1½ inches thick. These are stuck about all over the stone walls of the cattle kraal or garden walls, if garden there is, until dry; they are then stacked, and covered over with grass to keep them from the summer rains. To sit round a fire of these peats whilst the rain is pouring in torrents outside on some dark stormy night is one of the many incidents of life in this sunny land tending to make a man feel devoutly thankful.

During the whole year, with a few exceptions, the middle of the day is quite warm enough to be out without any but the thinnest clothing. If a cold wind is blowing, a seat under the shelter of the kraal fence, or wall, will be found so comfortable that with nothing to occupy his mind, our Zulu will probably be soon found fast asleep; or if two or three of his companions are with him, an hour or two may be pleasantly spent dressing one another's head gear, especially if they are "amakehla," i.e., men with the head ring. It is only on wet days that anything out of the common seems needed for comfort, even in the colder parts; and then, with a nice warm fire at hand, what could possibly, and with better reason, suggest itself as the best thing to be done than to take "a good sleep?"

With such a climate it can easily be seen how habits of indolence are developed. In winter it is too cold before 10 o'clock in the morning to be about and doing anything, and in summer the reverse process obtains, for it is too hot after 10 o'clock; and if sometimes there should be a little

mental confusion as to whether it is winter or summer, and if the confusion results in lying about till mid-day, it surely need not be a matter of either astonishment or censure. In this way is gradually contracted the habit of doing nothing all day; and with no need for clothing in summer, and no necessity to expose oneself to the cold in winter, habits of listless laziness are easily formed, and hard to be shaken off.

To this climatic inducement to laziness there has been added the custom universally obtaining among the Zulus of relegating to the women most of the manual labour required in the production of food and the comforts of home. The man might build the framework of the hut he was to live in, and the fence that surrounded his kraal; he might milk the cows, or herd them in rough weather; might clear the bush for the garden plots; fashion a milk pail, or a pillow of wood for his head to rest upon, the same pillow doing service as a chair in the day time—but the women must cut the grass and thatch the hut, carry the water, cook the food, and cultivate, reap, thrash, and store the yearly crops needed for home consumption; and so as the part that the man might perform was one not requiring to be frequently repeated, he had often, perforce, to be doing nothing, for there was nothing to do.

A further inducement to dilatoriness arose from the fact that for the little he might do, there was no hurry. Take the building of a hut, for instance. When this extraordinary piece of hard work had to be done, his wife, or wives, were instructed to make a brew of "utshwala,"

ZULU ARCHITECTURE.

native beer; his neighbours were duly informed of his intention to arise and build, and, what was of much more importance to them, of the fact that beer would be on hand on a certain day. The day having arrived, these neighbours would gather one by one, arriving somewhere about 10 or 11 in the morning, for they could not come before milking the cows, which is usually done about 11 o'clock, and in winter even later. After considerable delay in waiting till all should be assembled, a delay relieved by sundry snuff takings, together with frequent hints as to the warm weather (hints which the host, as a rule, was too wise to notice, inasmuch as to have given heed to the request suggested would have been to postpone hut building to some other day), at last the work was begun, and perhaps for three, or even four, solid hours, the whole party would concentrate its energies on the task before it. But human endurance has its limits, and the time mentioned generally found the limit, and an irresistible appeal would be made to moisten their parched lips. This appeal would usually be acceded to with a good grace by the host, for by this time he, too, was nearly "fili" (dead), and the beer would go round, or, rather, go down, to the tune of a gallon or two apiece, if the host was a liberal man. Of course, nothing more was done that day. If the beer was good both in quality and quantity, the friends would put in an appearance the next day also, after which the owner would be left to finish the job. This he might do in another day or two, unless it should come to his knowledge that there was to be a hunt

or a dance anywhere within six miles, in which case a more lengthened postponement of completion would result; since, of course, the hope of killing a buck, or having a dance and a feed, would put the importance of the work in hand altogether in the background.

Nor should the fact be forgotten when we are looking for the cause of his disinclination to work that the tenure on which he held his life was of such an uncertain character as to make persistent efforts to improve his surroundings a very unlikely thing. Nationally, the Zulu preserved his existence by the strength of his good right arm. Liable at any moment to be attacked by some adjoining tribe, and exposed to the further danger of internal treachery on the part of some important chief, it was always the policy of the King to keep his regiments in a state of preparedness to resist an invasion from without, and by making them frequently parade at headquarters, to prevent anything like combination against his royal person and rights from within. Add to this the fact that if anyone had been industrious enough to surround himself with comfort and wealth, he thereby exposed himself to the avarice of the King on the one hand, or the jealousy of some "friend" on the other. The result was the same in either case; a party would be despatched to "wipe him out," and some fine morning, just before day break, the inmates of his kraal would be awakened by the dreaded cry of "ihlangeni," *i.e.*, "the circle is complete," and the smoking huts and circling vultures would be all that was left to tell the tale of destruction, and to point out the

reward of the man who "went one better" than his neighbours. To have been hard-working with such a prospect would have surely been the pursuit of virtue under difficulties.

Still another item must be added to the list of things that tended to keep him indolent: he was distinctly conservative, following with careful steps in the old paths that his forefathers had walked in: and that not so much because he had not brains enough to ask whether an alteration would be an improvement, as because even if he could prove that it would be, he dare not say so, for underlying the whole national life was a superstitious belief in witchcraft that effectually prevented him from venturing far into the region of enquiry or speculation. This belief in witchcraft is not only the explanation of much of the Zulu laziness and stupidity, but is a valid excuse for a great deal of it. He seldom enquired into the reason of things, because to have gone about asking out-of-the-way questions in those days would have been very risky, since by doing so he would have rendered himself liable to be suspected of some sinister purpose. To have attempted any alteration in mode of living or social custom could have but one explanation, and that a very bad one, so that he was compelled to be intensely conservative in action, and limited in thought. To have started something new would have been regarded as decidedly suspicious, and might, probably would, have cost him his life, and so he never asked How? or Why? about even the most unusual thing. He dared not let himself do it. If asked why a certain name was given to a moun-

tain, or a river, his answer would probably be: "The old people called it so." But why? "Oh, the old people knew."

This ever-present dread of witchcraft showed itself in many ways. Travellers in Zululand or in Natal among the Native kraals away from the trunk roads of the country must often have been struck with the suddenness with which the paths diverge from a straight line to a short semicircle. This, too, has its explanation very often in the superstitious fear felt by the people. Some little shrub, growing by the side of the path, or a branch from a neighbouring tree had been broken by the wind or some passing animal, and had fallen or blown across the pathway. The first Zulu traveller coming that way saw it lying across the path. "Ah," he thought, "this means danger; some evil disposed person has put it here so that touching it I might be bewitched." So he turned aside, went round it, and rejoined the path beyond. The next man coming that way saw not only the branch lying across the path, but also the faintly trodden grass round it. "Ah," he thought "the man who went round that stick knew something"; and he also went round; and so, long after the branch had been blown away by the wind, the passing traveller, seeing the pathway deviating just here, would follow on the same impulse, until, at length, the old path was grown over with grass and the permanent pathway had a kink in it. Very seldom indeed would a Zulu remove any obstruction of the kind, and more than once have I been warned of the danger of doing so. "You might fall down dead," or "it

might turn into a large snake, which would at once bite you." It is all very well for nineteen centuries of enlightenment to laugh at this ignorant savage, but to him it is all very real, and very dreadful.

And last, but not by any means the least, in the category of sinister influence that tended to repress any impulse in the direction of work, either mental, or physical, was the hydra-headed one of polygamy.

Whatever may have been the effect of this custom in other countries, where civilisation is more advanced, it is quite certain that among this people, already heavily fettered by such superstitious and social customs as I have described, its effects were most pernicious. With an overwhelming majority on the side of the female sex, owing principally, though not altogether, to the decimating effect of war among the men, and with the very limited number of wants that made up his social life, the Zulu lost all inducements to rise above the crudest passions. With scarcely anything with which to occupy himself when not at war, it is small wonder that he surrounded himself with wives, as any savage would, having before him the ever-present fact that the more the wives, the more the food; so with cattle plentiful, and girls abundant and cheap, we need not wonder if the man remained debased. And so, just in proportion as he moved forward, so did the hope, even the possibility, of his ever becoming "a working man" recede; a fact that we shall have to reckon with in the later pages of this book.

Thus we see that in the dim, shadowy, prehistoric past of the Zulu there were many subtle influences reaching out like the tentacles of some monstrous octopus, reaching out, and holding on to, and gradually binding down as in a very death squeeze, the energies of hand and brain that might under other circumstances have developed into intelligence and honest plodding industry, for the physique of the Zulu is almost perfect; until, with the lapse of time, we find him inert and inapt, the only development observable being in the direction of a strong will to do nothing.

However much we may be disgusted with the Zulu as thus we find him, we certainly ought to pity him, for being what, under the circumstances, he could not help being; and if our pity is honest, we ought to bring to his rescue some of the many resources on which we pride ourselves so much.

KRAAL IN THE UPLANDS, SHEWING STONE ENCLOSURE FOR CATTLE.

CHAPTER II

Customs.

In the preceding chapter, we have seen how climate, superstition, and polygamy, have contributed to develop habits of indolence, both of body and mind; but, as other aspects of Zulu life and habit have to be recognised, it will not be without value if a chapter or two be devoted to a closer notice of the customs that have so long prevailed among this people.

The effect of ancestral customs told on a very early stage of life. A boy (let us say) was born just when lungsickness began to destroy the large herds of cattle, which once were so common. Custom suggested that he should be called *Mahagana*, or lungsickness, for the Zulus, to make amends for the lack of a calendar, were wont to give names for their children commemorative of important or interesting passing events. So, also, a girl, born at the same time, would probably be called *Nomjovu*, that is, vaccination; if born when her parents were on a journey, she might be called *Nondhlela*, that is, pathway; or *Nomgwago*, roadway. If a man was of a sanguine, hopeful, or boastful spirit, he would call his son, perhaps, *Mandhla ka yise*, the strength of his father. Cetshwayo's eldest son is named *Manzolwandhle*, water of the ocean, in memory of the fact that he was born on shipboard when his parents were returning from exile.

Now, if Mahagana should have been unfortunate enough to be one of twins, his future destiny on earth, for a few hours, would be hanging, not on a thread, but on an idea. If his duplicate was a girl, he would be fairly safe as yet; if a boy, it would have been a case of the survival of the fittest, as judged by the midwife. For one must die; to have allowed both of twins to live would be to have ensured sickness and shortened life for one of the parents, so a small piece of earth was placed by the midwife in the throat of the one she thought the least favoured, and "one of the children had died"—not been killed. An albino child was never, in the old days, allowed to live; it was called a monkey, "Inkau," and met a monkey's fate.

Children were not given their mother's milk for a few days after birth; three in the case of a girl, six if a boy—they were fed on pap.

With the thought of power always in his mind, the one Old Testament idea which the Zulu always endorsed was the value of children, sons especially. To the Psalmist's declaration that "Happy is the man whose quiver is full of them; they shall not be ashamed; but they shall speak with the enemy in the gate," he ever gave an unconscious, but hearty "Amen"; and so, if Mahagana's fellow was a girl, she very soon "was not," and he remained alone to monopolise his mother's attention for the next two years, for custom had again decreed that for a woman to have a child before the previous one could walk about, would be a scandal of the worst type; and, in fact, such a violation of propriety very seldom happened.

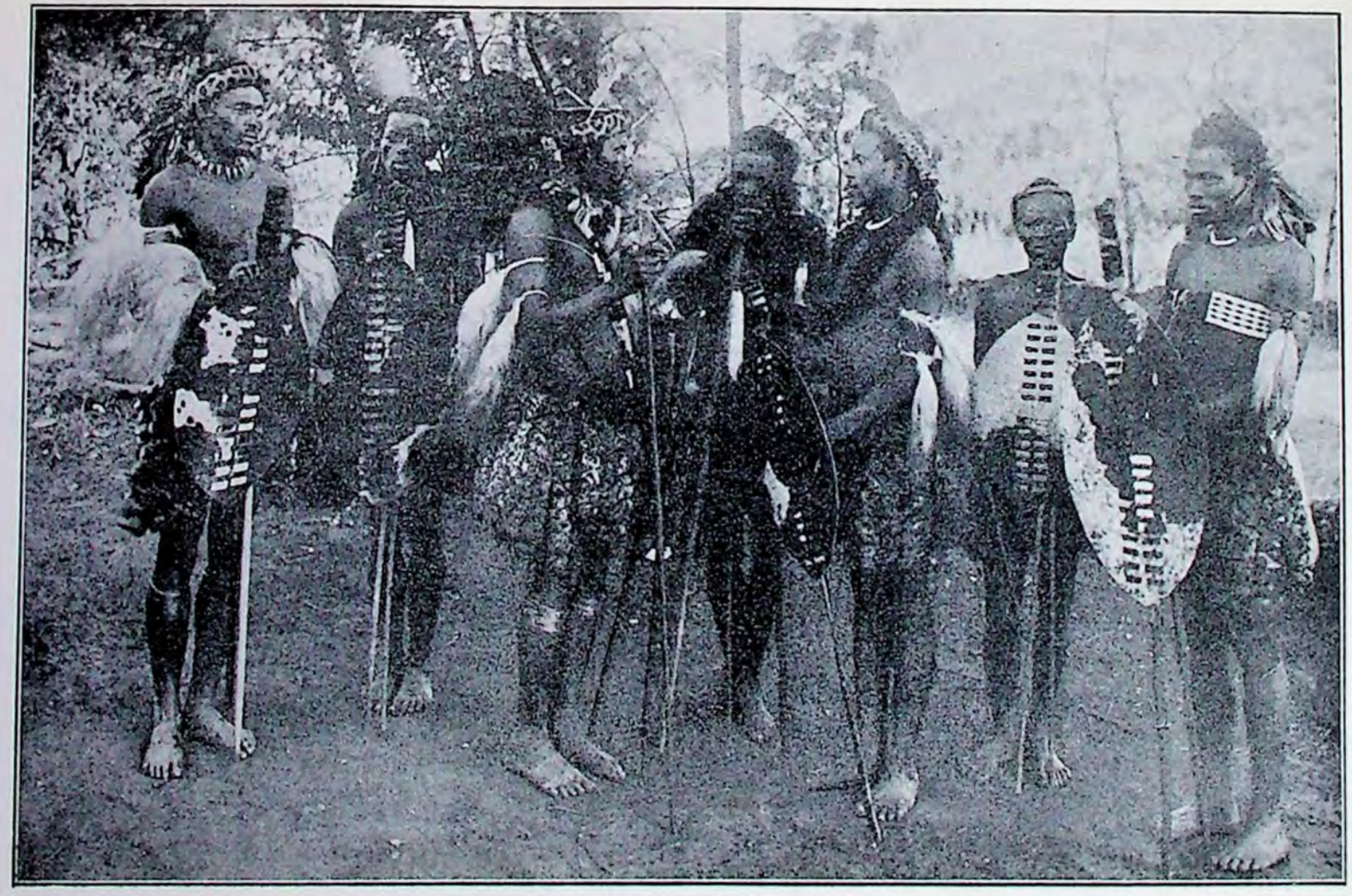
Like all other boys, Mahagana was often hungry, and beside the ordinary mother's milk, which, in time, he learned to take under all sorts of circumstances, standing by his mother's side, or on her knees, as she squatted on the ground, he would be stuffed as full of curded milk as his little stomach would allow, with the natural result of considerable anatomical distension. This was a fact on which he would congratulate himself heartily later on in life, when a very important consideration was how much beer he could drink.

As he was yet too young to be left alone, his mother, of course, had to carry him, which she usually did by placing him on her back, with one of his tiny legs sticking out on each side of her body, in a skin which she fastened round the top of her chest, and round her waist. Here Master Mahagana would pass many a happy hour, with his head lolling over the top of the skin, whilst his mother hoed the garden, or carried home a huge bundle of firewood for cooking purposes.

In course of time, when he was about 10 years of age, he would be sent to herd the calves, and as these were always kept near the home, the little fellow would be within call. Previous to Chaka's time the rite of circumcision was practised by the Zulus, but Chaka seems to have put a stop to it; though whether, as some say, it was thought to make a man weak and sickly, so that it gradually died out, or was prohibited by royal edict, does not appear certain; but so far as I can find out, it has not been practised since Chaka's time. It was usually performed about the tenth year.

As calf-herd, Mahagana would meet with the first of his life's troubles. Like all boys, he would be fond of play, and his calves, like all calves, would be fond of their mothers; and it often happened, by a curious coincidence, that these fondnesses would develop at the same time, and woe to Mahagana if the calves got to their mothers, with no one there to drive them away. The catastrophe meant no milk that night, and it also meant the special attention of his father, who was not at all particular as to the size of the stick that he used by way of teaching the boy to look after the calves properly. But worse than this was the bullying he got from the bigger boys, who herded the other cattle; for the *abafana ba malole*, calf-boys, like himself, were made to fag for the bigger ones at all times, and the way in which they were treated was often cruel indeed. So he began to tell lies, to be generally deceitful, and, when he had the chance, spiteful.

At this age, Mahagana has, of course, ceased to be fed by his mother, though still on the sly he would go and eat with the women when hungry. The men always eat first, and alone; even among the most civilised natives of the present time, there are comparatively very few families in which the wife eats with her husband. When Mahagana's father was eating, the son would sit close by, silently waiting till his turn came; taking particular care not to spit for any cause, since to spit at a meal would be an outrage on all propriety, and punished accordingly. Having finished, his father would offer him a spoonful of what he was eating, probably *Amasi*, curded



WHAT NEXT?

milk, usually mixed with *umcaba*, boiled mealies rubbed between two stones; or it might be *isijingi*, porridge. At this crisis, he must extend both hands held together, cup fashion; for boys might not use spoons. The food would be placed in his hands, and so conveyed to his mouth. Sometimes a little would be left for him in the bowl, and still he might use his hand only, ladling the food to his mouth with it, and when it was finished he would lick his hands to clean them. In receiving any gift both hands must be extended together to receive it, however small it may be; to offer to take it with one hand would be to belittle both the gift and the giver.

As he grew older, Mahagana would be promoted to herding the older cattle, but both as calf-boy and general herd boy he would be constantly exercising himself in fencing. The use of fists was never known to Zulus, and very seldom, if ever, the use of single-stick. They employed always two sticks, with which they became fairly proficient, though I have seen a European expert in the use of the single-stick disarm natives using two sticks, who were looked upon by their fellows as "izinyanga," experts, to their great astonishment.

These fencing exercises were always of a severe character. They were generally learnt in warm blood, the elder boys jeering and taunting the combatants till their tempers were up. There was always a fight to the finish, one of the combatants at length having to run for his life. The exercise certainly made the boys hardy and self-reliant.

At fourteen or fifteen, or in some cases even earlier, Mahagana would probably be called upon to act as "Udibi," camp boy, accompanying the army when on the move, carrying his brother's or his father's impedimenta: mat, food, smoking horn, and so forth; always keeping in the rear, yet always at hand, when a halt was called, to make the fire, and be generally useful.

His next step would be the all-important one of being enlisted in some regiment, the one great thing which he had looked forward to for years. Perhaps the King would call into existence a new regiment, or, as often happened, would strengthen the last-formed one by drafts from the young men not yet called out. In either case, the royal word would go round, "Young men of a certain age must enlist," and this was effected by ceremonies which will be described in another chapter.

After, perhaps, ten or more years of soldier life, another royal edict would be promulgated: "Let the —— regiment (naming it) 'tunga,'" *i.e.*, put on the head ring, literally "sew," as the ring is sewn on to the scalp-locks left to receive it. This was the royal permission to marry.

Yet a few more years, and if the times were peaceful, Mahagana, by this time a middle aged man, would be found resting in the bosom of his family, exercising the hospitality for which the Zulu was famous, and living the ideal life; with plenty of food and drink, and nothing to do.

But supposing Mahagana, instead of being born a boy, had been a girl, what a different kind of life would his have been! If born at a time of war, the lass would have not improbably been

called *No'mpi*, the Army, or *Nomabuto*, the soldiers. Her mother's pet she might be, but to her father she was only an "isifazana," female, and the only value he placed on her, and the only interest which he showed in her life was owing to the fact that by-and-bye she would bring him some cattle. To him, meantime, she was the carry-all of the family. She could sweep out the huts, roll up the mats, help with the children, and, as she grew older, help the women in the garden, get wood and water, and then—the sooner the better—marry, and so replenish the stock of cattle, which would be reduced by her father's or brother's marriage. Sometimes the father would be gracious to her. In his sentimental moods he might kiss her, but he generally left that to other folk. In all his day-dreams of future greatness or comfort she had no part. To her mother she was very much more. Her mother relied on her for constant help; which, by the way, was, at least in the earlier years, cheerfully given.

The first, and up till her marriage, the only special mark of regard that she received from her father was at the time when she passed from childhood to womanhood, when he would give her a beast; this was called "Ukwemula." If too poor to give her a beast, he would give her two goats, and postpone the giving of a beast till later on; and some time after she was actually married—months probably—she would pay a visit to her old home, and have it killed for her women friends.

This period of female life was usually celebrated in a special manner. Her girl friends and contemporaries from the adjoining kraals would

come to visit her, remaining in the hut with her all day, no one else being allowed to enter the hut. This continued for sometimes five or six days. At night the girls would go home, returning in the morning, and a goat would be killed and eaten by the company, the party concluding by going to the river to bathe, after which there was dancing and, of course, beer drinking. Thus, the fact of her having arrived at maturity would be generally advertised to the community; she had ceased to be a child, and became known as an "intombi," a young woman.

Of course, like her lighter coloured sisters, she indulged in sundry flirtations, wherein, lacking, as she did, the advantage of the post office, she had to send verbal messages by her younger sisters. This, if it did nothing else, educated the younger sisters into some of the bewitching mysteries which awaited themselves in later years. To all these courtships the father always turned his blind eye; very freely these things were discussed with the mother and sisters, but father was always, as far as possible, kept in the dark; a practice probably not confined to Africa.

After perhaps a few years of this "single blessedness," she would follow the very ancient custom of "getting married," the ceremonies connected with which will be found in the next chapter. Having presented her husband with three or four (seldom more) "little images of sin," she had, as a rule, to give place to the attractions of the last partner of his joys whom he had taken to his manly bosom, and from about her forty-fifth year she would be relegated to the "Salu-

kazi," the old women's quarters, living practically a lonely life, despised, kicked, and cuffed about by everybody. Her own daughters would by this time probably have been married and gone, and with no one else in the world to care the least for her, she shared with the other old women a life that was miserable indeed. Many of these old women, in times when food was scarce, were literally starved to death by sheer neglect. Jeered at when begging for food, they were too old to cook or dig; groaning in pain with sickness, or prostrate and eaten up with fever, they were cruelly ignored until death gave them a happy release.

As both Mahagana and No'mpi were but ordinary mortals, and as such subject to all the ills that flesh is heir to, they were sometimes sick, and it may be of interest to note how they were treated.

Here let me interpose that as most of their food was of either a milk or vegetable character, and much of it was eaten cold, or almost so, and as Zulus were very attentive to washing their teeth after eating, they preserved splendid powers both of mastication and digestion; so that the principal constitutional troubles of these two worthies would be "Umkuhlana," that is, influenza, and an occasional attack of "Umrudo," diarrhoea, or perhaps dysentery, caused by drinking bad water. Perhaps if they lived in a malarial district, they might catch "Imbo," fever. And, of course, wounds and sprains, accidentally caused, would be not infrequent.

For all slight cases of influenza they would be treated by their father to a dose of "Amakambi," herbs, several kinds of which were known to most Zulu men. The herbs themselves, many at least, are undoubtedly possessed of considerable medicinal virtue, and are (together with some of the barks from trees, notably the herbs "Iboza," "Umhlonyan," the barks "Sibara" and "Mondi," and the roots of the "Ijingijolo," and others, too numerous to mention) well worthy of the attention of the European medical fraternity. But the very crude way in which they were prepared made them sometimes more dangerous than the diseases they were given to cure. A handful of leaves, or roots, of the selected plants would be either boiled, or steeped in boiling water, and the amateur physician would give, perhaps, half a pint of the decoction to the sick person, utterly ignoring the fact that the strength of the herbs would vary at different seasons of the year, and that the length of time during which a given quantity was boiled would materially affect the strength of the decoction made. However, it was given, and if no improvement resulted, some other herb would be tried. Should the sickness increase, some more skilful person would be called in, when possibly bleeding would be suggested, especially if there was any acute pain. This bleeding was usually done by pinching up the skin into a ridge, and notching it slightly with some sharp instrument, and rubbing in the burnt ash of certain plants to make the blood run freely. Sometimes as many as a dozen of these little cuts would be made, but the actual amount of blood

CONSULTING A WIZARD.

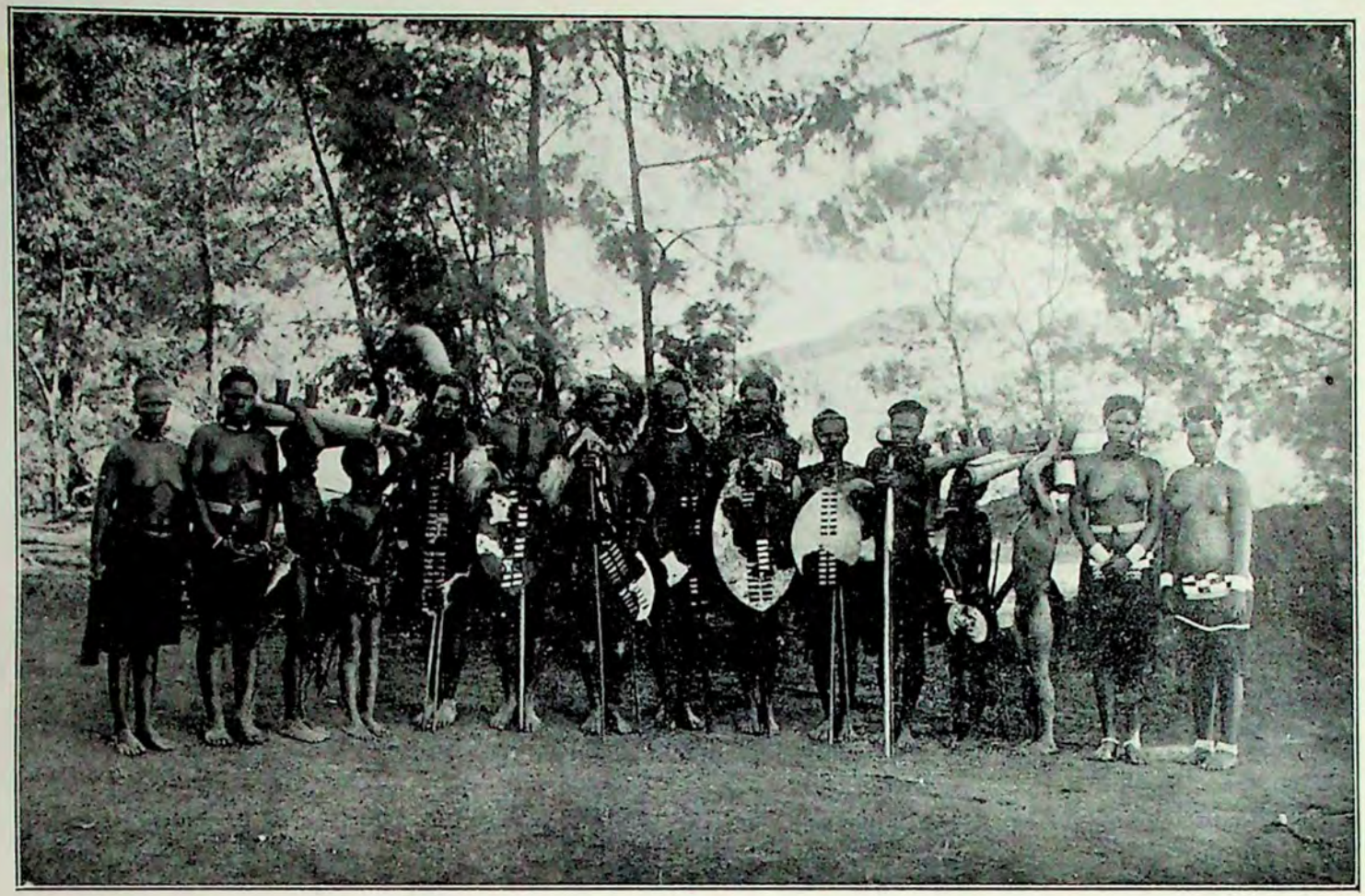
taken was very small. In cases of swelling of every kind, this cutting was always practised, with the idea that it was the bad blood gathered to the one place that caused the pain.

Should the disease still refuse to yield to the treatment given, superstition would begin to suggest "foul play," and an "Isanusi" or "Isangoma," that is a diviner, would be called in to discover the cause of this persistent illness, and to suggest a remedy. The cause was usually found to be that some one had "ponsile," bewitched, the patient; and the remedy was many mysterious incantations, with, of course, a beast to be killed, of which the doctor always got his share, in addition to another beast, by way of professional fee, if the patient was cured.

Medical treatment was thus generally of a very haphazard character, and the result very much a case in which the fittest only survived. The weaker constitutions went under, but as the Zulu's constitution was extraordinarily strong, there were not so many fatal cases as their primitive method of treatment would have led one to suppose. In the case, however, of malaria, scores died annually in the fever country, the native treatment of it being practically useless. Fomentation was sometimes adopted to relieve pain, but the remedies described were practically all they had.

Lives lived so centred in self, and condemned to such blind acceptance of other people's ideas, very naturally grew fatally contracted and dwarfed, and anything like manliness of spirit or interest in others' welfare simply impossible. If,

then, we find it difficult now to get the Zulu man to understand our ideal life, or make an attempt to copy it, need we wonder?



READY FOR ANYTHING.

CHAPTER III

War.

Until the time of Chaka, the Zulu tribes (each an independent unit) preserved their tribal existence by a system of armed defence. They were always liable to be attacked by some marauding neighbour, and so "ready, aye ready" was every man's motto. But under the military genius and prowess of Chaka, the Zulu Napoleon, these different tribes were consolidated into one strong nation, attacks from without became less frequent, and the military service of the country took the form more of attack than defence. This did not mean less fighting for the army; on the contrary, flushed by almost continuous success, Chaka's ambition for conquest led him to send his soldiers further and yet further afield, so that fighting was almost constant.

One result of the fame which his invincibles had gained for themselves was that the home life of the country was fairly secure, and therefore tranquil: and this freedom from anxiety tended to make the people more self-confident and hopeful. The very opposite effect was, of course, produced in the minds of all the surrounding tribes, because they never knew when Chaka's hordes would be seen invading their borders. Living in constant expectation of this, theirs was a most restless, anxious life. If crops were planted, it was on small patches, in out of the way places;

and they were reaped very often before being ripe, lest they should be spoiled by some marauding party. No one could settle down to live comfortably, and the nerve-tension produced by such a state of things was often so great that the cry heard perhaps in the stillness of the night, "Ingeno" (that is, "It—the army—has entered") was enough to send them in a wild stampede to the mountain fastnesses, or to seek the assistance of some stronger tribe, with the hope that by joining forces they might be able to repel the invader.

I have heard old men say, with bated breath, speaking of those days, "Ah! white man, we never knew what sleep was."

So fascinating did this kind of hunting become to the Zulu warriors, that little else was thought of. The whole of life became martial, and every man was emphatically a "man of war," bloodthirsty, cruel, and devilish.

It will be interesting to notice the equipment with which these men took the field, and with which they for a time laid a very large part of South Africa under tribute; but first we ought to note the steps by which each became a soldier. The circumstances that accompanied his entrance into military life were few and simple, but the principal object aimed at by them would appear to have been the development of personal strength and courage.

Every boy over ten years of age was liable to be called upon by his father, uncle, or elder brother to do the carrying of sleeping mats, water gourds, smoking horn, etc., for him whenever

going to his military kraal; where also he might even remain, doing the cooking, errand-running, and the like for his particular master so long as he remained there. Such a boy was called an "u(lu) dibi," and every boy had at some time or other to work as one.

Upon reaching his fourteenth or fifteenth year, he would, any day he liked, run off from his home to the nearest military kraal, in order to "hreza." There he would join himself to the common herd of boys of about the same age who were there for the same purpose; and he would join them in the herding of cattle, milking, and so forth, in which they were engaged. He would get something to eat as best he could. This fact it was that drove him, and the other boys also, to the universal custom of filling their bellies with milk at milking time, by milking a goodly quantity thereof from the udder direct to their mouths ("uku-hreza") instead of into the milk pail. This habit was permitted, and gave rise to the name "uku-hreza," afterwards applied to the ceremony of being enlisted into a regiment. All the boys throughout the country "herezaing" at the same time at the different military kraals would be called by the same name, *e.g.*, *u Bhodhlukufa*, so that he would be called an *u Bhodhlukufa*. He would remain there for perhaps five or six months, just as long as he liked, and when he felt inclined would, without further ado, leave for home.

As soon as the King considered that there were throughout the country enough such boys to form a regiment, he would (generally at the

Mkosi, *i.e.*, the time of the feast of the first fruits) call them all up by causing it to be proclaimed "the *u Bhodhlukufa* will gather at one of the royal kraals." This mandate included the lads of all the different tribes, who would be ranked in different companies of no special number, the *u dibi* lads of each tribe forming a separate company. As these tribes were numerous, the aggregate gathering might number anything from two to five thousand.

A large military kraal was formed of huts built by the boys themselves, in which they would take up their residence for it might be seven or eight months at a stretch. To each company a number of cows was given, the wilder the better, as the whole apparent purpose of this camp was to call out the strength, activity, endurance, and courage of the young warriors. In this struggle for possession of the cows, and the contingent milk, the weaker ones generally got considerably knocked about, both by the cattle and the stronger boys. Many a young fellow who went up to *hreza* with his head filled with visions of coming glory never got through the preliminaries; or, if he did, it was to return home a cripple for life. The different companies were at length drafted into separate positions in the kraal, each having its own *induna*, or officer commanding, who was responsible for order in his own company. Thus camp life began. At this stage it generally consisted of building or repairing the huts or the wall fences, and was varied with frequent fights between the boys of different tribes. On a set day a number of large vessels, each containing a

quantity of pieces of fat roasted into liquid fat, *amaxoxo*, were placed about, and each lad in turn was expected to kneel down and, without touching the vessel, to put his mouth to the fat and drink a large quantity. This was the last fat they had for many a long day, as for months they were fed on but one meal of boiled mealies in the twenty-four hours, and as much water as they liked to drink.

This discipline was thought to make them capable of long marches on little or no food; the actual effect was that many broke down through starvation, and all got very weak. Whenever a youth got unbearably hungry he would quietly run off home for a day or two, and have a good feed; and when, perhaps, after six months, he had had enough of the whole thing, he would, after merely announcing his intention to his officer, return home altogether.

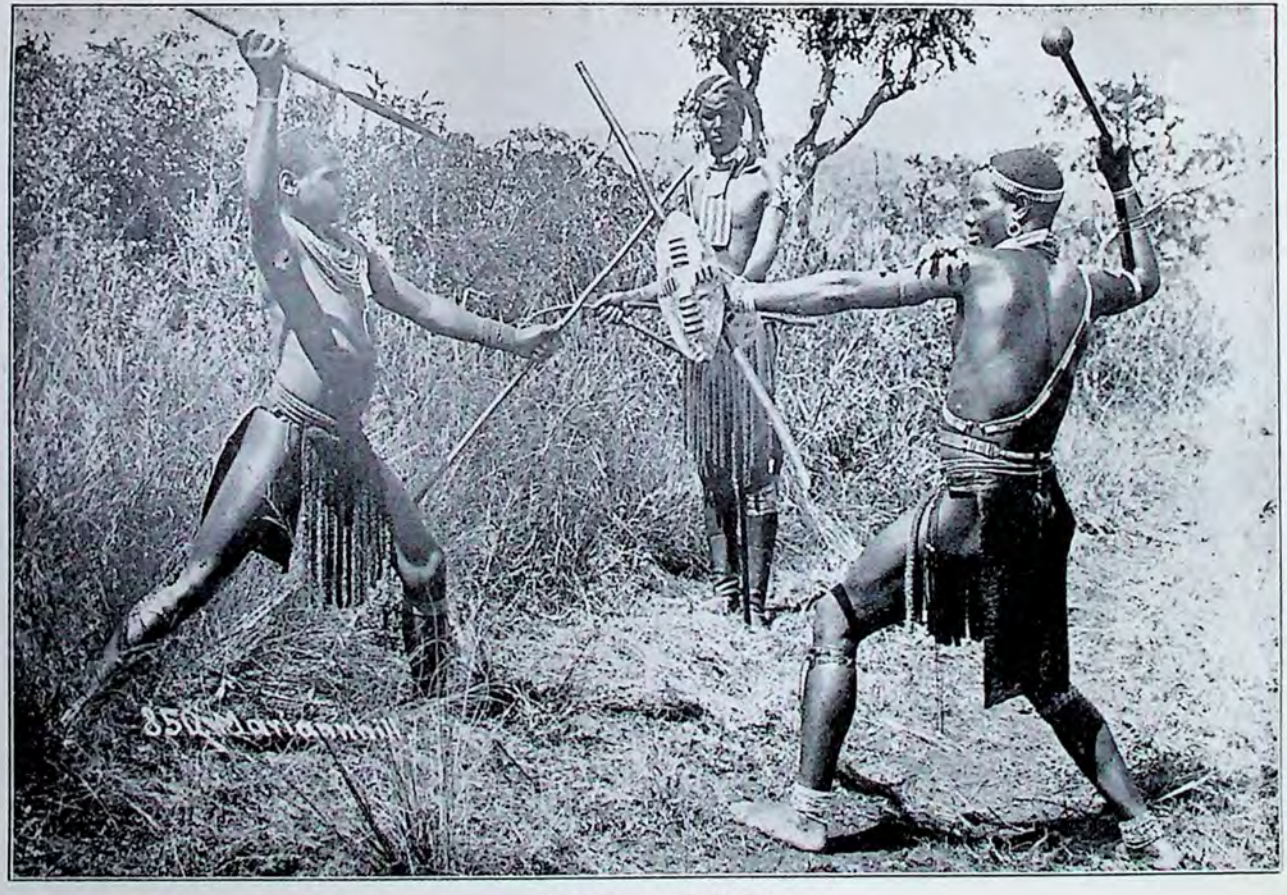
He might at any time after this, when so minded, do another few months at his military kraal, by way of change. From these customs arose the habit, now ineradicable in the race, of working away from home only for a few months, and then, as by a natural instinct, of giving way to an irresistible desire for home; one of the habits that the employer of labour sincerely deplores.

Soon after their occupation of their own military kraal, the lads, hitherto known as the *u Bhodhlukufa*, would have a regimental name given them, *e.g.*, *u(lu)ve*, and the kraal would take the name of the regiment. The young men

would be furnished with ox-hides of a uniform colour, or marking; each regiment had its own peculiarly coloured shields. These they were taught to fashion into the regulation shape. Shields differed in length, because each one was cut just long enough for its owner to look over as he stood erect behind it, but all were about 2ft. 6in. wide. At the same time each man was supplied with a number of dried ox-tail skins, called *imi hrezo,* as being issued at the time of *uku hreza.* They were usually white, and the young warrior hung them in strings round him, one string round his neck, another round his waist, and others just below the elbows and knees. This stage of the proceedings was always marked by specially violent accompaniments; the better tails were struggled and fought for, and for a day or two these conflicts were unceasing. Men who have themselves gone through it have told me that after such a distribution so severe was the fighting that though only sticks were allowed, the wounded, many of them unconscious, some dying, could be seen lying about by scores, or even hundreds.

To those who in these conflicts had proved themselves to be possessed of special fighting powers, gifts of ostrich feathers were made, to fix on their heads, and to each one who had secured special honours a present of two or three head of cattle would be made, which he might drive to his home.

Then the whole force was dismissed; a sufficient number, however, always remaining at this new *ikanda,* or military headquarters, to guard it.



WARRIORS AT PLAY.

The whole of the new regiment of *uve* would ever look upon this kraal as their home, and for the rest of their life would spend some months every year within its precincts.

In each military kraal there was an *isigodhlo*, in which were established a number of the King's wives, generally the older ones, as well as a number of the *um-Ndhlunkulu* girls. Their duty was to do the house and field work for the military in residence, inspired by an occasional visit of the King himself to the kraal.

When starting on active service each soldier, adorned with his *imi hrezo* and *intshe*, ostrich feathers, if he had any, paraded at headquarters, armed with his shield and one assegai, the latter being a formidable weapon with a blade about 18 inches long and about two inches broad, sharp on both edges, and fixed into a short, thick, strong handle of wood about 2ft. 6in. long. Besides this, he carried one or two *imi tshiza*, straight rods of hard wood, about 4ft. long, and an *iwisa*, knobstick, a stick about 2ft. 6in. long, with a knob 3 or 4 inches in diameter, made of a strong tough wood. As far as possible each warrior had his own *udibi*, who sometimes carried a spare assegai for his master. Thus equipped these men could do journeys of thirty miles a day without any great effort, the distance travelled being generally regulated by the speed of the *udibi*. On special occasions this distance could be greatly exceeded.

The attack was usually made in the form of a crescent, the outflanking horns endeavouring to complete a circle, with the enemy enclosed; or, if possible to effect a surprise in the grey of the

morning, the advance was made in a solid body. No quarter was given to any but the girls, who were taken alive to be appropriated as their victors chose.

CALLING A HALT.

CHAPTER IV

Wedlock.

It is interesting to notice the provision that was made for the marrying of the race. This was regularly arranged on a wholesale plan by the King. When any regiment had attained an age anywhere between thirty-five and forty-five years, the King would *jubu*, or order it to *tunga*, put on the head ring; this was a sign that they were considered ripe for marriage, but they could not actually marry until a second order had been given to *ganwa*—marry. So much for the men.

About the same time a girl's *ibuto*, regiment, would be formed by the King, for the purpose of furnishing the necessary wives. At the *Umkosi* the King would give the chief indunas orders to call up all the *amaqikiza*, marriageable girls, in the land. Their presence at the royal kraal would be economically utilised for doing the thatching of any huts that required it, and for making sleeping mats, and the like, for the King's household. They would be given a common collective name, *e.g.*, *isi Timani*.

At that or the next *umkosi* the King would issue an order that the *isi Timane* should *kehla*—put on the marriage head dress. This brought them into line with the men, who had likewise been ordered to *kehla*, which was a sign that they, too, were ripe for marriage. At perhaps the next *umkosi* the order would be issued for the *isi*

Timane to *ganwa*—marry—before which order none could lawfully do so. Most of them now took the plunge, and lived happy ever afterwards.

As to the ceremonies connected with the marriage rite, considerable variation in the details appears to have existed in the different tribes, but the following may be regarded as a general outline. These may be somewhat lengthy, but they are not without interest, showing as they do that though women were looked upon very much as property, yet even in dark Zululand there was an assertive element in social life, and "woman's rights" were prerogatives both claimed and conceded.

It is just here that we catch the first glimpse of what elsewhere I shall try to demonstrate in greater detail: that in any system that contemplates reform and advancement among this people, the woman must be reckoned with as an important element.

Well, then, Miss Nomgwaqo has, in one of those mysterious ways known to her sex all the world over, succeeded in gaining for herself the affection, or the admiration, if you like that better, of Master Mshiwa, and after a courtship, longer or shorter, as the case may be, she proceeds with the knowledge, consent, and advice of her elder sisters. For all these things are arranged in solemn conclave of the mother and girls, though kept secret from the father. Accompanied now by a younger sister, one evening just in the gloaming she presents herself by the side of one of the huts in the kraal of Mshiwa's father. This is called *uku baleka*, run away; and on this escapade she

always wears the skin kilt worn by the married women, very likely borrowed from one of her father's wives, but not her own mother. On being asked whom she seeks she gives Mshiwa's name, when she is asked to enter the hut, which she at first refuses to do. Upon a present of a goat being offered her, or it may be some beads or money, she consents to enter; when she is offered a mat to sit on, only again to refuse, until another small present is made, and she then sits down. These presents are called *umngenisandhlini*—bringers into the hut.

Next morning, early, a brother, or more distant relation of Mshiwa's, if he has no elder brother, is sent driving a beast to the girl's father, to tell him that if he is looking for his daughter it might be as well for him to seek her at Mabazelo's kraal. As this man who goes will occupy an important position in future proceedings, we may as well know him by his proper title; he is called the *Umhlaleli*—the one who waits upon another.

Having been informed of his daughter's whereabouts, the father at once sends two or three of his other daughters to bring her home. In some districts they carry food for her, for she may not eat the food at the young man's home; in others, on her refusing to eat, a small present is made her, and the trouble is soon overcome. After a few days spent at Mabazelo's, they intimate their intention of taking her back to her father's, upon which the *Umhlaleli*, together with a few male relations or friends, and four or five girls of the kraal, accompany the errant damsel home, driv-

ing with them three or four beasts. The usual number formerly given for a girl in Zululand was six or seven, unless of high rank, when as many as forty or fifty might be given; in Natal, for a long time it has been ten. The beast first driven over did not count. On arriving at the gate of the kraal, he announced in a loud voice that Mshiwa, of Mabazelo's, wished to have Nomqwaqo for his wife, and that he had brought her back to her father, and also brought one black cow, one red and white cow with a calf, and so on, giving the particular colour and marking of each of the beasts he had brought.

Without appearing on the scene, the girl's father would send a boy to direct the party to a hut which had already been prepared for them; the party having entered the hut, mats were sent in for each of them to sit on; with beer in three pots, one for the *Umhlaleli*, one for Mshiwa's sister, if she had come, and the third for the rest of the party. A goat was now killed and properly apportioned; that is, a leg for the girl's mother, ribs to the girl's father, head and one shoulder to be taken home, the rest to be eaten by Umhlaleli's party.

At this stage the girl's father would come in, and courteously regret that he could not hear the description of the cattle brought, as announced at the gate, but would be obliged if the Umhlaleli would repeat it, which, of course, he did; to which the old man would reply that he was very much pleased at the thought of being connected by marriage with the people of Mabazelo's kraal, and would be glad to give his daughter to

Mshiwa, and hoped that when they come to complete the *ukulobola*—marriage cattle—they would bring him one or two oxen.

Singing would follow till the small hours of the morning. This kind of singing is called *uMcwayo*. The performers sit on the ground, their bodies thrown into all sorts of postures, the arms moved about in different ways, all being done with the object of seeing who can perspire the most. A kind of rivalry is started between the visitors and the visited, and the party who have evidently perspired the most are accounted victors. Imagine a hut crowded to the utmost extent possible, a blazing fire on the hearth, and this singing, accompanied by a variety of guttural sounds that defy description, for an hour or more without a stop, and you have a notion of what the state of perspiration produced might be; but the actual condition reached would surprise the most imaginative. I have on such occasions seen the perspiration actually running in two streams from the door way. The one party having done their level best, the floor is swept clean of perspiration, and the other party have their innings.

In the morning the Umhlaleli and party would be called into the old man's hut, and regaled again on beer, when the Umhlaleli would say he must be going, and wish them all goodbye. To this the old women would reply that he surely would not leave them without some little memento of such an interesting visit, upon which he would produce the *indhlinqo*—a large snuff gourd—which, after having himself taken a small pinch, to show that it had not been doctored

in any way, he offered for the acceptance of the lady mothers; at the same time giving an assegai or other trifling gift to the old man.

With some more singing at the gate, and more beer, the visit would end, and the party return home.

After an interval of some months, or even years, Mshiwa tells his father he would like to have his marriage completed. The Umhlaleli is sent to arrange the date with the girl's father, taking with him the balance of the *lobola* cattle. These cattle are brought to the gate of the girl's kraal, and for a while what appears to be a most sanguinary battle goes on between the girls who come with the Umhlaleli, and those of the girl's kraal, the latter refusing to have them admitted, and the former doing their best to drive them in. The date having been fixed, orders are given by the heads of the kraals on both sides for the making of large quantities of beer, without which no celebration would be complete.

Two wedding parties form themselves on the auspicious day; the bride's party, called the *Mtimba*, and the bridegroom's party, called the *iketo*, or *abayeni*. The bride's party leave their home in time to arrive at the husband's home about sunset. When nearing it they form themselves into a compact body, with the bride in the middle, so that she may not be seen, and as they near the kraal singing is begun. This singing is called *irubo*, and is of a pathetic character, conveying the idea of regret at parting with one of their number. This exercise is continued as slowly advancing they proceed up the left, or *iqadi* side

COOKING UTSHUALA.

of the kraal. Having arrived at the top of the kraal, they halt, and cease singing. On this the women of the kraal come out, and running up and down call out several times to each other in a low voice, "Hey, hey, 'tis good with us to-day, but bad with the girl's people." The *mtimoa* then starts a kind of song, the tenour of which is "Ye, ye, we are cold, son-in-law, it's very cold, husband of my sister; you've never been married before, ye, ye." A hut is then pointed out to them, into which they enter; upon which the people of the *iketo* come out and dance inside the kraal for a while, and here they are presently joined by the *mtimba*. The bride remains in the hut with the girl who carries her belongings, a kind of bridesmaid. This singing is sometimes kept up till day-light.

Next morning early the whole of the *mtimba* leave the kraal, and go to some neighbouring clump of bush, if any is available; if not, to some knoll a little distance off. Food is brought them from their home if not a great way off, or is taken from a stock they have brought, and the boys are sent to bring in a beast. It should be a large ox, called the *isigodo*. Two others are brought with it from the girl's home; of these three beasts one is called the *umendiso*, one the *isiboma*, or *isigodo*, and the other the *itshoba*, figuratively a large beast; the three beasts representing respectively the head, the body, and the tail. The idea is that this figurative animal places, or *bekas*, the girl at her new home, and the three beasts are called the *umbeka* cattle. A goat, which had been given the *umtimba* girls on their

arrival yesterday by the husband's father, is at this time brought to them. They kill it by twisting its neck, and it is eaten by the girls alone.

This being done, and the parties having arrayed themselves in the finery demanded by such an auspicious occasion, the bride being specially decorated, and wearing the *isidwaba*, or kilt, worn by married women, the *mtimba* are summoned by a messenger to come to the kraal. The boys and women of the *mtimba* go on in front to announce the arrival of the bride. Entering the gate of the kraal, they divide, one half going up each side of the kraal, and the two halves joining at the top, uttering, as they move along, a series of screams, intermingled with short sentences, *ukukikiliza*. Having reached the top of the kraal, the two parties cross each other, and return to the gate by the sides of the kraal opposite to those by which they had entered. Having made the circuit of the kraal, generally twice, they return to the girls and men at the bush, when the whole party moves towards the kraal. They take care, however, before this to burn all refuse, grass, wood, bones, and the like that may be scattered about, their superstitious fear of witchcraft thus haunting them even in their bridal feasts.

When the final advance to the kraal is made, the boys go in front, the girls and women again surrounding the bride, so that she may not be seen. Arrived at the entrance to the kraal, a cleared space is pointed out to them on which to dance, for in Zululand dancing was not allowed in the cattle kraal, though it is frequently done in Natal.

Dancing in sections by the *mtimba* girls of different agos, each in their own section, and sections of men by themselves, proceeds for perhaps an hour, when the bride's father calls for silence, and in a loud voice he offers praise to his ancestral spirits, and then, together with the bride's brothers, he begins a frantic leaping and jumping performance, called *uku giya*. This done, the bride, with her older female engaged friends, each wearing the kilt of the married women, the bride carrying in her left hand a small shield, and in her right a short, blunt assegai, the other girls carrying small shields and sticks, advance to the front and dance for some considerable time.

The bridegroom advances and *giyas*. The girls seek out the *Umhlaleli*, and call him to dance with them, which he does for a while, and then goes back to his own party.

At this stage the bride's brothers bring the *umbeka* beast, and make it stand in front of the girls. The whole of the *mtimba* party then join in the dance for a while. The bride advances, and kneeling before the bridegroom's father, says: "*Tola weha, wa Kwa Kumalo,*" or other family name; "find, or receive me, you of the Kumalo family"; on which he replies, "You will keep me; treat me kindly, so will I treat you well." It is now the bridegroom's party's turn to have an innings, so the *mtimba* party sit down, and the *iketo* dance for a short time. If the bridegroom's father is wealthy, a parade of the best looking oxen he has is now made, by driving them between the two parties, and round the kraal, the drivers doing their best to make the cattle jump and frisk

about. Another turn at dancing by the *iketo*, and the gathering disperses for home, after having first been well feasted with beer and "trimmings."

The girls of the *mtimba* party remain over night, and loudly declare they are dying for want of meat, renewing the complaint in the morning, until at length a beast (and it must be a fat one) is given them. This the boys of the bridegroom's party are ordered to kill with one thrust of the spear, under a penalty of a fine for every extra thrust required to kill it. The girls all gather in the cattle kraal to see it killed, excepting the bride, who remains in the hut, and is told to stand by the centre post until the beast is dead, a fact which is announced by the girls clapping their hands, and shouting "Our sister's beast is lying on its horns. It must get up."

The beast is skinned very carefully, care being taken not to cut the lining of the stomach, so as to let out the wind. The bride is called to puncture this lining, which she offers to do with the spear she carried in the dance. The *abayeni* object to this, and provide another, with which she punctures the distended lining, and retires. The gall bag is carefully removed, and the boys of the *abayeni* take it, and seek the bride, the object being to sprinkle some of it over her. This her girls do their best to prevent. Taking her into a hut they arm themselves with sticks, and, surrounding her, they try to prevent the boy who has the gall from approaching her. The other boys throw themselves in a body upon the girls, with the object of making a way for the boy to reach the bride, and in doing so generally get very roughly handled. However, after a short

scuffle the gall bearer succeeds in sprinkling it on her, and the combat at once ceases. If, however, any has been sprinkled on the girls, or on the ground, a fine of beads, or money, will be inflicted in each case. These fines are the perquisites of the bridesmaids.

The whole ceremony concludes with feasting and sundry washings.

For a week or so the new wife is exempt from all work. After that time she begins the ordinary routine of married life, and for the first time she eats the *Amasi* of that kraal, after having had a goat given her by her husband, which she drives to her home, returning with one in exchange; this ceremony is called *uku tata ukezu*, going to get a spoon for *Amasi* from her home.

The details, as I have said, vary considerably, but the frequent killing of goats and cattle, levying of fines, bribes to the girl, and so forth are general, and evidence the existence of female claims that may not be, and are not, refused.

This chapter may be fittingly concluded by noticing the ties of consanguinity which a man may not violate when marrying.

A man may not marry into his own, that is, his father's clan or family, *isibongo*.

A man may not marry into his mother's clan or family, *isibongo*.

A man may not marry into his father's mother's clan or family, *isibongo*.

A man may not marry into his mother's mother's clan or family, *isibongo*.

A man may not marry into any clan into which his widowed mother marries again.

CHAPTER V

Family Life.

If it be true that the real life of a people is always fairly reflected in their homes, it will be needful to view our Zulu there before summing him up.

The house he lives in is a hut, a round, dome-shaped building, made by sticking a row of saplings in a circular trench dug some six inches deep. The saplings are pointed, and stuck in the ground as deeply as possible. This building will be usually about 15 feet in diameter, though sometimes larger; a second row is so placed that each sapling crosses those in the first row at a sharp angle, and the saplings are tied together where they cross. A well made hut will have them so close together that you could not get your finger between them. They are then bent over to join at the top. This framework is covered over with grass, so arranged as to lead off the water, and the grass is fastened on with short, supple sticks about 3ft. long, each end being pointed. One end is thrust through the grass till the point catches in the framework; the stick is then bent like a croquet hoop, and the other end pushed down till it also is fixed in the framework, enclosing, it may be, a foot of the grass. These loops are worked round the hut in parallel rows, and make a very neat and watertight roof. Sometimes the thatch is fastened on with

grass ropes drawn tightly round and across the building, sometimes (and these are the best) a number of straw mats of about 3ft. wide are made, and these are drawn tightly round the building, over the grass which has first been nicely arranged, each row of matting overlying the one below it in order to throw off the rain water. The centre of the roof is supported by two or more upright poles; the doorway is low and small, always forcing the persons entering to go on their knees. It is closed by a removable wicker door, which is fastened by a cross stick, the ends of which are inserted into loops of skin placed for them.

The floor is made of a mixture of ant-heap and clay, and is beaten hard with stones, the surface being rubbed smooth. This surface is smoothed over two or three times a week with cowdung, which, with a hard rubbing with a smooth stone now and then, keeps it in very good order.

Just opposite the door, and about three feet from it, a circular rim of the same material as the floor is made, about 3ft. 6in. across and some 3in. high. The space enclosed forms the fireplace: it is only, however, in bad weather that it is used for cooking purposes, all cooking being generally done in the open air. But if the weather is cool a fire is made to warm the hut; as a matter of fact, unless in very warm weather, a small fire is made every night.

The floor is always made to slope to the door; sometimes the angle is so acute that it requires considerable practice to sleep on it.

At the back of the hut, another rim is made, cutting off a small section of the hut, in which

beer pots, culinary utensils, wooden milking pails, water pots, and so forth, are placed, and in some huts similar sections on the side are marked off with short sticks, and here calves and goats are fastened for the night.

These huts are beautifully cool in the hottest weather, a considerable amount of ventilation being secured through the grass covering, and having no other opening than the doorway, admit no draught, and in cold weather are nicely warm.

The homestead, called an *umusi* (kraal), consists of a circle of huts, about five or six being the usual number. Inside the circle is the cattle kraal, a circular enclosure surrounded with a bush fence, whilst outside the huts is another high close fence made of poles and brushwood, the gateway being fastened at night by a number of stout poles placed crossways, and jammed so tightly that entrance without removing the pole is impossible.

The cooking utensils consist simply of earthen clay pots, made by the women, and burnt. For drinking purposes, small gourd ladles are used. The table is a grass mat, and fingers and teeth take the place of knives and forks, with an assagai as carver whenever meat is eaten. Wooden spoons are used for eating *amasi* or *isijingi*, porridge made of meal, and pumpkin.

The food itself consists generally—of course we are referring to the past of these people, for things are very different now—of *amasi*, curded milk, and *umcaba*, boiled mealies, or kafir corn, boiled and rubbed between two stones; mealies boiled

whole; or eaten whilst in an unripe state, boiled or roasted on the cob; *amadumbi*, a kind of artichoke; *izindhlubu*, a species of underground bean; a small kind of potato with long thin tubers; *amabele*, kafir corn, generally used to make beer, but sometimes eaten boiled; and meat, when it can be got, which is not often. In the summer months, pumpkins and calabashes are added to this list. The drink consists of water, about the purity of which the Zulu is not careful, or beer. The beer is made from *amabele*, *upoko*, and *ujiba*, the last two being species of millet. The beer is of the colour and consistency of pea soup, with a reddish-brown tint when made from *amabele*; it is very nourishing, and, when the taste is acquired, a very agreeable drink. Beef was formerly only eaten occasionally, as the marriage value of cattle made beef eating a kind of wanton waste. Sometimes a goat or two would be killed, especially after a beer-drinking bout, as it invariably produces a craving for animal food, a fact to which many an unfortunate stock farmer has to attribute his frequently missing a few sheep. Game was plentiful; and anything killed in the hunts, which were frequent, made an agreeable variety in the daily menu. Fowls and pigs were unknown until introduced by the English in later years, and even when owned were not eaten until very recently.

Cultivation was of a very primitive character. A patch of jungle scrub would be burnt off, the seed thrown broadcast among the charred stumps, and dug into the ground with a rude kind of pick, to the depth of about two inches.

When the corn was ripe it was stored on the cobs in small huts built off the ground, till a convenient opportunity, when it was thrashed and stored in pits dug in the cattle kraal. These pits were made with small funnel-shaped mouths, widening out when at a depth of two feet or so to about six feet, and about the same depth. After being filled with the mealies, a stone was placed over the mouth, and the ground piled up above it, to be firmly trodden by the cattle; and if the ground was fairly hard these mealies would keep well for a year or two.

Food was usually eaten twice a day, about 10 a.m., and just as it was growing dark.

Of amusements, as we regard them, in the daytime the Zulus had none after the juvenile stage was passed. Their time was occupied, when not eating or sleeping, in preparing articles of dress, making knob sticks, grinding snuff, the daily bath, hunting, having their heads dressed by some obliging friends, or, it might be, rehearsing the previous day's adventures in hunting, or courting, or recounting some oft-repeated story of personal prowess in hunt or battle.

On moonlight evenings they would practise songs and war dances for some coming festival, dancing by the hour on the green sward outside the kraal.

On dark evenings their chief amusement consisted in smoking the *igudu*, smoking horn. This consisted of a bullock's horn, into the side of which was stuck a short length of reed, about 9in. long, on the top end of which a smooth stone bowl was fixed.

WINNOWING THE CORN.

The *isnangu*, wild hemp, was put into the bowl, a coal of fire placed on the top of it, the horn half filled with water, and the smoke drawn through the water by deep inhalations from the chest, producing frequent deep chest coughing, the tears running from the eyes all the while. The object of drawing the smoke in this way was to provoke a strong flow of saliva, which object was further helped by shouting in a loud voice a description of some fancied victory over an enemy, or the prowess of ancestors.

Small stems of a native plant of about nine inches long, with a continuous hole, about the size of the hole in a pipe stem, throughout the length, called *izintshumo*, were then brought into use, and the game proceeded as follows:—

The floor being swept clean, several draws of the *igudu* were taken by each party. There were always two sides to the game, usually one on each side, but sometimes as many as three or four. Each party proceeded to build an imaginary cattle kraal by expelling the smoke-saturated saliva through these *izintshumo* in a string of closely-joined small smoke bubbles, which, if properly done, would stand without bursting for four or five minutes.

Having built the kraals at about three feet from each other, one of the party would make a dash with his bubbles to "cut off" his opponent's cattle, and try to surround them; sometimes, instead of cattle, the first-made bubbles represented a military force. To be effective, this surrounding must be done without any break in the line of bubbles. Should there be such a break, his

opponent's cattle, or army, symbolised also by a continuous line of bubbles, might break through, and in turn seek to surround some part of the advancing force. And here they realised one of the deprivations of uncivilised life very distinctly; they had no lamps or candles. The fire on the hearth was usually too low to give a good light, and very flickering at the best. The only illumination which they had was from a bundle of tambootie grass, or any light, inflammable, but long twigs. Lighting these, one at a time, they made a boy, or boys, hold them to give light in their darkness. Sometimes they would stick two or three into the roof of the hut, and make the boy attend to them, with the great risk of setting the hut on fire if the boy was careless.

Occasionally the game got very exciting, and these *izimbaqa* were sometimes annoyingly uncertain, and it took all the boy's time to keep a continuous light. Woe to the boys if, just at the crisis of some long-fought battle, the lights burned low, or went out. They also had to go out quickly. What the floor looked like after an hour's amusement of this kind was not so much the question, as what the whole place smelt like for hours to come. Dirty game, you say? Yes, but the Zulu revelled in it, at the cost of head and lungs, no doubt.

It may be asked if these huts, without window or chimney, were not very smoky. They were. Whilst the fire was burning the top part of the hut was simply dense with smoke, so that no one could breathe whilst standing in it. But then no one was wanted to stand in it; everyone sat or lay on

the ground, and if moving from one part to the other of the hut, did so in a crouching attitude. The draught from the low door kept the three feet immediately above the floor free from smoke, or comparatively so, and if not, why, use was everything.

Of course, the inside of these huts soon got smoked quite black, with a deep ebony shine all over, and, strange to say, this smoke-dried, smoke-filled roof was the abode of colonies of cockroaches. There they were by the thousand, sticking all over the roof, when they were not dropping into the food, or on to the floor, a rich, dark-red, shining host, rustling like dry leaves in a light wind, bad in the daytime, a thousand times worse at night, all sizes, all sorts, an entomologist's paradise. No need to wonder why the rats swarm in these huts. In some districts, especially in the thorn country, these cockroaches shared the honours of the place with an equal number of the round hard millipedes, so common in South Africa. But to all these insect pests, the Zulu is perfectly indifferent, picking them out of his food, or off his sleeping mat, with careless, easy movement, or calling the children to take them away.

Dress was conspicuous by its absence. The wardrobe of an ordinary man consisted of two or three lion dresses, made of the skin of a goat, calf, or buck. For high days and holidays a special one, made of wild cat skin, would be kept in reserve. These dresses were in two parts, the part that went behind was called the *umutsha*, or *ibetshu*, the latter being simply a piece of skin

about 18 inches wide, and from 18 inches to 2 feet long. The *umutsha* and the *isinene*, the part of the dress that hung in front, was made of strips of skin, retaining the hair, cut into lengths of 12 or 15 inches long, and so cut and twisted that they were like round ropes about 1½ inches thick. Two or three rows of these ropes were fastened to a stout cord that went round the waist, the *isinene* part in front, and the *umutsha* part behind. Being quite supple, this dress adjusted itself to every movement of the wearer, and formed a fair covering. A few rings of twisted grass might be put round his arms or ankles. This, with a reed snuff-box inserted in the lobe of one of his ears, both of which were always perforated, and a brayed skin, or blanket (for they very soon began to get blankets and beads) was pretty nearly all the average man owned by way of clothing.

The girls usually wore a fringe made of *ubendhle*, the inside lining of the leaf of a dwarf shrub, which was rubbed until quite supple, and greased to keep it so. This fringe would average, perhaps, 6 inches in depth, and was made in a continuous belt running quite round the loins. As soon as they got beads they worked these on a skin belt, which took the place of the *ubendhle*. Girls of 16 or 18 years of age deemed it no breach of modesty to walk about with nothing on them save a small patch of this bead-work 8 inches wide and 6 inches deep, fastened in front of their body by a string.

It was always a case of *honi soit qui mal y pense*, and because they grew up with this as the universal fashion, what to our civilised eyes would

appear to be a dreadful outrage on modesty with them never suggested the least impropriety.

I have seen a crowd of twelve or fourteen boys and girls, of an average age of eighteen, bathing together in an absolutely nude state, playing leap-frog in the water, and, on questioning the boys as to whether they did not consider such a practice an indecent one, have been met with the simple statement "Indecent! Why, no; they are all *abantu ba kiti*, our home people," in regard to whom no vicious thought could ever exist.

The married women always wore the *isidwaba*, a dress made out of an ox hide, the inner membrane of the skin being worked up into a furry pile, by being scratched with thorns, or metal spikes, the whole worked up quite soft by rubbing. When finished, the robe was well rubbed with fat; it was made long enough to go round the body, and to overlap at the join by some 10 inches.

CHAPTER VI

Folk-Lore.

Among a people without any literature or knowledge of writing, we should expect to find a large number of oral traditions, nursery tales, and the like, but in this the Zulu is disappointing, probably because of the very inferior status he gave to his women folk, so that anything to do with women or children was regarded as beneath notice, and altogether unworthy of any effort to preserve.

What folk-lore exists is practically confined to the women and girls. There was universal belief in the existence of a Creator, *Umdali*, or *Mvelinqangi*, who made whatever is out of a reed; but belief was extremely indefinite as to his methods of operation. With the present state of human existence, the spirits of the departed, *amadhlozi*, have much more to do than has the Creator.

All spirits were supposed to take on themselves the form of a serpent, the particular kind of snake varying according to their social status whilst living. Thus, the large green or black *imamba*, or the *indhlondhlo*, the hooded *imamba*, must have been a king, or chief, at the least; the long thin green or brown snake was an ordinary person, whilst the lizards and the iguanas were probably old women. These spirits were consulted and propitiated in cases of calamity or

sickness; if relief came, they got the praise, if not, the niggardliness of the propitiator, or, if that could not be pleaded, the superior strength of some adverse *idhlozi* was the explanation given. The propitiatory offerings were placed at the back of the hut for one night, and when in the morning they were, of course, found intact, the faith of the incredulous in the fact of the *idhlozi* having taken any notice of the offering was strengthened by the assurance that the spirit had *kotile*, licked it. If a snake were seen lying on the kraal fence—a very likely place to find a snake on a warm morning—or if it was found inside the hut, where it would crawl for shade from the burning noon-day sun, the inference was, of course, irresistible that it was asking for food; and as the beast to be killed was the property of but one man, and the flesh would be eaten by everybody, there was generally an overwhelming majority in favour of such a request being at once granted.

In case of a death in the kraal, all in the kraal became unclean. They might not join in any public festivity nor do any work until the time of weeping was past, usually ten days. Three days after the death, the services of a professional man were called into requisition. He would cut small pieces of bark from a number of medicinal trees, pick some leaves from others, and roots of others still; the whole lot would be boiled, a goat killed, and each of the inmates of the kraal would eat it, taking a small piece of meat, and a bite from one of the pieces of medicine, and so on till they had tasted several of the different kinds

prepared. The idea involved was that the death was caused by some witchcraft, which probably was aimed at the life of more than one inhabitant of the kraal, and as the particular kind of *muti* (medicine) used was not known, it would be well to eat several kinds of counteracting medicine, in the hope that among the many the right one would be eaten.

After this general doctoring was gone through, each person shaved his or her head, and tied round it twisted string made of grass, or thin string. At the end of the tenth day, everyone had a bath, the strings were removed, and once again they were ceremonially clean.

The dead were buried in a sitting posture, and most of their belongings were usually buried with them. The grave was usually in the kraal, lest, if buried away from the home, the *abatakati*, wizards, should take liberties with them. As soon as a person died, the whole kraal commenced a series of loud lamentations, which were joined in by all the neighbours throughout the day.

How the terrible disaster of death came to be the lot of mankind generally is explained in a way that involves the innocent little chameleon in everlasting trouble.

The story runs that *Umvelinqange*, having created the human race, sent the chameleon to announce that they were not to die, and after some time the lizard was sent to say they should die. The message first delivered was to be final, and his sympathy with the human love of life was shown by giving the chameleon a good long start; but the wretched little thing dawdled so long on

the road, catching flies and stopping to admire the frequent changes of colour in its skin, that the lizard, who started off at a brisk trot, soon outran it, and announced its death message first, and this has held good ever since.

Whenever a Zulu sees a chameleon, recognising him as the cause of the death we all shrink from, and thinking how delightful it would have been for mankind if only he had run a little quicker, he will, pressing his back with a stick, make him open his mouth, and put a pinch of snuff in it, saying "You sleepy little beggar, take this snuff and wake up." As he can do nought else, the poor animal swallows the snuff, and in a few minutes is himself "snuffed out."

This tradition is of the same quality as the fables which they retail around the evening fire, as the following specimens will show

The Wonderful Ox.

Once upon a time a lad was minding his father's cattle, when the cannibals came and drove away both cattle and herd boy. Among the cattle was a very large ox named *Ntontoza*. When the cannibals would make the cattle run more quickly for fear of a rescue, this ox stood still, but the spoilers, unwilling to leave so fine a beast, and apparently knowing something of its character, told the lad to repeat some magic sentences, which they knew would affect the animal. So the lad said: *Ntontoza*, you must go on, or the cannibals will kill us"; when lo! the ox went on, only for a short time, however. Again he stood still, and the cannibals, seeing that he would delay them,

thrust a spear into its side; but do what they would they could not kill the ox. So again they told the lad to repeat the needed magic order. Said the boy: "*Ntontoza, Ntontoza*, these cannibals will kill us, you must die"; when down the beast fell dead. Upon this the cannibals cut him into pieces, put the meat into pots which they had with them, and made large fires to cook the meat. But do what they would the meat would not cook, so in desperation they ate the food raw, and then went down to a neighbouring stream to bathe. It was now the lad's turn to use his magic words, so gathering the bones together he cried, "*Ntontoza, Ntontoza*, these cannibals will kill us. Wake up, and let us be going." And lo! up jumped the wondrous ox, the boy leaped on to its back, and collecting all his father's cattle which the cannibals had taken, together with some others which they had stolen elsewhere, he drove them home to his father's house—rejoicing in having outwitted the cruel cannibals.

The Wonderful Medicine.

Once upon a time there lived a man whose name was Zilulwane. To his great grief his wife bare him no children. So he went to a doctor, and asked him if he could not help him; the doctor gave him a very potent medicine, saying: "Take this, and give it to your wife." On the way home he thought that he would taste it, and finding it very nice he ate a little, and a little more, and still a little more, until it was all gone. Upon reaching home, his wife, in anxious

tones, asked him where the medicine was, and ashamed to say he had eaten it, he told her the doctor refused to give him any.

After some time, he noticed that his girth became painfully ample, whereat he became both alarmed and ashamed. "What in the world will the people say is the matter with me," he thought, so he took to wearing an *isipuku* (skin blanket), and daily he would go into the fields and lament his sad condition. When obliged to be in the house, he would sit up at the back of the hut, where the smoke gathers thickest, so that when anyone asked him "Why do you cry?"—for he could not control his feelings, but day and night was weeping—he would reply, "I'm not weeping; it's the smoke in my eyes that makes them water."

At last one dreadful day he was delivered of twins. Dreading discovery, he hid them in an *isilulu*, a large bottle-shaped basket made to hold corn, which he took and hid in the garden, and regularly three times a day he went to give the children suck.

For a while, his secret was undiscovered, but one morning when he went on his motherly errand, behold, they were gone! He sought far and wide, but found them not; at last, night coming on, compelled him to return to his home, a broken-hearted man.

However, it appears that his mother had found the children, and brought them to the house, and after a while, as he sat in the smoke, crying his eyes out, his mother said to him, "Come, Zilulwane, what are you crying about so much?" "Me," said he, "me crying?" "Yes,"

said his mother, bringing the children out from where she had hidden them. "Here are your children." So the secret was out. Everybody who heard of it wondered, and laughed him to scorn.

The Cakide (A Species of Ichneumon) and The Old Woman.

Once upon a time, a cakide met an old woman. "Old woman," said he, "let us play a game of cooking each other." The old woman agreed, so they got a large pot, filled it with water, and made the water boil. Said the cakide, "I will get in first, and when I say 'Yo, yo, yo, yo, I'm cooked,' you take me out." So he got in, and when he had had enough, he said "Yo, yo, yo, yo, I m cooked," and the old woman took him out, and she got in, gave the sign agreed upon, and was taken out in her turn. They played this game for several days, but at length the cakide thought he would make a variation, so one day, when the old woman was in the pot, and gave the sign "Yo, yo, yo, yo, I'm cooked," the cakide replied, "Cooked? you can't be cooked yet," so he put the cover on the pot, and let her boil, until, in very truth, she was cooked effectually.

This old woman had two sons, who were away hunting at this time, so the cakide took out the cooked meat, carefully picked out the bones, and, laying them at the back of the hut, covered them with the old woman's sleeping blanket, that the sons might think she slept.

On their return, the cakide brought out some of the meat, and set it before them, saying it was

a little animal he had killed. Whilst eating, the younger one came across a thumb, and looking at it very carefully he said, "This looks like mother's thumb." At this the cakide spoke up. "Hear what this man suspects me of doing that I may be charged with murder." However, the other son, looking up toward the back of the hut, and pointing to the clothes, said, "Don't you see mother asleep there?"

At the conclusion of the repast, the cakide gathered up the clothes, and put them by the door, and, pointing to the bones, and the remainder of the feast, said, "Ah, you've eaten your mother, so you will die." "Ah," replied the younger one, "said I not it was mother's thumb?" The cakide ran away, and the boys remained dumb-foundered.

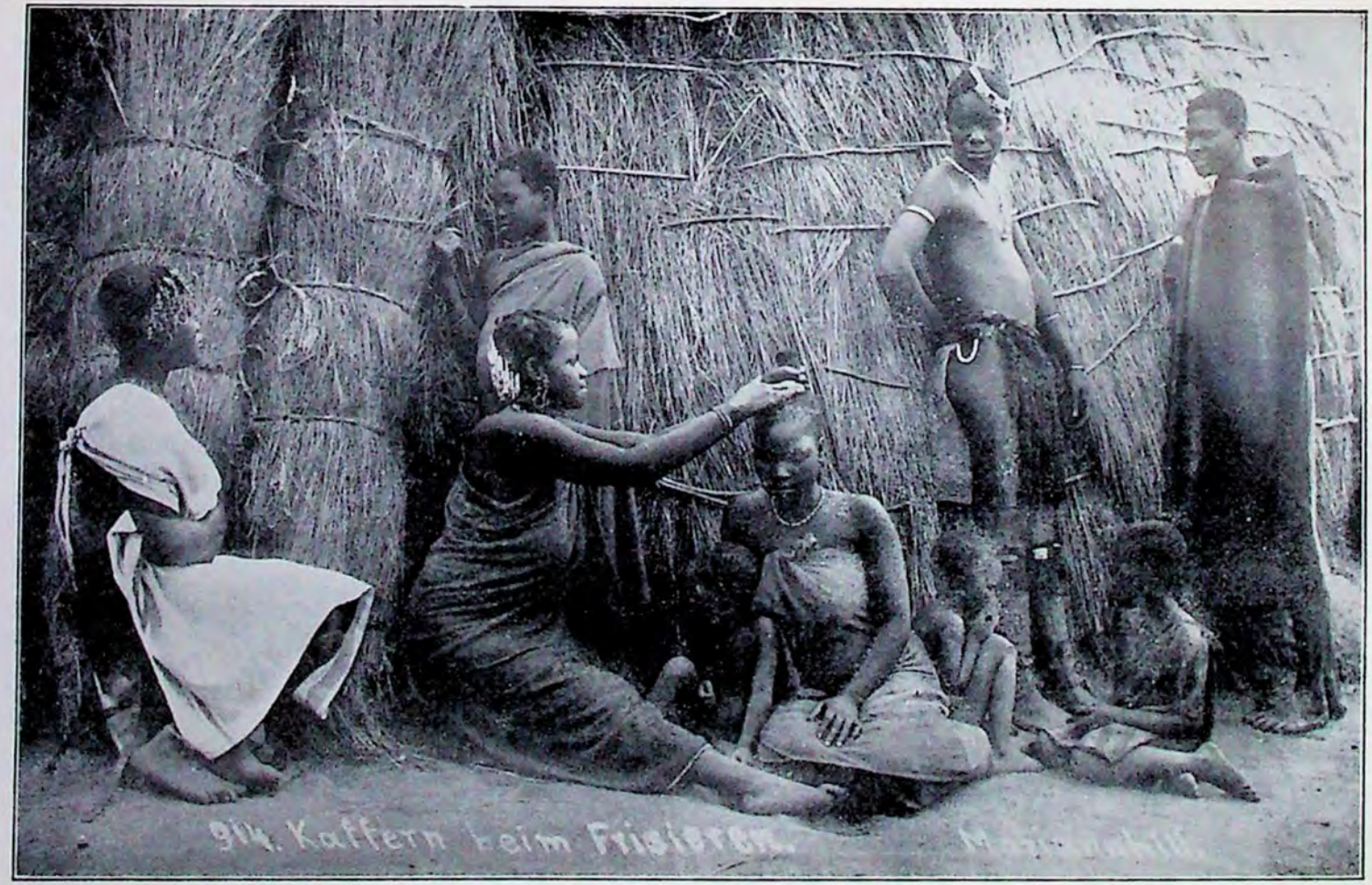
Of this sort of fables they have an almost endless number, many of them obscene, some very superstitious, and most of them very silly; but they reflect very fairly the extreme narrowness of their mental world. Saturated as they are with this sort of thing, we can scarce wonder that no evidence can be found of anything intellectual or refined.

But it is a little astonishing that even in the little world in which they lived, and among the things they have had to do with from time immemorial, they never became what we should call expert.

Note, for instance, their fondness for round things. Their kraals, their huts, their pots, their knobsticks, all are made round; and yet they have not the most remote idea of how to make

a perfect circle. They have a fairly good eye to see when a circle is true, but how to make it true they know not. When about to build a hut, they will sometimes send long distances to get a knowing man to come and set out the circle in which the sticks for the hut are to be stuck. He will usually begin by chopping round with a pick the circle he wishes to make, and viewing it from different points will satisfy himself that a little wants taking off here, or putting on there, till at length he gets as near to the right thing as he possibly can; but, like the monkey and the cheese, in the story, the circle often gets very much reduced in the operation. I once saw some six or eight men trying to make such a circle for a hut. They tried for over three hours, and at last they gave it up for the nonce, and adjourned for lunch. As soon as they were gone, getting a piece of string and two pointed pegs, I drew a circle pretty deeply, and went away to watch. On resuming work, they immediately detected that the difficulty had been overcome by someone in their absence. That the circle was perfectly true they all saw; but who had done it? On joining them, they at once challenged me on the subject, and, of course, I confessed. With both hands to their mouths, and uttering deep "Wows!" they walked round eyeing it with critical eyes. Yes, it was quite perfect, "but how, white man, could you do it so quickly?"

No two knobsticks could be made of exactly the same size, nor either of them perfectly round, by the best workman Zululand ever produced.



"Each Her Friendly Aid Affords."

Nor were they expert with their weapons. When but a boy of seventeen, I had a standing challenge to throw an assagai with any man for a wager, the greatest distance being the test. Many tried, but no one ever got sixpence out of the operation. Their precision in aim is very little better, and practically never good.

An average wrestler or pugilist could easily gain laurels from the best of them, providing they had to wear clothes; otherwise their fat-smeared bodies would, of course, give them an advantage.

The Zulus' strong point was always their splendid physique. They are, or were, fairly tall on the average, well developed, strong, with great power of endurance, the men especially. They have been, as a nation, a fine people physically, but neither mentally nor morally, by reason of the environment which I have tried to describe. For generations the Zulu's highest ideal has been plenty to eat, and plenty of wives; so that with excellent physique, robust health, and a digestive apparatus not less energetic than that of an ostrich, with mind dwarfed and repressed by superstition, and moral nature enfeebled and distorted by the practices he has been brought up to love, his best friend must admit that the Zulu of the past tense was but

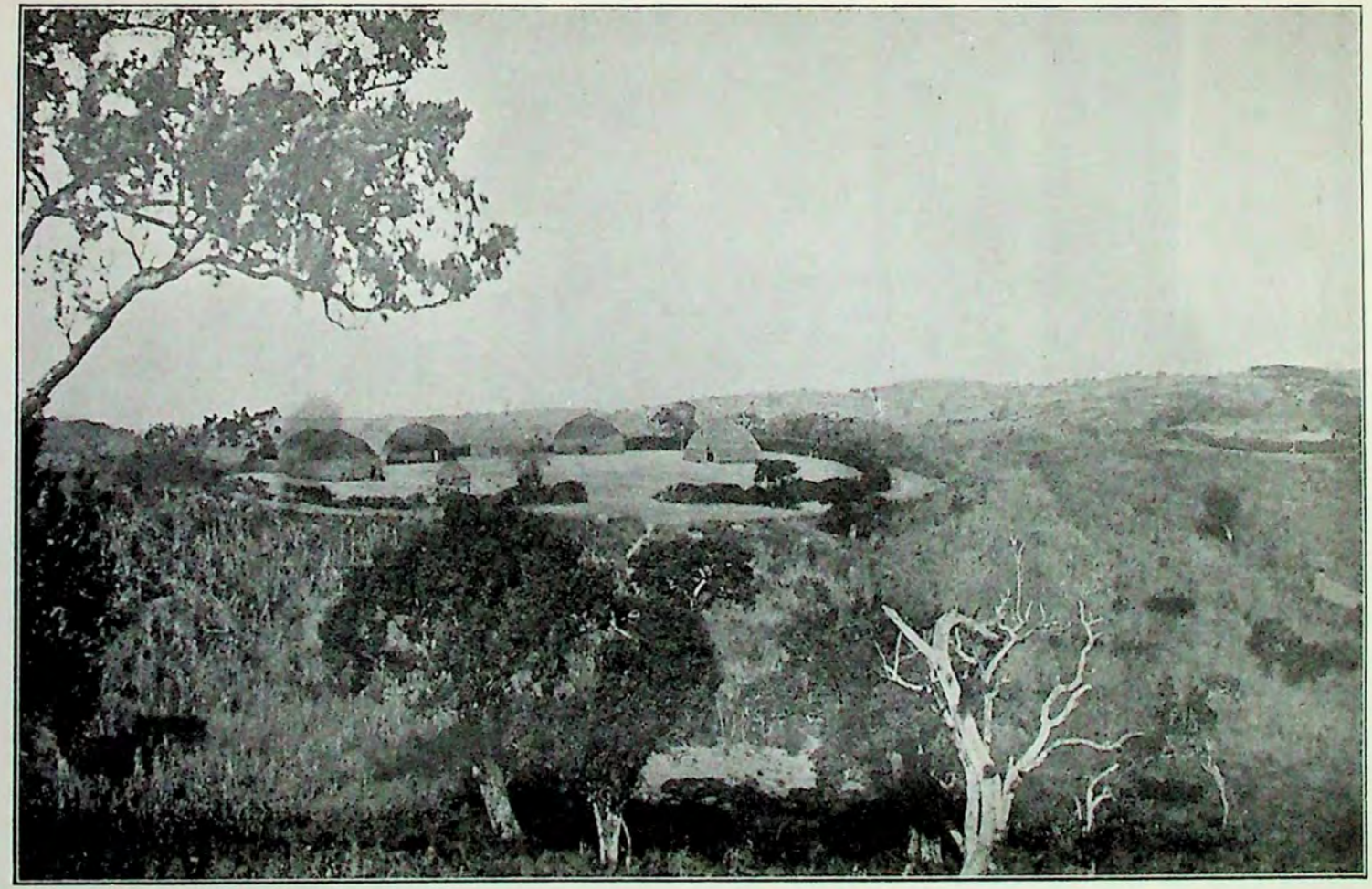
A Splendid Animal!

CHAPTER VII.

The Present.

With the close of the Zulu War in 1879, when the nation as such became practically extinct, the Zulu's present may fairly be said to begin. For although the country was divided between thirteen kinglets, each of whom had very considerable power in his own district, still each of these thirteen kinglets was now a man under authority. There was a representative of Great Britain, to whom each was responsible, and whose presence made life more sacred and safe, so that the country generally was henceforth delivered from the absolute monarchism which had always been despotic and cruel.

We have now to observe the Zulu under vastly different circumstances, and under very distinct European control, a control that has grown stronger and more detailed as the years have gone on. This control has been affecting for a long time his brethren who have lived in Natal, who must be kept in mind when we are speaking of the Zulu; and this control, which has been for so much longer brought to bear upon the Zulu in Natal, is now being brought to bear upon the Zulu in Zululand, and in his case will produce the same results. So that whilst the Zulu in Zululand may be fairly taken as the type of the Past, the Zulu in Natal stands as a better type of the Present.



ZULU KRAAL OF THE PRESENT.

It will here be necessary to pass in review some of the more potent formative influences which have been, and still are being, brought to bear on his mind and habits, and consequently on his character and life in general.

Of these there are four which appear to me to be the principal factors in the training we are giving him. They are, Civilised Law; Missionary Work; Education; and Bad Example.

Each of these is brought to bear with considerable emphasis, and over extensive areas; each of them has for him the charm of novelty, and each has already developed, on its own lines, results that are distinct and important. When we have taken the effects of each of these agents into account, and focussed them carefully on the man we have under consideration, we shall at least be able to gauge with considerable accuracy what twenty-five years of these differing influences, varying in character, but simultaneous in action, have accomplished for him; and we shall be the better enabled to give an intelligent and definite answer to the oft asked question, "Does civilisation benefit the Zulu as a race?" And what is more important still, we shall be in a better position to decide what we shall do with him in the future.

The first of these factors is Civilised Law. Now, it must not be forgotten that the Zulu has from time immemorial been distinctly amenable to law, always law abiding, for reasons given further on. But the law to which he has been used was simply the expression of the will of the sovereign, who never did, and was never expected

to consult either his wishes or his interests. It was expected that the King—Queens they never had—would use his authority for the general good, but if in that general good a man's own personal interests were overlooked, or even ruined, not his "to reason why"; he instantly and absolutely submitted to the new requirement, hoping for better things, contenting himself with repeating the old formula, *Sengi file*, "I'm dead."

Nor was it at all inconsistent with the despotic rule of the Zulu Kings that they permitted a modified system of despotism on the lower and more private levels of life among their people. A man found himself tacitly allowed the use of an authority as absolute in its limited sphere as was that of the King in the wider realm of the nation; so much so that if any of his wives or children refused obedience to his authority, and he in his righteous indignation seized a thick stick and broke an arm or a head, there was nothing to interfere with this, his prerogative, as head of a kraal.

And what he was allowed of right to do in his own home, he soon tried to do by might in the wider relationships of his social life; still with the tacit permission of the law under which he lived. And so the drunken brawl, which might count its victims by twos or threes, or the tribal fight that might leave a dozen *hors de combat*, was allowed by the law of the King's permission, provided it did not assume undue proportions, which might possibly, in the latter case, involve the country in a kind of civil war.

It is very important that this fact should be kept in mind, as although equally submissive to

European laws, which curtail this highly valued personal liberty of action, it is evident that now he is obeying a law which he neither understands nor appreciates. That sense of liberty which made life happy and great is taken from him, and, at least morally, he is humiliatingly reduced to the same level as his wives and children. If such a law should prove irksome and be sometimes very deeply resented and occasionally violated, we need not be astonished; the wonder is that such cases are not more frequent.

This law of liberty to assert in a very practical manner his rights as master was necessary to establish his status as such. A man who could not command obedience on the part of his womenkind, or from his children or dependents, lost absolutely all claim to be regarded as a man. Taking his surroundings into account, we must admit that a law which so enabled him was not a bad one after all.

Another difficulty presents itself in the fact that this civilised law, which seeks to rob him of his highly prized personal freedom, is enforced by a code of punishments that to him is simply childish. The law with which he was familiar, and to which he was always loyal, was at least majestic in the severity of its accompanying code of punishments; but this European code of punishments, puny, childish, impotent, can only be compared to a mosquito, the sting of which only irritates the more because it is produced by such a contemptible thing. There is nothing about civilised law calculated to call forth his respect. It is annoying in the, to him, crying injustice of

many of its demands, and contemptible in its puerile means of enforcing obedience.

But still further bewildering in its effect on the Zulu mind is the fact that, side by side, and mixed up with this European law, there is a code of Native law, many things in which are grossly inconsistent with the spirit of the new law he is called upon to obey. Native law he could understand and appreciate, though it be sometimes very irksome. Civilised law he neither understood nor appreciated, but accepted it as the *ipse dixit* of the *Amakosi*—his rulers. But a combination of the two is a thousand times worse than either of the others separately could be, making a tangled skein that he regards as impossible to unravel.

A law that permits him to have as many wives as he likes, and yet forbids him managing those wives in the only way long experience has taught him to be possible; that enrols him as the subject of some officially recognised chief, and yet permits him to disobey the order of that chief, and, metaphorically at least, to snap his fingers in his face; that calls upon him to be loyal to King and country, and yet, when that country is invaded by an enemy, insists upon his "sitting still," and doing nothing in its defence; such a law is to him, if not vanity, certainly a "vexation of spirit," the result being the abandonment of any honest effort to comply with all the intricate details of such a contradictory tangle, and a callous indifference to any results that may accrue to himself for such non-compliance.

COMMISARIAT TRANSPORT.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In my opinion this fact is a satisfactory reply to the argument that is sometimes used in favour of a separate code of law for the Zulu. It is said that under the native law in the olden time order and general good behaviour was secured to a high degree, that under it all classes of the people were well conducted, and that, therefore, what it did then it can do now. The reply is that native law with a native code of punishment was very effective, but native law with a European code of punishment is in the nature of a huge farce. When the code of punishments provided death for stealing, adultery, disobedience of royal orders, and so forth, native law effectually prevented these things; but when the punishment provided is simply the payment of a fine, or a short detention in prison, where the offender is well fed and not over-worked, and to which there is little or no stigma attached, it can be easily seen that the old law will prove a failure.

Nor is civilised law any less embarrassing to him in its administration than in its demands. That a man whose guilt is distinctly proved by the evidence produced should escape scot-free through some technical quibble is by him regarded as both unjust and unreasonable; that the verdict should depend as much upon the correct wording of the indictment, as upon the actual guilt of the prisoner, is to him simply monstrous. That the chief who is authorised to hold a court of justice should be permitted to pocket the fines he inflicts, is to him so palpably unfair to the man whose case he has to try, that the verdict given will always be regarded with dissatisfaction, and,

on the part of the loser, with resentment; the suspicion very naturally being that both the decision and the amount of the fine will be determined very much by the state of the chief's finances.

The general effect produced upon the native mind by these different aspects of the laws we have imposed upon him is thus, first, a sense of irritation caused by the curtailment of what he has always regarded as his rightful liberty of action. He may not do as he would either at home or abroad. Hence a bewilderment of mind as he stands confronted with such contradictory, and, as he regards them, inconsistent demands. Still further, supreme contempt for the puerile way in which these laws are enforced. And last, but not least, a firm conviction that under such laws a man's case in court is decided very much more by the length of his purse than by the justice of his cause. Very much of what is generally regarded as litigiousness on the part of the native, under the influence of which he will sell his last goat in order to prosecute a case at law, is, after all, the result of a conviction that if only his purse will hold out he is bound at length to win. You may often hear a native who has lost a case say "If only I could have retained So and So I should have gained my case," an idea that may be both complimentary and valuable to a clever lawyer, but not at all so to the Government that enacts the laws, or the Magistrates who administer them.

In their way these Zulus draw fine lines of discrimination; they are very keen to detect evidences of wrong, or to recognise principles of

justice; and though their way of looking at these things differs very much from ours, they are very unwilling to assent to what is to them evidently unfair.

An illustration of this came under my notice on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York. Some native men had come down from Zululand to join in the jubilation, and in this way to pay their respect to the Children of the Great Queen—for as yet, the King was only a name to them.

These men called upon me to ask what form of salutation would be proper to use. I said to them, "You know quite well what your royal salutation is; *Bayete* is the one great word with which you always greeted your king." "Oh, yes," said they, "we know that was always with us the royal salutation, and although these children of the Great House are not strictly entitled to it, the Prince being only *Mntwana*, still we are prepared to recognise him as the true representative of royalty, and accord him royal honours; our difficulty is not here. According to the strict rules of etiquette, no European official in this country has the right to be saluted with *Bayete*, not even the Governor; but as royalty itself is not with us, we gladly give to the Governor, as representing our Great Mother over the Sea, the honours we would give to her; but under European Government in this land we have been required to greet with this great royal salutation even the magistrates, who, at the best, are but a low order of *izinduna*—headmen—and some of them very poor at that; and worse still, every

magistrate's clerk thinks that he, too, has the right, in the absence of the magistrate, to demand this salutation from us, until to-day it has been so much dragged in the mud, so degraded, that to offer it to these, whom we would delight to honour, would be nothing less than a gross insult, from which we shrink with horror. Tell us, is there no other more honourable salutation you can suggest? To greet these with *Bayete* would be but to bracket them with a lot of empty headed boys, dogs in comparison. We would give them the highest honours, but the best we have to give has been so degraded that we would rather be silent than use it.

The fine sense of dignity involved in this request touched me deeply, but I could only join with them in regrets at the abuse of what was once so grandly honourable. There is no doubt that the commonly permitted use of this salutation is dishonouring both to giver and receiver.

The general effect produced by this civilised law is thus seen to be far from healthy, the tendency being to induce a spirit of duplicity, to lead natives to care nothing for the character of an action, but everything for the evasion of the connected penalty; in a word, to be law-abiding just so far as it is expedient, and law-breaking where detection is improbable.

So that, so far as character is concerned (and what a man is, is always more to the commonwealth of which he is a unit, than what he has), the formative influence of civilised law as it is administered cannot be regarded as anything but distracting and harmful.

UMZUMBI HOME SCHOOL.

CHAPTER VIII

Missionary Work.

Whatever may be our personal estimate of the motive which actuates the individual missionary; the creed that any particular church may seek to teach; or the relative value of religion and business ability; the fact can neither be ignored nor disputed that the combined efforts of these missionaries have been a powerful influence in the formation of the character of a very large number of natives, a number not only constantly increasing, but also adopting a special type of living, so that to-day there are found existing side by side two very distinct classes.

On the one hand are those who still remain aboriginal heathens very conservative in all that relates to their primitive habits and customs, fast losing, indeed, all the best traits that marked them as "noble savages," but clinging to the baser elements of the old-time life; very much still the Zulu of the past, though greatly deteriorated. On the other side, another class, usually known as Amakolwa, or Christian natives, numbering many thousands; a class which, welcoming the civilising and Christianising influences with which they have come in contact on the different mission stations, have in different degrees so yielded to them, that to-day they form a totally distinct class; they are the progressives of the Zulu people. So wide is the distance that

separates them intellectually, industrially, and morally from their aboriginal brethren, that it must surely be recognised that they ought to be judged by a different standard, governed in many cases by laws different from those at present obtaining, and given a higher status in the social life of the country in which they live. A class that is very far as yet from being all it might or ought to be, but one that is already encouraging the heart of the true philanthropist; not so much by what they are individually and now, as for the possibilities that are already showing themselves in the direction of general advancement; an encouragement that becomes hopefully emphasised when we compare them with the ordinary heathen.

The heathen Zulu to-day is a man very much lower in the scale of life than the Zulu of the past, for in the past he was energetic on certain lines, manly, clean of habit. Now he is too lazy even to keep his kraal fence in repair; dirty in dress and person, and morally so low that he does not object, if only he can gain by it, to connive at the moral degradation of his female dependents. In contrast with this, we find that the men and women of the same tribe, and even family, who have recognised the value of civilisation, especially if with this they have come into contact with practical Christianity, have already gone up several steps on the ladder of national improvement.

I am not losing sight of the fact that there are about us a very large number of very unsatisfactory natives who claim to be Amakolwa; of

a great many of these instances of failure it is only fair to say that we ought to have expected it. These people are as yet in the transition stage, and such stages are always marked by much that is not pleasing. We find the same thing in our own families, the boy who is *dux* at school frequently carries himself with an air of superiority that is both annoying and unreasonable. He thinks his father and mother are "duffers," and it is only later on in life that he is prepared to recognise their sterling abilities and his own only half-fledged greatness. So it is with these Zulus; they are conscious of a marked superiority in general style of life above their heathen neighbours who have not left the barbarism of their forefathers; and if they develop a bad attack of "swelled head" we need not be surprised. But leaving these objectionable folk out of account, there are hundreds, if not thousands, of respectful and intelligent men and women, who, if they do nothing else, at least prove the possibility of the native becoming something better than merely a splendid animal. Such a comparison of these two classes seems to me to indicate that for this people the only alternatives are Christian civilisation and degradation below the level of the brute beast. If I am correct, it supplies a very strong argument for the increased encouragement of missionary work by both Government and people.

We are here not so much concerned with the objective that the missionary may fairly be presumed to be aiming at in all his work, the salvation of the native in the life that

is to come, as with the means he has taken to secure either this, or what, to me, appears to be a very much more instant, if not more important thing, his salvation in the life that now is. The salvation of the life that now is will always include that of the life that is to come, whilst the effort to secure the latter only, may, and often does, mean the loss of both. Speaking generally, it may be fairly said that the special work of the missionary has been to create a conscience, at least, so far as anything definite has been aimed at at all. A task this, it will be admitted by any honest person, of no small magnitude; and yet, whether it has been recognised by every missionary or not, this, and this first, is really the work they have had to do.

A perusal of the preceding chapters will have sufficed to show that very little existed on which to engraft the new ideas; and if, embarrassed by that difficulty, methods of teaching were adopted which have worked out badly, we need not spend time in condemnation of them, but pass on at once to a recognition of what has been effected, errors notwithstanding. We shall have to note the effect of these faulty methods, but also the circumstances which at least partially excuse them. The attempt has been made to make a people who are naturally ignorant, servile, fatalistic, improvident, and brutal, recognise a responsible relation to an unseen, unknown Deity, to a future life, and to a moral law, everything in this category being to them intangible and altogether without interest. If the first step taken was to tell them that in order to come into

this new relationship they must give up wives, beer, their old-time houses, and, in fact, everything which they valued, and if the native calmly replied *Angi funi*, "I don't want it," it need not astonish us. Nor is it remarkable if some missionary had to say that, after twenty years of preaching, he thought he knew but one case of genuine conversion.

That the creation, or, to be more correct, the development of a conscience, is the key to the elevation of the Zulu in the scale of life will be admitted generally; so that the concession has to be made that missionary work, where, and only where this is the object, is of itself a very useful occupation, worthy of general support.

In noticing some of the different methods of procedure, it will be but just to credit the missionaries with being conscientious; so that even where the results have been disastrous (and they have been nothing less in some places), at least we may believe that they meant well. They *have* meant well, save in the few cases where selfish interest and financial gain have been the glaringly dominant motives.

Of this missionary work there are several types, a few of which may be briefly reviewed, as enabling us the better to estimate their value on the subject in hand.

There is a type that appears to be perfectly satisfied if only the native will become a member of "our church," altogether irrespective of what may or ought to be done in the matter of his personal character; if only he can be *counted*, the object is gained, and little or nothing else at-

tempted. The value of Annual Reports as affecting the financial income, together with a little self-glorification, may possibly be in part the explanation of this very low aim; where it stands first, it is no wonder if the conditions of membership are modelled so as to make that membership as easy as possible.

From the condition of simply joining in the noisy, kneeling crowd at some nocturnal prayer meeting, to the one of being able to repeat parrot-fashion the answers to a set of questions, may seem a very great distance, but in actual effect produced on character, they are very much alike; and where membership is accorded on such conditions, it need not astonish anyone if the church is to a large extent merely an aggregate of ignorance and deception.

Another type is that of which the special purpose appears to be to secure an unthinking conformity to creed and rule; a compliance with which is rewarded with approval and honour, whilst the honest effort of a man to think for himself, to endeavour to understand what is proposed for his acceptance, is always frowned down. To secure this unthinking adherence, a species of ordinary bribery is usually effective, the result being a human automaton, very greatly mechanical.

Closely allied to this type, in effect, if not in spirit, is the one which encourages the most outrageous claims and pretensions, on a mere shibboleth of profession, a type specially attractive to Zulus, from the fact that for the minimum of sacrifice they can secure the maximum of ostentatious parade.

And still another type appears to think it holds a brief for the native as against the white man, seemingly regarding its *raison d'être* to be to bring up the black to the "level" of the white on the strength of a common relationship to a Superior Power, which, it is argued, makes all men "equal"; very attractive, but very misleading, because very untrue on all grounds of immediate application, whether social, intellectual, moral, historical, or even religious.

And yet another type exists, rather an individual type, found not exclusively in communities of one religious organisation, but existing as units extraordinary, sparsely scattered throughout the types already mentioned. This type seeks to begin at the beginning, and by example and precept to make the native intelligent, respectful, industrious, and moral, as part of a disciplinary process by which in time he may become useful to himself and others, though possibly never permitted to assert secular equality with the white men around him: and all this as part of a divinely revealed process of development, which has for its objective citizenship in the world to come.

Now with these types themselves we have little or nothing to do, but the types decide the conditions and results of the different organisations, and with these results on the native we have very much to do. That is, this variety of teaching, variety in form of service, variety in standards of character and so forth, are as bewildering to the Zulu as is the civilised law already discussed.

If the thing which these men are pressing on us by their claims to be the representatives of one and the same Higher Power, says the native, be one and the same everywhere, whence all this difference and contradiction? Why these hard demands, these great sacrifices, if the whole thing is simply a gift? What is the meaning of these conflicting statements, these differing conditions, and this patent absence of mutual interest on the part of the different Churches? "'Tis mystery all." And presently there is induced the same feeling of mental paralysis as was produced by the European law. "Believe!" says the Zulu. "Oh, yes, I'll believe anything, profess anything, if only you will cease to confuse me with these contradictions."

Why cannot the voice of the Churches be accordant, simple, plain? To me it appears to be beyond controversy that had it been so, much better results would have been secured. Whether it be right to refuse membership in the Church to a man who in his heathen darkness knew nothing of the claims of Christianity, but who in good faith took to himself three wives, to whom he has been as true as a polygamist can be, or as they themselves would require; whether to refuse membership to such a man save on the condition of his abandoning two of these wives, be right or not, it is not my province to determine; but sure I am that nothing but mental confusion can be the result of such a refusal, especially as it comes from the very persons who put into his hands a book that includes among its list of persons of whom it says the world was not worthy,

the names of men who were polygamists beyond the dream of the ordinary Zulu. The confusion is rendered doubly dense, on his finding the rulers of the land not only allowing. but regulating by legal enactments, not the number, but only the price he has to pay for as many wives as he chooses to take. And according to a story told me by the men themselves, they may even be scolded for not being polygamists. "Oh, bother you Amakolwa people," said a country magistrate, "coming with the tax for one house only! Why don't you do like the heathen and marry several wives? Then you would have to bring me more money at tax time."

Consider the mental confusion and moral difficulty produced by the elaboration of a list of proscribed indulgences by one church, which are not only allowed by some other church, but are not dreamt of or hinted at in the one book which is accepted as the standard of moral obligatton by all parties alike! And when these things are exalted to the position of fundamentals, so that they become conditions of "membership" and by implication, conditions of the life that is to come, can we wonder if the uninformed judgment of the native regards all this divergence of teaching as evidence either of essential differences of religions, or of a wilful desire to rob him of valued privileges? And since his inclinations side with the permission accorded by other churches, although he often outwardly accepts membership of the more rigid and ascetic organisation, he adopts a series of deceitful practices to keep from the eye of the authorities of his own church the

indulgences which he allows himself, until the ruin of his honesty and truthfulness become a thousand times worse for his own character than the wicked snuff, or pipe, or kafir beer could ever have been.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the combined effect of missionary work has undoubtedly conduced to better character, cleaner life, and more useful, because more industrious, modes of living, on the part of a very large number of native people.

Whether this class, the Amakolwa, is an improvement on the heathen native or not, is a question that must be left to the judgment of the reader when he has gone through the facts to be related in the next chapter; but whether the verdict be for or against the Amakolwa, the specially contributory cause, missionary work, must be credited with the result.

EHLANZENI SCHOOL.

CHAPTER IX

Missionary Work in Pictures.

In this chapter we shall examine some of the methods of mission working, effects produced on individual and social life, from which some inferences may be drawn of its formative influence upon native life generally. That these cases in their entirety are exceptional is granted; but something of the same kind may be seen on a smaller scale on many a mission station, and beyond these there are, for anyone with eyes to see, isolated cases not a few of bettered life, for:

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

There is a mission station down in the valley of the Inadi, a tributary of the Tugela, about twenty miles from Greytown, called Ehlanzeni, under the charge of Mr. J. Reibeling. I have had to visit it officially every year for the last fifteen years, and at one time, when there were three or four branch schools attached to it, my stay there was usually three or four days at each visit, so that I have had ample time and opportunity for carefully observing the inner life of the place.

Of the missionary himself all I have to say here is I wish there were more like him; one half of him heart, the other half conscience, both halves saturated with good common sense—an ideal missionary. Of the mission, it is enough to say that notwithstanding the sterling merits

of the missionary, it has been so treated by those who were unable to recognise its value, though they should have done so, and so handicapped by its position in the hot, dry, "thorns" district, that it has been actually starved to death; and to-day there are but the ruins of what at one time was one of the very best mission stations in the country.

Very early in my visitation of this place I was struck by the unusual industry of every boy and girl there, by the high general morality, and scrupulous respectfulness, and also by the marked absence of the usual "what will you give me?" whenever a service was asked from any one of them; so that I became curious to find out the secret of this very unusual but very admirable state of things, and took occasion one day to ask the missionary for an explanation. The following is what I got in reply—

"I have my own way of dealing with these people. It may not appear to some of my brother missionaries to be exactly the right way to preach the gospel, but I can't help that. After considerable experience of these Zulu people, I find my present plan works better than any other plan I have tried, or seen tried; and all that you see around you, of which you have been pleased to speak so approvingly, is worked out from this, the first lesson I always give.

"When a man comes to me and says, 'Umfundisi, I want to come and be a Christian,' I say to him, 'Well! do you wish to come as a teacher, or taught?' 'Oh, Umfundisi, to be taught, of course.' 'Then we understand each

other. I am to teach you?' 'Yes.' 'Am I to teach you my own words or God's?" 'Oh, Umfundisi, you will teach me God's word.' Very good; I get the Bible and read the story of the Fall to him. 'There,' I say, 'that is the story of the beginning of the race, black as well as white. You see how soon these two people got wrong, so wrong that they had to be turned out of their pleasant home; but now God wanted to give them directions how they were to get right. And what was God's first lesson to these people, in order that they might become good people, God's people, Amakolwa? Listen! "For thy sake I have cursed the ground, and now in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Do you hear that? When God would put this man right, He said to him, "you must work hard." That was God's first lesson to Adam when He wanted to make him a good man. It is God's word to you, and so it is the first lesson I shall teach you. If you want to be an ikolwa you must learn to work, and work hard.' "

I have often heard the old man preach, and scarcely if ever has a sermon been finished without something of this sort—"Don't call yourselves Christians yet. I keep my eyes open. I see you sitting about wasting your time; I see work done listlessly; don't talk of being Christian while that sort of thing goes on. Read your Bibles. What did the Master say? 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' Who are you black people? Even the great God works, and do you think you can be His children and be idle? No; go and work."

I have had several boys from his station in my own service, and whilst they were in some cases slow, they could be trusted to go on with their work in my absence as well as if I had been present; for the regular teaching at home had been that work is sacred; that to be true in your work, not serving with eye service, is part of Bible religion. "If you fail in that, you may be sure you are not pleasing God." I have in my possession some forty or fifty letters from residents in the Greytown district, lawyers, magistrates, doctors, business men, farmers; from British, Dutch, and German, all alike witnessing to the general good character and industrious habits of both boys and girls from Ehlanzeni.

On one occasion I wanted a boy to guide me a distance of some thirty miles. On asking my old friend for one, "Yes," said he, "if you will promise me not to pay him anything." "Oh, but," I said, "this will mean a journey of sixty miles, and he *ought* to be paid." "I don't care," said he, "I am always telling these people that they owe a debt of gratitude to the white man for bringing the good news of the gospel to them, with all its everlasting benefits, and that they ought to be glad to make some return by any service in their power, even to the veriest white tramp that comes along. And this paying for service undermines all my teaching, besides creating a grasping, exorbitant demand for money that is simply sinful. Imagine this case: a man, well off, asks me for a guide down to the river, half a day's work. I give him one. He gives the boy half a crown, for money is nothing

to him. But to-morrow a poorer man wants a boy to go to the same place. I give him the same boy, who, when he gets to the journey's end, is offered a shilling. 'Oh,' says he, 'the Mlungu (white man) yesterday gave me half a crown for the same work." The shilling is fair pay for work done, but the half-crown received yesterday has spoiled him, and I won't allow it; but if you particularly wish it, I will not object to your giving him something, provided you tell him it is a gift, not pay. I will call him and tell him to get ready to go with you. If he asks you what you will pay him, I'll knock him down; but he won't do that." The boy came and guided me, and just to test the case and see what the boy would do away from his master, I stopped when about four miles from the place, which could then be seen, and said, "I see the place, you can return." The boy respectfully raised his hat, wished me good-bye, and started to return. Of course, I called him back and "made him a present" according to promise, but I saw that he had been well taught the lesson of cheerfully repaying the debt that he owed.

Such a groundwork of teaching could not fail to produce respectful, trustworthy natives, and whether the theology be orthodox or not, the result was a very great improvement on the ordinary Christian kafir.

Madigana's Story.

The next illustration of missionary work is an individual one, and shows how fine is the product when Christian principles are en-

grafted on the true gentlehood that once, at all events marked this people.

The hero of the story is at present a man of about sixty years of age, a great, gaunt, rough, big-boned man, a very giant in strength, with features not at all prepossessing, suggesting what he would have been had he remained a heathen man, but with a kindly eye and gentle speech that at once suggests the gentleman, dressed though he be in a black skin. I had known him to speak to for years, but on the occasion on which he gave me this outline of his conversion to Christianity, I had just heard him preaching with wonderful emphasis what had been to him for years an unspeakable blessing; and at the close of the service I had a long talk with him. He then told me the following story:—

"Ah, white man," said he, "you ask me to tell you how I became a Christian? It is to me a strange tale, as full of evidence of God's wonderful ways of working as any chapter in the Bible. To tell it to you only revives my astonishment. I put my hand on my mouth and say 'Yes! it is God's work.'

"When my story begins I was a man about thirty-five, an *ikehla*, wearing the headring, and I had three wives; like Naaman, I was a great man with my master, and honourable. I had the transaction of the most important of my Chief's business, which kept me constantly occupied, and it was out of the pressure of this business that the whole of this story grew. There was a mission station with a day school not far from where I lived, and I had seen how well and

quickly some of the children could write and read. Ah, thought I, if I could only do this, how much easier it would be for me to transact my master's business; I must go and learn these things. So I went for a few weeks, but whether it was that my Chief suspected I would become a Christian (a thing I had as yet no thought of), or whether it really was that my substitute was not able to do the business as well as I, I was soon recalled by the Chief, who said everything was going wrong without me. I chafed very much at this, for, of course, as yet I had learned but very little. After a year or so I became so desirous of acquiring these useful arts that I determined to try in another place, whence I could not be so easily recalled. So I told the Chief that I wished to pay a lengthy visit to some relations of mine, who were living down by the Umkomaas, about forty miles away. Having got his consent, I bade my wives good-bye, and went, not, indeed, to my relations, but straight to the Adams Mission Station, at the Amanzimtoti.

"And now begins the strange part of my story. I had never in my life felt the least inclination to become a Christian man, and I was intent only on learning to read and write; and I went up to the missionary's house with this thought and no other in my mind. I found him busy reading. I wished him good morning, to which, without raising his eyes from his book, he replied, 'Yes, what do you want?' 'Oh, Umfundisi,' I said, 'I want to learn how to be a Christian!' In a moment the thought came to me, 'You are telling a lie; that is not what you

have come for.' The missionary sprang to his feet, and laying aside his book said, looking me straight in the eyes, 'What do you say?' said he, 'that you, a man, full grown, have come to ask me how to be a Christian? Is that true?' 'Yes, Umfundisi;' and here again the thought came, 'You are telling a lie,' but I said 'Yes, that is what I am here for.'' Turning to me Madigana said, "Mlungu, God made me say it; I myself was not speaking. It was the voice of God speaking for me, surely. Well, I was taken into the school, and learned there to read and write, and also learned what became to me increasingly interesting, the fact that God knew me, loved me, called me; and in a very short time I, too, had become a Christian, at least in intention."

In reply to the Chief's summons, Madigana had to go home for a while, but he again got permission to go back to the Adams School. On this second occasion he seems to have settled definitely the question of becoming a Christian, and to have got as far with his studies as he then thought necessary. It must have been an interesting sight to see this Zulu *kehla* grappling with the difficulties of elementary education in two distinct areas with such intensity of purpose as to succeed fairly in both in so short a time.

"And now," said the old man, "when I was returning home to face a new life, one difficulty stared me in the face with every step that I took on the homeward journey. I had been taught that the first thing I ought to do now that I had

avowed myself a Christian was to give up two of my wives; but I loved them all, they all loved me. How could I meet them with the stern, awful sentence, 'Two of you must go!' And walking along my cry to God was, 'Lord, show me what I ought to do, and how to do it.' A young man met us," he continued. "I come with a message from your wives to you. They have heard that you have become a Christian, and that that faith requires you to part with two of them; and they said, 'Why should his heart be made heavy by having to tell us to go?' So they talked the matter over, and sent me to tell you that they have decided that the first married wife shall remain; the other two will retire, and allow you to live the right life.' Ah, Mlungu," said the old man, "don't tell me God does not hear and answer prayer. He had already heard my cry, and taken the matter into His own hand for my relief. And," said he, "I said to the boys, this is indeed wonderful; let us go up to yonder bush and kneel down and thank God for His gracious help.

"As soon as I got home I sent for all my special friends to come on a given day. I had a large brew of beer made for the occasion, killed the finest ox I had, and cut it up into as many portions as the friends I had invited. They came on the day appointed, and after regaling them with snuff and beer, I called upon each one of them to take the joint of beef I pointed out to him, and then to stand and listen to me, and then I addressed them as follows:—

"'Friends, we have lived long and happily

together. Your homes have been open to me, as mine has been to you. To-day we have come to the parting of the ways. I have taken up a new life, and for the present must go by myself, but it shall never be said that Madigana's Christianity made him either churlish or unfriendly. We part as friends, and so I have killed for you the best ox in my herd; take it, and as you eat it remember Madigana is a Christian, but is your friend still.'

"And now there remained what was to me the greatest trial of all. I had parted with my companions, and now I had to part with my head ring. But it must be done; this Christian life was indeed a new life, nothing of the old to be kept; so calling my favourite boy, I took a pair of scissors and together we went away to a quiet spot, and there he cut it off. As I took it in my hands, and looked at it, with tears in my eyes, I felt this was a separation indeed; now I knew that I had left my people." And, turning to me, he said, "Oh, white man, you ask from us with easy talk the sacrifice of these things when we wish to become Christians. You don't know what it is that you are asking; what is the preciousness of these things to us. You may be right; but don't wonder while such things are the conditions that there are few Zulu men who are converted. Well, I wrapped the ring carefully up, and picking out the best beast I had, told the lad to take them both to the Chief, and to say, Madigana can hold out no longer; to-day he leaves you; herewith he returns to you your property, and with it his deepest respects.' (For

the head ring was always regarded by the Zulus as belonging to the King; at whose command alone it could be put on or taken off.) The boy went, and returned with this message: 'The Chief receives the ring, and says he has long seen how things were going, and knew that before long Madigana would belong to the Christian community; but all is well.'"

Since then the old man has led a consistent, useful life. He is the head of a small community, and is generally respected by all who know him, both black and white.

These two illustrations taken in connection with the one following might be infinitely multiplied, but will serve well enough to show that notwithstanding mistakes in doctrine and method, such influences are exerted by missionary work as to lead to useful, noble lives; and one cannot help asking whether, if only some of these methods and demands were modified, as surely they might rightly be, a great deal more good might not be done.

The Story of the Driefontein Settlement.

In the year 1841, three Native Wesleyan evangelists of Natal, Johannes Kumalo, Jonathan Xaba, and Abraham Twala, were appointed to labour on the coast near Durban, but their health failing, they returned to their home at Indaleni, near Richmond.

About the year 1845, the Rev. J. Allison formed a native syndicate, and bought what is at present the farm of Edendale, near Maritz-

burg, and there he founded a Native Mission Station, which still remains, though now in the sere and yellow leaf.

These three native worthies, and worthies they were, were leading members of the syndicate. In the course of time, when their children were grown up, they found themselves cramped for room; and after considerable thought, and various expeditions to find a suitable place, they formed in 1867 another syndicate, of which Johannes Kumalo was the head, and bought the farm Driefontein, 7,500 acres in extent, situated about 14 miles north-west of Ladysmith.

In 1868, having paid for Driefontein, they, in connection with some other native men, bought the adjoining farm of Kleinfontein (8,800 acres), which was not paid for until some years had passed. This being done, another syndicate was formed, consisting partly of some of the members of the syndicates already mentioned, and partly of some new native speculative spirits, and the farm of Doornhoek (7,800 acres) was added to the other two; this was in 1879. In 1882, a fourth farm—Burford—of 3,000 acres, was bought; in 1883, Kirkintilloch, 3,000 acres; and in 1892, Watersmeet, 7,300 acres, was acquired; so that to-day these men own one solid block of land of about 37,400 acres in extent, bought, not from the Crown lands of the Colony, but from private owners. All the farms are paid for, and they form a pretty good slice of one county, owned by natives, who, by their own industry and application, have managed to make it their own.

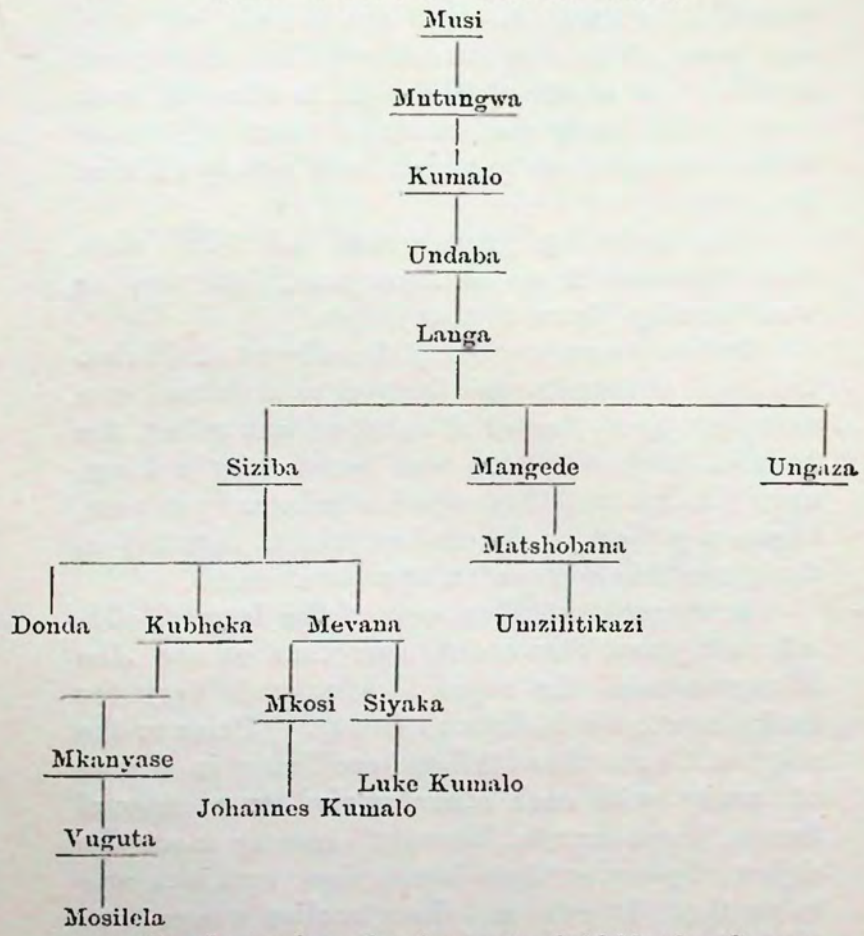
As I have said, these different farms are owned by several distinct syndicates, but only one man—Johannes Kumalo—holds an interest in all. He is one of the legal trustees of each farm; he is recognised as chief over the whole block, a recognition to which he is legally entitled by birth.

The following genealogical tree will show that Johannes is no common man, but that he was literally "born in the purple."

In the years preceding the advent of Chaka, the tract of country now known as Zululand was occupied by a number of independent tribes, the head of each of which was practically a king, until Chaka, with his superior military prowess, began a policy of absorption, which resulted in their annihilation as independent units.

Among these tribes, one of the largest, oldest, and most important, was that of the *Aba Ntungwa*—and the royal line extends very far back; how far it is difficult to say. Prior to the reign of Chaka these tribes were living in a state of amity with each other, varied by occasional forays, these forays, however, having more the object of plunder than destruction; and it is probable that the rule of these earlier kings was fairly long; so that a line running back through eight or nine generations, must have begun at the latest somewhere about the time when King George I. was King of England, possibly long before that:—

ABA NTUNGWA ROYAL LINE.



So that when in August of 1903 the Governor of Natal, Sir Henry McCallum, met the people of this settlement at Driefontein, and was received by the Chief with the courtly grace which marks the old man in all his public appearances, it was no mean underling, but one of the ancient Zulu aristocracy, who tendered him the living ox, a token of fealty, and loyal allegi-

THE DRIEFONTEIN REPRESENTATIVES—CHIEF JOHANNES KUMALO, CENTRE FIGURE OF MIDDLE LINE.

ance to the King whom he represented; a loyalty which, during the Boer War just ended, very nearly cost him his life.

To return to the Settlement. These natives have the land. What do they do with it? A few details and figures may be interesting, especially in view of the fact that in seeking to forecast the future of this people, we may be helped in our search for the best plan to pursue in dealing with them if we take this Settlement as an object lesson.

The business matters of each farm are placed in the hands of a committee consisting of twelve shareholders, elected annually, together with the four trustees, in whose name the farm is vested, and who are *ex officio* members of committee. Each shareholder is entitled, in proportion to the number of shares he holds, to the use of a certain quantity of ground for building, cultivation, and commonage. The position and size of such several portions is fixed by the committee of management, whose decision is final.

On each farm the committee have the right to set apart portions of the farm for market, educational, burial, and religious purposes, and to make regulations governing them, as also for any other purpose which they may regard as being for the general good. The committee of Watersmeet farm have already, in virtue of this authority, made a gift of 30 acres to Government as a site for a Native Industrial School. Each committee has its own secretary, who keeps the minutes of the different meetings, conducts correspondence, and so forth.

By the united consent of the different committees, polygamy is prohibited on the whole settlement. Another regulation provides that all must attend Divine Service on Sunday, unless lawfully prevented. Every encouragement is given to the erection of upright houses, and to the adoption of civilised modes of living, and all children must attend the day schools. In the better houses will be found modern furniture, pictures, books, organs, neatly furnished and clean bedrooms, and well prepared European food. There are at the present time about 117 neatly built, and in some cases nicely furnished houses in this settlement. All the people wear European clothing, and are generally very respectful, courteous, and industrious.

On these different farms there are six places of worship, and five Government Aided Schools, with a total attendance, in 1903, of 430 children.

Some seven or eight thousand acres are under cultivation, the principal productions being mealies, amabele, beans, forage, and wheat. One hundred and twenty-eight ploughs are working during the summer months with their teams of oxen. Twenty wagons do the required transport. About 120 horses, several thousand goats, hundreds of fowls, pigs, etc., are among the stock.

The testimony of those who know these people is almost unanimous to the effect that they are well-behaved, enterprising, industrious, and trustworthy, with a strong vein of genuine religious sentiment, which proved in time of trial able to keep them loyal, brave, true, and devoted friends of the English.

Such a settlement is a guarantee of allegiance, and a pledge of peace, so far as Zulu natives are concerned; and the multiplication of such centres would place a native rising as far beyond the bounds of possibility as it is now beyond the bounds of probability. Indeed, anything spent in developing and conserving such a civilisation will come back in years to come in loyalty, security, and peace. As a community it is not perfect—far from it—but as an illustration of how natives may be improved, it is very encouraging.

To the calumnious charges against the missionary of spoiling the native, and the idiotic drivel that says the native is only a beast, and can never be made anything better, that religion and education spoil instead of improving him, one reply is enough—Go and see Driefontein.

CHAPTER X

Education.

We have now to look at education as one of the formative influences which are being brought to bear on native character, and in doing so we must not lose sight of the fact that up till to-day, with but one short-lived exception, all school work has been done by the different mission bodies; so that to the native mind there is always associated with schools the thought of missionaries and religion. It need not be a matter of surprise, then, that the suspicion with which the heathen father regards missionary work should extend to school work also. He believes that sooner or later school work will inevitably lead to the estrangement of the children from their home life, although he easily recognises a distinct difference between learning purely school subjects and learning to be a Christian. Secular education the natives could tolerate, and even admire, but they fear always the influence of the missionary in the disruption of the home.

Some years ago Mawele, the chief of a large tribe, asked the Government to build him a school, and I was asked to interview him and report. On visiting him I drew his attention to the fact that a large number of the children for whom he was demanding this school were already within easy distance of a very good school, Ehlanzeni. "Ah.

yes," said he, "I know that, and I know it is a very good school; I want no better. But I also know that if I send the children there the missionary (Reibeling) will very soon persuade the half of them to become Christian, and I don't want that. I know him well; he very nearly caught me."

It is an interesting sequel to this, that when Mawele was dying, some years after, he sent for Mr. Reibeling, and calling for his headmen, he said to the missionary in their presence, "Umfundisi, I am dying. I remember what you taught me when I was a young man. I was almost persuaded to be a Christian. I wish now I had become one; but it's too late now; I haven't time to learn all you regard as necessary for me to know in order to be baptized, but," turning to his men, "I tell you I die a Christian, and here publicly I declare my wish to be buried as a Christian; none of the usual heathen rites are to be observed in my burial, but only those allowed by the missionary. Mr. Reibeling will bury me with Christian rites." This order his people scrupulously carried out under Mr. Reibeling's directions.

Because of this association of the religious teaching with general school work, the school work has not been popular with the heathen natives until very recently. Of late they have begun to see that very often education means better wages.

Several native chiefs have shown considerable interest in school work, notably the late Chief of the Amangwanane, Uncwadi. He fre-

quently came over to one of the schools in his location when he knew I was coming to inspect, and always took considerable interest in the results of the inspection. On one occasion he came to my rescue in a very business-like way. It was necessary to have a plot of ground adjoining the school fenced in with barbed wire, but I could not get the people to find the money. I had been pointing out my difficulty to him, and he asked me what it would cost. I told him that it would cost six pounds. Calling his men round him he said, "The Inspector says the fence is needed, and that it will cost six pounds." Then, putting his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a handful of silver, he put it on a box, saying, "That's my contribution to the fence; what are you going to do?" The men looked askance at one another, as though not quite relishing being caught in that kind of a trap, but what could they do? The £6 was made up in ten minutes. Of course, with the Amakolwa the school has always been a popular institution, and until very recently at least seventy-five per cent. of the children attending the schools were of Christian parentage.

School work of anything like a practical character is a matter of the last twenty years only. Fifteen years ago I took over the inspection of native schools, when there were 44 schools, with 2,000 children. Last year (1903) there were 191 schools, with a total attendance of something over 11,000; and but for stringent regulations respecting teachers' qualifications coming into force at the beginning of 1903, there would

MPUMULO SCHOOL AND BAND.

have been more this year. As a matter of fact there is a decrease. This set-back, however, is only temporary, and within the next three years we may reasonably expect to have 15,000 children in the schools. Of this school work only a small portion is of an industrial character. Boarding schools have to give two hours' daily industrial instruction to both sexes in something of a generally useful character. Day schools give to girls only seven hours weekly, generally sewing, crochet, or a little knitting.

This want of industrial teaching, for the boys especially, has been for a long time a cause of regret to the native parents, who can easily see how much all concerned would benefit if the boys could acquire some knowledge of handicrafts. Some years since an attempt was made to give this throughout the schools generally, but there were two difficulties: the want of local facilities in the way of buildings, and the like, and the still more serious lack of a market for what was done. This last difficulty proved in the end to be insurmountable. A regulation was issued prohibiting the sale to the public of any work done by boys in the schools, which, of course, led to the abandonment of all industrial work, as no one was rich enough to be able to make doors and windows, and then give them away, or burn them; and to utilise them on their own property required more money than was available. The education so far given has consisted in teaching them to read and write in both English and Zulu, together with enough arithmetic to enable a man to compute the cost of a

load of transport at so much per cwt.; a little geography, history, and grammar, complete the list of subjects taught generally. In the boarding schools for girls, washing, ironing, cooking, needlework, and general housework are taught, and taught well.

In two directions this education has touched the natives very definitely. The children have to come to school punctually and regularly, a new lesson this for both parents and children, and of special value to both. And this lesson has been taught not only to the children actually attending, but indirectly to others, for it has been noticed very distinctly by all the neighbouring kraals. Moreover, the children have to be provided with decent clothes, and with books, slates, paper, and later on with stamps, for they are very fond of the post. So that gradually they are being taught a very useful lesson, that is, to pay for benefits received. After considerable observation, I think it will be under the mark if I say that the average amount per annum spent on each child for school requisites is 20s. Taking it at this low estimate, these schools require the expenditure by the parents of £10,000 per annum; and all this spent locally—a fairly decent series of commercial transactions. If multiplying native wants is a good thing, our school work deserves a fair share of credit. I regard the fondness for the post, just mentioned, as one of the good effects of education. The native folk are by its means not only enabled to keep themselves in touch with the absent members of their families, but in the doing of this

they are kept in touch also with general news, and are led to take an interest in things other than those just in the kraal life. Their horizon is thus enlarged, and they become less selfish and ignorant.

One direct result of education upon the children is just what the parents have feared it would be. They soon develop a dislike for the ordinary way of kraal living. I think I shall be correct in saying that seventy-five out of every hundred children who have attended a school for three or four years regularly never settle down to the old heathen life. Whether attempts to Christianise have been made or not, the result is invariably the same. A sense of decency, of cleanliness, and of self-respect is induced, which leads them to seek for something better than what the old-time kraal life offers.

As the boys and girls grow up, especially those who qualify themselves for teaching, the higher rate of salary which they can command enables them to satisfy these longings for better life, and at the same time displays to the parents the value of education to such an extent that already there is evident an increased willingness that promises very much for the future. So that almost everywhere, more particularly, of course, among the Amakolwa, but also among the "heathen" natives, the father wants his children taught to read and write; and if only these things could be got apart from religion, few things that we as Europeans have to offer them would be more valued than the education of their children. The idea that the religious teaching

is objectionable is, I am firmly convinced, erroneous.

And here we should notice what I regard as the principal value of the education that we are giving to this people. It is not the smattering of the things named, which, after all, is all they get as yet, nor even the more advanced teaching secured by the few, with its value as a source of income; but the development of brain power in them as a people. The value of grammar to them is not that the child can parse a given sentence correctly, nor is the correct working of an arithmetical problem its chief purpose. These Zulus are, as I have tried to show in an earlier chapter, a people whose powers of thinking have been for generations so fearfully repressed that as yet they cannot think, and any process of analytical reasoning must be healthy and useful in developing simple intellectual capacity. It will, of course, take generations of exercise to develop fully all the natural power of brain which they have, and which is by no means small; but just as we breed a particular strain into cattle, so here school teaching for three or four consecutive generations will accomplish much. Even now, where the grandparents were educated, so that the children now at school constitute the third generation under teaching influences, marked results are evident. Some names on a school register are already guarantees for intelligence in just this way; so that the school work of to-day may be fairly valued not only for what it is doing to this child, but also for what it is promising for his grandchild in

his generation. It has been charged against our school work that it undermines parental authority, but it is not hard to show that this charge is neither preferred by the parents, nor substantiated by fact. What undermining of parental authority has indeed taken place is to be attributed very much more to the innovations of the civilised law already described. Not, it is true, that the law condones, much less suggests or requires, this result; but in the practical working out of the law's provisions the results occur. A boy or girl insists upon going to a Mission Station or Mission School, to which, for reasons already given, the father objects. Now, whilst the law is prepared to sanction the parental authority to the extent of requiring the missionary to give up the child, it positively refuses to allow the father to half-kill the child for leaving home. The child, knowing this, runs away to some more distant school, repeating the process until the father's persistence is worn down; and he eventually consents to the child's going to the nearest available school, where at least he may be kept under observation. The father will naturally be grumbling all the while that the law prevents him from so disciplining his family circle as to preserve it intact. The same course is followed in the case of a refractory wife, or a daughter intent on matrimony.

So far as the law attempts to maintain the authority of the parent, a peculiar and surely disgraceful state of things is presented to the native mind: that whilst there is no law

to prevent a girl from going to the devil, there is a law that forbids her leaving her barbarous surroundings and becoming a decent Christian woman. In the first case she is supposed to be going to work, in the latter case she is simply absconding from home.

To sum up the influences of education on these natives. (1) It definitely attempts the development of brain power in a people very specially needing it, at just the age when such an attempt promises to be most successful. (2) It leads early to a distaste for the heathenish life of the kraal, inducing large numbers of young persons to make an honest, though sometimes a weak attempt, to secure a better life. (3) It widens the horizon, and so counteracts the tendency to remain in ignorance. (4) It develops a feeling of self-importance, or self-confidence which, whilst very often irritating in its apparent conceitedness, and even insolence, an insolence more apparent than real, is still a very valuable help in the improvement of any people. And in all this, education has very generally the hearty approval of the older people, who, whilst regretfully recognising that it means the passing away of the old order of things, have yet sense enough to see that the changes desired will be a gain to them as a nation. An approval this which is a most hopeful sign to everyone who prefers to better the condition of this fine race of people rather than treat it with sheer neglect; to anyone whose wishes in this matter go further than a desire to have a servant who will work for 10s. a month, with board and lodg-

A Happy Trio.

ing not quite good enough for a half-bred cur, who will study his or her master's convenience in preference to his or her own future life, and who, when insulted or unjustly dealt with, will submit without a murmur.

That, as the result of some thirty or forty years of mishandling on this line there are a few natives who can be pointed out as "splendid Kafirs," and who quietly submit, is true enough; but they are not the material with which we can work out the salvation of a people. The grandest specimens of native character obtainable are made of sterner stuff; men, and women, too, who have refused to be kept in a life of serfdom, and who have struck out for themselves an independent, honest, and hard-working line of life, and are to-day object-lessons worthy of much more study than we are giving them. They are the living solutions of the problem how to make the Zulu a respectable and useful citizen.

CHAPTER XI

Bad Example.

And now we come to another kind of education, more potent for evil than all the other things put together; an education to which primitive races are very susceptible, and one which has to be credited with nine-tenths of the lazy, lying, thieving, and immoral propensities that mark so many of the people we are considering.

It is painfully true, and we may well blush to admit it, that the vilest specimens of Zulu character that can be found are demonstrably the result of the bad example set them by Europeans.

We call them lazy, and a very large proportion of them are growing lazier every year, but that is simply because we have impressed on them in various ways, what they had long regarded as being true, that it is derogatory to manhood to work.

One method by which we do this is the way in which we allow our boys and girls to treat them. Whatever the trifling thing that has to be done, the Kafir must be called to do it. "Tom, come here, bring me my boots!" says the boy of ten or twelve. "Now put them on; now tie them; now bring my stick." Books, caps, etc., are thrown down, and instead of being put in their proper places by the young hopeful, Tom must be called to pick them up, no matter what he may be doing. If the lad is going "up

street" to change a book, the Kafir must carry the book for him; and so on, all through the chapter. So the native learns lesson No. 1, that even for children work is degrading.

In his ordinary work amongst the adult workmen the same lesson is taught him. The Kafir is always called to fetch and carry the most trifling thing, even by men who are servants like himself. Such action impresses him constantly with the idea that to work is a mark of low caste; he submits to work because he is quite prepared to take the dog's place in the employ of the superior white race, but he quite understands that to work is rather the duty of a beast than of a man. Always prepared to accept the *dicta* of the ruling powers, this one that work is demeaning, "only fit for Kafirs," is received with absolute assent; and we need not be astonished if, as opportunity offers, he shows that he has quite learned the lesson.

But on observing closely what is done by the white man, he finds that laziness is sometimes reduced to a science; deliberate, methodical shirking of work, done before his eyes, until, profiting by the example set him, he soon excels in eye-service. In this direction he still has much to learn, for after all is said, the fact remains that the laziest man in the country is not a Zulu.

Naturally most courteous in address and language, especially to superiors, it has nevertheless come to be a common charge against natives that they are "cheeky." Who can be astonished if this charge should be found true,

when he sees how the native is taught good behaviour; when little urchins of ten or twelve are allowed to call him all sorts of coarse names; to throw stones at, or kick full-grown men, without the slightest provocation? If on such a proceeding any attempt at remostrance is made, no matter how respectfully, there are parents who, instead of reproving or punishing the child for his insolence, will give the native a kick or a volley of abuse.

How very seldom is anything like civility in addressing or giving instructions to a native shown by the average European! A haughty, imperious command, irritating to anyone with any feelings of self-respect, is the usual thing; to be followed by a storm of Billingsgate, if the native attempts any explanation, or shows the least reluctance to obey orders, which, often enough, have not been made plain to him. The testimony of any man, the Colony through, who treats him as a human being, giving his orders plainly and civilly, will be that the native is uniformly civil and obedient. Of course, under the treatment described there is an ever-increasing number who have become impertinent, and worse; but it would be a miracle if, things being as they are, the natives in contact with ourselves did not acquire a vocabulary very far from genteel, and on occasion use it.

Then, too, there is the matter of immorality, with the often expressed fear of danger to European women. The pedestal of sacredness on which the native has for years placed the European woman is a very high one. If that

pedestal has in recent years been lowered, and in exceptional cases vicious thoughts have entered native minds regarding her, we have but ourselves to thank for it. If a paternal Government will quietly allow a horde of European fallen women to establish themselves in our towns, offering themselves at a price to any native man; if European men will live in native kraals the native life, practising among native females all their disgusting heathenish practices; if native men in the employ of Europeans who pass for decent, are furnished with gold to procure for their masters the last country girl arrived in town, who simple-mindedly has come to work for some white person; if European females will persist in a familiarity with natives which they would scorn when dealing with decent-minded persons of their own colour; while these things are so, who can wonder for a moment, if in some cases (for as yet they are comparatively few) some natives have been found to look upon the white woman as being but little superior, if at all, to the white man who runs riot in the native kraals; some natives to whose mind the halo of sacredness which had hitherto surrounded the person of every European woman should have dissolved into thin air?

There is more danger to European life, property, and honour along this line than from any political propaganda that ever entered the mind of the most discontented native. Back upon ourselves, with awful reaction, will come some day these lessons of immorality, and that depreciation of honest labour which we are in these

different ways teaching the natives. Our children, inoculated with the idea that honest toil is degrading, will gradually cease to work with either hand or brain. "Too much fag" will be their comment on the industry that alone can make any people; and looseness of moral character will mark our national life. These native people, already the worse for generations of animalism, will, taught as we are teaching them, teach our young people in turn these same dreadful lessons, until the brand of indolent profligacy will be stamped indelibly on the rising generation, a sad prelude to a racial decay that will ultimately be irretrievable. And if the missionaries of this country deserve our appreciation for nothing else than their practical protest against general impurity, this alone would make our obligation to them a very great one.

Already is the Nemesis for our treatment beginning to track our steps. We are continually hearing complaints that decent female native servants are unobtainable, to the discomfort of the community generally. By our treatment of these girls we have aroused the parents, who do their very best to prevent their girls from seeking employment in the towns; and no assurance of protection allays it.

With the keen discernment that marks the Zulu, these parents have already recognised that only under the protection of genuine Christianity are their girls really safe; but our own proceedings have dispelled an idea once common among them, that all white people are Christian; and

now they are saying, "There are white Christians, and you may sometimes meet one. When we do, we are prepared to trust our girls to him." And the hope of securing girls of decent character as general servants is becoming less every day; the spectacle of ruin wrought by the white man on the lives of some they have known alarms them, and if to this alarm is added the direct prohibition of the fathers, and the girls remain at home, what honest person can find fault with either the fathers or the children?

It may be suggested that this recognition of safety conferred by Christianity seems to conflict with what I have already said in another chapter as to their reluctance to allow their girls to go to live on a Mission Station; but the conflict is only seeming.

In the one case the native loses the services of his daughters, with the added probability that she will be led to renounce the home life she has been used to, for all of which he gets nothing; whilst on the other hand he is only too glad to get the protection of a Christian home for his daughter whilst she is earning money for him. Even to the Mission Station, if he were assured that no efforts would be made to induce his daughter to abjure her home, he would have no objection, providing she were earning him money. That in both cases he cares very much more for the financial value of his child than for her honour—at least so far as the heathen native is concerned—is, whilst generally true, not at all against the facts here set forth.

Nor does the bad example which is set to the native end with the things already detailed. Truth, honesty, self-respect, obedience to superiors, these are all things on which their simple ideas, which were generally pretty fairly correct, are frequently outraged in what they see done by the superior race, until the little conscience which they had becomes hardened and perverted, with results that we are quick to detect and condemn, but not nearly so quick to recognise as very greatly the result of the pattern set by our own lives.

If the ground of their duty to do right in these different matters be represented as self-improvement, they ask why the improved white people do all these things. If it be urged upon the obligation of duty as revealed in the Christian's Bible, they retort with the question why the emphatic commands of that Book in these and other kindred things, such as Sabbath keeping, loyalty to King and country, and the rest, are openly violated by those whom they know as the rulers of the land.

How often have I been asked by men who are trying to regulate their lives by that Book which we claim to be the sheet anchor of our national laws and national greatness, "Why is it that so many of the Amakosi go fishing, shooting, and so forth, on the Lord's Day? Why is it that so many behave so as to make them the dread of every decently disposed woman?" Questions these which, as the facts cannot be disputed, and one does not like to have to admit such glaring inconsistencies to a race avowedly

inferior, can only be met by the humiliating expedient of turning the conversation in some other direction. But the effect of such things on the moral life of a people struggling to rise above the past, and, if possible, to attain to a better ideal of life, is so very serious as to make it a subject for bitter reflection.

It is a somewhat difficult task to measure just how far the results of these different influences, focussing themselves upon the native's thought, have really affected him; but speaking generally we may say that they have quite disillusioned him as to any definite superiority of the white man, save in knowledge; we have lost caste with them. Quite naturally they have become best acquainted with the worst types of European, for to these they are nearest; and we have fallen very greatly in their estimation. The idols are still there, but they have proved to be quite hollow; still Amakosi, but very human, and as they have understood humanity.

From their ancient habits of thought they had imagined that complete surrender to our directions meant that they were to take up the *rôle* of children, to be ordered about as we wished, it being theirs to obey unquestioningly; but that idea was always interwoven with another, namely, that therefore we would take the *rôle* of parents, caring for their interests, protecting them from oppression, helping as help was needed, always sympathising with their attempts at imitation of our ways. But the combined influences set forth here have forced upon them the conclusion that such a relationship

has not entered into our plans, and a growing suspicion, too well founded, has been induced that we only seek to make a convenience of them; that it is our purpose to repress instead of helping any effort on their part at honest improvement; that, in fact, if anything is ever done by us that appears to be for their benefit, the cloven foot of selfish interest is easily detected.

They suspect injustice, as between black and white, not from public opinion only, but also in the very halls of justice, so that they have no sense of security, even though they strictly comply with commands and regulations. "The white man is not to be trusted with our destiny; he is not honestly working for our good," is what one gets from the thinking men, when these things are talked about; a suspicion this which cannot fail to work harmfully on our mutual relationships, and one which it will be found to be of great importance to remove. And because the treatment we have meted out to the native whilst lifting him out of the old groove of life has not encouraged his rising to anything definitely superior, and because the hope of its ever doing so is very small, there grows up a sense of disappointment with the semi-civilised life which we have led him to adopt, and a reaction follows in favour of the old life, which will be difficult to deal with.

Responding to the ideals of life that we have presented to them, some of the best natives have given up absolutely the old heathen life, and honestly set their faces in the direction of these ideals; but only to find that as soon as they begin

to get their heads above the moral wreckage around them, there are a thousand hands stretched out to hold them just there, and a thousand voices calling upon them to "keep their proper place," and "not to try to be the equal of the white man." No wonder if, tired of holding on in that awkward position, many let go, and are swallowed up in the seething flood from whence they had almost been delivered.

Foiled in their attempts to rise, duped by unprincipled persons in ordinary business affairs, and left, as they regard it, to suffer injury and injustice by those to whom they had looked for protection, we cannot wonder if gradually each man should turn his hand against his fellow, and try to gain by fraud and lawlessness what he has failed to obtain by obedience to lawful orders.

When the only interest taken in them as a people by the ruling race assumes the form of demands made upon them to work, often under circumstances that are to them simply dreadful, this, coupled with a low rate of wages, and often an utter lack of any concern as to their safety or comfort, not unnaturally the better disposed conceive a feeling of utter disgust with the so-called benefits of civilisation. The more reckless ones drift rapidly in the direction of lawlessness, until they become a terror to the neighbourhood, a disgrace to the management under which they work, and a very disheartening warning to their fellow-countrymen.

It does sometimes seem as though nothing save work can ever obtain for a native a "well done" from us; no improvement of mind, or

character, or habits. Even when by sheer intelligence and industry he has managed to get a home of his own, and honestly tries to live a respectable life, yet, if he is not prepared to go to work, the whole thing is discounted, and himself insulted; and a keen sense of disappointment rests upon a large section of the very best of our native people because of the obstacles that are placed in their way whenever they really try to be better men, and lead a better life.

That some of them try to run before they can walk is not denied; that these mistaken efforts are sometimes very objectionable is true; but allowing for all this there is a large and very decent class of persons who desire to rise to a higher level, and to be rated accordingly, to whom very much of these combined influences is puzzling, irritating, disappointing, even maddening.

To anyone who looks carefully beneath the surface the fact is patent, that the Zulus of the present are a distinctly divided people. A fairly large number are struggling upwards, bewildered, disheartened, but still struggling; a larger number are hopelessly clinging to the old life, making no effort to improve themselves; whilst a third party—increasing at an alarming rate—are deliberately proposing to occupy our gaols, and to swell the amount of fines reported annually by the officers of justice. A splendid people going to the dogs for want of proper handling!

A Peaceful Scene.

CHAPTER XII

The Future.

Having thus in some considerable detail observed the Zulu in the Past, fettered with superstition, and enfeebled by years of animalism; and having noticed him as he is with us in the Present, the subject of misunderstanding, bewildered, repressed, suspicious, and disheartened; we proceed to the consideration of what in this country is one of the most important and most perplexing problems we have to solve; one with which very much of the future welfare of the country is closely connected. A right solution guarantees ever-increasing comfort and prosperity; a failure will consign us to years of mutual mistrust and loss of advantage to all alike. This problem is very involved, many-sided, and far-reaching. It is not a question the answer to which can be tossed off in a few well rounded sentences in some after-dinner speech; but one that may well demand the united thought of the wisest men the country possesses. Too long has it been treated as if it was one of those things that will develop its own solution under the magic of time. Too often has it been regarded as a special case for the opinion of a few select officials, and too generally looked upon as a thing inextricably involved in the maze of party politics.

The belief that the time has come for everyone who has the interest of the country at heart, and who

has had a fairly lengthy opportunity of gauging things aright, to speak out his convictions on this subject impartially and honestly, even though those convictions may be in direct opposition to the opinions held by the community generally, is the sole reason for my adding my mite to the stock of theories gradually accumulating.

I think it will be well, in approaching the consideration of such a momentous question, to eliminate at the very beginning any factors that promise to be obstructive at a later stage of the discussion. Such a factor exists in the form of what is called, "The demand for labour." To me it appears absolutely certain that no practical lasting, or effective solution of the Native Question will ever be arrived at unless we honestly start from the standpoint of the natives' benefit. To start in search of a solution with the idea that a million of natives are found existing among us for the sole purpose of our being enabled to enrich ourselves by their labour, is to make failure a foregone conclusion; as well say that the poor exist only for the benefit of the rich, as say that the black exists only for the benefit of the white.

If all our lines of thought on this subject are to be made to converge on this point of our gain, while their interests are to be continually ignored, the utter selfishness that is thus the motive of all we may resolve to do will most certainly damn the whole scheme. To deny this is to deny the existence of a "power that makes for righteousness," and to forget the great lessons of human history.

That the outcome of an honest effort on our part to benefit and improve the natives, both as a race and as individuals, would directly tend to secure what we all wish for, the hearty co-operation of these thousands of native men in the development of the land we live in, in agriculture, in mining, as well as in social life and general uprightness of character, I firmly believe; and believing it I will try to show how such a desirable end may be secured.

Before doing so it will be well to set distinctly before ourselves what it is we want, what are the details of this so much-to-be-desired condition of things; for if the thing which is desired is simply the employment of a whole people in working month after month, away from their homes, herded together with little or no consideration of their comfort or possibility of decent living, to say nothing of intellectual and moral improvement, merely in order that companies may declare dividends, and that a comparatively few favoured ones may grow rich, more or less rapidly—if this be what is aimed at, then whatever the seeming benefit to the general community may appear to be, all that need be said is that such riches, benefitting the few at an awful expense to the many, are dearly gotten.

But I take it that the problem for the general public lies in an altogether different direction. Here we have a country that by virtue of its climate and variety of soil—given a fair annual rainfall—is simply waiting to be scratched, to smile back to us in fields of remunerative crops; and even if the rainfall be less than is required, a

land so well watered that the possibilities of irrigation are almost unlimited; a land with considerable promise in the way of stock-farming and fruit-growing; with its bosom full to bursting with coal and other valuable minerals. A land in which by means of steady labour in farm and house work any honest man who is not afraid to work—and no possible amount of black labour will bring wealth where the white man is lazy—may make for himself and family an honest livelihood; not perhaps at the best any great fortune, but enough and to spare; which, after all, is the ideal life. And here in tantalizing nearness are thousands of able-bodied men, born to the climate; the very thing that we need to make the farmer's life a happy one; and yet, for some reason, we hear constant complaint that for want of labour it is impossible to make a living in this country by farming.

Now, from this standpoint what seems so very desirable is that this large body of men shall be brought to give regularly, fairly, and willingly the benefit of their labour to help us. If willingness is an essential feature of the help they are to give, and a little thought will suffice to show that it is of the very utmost importance in this case, then it looks as if all forms of coercion, whether it be taxing, "creating wants," or anything else that makes their working a compulsory thing, is another factor which, because it promises, under existing circumstances, to be obstructive, must be eliminated from our plans.

It may be argued that increased taxation, and the multiplying of native wants, by com-

pelling him to come to work, will accomplish all we desire; and the argument may appear at first sight to be a sound one; proved by the compulsion that rests upon the working man at Home, holding him, as it often does, against his will, constantly at work year in and year out, all his life, simply to keep body and soul together. But no such pressure lies on this people; and even if it were possible to produce it, shame on the man who would move a hand to secure such a hard life for any mortal, especially when there is, as I believe, an alternative that will accomplish the same purpose without degrading life to constant drudgery.

I say it is not possible to produce such a state of compulsory working with the native; what I have already said of his style of living in the past will show that he is absolutely indifferent to much that we regard as the necessaries of life, for his actual necessaries can easily be secured by the labour of his wife or wives, so far, at any rate, as to make continuous work needless.

And so we get down to the simple proposition that we wish to secure a state of things in which the native will willingly work on steadily, for months together, honestly doing his best for us, and receiving in return a fair equivalent in wage and accommodation for what he gives.

And because some of the work that we wish him to do is in and around our houses, where he will be in proximity to our wives and children, and, further, because in a great many cases he will be required to work for persons who cannot speak his language, so it may be fairly assumed

that our objective includes not only that he shall be industrious, but also that he shall be able to speak English, in order that he may understand the instructions given him, and be decent and cleanly in person and behaviour.

But is this all we want? Is our horizon to be limited by the narrow lines of what we wish to secure for ourselves? Is no thought to be given to the mothers and fathers, the brothers and sisters, of the men who are working for us? Are we willing that a whole nation which, in the working of Providence, to us so kindly, has been placed under our control and authority, should be allowed to work out a destiny of moral degradation, intellectual imbecility, and political menace? Do we care nothing at all if this people perish miserably from the face of the earth? Whilst we eagerly use the strength of their manhood, shall the inner life of the people be of no interest whatever to us?

To answer these questions in the affirmative is to brand ourselves as ignoble and imbecile, unworthy alike of the traditions of our forefathers, or of the goodly heritage they have given to us; ignoble because in pure selfishness we would rob a nation of its birthright, the right to qualify itself for a position in the world's civilisation; and imbecile, in that we are not able to see that such a policy would inevitably defeat its own object. Is there no programme possible which, whilst securing for ourselves what we so much wish, would at the same time so improve the natives as a people, that before very long they would respond to our call? Surely what is true

of wealth and rank is equally true of colour. "The rank is but the guinea stamp. A man's a man for a' that."

The idea appears a pleasing one; is it Utopian? Are there any insuperable difficulties in the way of its being realised, or must it be dismissed for ever as being impracticable? I think not. Given honest intention and patience it may be done; for far beyond the general belief of the ordinary white man, the better natives are waiting for just such an opportunity. That the majority of the heathen part of the population have not as yet imagined such a thing is true; but there are hundreds to whom the slightest hint that we are preparing to work for this would be an inspiration that would make them gird up their loins, and at any sacrifice throw themselves into such a work with a vigour that would guarantee success. And the mere heathen man would follow suit, though probably at a slower pace.

Certain it is, the magic cry *Sebenza* will never do it. Never! even if every native could be impelled to work for the next five years without cessation. Work, forced work, is not a magician's wand, but work intelligently and willingly undertaken would solve the problem. Can we make them willing to work both for us and themselves in making their homes comfortable, clean, and healthy; work for us the more readily in that the wages so obtained can be used for home comforts? I think we can, and in the chapter following will try to show how.

CHAPTER XIII.

Polygamy and Ukukobola.

From what has already been said as to the customs and character of the Zulu, it will be easily seen that the rankling sore from which most of the evils we complain of proceed, upon which we need to put our fingers, and so deal with it that the festering place shall be for ever healed, is polygamy. The abolition of polygamy is, without doubt, the key to the solution of the problem before us. Whilst polygamy remains, it is sheer nonsense to hope for better morals, healthier or more industrious living, for pride in improved home surroundings, or for the development of individual self-respect.

With polygamy should also be abolished the custom of *lobola*, the paying of cattle for a wife; or, at any rate, it should be limited to the transfer of a single beast, for it should not be forgotten that the custom is worthy of preserving in so far as, like the "marriage lines" of the European, *lobola* gives to the married woman the status of legitimacy. To be a wife without *lobola* having been given, is regarded by the women as a reflection on their character.

To this suggestion of the abolition of polygamy objection has been often advanced that it is both unjust and impolitic to make sudden or drastic alterations in the customs of a savage people. Well, so much may be admitted, but

since over fifty years have passed since the country came under our control, the charge of suddenness cannot be sustained. The change from darkness to light generally is a drastic one; but we must certainly avoid a course either unjust or impolitic.

As the terms of our inquiry require that we keep the natives' interest in the forefront of our plans, it will be necessary here to ascertain whether the abolition of this old polygamy custom is for their good; and then we can proceed to point out in what way it would benefit ourselves.

It will be readily conceded by all parties that what the Zulu specially needs to make him a better man is work; not necessarily work for us, but in his daily life, at his own home or elsewhere, he should work. For not only would he thus be saving himself from the mischief of idle hands, but very soon his brain would be called into exercise to secure his foreseen object, whether that object be a more plentiful harvest, or a more rain-proof dwelling. Thus gradually, he would acquire habits of thoughtfulness, consideration, and carefulness, which would all tend in the desired direction.

Now, how does polygamy affect the man in this matter of work? With a plurality of wives, and all that is involved therein, the necessity for work at home is at once removed, and if some passing need leads a man to go to work for a European, he will not remain away from home any longer than he is absolutely bound. The large family of children that polygamy

brings him, brings him also an increased income, and very soon he will cease to work at all. The subject is a delicate one, but the stern fact is that the cause of the native's unwillingness to work is not his laziness so much as the uxoriousness—to give it a mild name—which increases until the one absorbing thought, the one object of life is just that demoralisation which custom consecrates for him. Nor should it be forgotten that the difficulty does not arise from the mere fact that a man has many wives; he may have but one, but as custom permits him to have more, all the girls of the country are, with the consent of all parties concerned, fair subjects for his inordinate ambitions. It is mere prudery to ignore the facts before us. If we are honestly looking for the cure of our difficulty we must be prepared to speak in plain language. We cannot expect that these men, with generations of animalism in their veins, will take to virtuous courses and follow them for any length of time. Only when we have recognised that polygamy is the cause of nearly all their social and moral faults shall we be in a position to prescribe for a cure.

It has often been noticed and wondered at that a gang of native men working on an estate will be apparently as contented for a few months as human beings could be expected to be, and then all at once, and seemingly without any cause they will all want to go home, just perhaps when their services are the most required; and to all offers of increased salary they are obstinately indifferent; go they will. They will

talk of being tired, of home people being sick, and promise speedy return; but they must go; three times the wage they have been receiving will not induce them to stop. The thing seems portentous, and people wonder at it, yet the explanation is simple; for just as the drunkard, after abstaining so long from drink that his friends grow hopeful as to his permanent reform, will in a moment break down, and "go in for a burst," so with these people; someone has come from home with bewitching stories of amorous living, and up like the incoming tide surges the hot, passionate blood, and there is nothing for them but home.

It is just the same in the home; the whole life is saturated with this thing. It is the staple subject of conversation, the point round which all the life revolves. They talk of it, sing of it, dream of it. It is the cause of two-thirds of the home quarrels, and the ever-present obstacle to home improvement. Again and again have native men, too much married, said to me, "Oh, bother this *isitembu* (harem) system! It is one constant trouble; half my life is taken up with settling disputes between different wives, and the other half with disputes between each wife and myself; why I sleep so often in that wife's hut, why I prepare so much garden ground for the other, or why I prefer the food that a third provides for me, and so on everlastingly, until I am quite tired of it. The only chance of peace would be to give them a good thrashing all round; and the law won't let me do that."

That what forms the principal object in life with the older men should soon occupy a similar position in the lives of the younger people is only natural, and so the whole life of young and old, males and females alike, is taken up with this sort of thing. No wonder if the life is always on the down grade, always impure and disgusting, earthly, sensual, and even devilish. Is the abolition of such a custom for the benefit of the people themselves? To ask the question is to answer it, and surely in the affirmative; more especially so as we have actually before us the successful results that have followed its abolition, secured not by legal process, but by moral suasion.

The Amakolwa are manifestly and demonstrably a distinct improvement on the heathen people. Their homes are better, their lives are higher in purpose and tone, and this is owing mainly to the fact that the system of polygamy has been abolished among them. It may be objected that a clean native hut is both cooler and cleaner than many of the little two-roomed houses to be found among these Amakolwa; but the hut is dark, and very often ill smelling, while the other represents an honest attempt at a brighter, better life, and is generally too small merely because means are lacking to make it larger. The people would be well advised to build a large hut with windows, but our own craze for upright walls is responsible for much that we condemn.

It may be as well here to note how the custom of *ukulobola* affects the home life from the very beginning. At the present price of cattle the

eleven head allowed as a legal demand on the part of a girl's father, cost, even allowing that they were bought young, at the least £110. Now, the ordinary native young man is mighty fortunate if he can earn £2 a month; and out of this he has to clothe himself, and to help in buying food for the home people when food is scarce, to pay hut-tax, besides meeting the claim that by native law the head of the kraal has on any cattle he may buy; and, to crown all, some of these may die from the many forms of endemic sickness. Keeping all this in mind, we can see at a glance that it's "a long row he has to hoe" in getting together the price of a wife.

But suppose he succeeds in getting them; on the day of his marriage he is absolutely penniless, and married life begins with little or nothing. If the wife comes from what to a native is a comfortable home, she naturally grumbles. He, smarting at the remembrance of what she has cost him, probably replies in no conciliatory spirit. Strife ensues, and the early days of married life are clouded over, and home becomes uncomfortable, with the probable result that he is led to seek, in the company of other girls, the attention he failed to get at home, and the whole horizon of their newly-wedded life becomes black.

Now, if polygamy were forbidden, such quarrels would soon be made up. In fact, this particular trouble, if *lobola* was not allowed, would never arise; for if the young couple could commence housekeeping with even £20 of ready capital after comfortably furnishing their new

home, such strife, which to-day is very common, would cease to be.

If these two evils disappeared, a greater interest would be taken in the home by both parties, and they and theirs would be contented.

As it is, the man pays more than dubious attentions to other girls, neglecting his wife and home; and since he may take more wives than one, the parents and brothers of the girls look on without objection, for his cattle are as good as any other man's. But if polygamy were not allowed, such a man would be at once tackled by the rival girls' fathers and brothers, for his philandering could mean only mischief; and so from every side he would be driven back on his own home, until at length, yielding to the inevitable, he would remain there, and try to make that home more clean, healthy, and comfortable. As soon as the Zulus, like any other people, are led to do this, the whole problem is solved. The rest is simply a matter of time and patience.

Corresponding results would follow on the female side, for the wife would become invested with a new moral dignity; instead of being the slave she would be the companion of the man, and this would secure such a response from her that very soon the whole of the home life would be lifted on to a higher level, a thing to be proud of, to be cared and worked for. Hundreds of cases can be shown where this very thing has been worked exactly in this way.

From such homes a better race of people would come, until, in a generation or two, much of the gross evil that exists to-day would hardly

be thought possible. It has worked out just so in our own history. Of course other influences have helped us, and other influences will operate here too; but we must begin here, or all else is vain. Nor do I think that the natives themselves would offer one-half of the opposition which is sometimes apprehended. I have frequently spoken to young men on the matter, and many of them have welcomed the idea. "As it is," say they, "all cattle we take home become the property of the headman, ostensibly in trust for our *lobola;* but in practice the old man takes another wife, and when we begin to talk of marrying, we are told to wait, as there are no cattle"; the result being that many a young fellow of 25 or 30 is still unmarried. A good deal of opposition might be expected from the women, who have been taught to regard a large kraal as a sign of social importance, but this feeling is very rapidly weakening; the object lesson of a monogamous life among the Amakolwa has modified very greatly their ideas on this point. They see that to be the sole object of the husband's affections is far better for the woman in the long run than the certainty of being sooner or later (and generally sooner if the husband is wealthy) supplanted by a later arrival. Of course, such altered social conditions would not result from the abolition of these two evils alone; other influences which we have still to notice would be brought to bear on the people. But the removal of these obstacles would be as the laying of a fresh foundation upon which the superstructure of a better life could

be built, and without which it does not appear to me to be possible to work effectually. In new circumstances work done for us would assume an entirely different character; there would be more intelligent attention, more interest in its proper performance, and, in time, more honest industry, for work itself would be correctly appreciated, and its wages better spent. Life would have a higher objective, and wherever this is the case life is lived to better purpose, whether it be for one's self, or for a master.

A more regular labour supply would be forthcoming, because the men would learn to spend their whole time in doing something useful; one part of the year for themselves, the other for a master, but both with a fair amount of regularity, because it would be impossible for a family to live on the food produced by the labour of one pair of hands.

These altered circumstances would undoubtedly lead to a very large number of men becoming artisans of some kind or other, in order to earn a higher rate of wage; and in time there would be many who could do rough but useful work in building or carpentry, and whose services could be obtained at a fair rate; and all this without in the least encroaching on the domain of the skilled European artisan, whose better brain and more skilful aptitudes would, at least for many generations to come, keep him far ahead of these folk.

And so again I ask the question, would it be unjust or impolitic to remove from the path of the besotted Zulu these two terrible obstacles

to his becoming a decent man? It is not to be supposed that all could or should be done in one year; even if it took five years, it would be well done if it was done. Give them notice that in so many years' time this new law will come into force. The fear of "a native rising" is baseless, and originates in ignorance and stupidity, or worse.

CHAPTER XIV

Law, and Law Officers.

With the abolition of polygamy, and its twin sister *ukulobola*, a new condition of family and social life would be inaugurated, in which a large proportion of the cases provided for in the existing code of native law would become obsolete, leaving only, or principally those cases of justice between man and man, of which our European law takes cognizance. No more, at any rate, need there be such a strange anomaly as a law allowing a man to claim payment as consideration for another man's wife.

This would enable us to dispense with the present necessity of having two codes of law for the inhabitants of one country. On account of the peculiarities of the native mind, and their very keen sense of fairness, it is very important that the justice of the Magistrates' decisions should be fully recognised by them. To secure this it would be well that courts for the trial of native cases, that is cases between one native and another, should be courts of equity, as distinct from courts of law. No law agent of any kind should be allowed to practise in these courts; there should be no third party between the Magistrate and the parties bringing the case; the evidence should be heard in full, and the decision should be based on the evidence adduced. This would be a much longer proceed-

ing than the present system, but it would have the extremely important result that litigants would be satisfied that they had been fairly dealt with, which they are not at present; and with a fairly intelligent Magistrate the verdict would, as a rule, be correct. Such a method of procedure would tend greatly to lessen the Zulus' ruinous practice of rushing into Court over every little thing that annoys them, under the impression that if only they can engage the proper man to represent them, they are sure to win the case, whether right or wrong, and enjoy the satisfaction of seeing their enemy mulcted in costs. Fees of court should be on as low a scale as possible, and any tendency to waste time on trivial cases be checked by severe punishment for so doing. By this means the present tendency to litigation would be gradually reduced.

By the existing laws the chiefs are entitled to hold courts with a limited jurisdiction; a very good thing in itself, and calculated to relieve the Magistrate of much work of minor importance, beside having the added value of increasing the official dignity of the chief. That the chiefs should be supported in their authority and dignity is as important as the maintenance of the tribal system, which is a guarantee against any combined disloyal action. The clannish nature of the Zulu would make it impossible to organise any large combined movement under one leader, for the members of each tribe would consider their own chief fully entitled to the leadership, and disputes would soon lead to the divulging of the plot by the disappointed followers of the rejected chief.

All who know the people admit that the tribal system prevents any widespread combination against law and order; and just in proportion as this fact is valued, so must the importance of preserving the official dignity of the chiefs be admitted; for if the people lose respect for their own chief, they will the more easily transfer their allegiance to another chief, and so a general consolidation under one head would be effected, which is just what we do not want. The present practice of allowing each chief to appropriate the fines he inflicts in his court tends directly to weaken his hold on his people. No one disputes the fact that to-day the chiefs' sentences are often grossly unjust, that they are very eager to have cases brought before them where the defendant is wealthy, and that the people smart under a growing sense of being unfairly treated. Loyalty to the chief, or a litigant's dread of being a marked man, prevents appeals against the sentences; but a sense of injustice rankles deeply, and tends inevitably to lessen that loyalty which it is our interest to foster.

These chiefs should be required to have a decent building put up by their people, at their own expense, for court purposes, and should not be allowed to hold court under a tree, or anywhere else they choose. This would add solemnity to the proceedings. Let every chief be provided with a native clerk who could read and write, so that a general outline of the evidence could be written down, together with the chief's finding. These reports should be forwarded

periodically to some person appointed to receive them. They could then be looked through, and any cases of evident unfairness could be brought to the chief's notice, the right course explained, and a caution given to be more correct in future. This would make him more careful and just in his official actions, and the people would reap the benefit.

It would be a considerable improvement on the present state of things if the chiefs were informed that after a certain period no son of a chief would be allowed to succeed to the chieftainship unless he could read and write. This would send the chiefs' sons to school, and the school life would have a certain civilising influence. And though in after years a great deal of it would be thrown off, it would still leaven their notions and check to a certain extent their purely heathenish impulses. The pressure of savage public opinion would, no doubt, in the majority of cases choke many a good impulse, but in many cases enough would be left to lead to strong remonstrance on the part of the chief against the more degrading customs of his people. So much is this felt to be the case by the people themeslves, that it is very doubtful if any tribe in Natal would willingly consent to the appointment to the tribal authority of a chief's son who had been educated. But if the law absolutely required this education there would be no escape. Of course, such a law would be unpopular; but if it tended to the bettering of the people it is just a point on which our authority should be pressed. To the in-

herent conservatism of the Zulu any change would be unpopular; but changes have to be made, for it is at our peril to allow the worst elements in native life to exist side by side with the increased facilities and inducements to abuse these things to their own hurt.

The chief should have an annual allowance made him, and all fees and fines should be paid into the Government Treasury. All offences of personal disrespect to the chief should be dealt with only by the Magistrates, and when proved should be punished severely. This would lead to an increased respect and loyalty towards the chief, and to a proportionate diminution of all danger from the natives as a class.

As an inducement to improved and civilised living, all native policemen should be required to be able to read and write, and married men should be preferred. They should be required to find security for their honesty during their term of service to the amount of £20, and the term of service should be three years at least. This would diminish the abuse of authority so prevalent at present in matters of money and morals, and at the same time secure more correctness in issuing summonses, or examining passes. It is extremely unjust that a man should be stopped on a journey, and compelled to go out of his way to the court, or elsewhere, when he has on his person documentary proof of his *bona fides*, which the native policeman is too illiterate to read; and then, without apology, told he may go.

Good character and intelligence should be as soon as possible rewarded by promotion, with

increased pay. By this means a splendid force of reliable men could be obtained, whilst the possibility of promotion on the one hand, and the dread of losing the better wages on the other, would tend to make the men careful and smart in the performance of their duties, and at the same time would popularise the service with the better class of natives, who are singularly well fitted for this sort of work, if only they are properly trained. As in most cases it would be possible to arrange for the men to have their homes near by, the terms of service would probably be extended beyond the three years.

We have at present a host of poorly paid men, quite beyond the working requirements of the place, half of whose time is spent in making snuff spoons, frightening the girls with their persistent solicitations, or levying blackmail on their ignorant countrymen, who, unless they are willing to pay for it, find themselves obstructed at every point in their wish to get their business at the court finished. Instead of these, we should have fewer, but better paid men, whose every interest would lie in making themselves useful both to the court officials and the general public.

We have already to hand in the Amakolwa the nucleus of a splendid body of men for this very purpose, men whose every predilection is on the side of law and order, whose higher intelligence would make them more effective than the present police, who are ambitious to be allowed the opportunity of proving themselves superior to the ordinary heathen, and to have

opened to them a career above the level of the kitchen-boy or field-hand; and, more than this, men who proved themselves in the late war possessed of courage, intelligence, and loyalty to a marked extent, winning for themselves the commendation of the highest military officials for good work well done.

It is a great point in their favour that of the large body of native scouts employed for a considerable time, and at great risk to themselves, something like ninety-five per cent. were Amakolwa; and I have yet to learn that as a class they did not prove themselves superior to the purely heathen people. If actions speak louder than words, these people have made for themselves a record of which they need never be ashamed, and established a claim to be regarded as at least a distinctly superior class, and to be treated accordingly.

If such men were found occupying the posts of honour and duty in the purlieus of the Magistrates' Courts, the Courts would be surrounded by an air of civilisation and decency, as against the distinctly heathen atmosphere at present obtaining there.

It would be an experiment well worth trying if a couple of thousand acres were laid off in some suitable locality—a site on the Umlambonja or Mnweni Rivers (the Upper Tugela District would be a very suitable place, as being well watered), and a village of some 150 lots properly laid off, with suitable plots for cultivation under irrigation, and a general commonage properly fenced round; and a number of the more intel-

ligent of these Amakolwa put on it under a modified Glen Grey system. I believe they would satisfactorily respond to the civilising call made upon them, and become the nucleus of a system that might be extended with advantage to the Colony at large, converting what is now almost prehistoric barbarism into a very Eden, and at the same time offering a splendid object lesson to the surrounding natives. The right to the land might be given either at first hand in freehold, or be made obtainable by payment of annual instalments.

What these men did for the Colony as scouts fairly entitles them to some recognition, and if freehold plots in such a township were given, each one carrying the right to cultivation plots and commonage for pasturing purposes, it would emphasise to them our appreciation of loyalty. Such a scheme would be so successful that before long it would be deemed wise to lay off similar blocks elsewhere, and soon the heathen people would be prepared to take up one or more such village blocks, to their own distinct benefit. With a few such native villages, scattered through the location districts of the Colony, each becoming a centre of improved life and work, from which would radiate into the immediate surroundings social influences of intense value, the whole native kraal life would be gradually but definitely affected for the better; and as these centres expanded, or were multiplied, so the whole tone of heathen life would everywhere be lightened, instructed, and revolutionised.

CHAPTER XV

The Price of Privileges.

With native life thus moving swiftly on the up line of civilisation, the missionary's lot would be much more extended, and more generally effective; for cleanliness at least would be secured, and the higher lessons of that morality which it is his work to teach would be much more truly appreciated, and the excellence of the upright life more valued.

But even before such a general improvement has been effected, much might be done for the country, for two certain facts stare us in the face. The first is, that the very best specimens of native life and character that can be found owe their superiority directly to missionary influence and teaching; the other is, that improved morals and life, such as every genuine missionary teaches, are distinctly to the benefit of the community at large.

Surely no argument is needed to prove that the better the character of a people, the more general their habits of truthfulness, sobriety, industry, moral purity, and general intelligence, the better it is for the whole country, black and white. What an amount of money is spent annually in the detection and repression of crime that ought to have been more usefully employed! What an amount is lost to the country by the lazy, dissolute, lives of an enormous sec-

tion of the community, who ought to have been earning an honest living!

A great deal might be effected if practical assistance were given to the missionaries, without interfering in any way with the legitimate right or freedom of the people. What, for instance, is there to prevent the half of every mission reserve being laid off specially for the use of the better class? The use of such a reserved portion should be restricted to those who are to sever all tribal connections, so that no chief should have jurisdiction over them; and it should be taken for granted that every native wishing to live on such land undertakes to abandon heathenism for civilisation.

Let there be regulations, approved by Government, and give the missionary power to enforce them. Let dishonesty, immorality, or laziness entail forfeiture of all vested interests, and be followed by summary ejection. The people would soon see that living on such reserves was a certificate of better character. We should encourage thrift, industry, intelligence, on the part of the people, and so establish a broad line of demarcation between the native life we do not like or want, and the native life we desire to see; until ultimately we should be able to give a modified form of franchise to those natives who had proved themselves worthy of it. This privilege is the right of every man who honestly tries to do his duty to the commonwealth; and no enlightened nation could or would long withhold it if only the proper conditions were fulfilled. We should do better surely to educate this people

to a fitness for the use of the franchise, and then freely give it to them in a necessarily modified form at first, than leave them to seek by political intrigue to secure it while as yet quite unfitted for its exercise.

Nor should it be forgotten that in every case in which we have secured the appreciation and co-operation of a native to this better life, giving him proprietary rights in land and home, we have an additional hostage to loyalty, under any strain, and another helper in the work of general improvement. For whilst in the case of the heathen savage our strongest safeguard is the tribal system, binding each unit of the tribe to his chief, in constant rivalry with every other tribe, in the case of the civilised native our strongest safeguard is his vested interest in the country, the possession of land and home.

And should the day ever come—as come it may—when we have to hold our own against an enemy, black or white, or both, it will then be seen that if we need to make a call upon these civilised natives they will respond to the call with a loyalty and bravery true to the death; and what more can we wish from anyone? I, for one, am persuaded that no fairly earned political or social privilege will ever be given to this people that will not be paid back by them with loyal service and hearty response. Make the conditions severe as you like, so long as they are just; when they are fulfilled give the promised reward. But the reward should be personal, to those individuals and those only who have come up to the mark laid down, and it should be forfeited if the

conditions are not maintained. Who is there that knows this people well who does not know that there are scores of them incomparably better qualified to vote on political subjects than many Europeans to whom the right is conceded?

It may be asked, if it is proposed to give them the franchise, what course is to be taken about other things which at present are denied; for instance, the right to be out after 9 p.m. in town, to possess firearms, to obtain liquor, and so forth. Well, by all means give them these privileges, but make a second conviction of the abuse of any of them entail the loss of everything. If these same things were allowed to men of our own colour only just so long as they continued to use them aright, how many would have to be deprived of them in a fortnight, and with what advantage both to themselves and the country! To give such liberties to the native people as a whole would be a terrible mistake, but freely and fully to give them to men of proved character and signal ability would be not only just, but in the highest degree politic; and I am convinced they would very seldom be abused.

No wiser law finds a place in our statute book than the one that prohibits the sale of liquor to natives. Any other course would mean ruin to the native and mischief to us. But already moral suasion in the case of hundreds, if not thousands, of the Amakolwa has secured total abstinence even from their own *utshwala;* and if to this moral suasion were added the further incentives of political and social liberty, safeguarded by the certainty of losing all on a second conviction for

drunkenness, the permission might safely be given to the class I have described, with the certainty that not an extra half-dozen bottles of liquor would be sold in a year. With such men the complaint against the prohibition in these things arises not from the wish to have them, so much as from the want of confidence or appreciation of improved life which the prohibition indicates.

Encourage the missionary in his work. Someone has said that to leave the population ignorant is to manufacture criminals, and to give them knowledge without religion is to manufacture devils. History seems to have recorded a verdict in favour of such a statement. We do not wish to prove it correct in this land. Neutrality in matters of religion, in the freedom it allows to each individual to serve God according to his conscience, is politically right; but indifference in religious matters is morally wrong, whether practised by an individual or by a nation; for there underlies all religions the Divine right of sovereignty, a Supreme will that works for righteousness, and it is always true that "Righteousness exalteth a nation." That policy, therefore, which, whilst allowing freedom of conscience to all, renders liberal assistance to those who are working for the nation's weal by inculcating a righteous life is the true one; and all missionaries worthy of the name, irrespective of creed, certainly try their best to secure honesty, truthfulness, and purity on the part of the people among whom they live.

Work that has for its object to make the Zulus more frugal, industrious, and honest, is

work worthy of public assistance, and because as yet all the useful education which the natives have got has been given them by missionary workers, it will be well if in the future a much more liberal policy obtains. Public money spent in definite efforts to improve the character of the population is always money well spent, whether the population be white, or black, or brown.

But apart from monetary assistance much help might be rendered, especially by those persons who occupy positions of authority in the land, to whom the native looks up for better example, and whose advice he is always prepared to value. For instance, if the Magistrates were to say to the natives coming to their courts on business, especially the more important men, "Do you send your children to school? You ought to; the Government are helping these schools in order that your children may have the benefits of the education that has been so useful to us. You should make sacrifices that your children may have what you had not the opportunity to obtain. Do you go to Church on Sunday? The Great God whom you will hear of there has claims upon all of us. You ought to go and learn about him." If remarks like this were heard to fall from the lips of the Magistrates and others in high places, there would be no need to ask for a compulsory education law. No more laments would come from the missionaries that their services on Sunday were so badly attended.

Is there anything unreasonable in this wish? Is not such talking along the line of loyalty to the Government, which in various ways has shown

a desire that they should be taught? Is there anything derogatory in the highest of the land inculcating to the lowest the duty of serving God, the King of Kings? Surely not.

It will be readily admitted by all right-thinking persons that conquest, whilst it carries rights, also imposes obligations; and when these obligations affect the welfare of such a large portion of the population, they become very solemn nor may they be shirked with impunity. This is not "Exeter Hall talk"; it is simple humanity and common sense. The time has gone when a white man could walk into a native man's kraal and demand whatever he wanted, on his own terms, and if he refused would take a stick and drive the whole kraal away, and annex what he wished. It is no use to look back on such times with a sigh, and to wish they could return. They never will. Wisdom will teach us to recognise that we have ourselves given the people some lessons in proprietary rights; and they will not fail to interpret them properly. Because, therefore, we cannot treat them as dogs, it will be better to make men of them, and treat them as men. We cannot undertake the deliberate ruin of a whole race without having to pay the certain penalty, if not in ourselves, in the persons of our children.

Nor do I think that such a policy of ruination is deliberately contemplated. We do not want to enslave the native; such an idea may be exploited for political purposes elsewhere, but it is a scandalous libel on the average colonist, whoever may advance it. No, the danger for these natives is not here; it lies in another plane altogether.

The danger is in the tendency to regard them as "necessary evils." We want cheap labour; not to make the various enterprises in which we employ them fairly remunerative, not simply to make them pay, but to make them pay one hundred per cent., and more if possible. We are apt to look upon natives simply as something that we can employ for our profit, losing sight altogether of the fact that they are part of the great human family, with feelings, hopes, sorrows, and ambitions like ourselves. We want to make what we can out of them, and beyond that ignore them altogether, so that we never take a thought of their benefit, their satisfaction, or profit. Surely all this is a miserable wrong to both ourselves and them. If they are so very low, by that very fact they ought to touch more acutely our sense of justice in their need for help. If they are so very bad, by that very fact it is our duty to make them better. If the work of dealing with them personally be distasteful, the readier should we be to help in every way the men who are prepared to devote themselves to a work which is demonstrably good and necessary.

CHAPTER XVI

Practical Education.

So far as education is concerned I see no reason for attempting to teach Natal natives more than is already provided for them.

To the iterated argument that something more from the large amount paid annually by the natives on hut-tax ought to be appropriated for higher education, I reply, No; for already in every case in which a native sends his child to school the 14s. received as hut-tax for the hut or house in which the child lives is returned as school grant; and if the native sends two children to school, for the 14s. tax that he pays he gets back in educational value 30s. The direct grant-in-aid to native schools is at the rate of 15s. per annum per child, and in the case of boarding schools from £1 to £1 10s. per annum, to say nothing of the cost of inspection, and the like. The few who are ambitious to have letters after their names (and in some cases such an ideal of "higher" education is cherished) should be left to go where there are people foolish enough to supply the demand.

As a matter of fact I hardly think there are ten native men in the country who have appropriated all that lies within the four corners of "Standard VI." There is little advantage for the natives in the memorising of printed matter, or in the passing of examinations with their pre-

tentious certificates. What they need is to learn the practical application to life of the things taught them. It is not more advanced, but more thorough teaching that is needed. Of ordinary school education there is ample provided; what further education is offered should be of a practical and industrial character.

Since all true reform must begin with an improved home life, better buildings, better furniture, better food, better surroundings, every facility should be given to native young men—the young women are well provided for at the boarding schools—for acquiring a knowledge of all that is usually comprised locally in the term "industrial work," such as brick-making, stone-dressing, brick and stone building, carpentry, shoe and harness making, fencing, blacksmithing, and waggon work. The first object should be to give to a great many the ability to do a rough but strong piece of work; so that, when such knowledge has become general, they may have their houses built and furnished on a better scale, roughly but cheaply, giving employment to those who can do such things, and enabling them to earn a wage that will make decent living a possibility.

Nor need there be any fear on the part of the European artisan that such training will result in competition between blacks and whites, for any European artisan who is worth his salt will be absolutely unaffected by it. It will be work of an entirely different and lower grade than that in which he is engaged. Moreover, this is just the kind of work that would immediately

benefit every farmer in the country, and make Farmers' Conferences leap for joy. Only imagine what it would mean if for an outlay of £6 per month every farmer could employ a man who could build his sheds, mend his ploughs, carts, and waggon, put up his fences, and do the hundred and one things that always need doing on a farm, but which now have to go undone, because 10s. or 15s. a day, the white man's wage, is too much to pay.

All this could be done without touching the work of the European mechanic. All the better and more highly paid labour would still be in his hands, unless, perhaps, he might see it to be to his advantage to employ the native to do some of the rougher and harder part of the work. It is noteworthy that in the saddlery trade, for instance, quite a number of native apprentices are employed, and no objection is raised by the European workmen to work in the same shop. The native is apprenticed to the stitching part of the trade only, the drudgery part; but he does it well, and gets paid well for it, and the European benefits. Could not something of the kind be done in other trades to everyone's satisfaction? It is senseless to cry that to make these natives useful is to take the bread out of our children's mouths. The bulk of what they could produce would be absorbed by their own people, and the rest would be entirely to our own profit.

Better methods of cultivation, including the use and making of artificial manures, rotation of crops, irrigation, and so forth, should form an important part of the industrial training given; for which purpose very suitable blocks of land

exist just below the junction of the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, on the south side of Tugela, and on the north side a little lower down, where large areas could be put under cultivation at but comparatively small cost.

An object lesson would be thereby provided, the imitation of which could be urged upon the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes, with possibly beneficial results. Economically arranged, such farms would be practically self-supporting. There are many other places at present lying useless where such schools could be started, and no doubt many experienced colonists would be prepared for a fair salary to undertake the supervision.

If the result of such instruction was to induce the natives to cultivate small areas well, instead of superficially scratching larger areas as at present, it would be a saving to the individual grower, and would, at the same time, lessen overcrowding, by making a given area produce so much more.

In connection with these farms minor industries might be worked; for instance, cultivation of the osier willow, which will thrive well in this country, with the making of baskets and the like. Work of this character, both neat and strong, is done by native children in some of the Trappist schools. Why should natives not be taught to grow the ground nut, and the castor oil plant, and extract their oils? These things do not appear to yield sufficient profit for European cultivation; but they are enough to pay the native, and a useful industry would be encouraged.

The native girls are already receiving in boarding schools a very thorough and useful industrial education. Sewing and fancy needlework, crochet, knitting, and, in the Trappist schools, crewel work, sandal making, and even lace making are taught; with washing, ironing, general housework and cookery—everything, in fact, that an intelligent native girl need know in order to make her own home later on neat and comfortable.

There is, however, a branch of instruction that, so far as I know, has never been attempted and for which there is a very great need; for, without doubt, there is a very large number of deaths of native women and children in childbirth every year. Their knowledge of obstetrics is exceedingly limited, and their methods of procedure both cruel and dangerous.

If an institution were opened for teaching the practice of midwifery, general nursing, cooking of suitable foods for the sick, and the like, where a fair number of the older girls who do not appear likely to marry could be taught, it would be of immense benefit to the people in general, for whilst the women are physically very strong, unless everything at such times goes right, their absolute ignorance of proper treatment compels them to leave nature to work out its own course, when often for want of a little simple knowledge the patient drifts away out of life. This work would provide a comfortable living for a class of women with whom the problem of how to provide themselves with life's necessaries is becoming a very serious one.

WASHING DAY AT NEW GERMANY SCHOOL.

From such an institution we should be able to draw a supply of nurses for the native wards of our hospitals, and relieve ourselves of what is a very unpleasant thing to contemplate, namely, the attendance of European female nurses on native patients.

CHAPTER XVII

Objections Anticipated.

Some readers will probably object that this development of native life and character will necessitate a higher rate of pay for the native's work; though it is difficult to make much out of him even at the present rate.

Let us look at this apparently serious objection. After all, is it an unalloyed blessing to have so much of this cheap labour? In Australia and New Zealand nothing of the kind appears to exist; every family has to do its own work, or to employ high-priced labour. Everyone works, and as everybody works, no stigma attaches to the fact. The true nobility of labour is recognised by everybody labouring.

In this country young native men or women can be got to work for a day of ten hours for sixpence or a shilling; consequently everyone employs them, and work is regarded generally as being Kafir-ish; a thing to be ashamed of, and, if possible, to be avoided.

All around there are evidences of this; the European lad of sixteen dreams of a future in which he shall have no work to do, and this idea very much influences him in the choice of a calling. Anything that involves manual labour is carefully left to the last; he will start a Kafir store, and carefully avoid putting up out-buildings or fittings of any sort that would improve his

surroundings. "He's not a nigger, you know." He will join a Police Force, or be a ticket collector on the railway; or, better still, get into the Civil Service if he can. Any mortal thing for him under the sun but hard work; and this is not because he is a lazy man, but simply because to work is "low grade." To work in a clean suit of clothes is just bearable, but to do hard, dirty work—it takes the heart out of him.

Now, however much we may deplore the fact that this cheap native labour has produced such an effect, we cannot dispute the fact that it constitutes a very serious drawback to the development of the country. If, therefore, the slow improvement of the Zulus should have, as it will, the effect of increasing the price of native labour, I see no reason to regret the fact. It is much worse that our young people should be looking at work with this great horror.

Nor is it of any use to moralise about it. Many a vehement preacher of "dignity of labour" would shrink from allowing his wife or daughter to fetch a pail of water across the yard, however physically strong they might be; nor would he himself wheel a barrow-load of anything up the street for any ordinary amount of pay; and it is just this false shame which prevents many a promising young fellow from making for himself a comfortable living.

On how many farms in the country to-day is this same reluctance to work manifest! "The Kafirs won't work," or at any rate only a few; and fences remain broken down; roofs are leaky; proper shelter for stock is wanting; fruit and

vegetables are begged from a neighbour. Yet any one of these things might have been righted by the owner, who does very little but walk about from morn till night, swearing at the "d—— lazy niggers who won't work."

A somewhat curious condition of things strikes one's notice in this connection. The cheapness of the labour has caused the native to be employed in all the drudgery of the country, down to the most minute detail so exclusively that a child of eight or nine will ask her mother to "tell the Kafir girl to bring my hat," or toys, instead of getting them for herself a yard away. The boy will call Tom to bring his boots, to put them on, to lace them up, and so on. So we have come to look upon work of any sort as beneath us, and then, by a curious mental twist, we have come to regard the native as of "low grade," because he does it. He is disreputable because he is a worker, and yet we read homilies to our young people on the "dignity of labour," in face of acquiescence in such facts as these.

To every argument of improving the status of the native, the stereotyped reply is "Education—political rights—improved status in social life? Teach a Kafir? Yes, I'd teach him; teach him to clean a horse. Give him a social status? Yes, I'd give him one with a sjambok; I'd status him with a stick." And so forth.

Now, why all this? Why should it be such an outrageous thing to propose to civilise and Christianise this people? We spend money gladly on the improvement of breed in our cattle, or in the quality of the land we cultivate, just to

get the best we can secure. But if you talk about improving the native, people think you are either a fool or a Christian, for with many the terms appear to be regarded as synonymous. We are being "hoist with our own petard." We have made these natives do our work until now we dare not do it ourselves, and our children will not. In very desperation we refuse to entertain the idea of attempting to raise them lest we should have to do it.

It has been further objected that by their very nature these Africans are absolutely incapable of the "sustained effort" which lies at the foundation of a possible civilisation, as evidenced by the fact that the negro slaves of America have not manifested it although when slaves they were daily exercised in the magic art of working; and the further fact that although civilisation has touched these Africans for centuries, in different places, and under varying circumstances, it has never taken root amongst them and any improvement made under civilised control, has, when that control was removed, disappeared like the baseless fabric of a dream; proving—says the objector, the uselessness of attempting to make them a civilised people—as they are without the natural capabilities requisite for this independent sustained effort.

At first sight the argument appears conclusive, for the facts are as stated, but true as are the facts they do not warrant the inference made, for here as elsewhere "circumstances alter cases."

Let us look at the inference thus made. It is said they are *incapable*. In what respects are

they so? Surely not physically, for a more splendid physique than the Zulu's it would be difficult to find. Is it a mental incapacity, then by so much as it is true is the plea for education strengthened. Something wanting in their brain power? They do not evidence this in their general powers of reasoning or in their everyday action. What is wrong? Why have all the experiments so constantly failed to evoke this "sustained effort?" Possibly the explanation of the cause of failure may be an indication of what is the key to the problem before us.

So far as the case of the American negroes is concerned the explanation is not far to seek. It should not be a matter of wonder that a people who all their lifetime had been compelled to a drudgery of work, with no choice either of master, or of employment, with no monetary advantage accruing therefrom, driven every day of the year from dawn to dark, at the mercy of the slave driver who accompanied his orders with the cruelty of the lash, from which there was no way of escape but death, denied proprietory rights even on their own flesh and blood, until the word *work* was burnt as with a hot iron into their very souls, a synonym for the greatest curse that existed on earth, surely it is no wonder that such a people freed from such abject and cruel slavery with a suddenness that was kindly but very unwise, should throw down the tools that had been the emblem of a horrible servitude and resolve that as far as possible they would never touch them again. We can't, we don't wonder at it, though we wonder that there are some persons who in the

face of such facts have no solution for the problem of how to improve the Zulu than the arbitrary one of teach them to work, ignoring the patent-fact that all sustained effort not only the knowledge of how to do the work but also an incentive, a satisfactory reason why the work should be done at all. To give a man the knowledge of some handicraft by which he may earn a decent living is one thing, but with it, if he is to be a *working man* you must give him a desire for the decent living for which he will have to work.

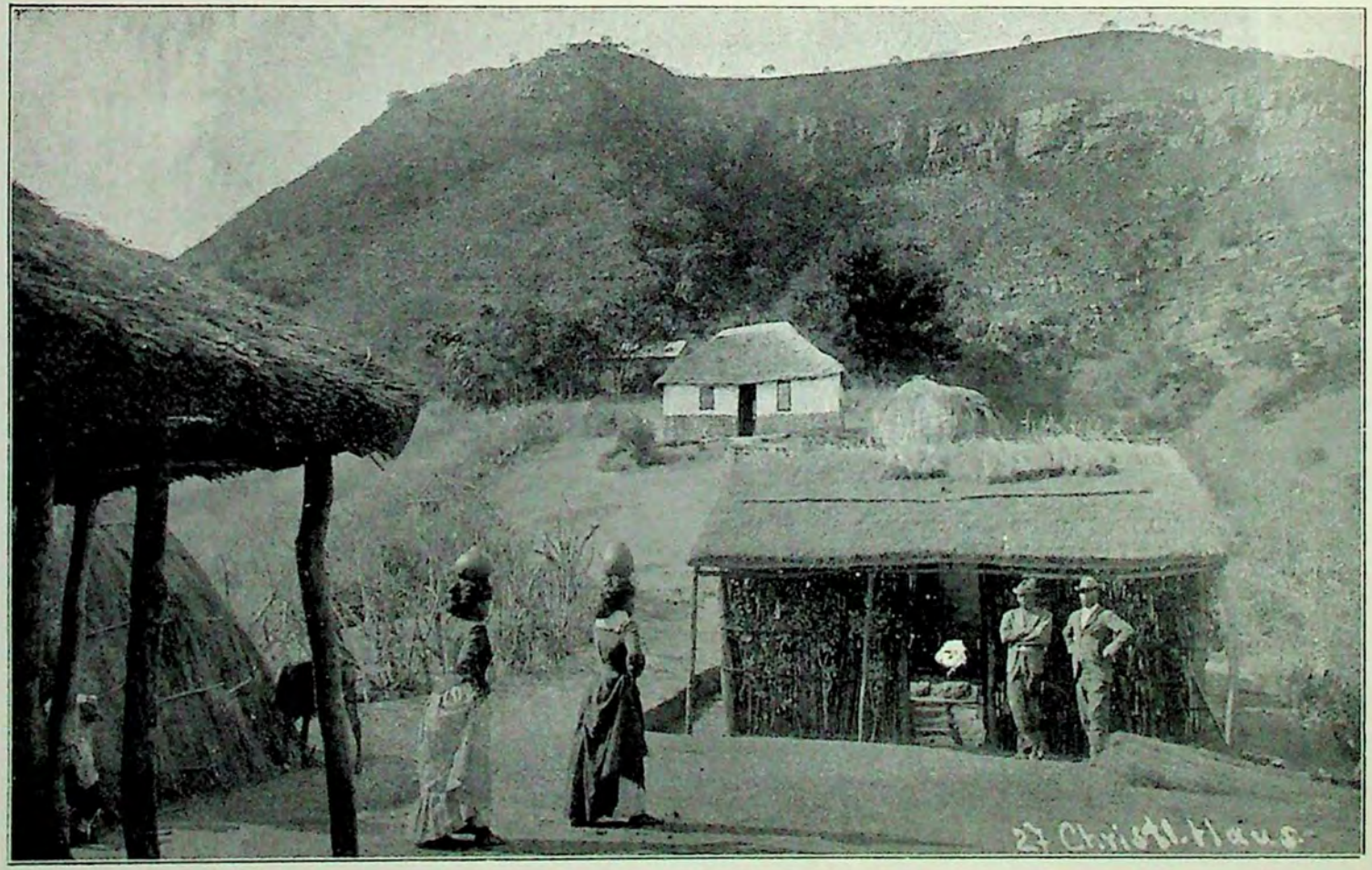
The same line of explanation accounts for the other failures referred to. The fact is that wherever civilisation has touched the African, it has always been a touch of compulsion, they have always been exploited for the special benefit of the civilized power and no attempt seems to have ever been made to help them to help themselves.

It seems evident that a people to whom from time immemorial work, as they have known it, has been regarded as only fit for women; and work as we have explained it to them, has been both irksome and degrading will need as an inducement to sustained effort, something very much more than mere wages, however high those wages may be, for evidently the higher the wage the sooner they can leave off working.

Evidently what is wanted is to give the native an ideal of life that is so much higher than his present ideal, that the new life will be full of needs that grow as he grows, that always leave something to be desired, a something that will keep him working to secure a style of life ever on

the up grade, a life the worst parts of which are being constantly repressed and curtailed, and the better parts of which are being constantly encouraged and rewarded, a better life that is possible only as the man becomes a better man.

Give this and very rapidly and very gladly the Zulu will prove both capable and willing to make the "sustained effort" that marks the civilised man; and not a few have already done so.



A "KOLWA" HOMESTEAD.

CHAPTER XVIII

Conclusion.

These ideas are not the result of a severe attack of Exeter Hall fever, nor are they the ravings of a sentimental negrophilist passing rapidly through the country, and getting his ideas second-hand. They are the outcome of the observation and thought of one who has lived among this people for the last fifty-four years, and whose occupation both as overseer of natives on estates and as Inspector of native schools has given him opportunities that are fairly extensive.

The sober fact is that we have to deal with a million or more of people who are with us to stay; of splendid physique, wonderful powers of observation, and a keen sense of justice. They are not animals to be "broken in," and ordered about as we like; they cannot be deported to some other country when their presence is no longer required. We must, perforce, do something with them, and the method of dealing with them herein propounded, even if it be a method bristling with difficulties, and at present approved by but a small minority, is worthy of consideration, if only because it proposes a work of construction instead of destruction; and where human life and character are involved we have no choice.

No one will dispute the fact that our handling of these natives for the last fifty years has not

proved a success. Fifty years ago every native behaved respectfully to a white man; locks on doors and windows, even in solitary country places, were not needed, and, in fact, did not exist; and yet property was safe, and labour, if not skilled, was fairly trustworthy. How different to-day!

During the early part of that time we had them completely in our hands, amenable to law and reason. We could have moulded them as we liked; but we preferred to let them drift without any definite objective for them even in our minds. We had their labour, and the rest was a matter of absolute indifference. To-day there are influences at work that make the problem a much more difficult one.

We find that we cannot make a breeding warren of the locations, to draw thence our labour supply when and on what terms we wish. It is impossible now to turn back the tide of native public opinion; we have a people on the move, the better class in an upward direction, feeling out, blindly it may be, for foothold on which to rise to something better. Shall we try to beat them back? Surely that were an unwise thing to do. The folk of the other class are reverting to brutishness, constituting a very nursery of criminals, many of them definitely on the down grade. It only needs a few more years of "letting alone" for them to develop into a menace to every white family in the country; submissive, but resentful; sullen, but suspicious, learning rapidly to take all the kicks and cuffs we choose to give them, in silence,

but already beginning to wonder if it is worth their while caring how they live. Despising the so-called punishments we inflict for violations of law, they will before long, at least many of them, gravitate to the level of the outlaw, trusting to the intricacies of hill and forest to escape capture.

When that day comes, a day to be dreaded a thousand times more than any native rising, we shall bitterly regret the neglect of opportunity and effort that might have made a fine race into a useful, intelligent, and industrious folk. Wanting nothing from them but work, we shall find they give us plenty of it—the work of catching the criminal.

Even to-day they begin to value a contract lightly, made in apparent good faith, which in early years would have been regarded as sacred. They begin to be absolutely indifferent to employers' loss resulting from their capricious resolution to leave off work. They take little interest in the improvement even of their own life surroundings. Why is this? Because they are being constantly taught how little we care for them except in so far as we can make something out of them.

Let us adopt a policy that shall be definitely "a terror to evildoers and a praise to them that do well," a policy that in the course of time will result in an increase of decency, intelligence, and industry.

We seem to be standing just where the force of circumstances compels us to make choice of one of two courses. We cannot in any conscience

deliberately propose extermination, the anathema of many a European notwithstanding.

If the only result of this book seeing the light be that some few will be led to try impartially to weigh the merits and demerits of the course herein advocated, I shall have gained my purpose, assured as I am that the errors of the past have been caused more through want of thought, or a knowledge of facts, than by fault of intention; and if only a little something can be done in this direction good will come.

The object proposed may appear at first sight unpleasantly humane, not at all fitting in with all our prejudices; but if it should be seen on examination to be the right thing, our course is plain. Our responsibility to find a solution to this great problem we cannot possibly evade. It is a part of the conditions on which we occupy the country. We owe it to the people, to our own Christian nationality, to the God whom we profess to serve.

To do what I have suggested may seem to many to be giving to the native altogether too much; but if what I have advanced is only fairly correct, then it must be true that something of the kind comes to us as duty.

It is as true to-day as ever it was, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," and

"No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does."