

## SHEPSTONE, JOHN

7.3.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, page attached to back cover.

Questions for Mr J.W. Shepstone re Sir T. Shepstone.<sup>1</sup>

Does the Trim go into the Axe or the Avon? There are two Westburys, one 20, other 5 miles from Bristol.

How many brothers and sisters did Sir T.S. have? Genealogy.

Where did he learn the 'Native' language? Where 'Dutch'?

How long was he at Peddie?

Relations with Colenso.

Notable expeditions in Natal to Native chiefs etc.

His relations whilst Dip. Agent, Natal, with chiefs in South Africa outside Natal.

Describe special mission by Capt. Kyle to Zulu King in 1847.

Visit to Mpande in 1852 or '53.

Notes communicated to Times of Natal.

Why was Boundary Commission appointed, March 1878?

Delivery of ultimatum to Zulus at Lower Drift, Tugela - describe this.

Sir T.'s characteristics

- hobbies, leisure, amusements
- friends and acquaintance
- Native advisers.

Tour in connection with hut tax.

Tour in connection with marriage law.

Relations with Swazis.

Any letters by Sir T.S. available?

Photos of T.S., house, father, mother etc; pamphlets, books, documents.

Settlement of Zululand (Wolseley). Did Sir T.S. advise; if so, on what lines?

Langalibalele affair - Sir T.'s policy in regard thereto.

Natal Police corps, 1848-1854. Why disbanded?

What is the Shepstonian Native Policy? It has been frequently assailed. How would you vindicate it?

Outline the modus operandi of original judicial assessor's court. What was the

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- procedure? Where did court sit? How were judgments executed? Any difficulties?
- On what occasions was Sir T. treated with contempt by Natives?
- Why was he called Theophilus, after whom?
- Have you read evidence before Cape 1883 Commission?
- Character of Jojo
- Character of Ngoza
- What were expeditions against Sidoyi and Matshana about? Describe. Fodo. Ncapayi.
- Tifokati's marriage to T.S.

<The words 'Fodo. Ncapayi.' above, together with the questions and points of inquiry which follow, appear in the original in pencil, whereas the previous questions and points of inquiry were written in ink. Stuart does not indicate whether or not the two sets of notes were entered on the same day or different days - eds.>

- Sir T.S. visit to Zululand in 1861 when nearly wiped out.
- Where did Rev. W. Shepstone die?<sup>2</sup>
- Refer to Bathurst, Wesleyville, Morley, Beka, Kamastone. What other places did he go to?
- Follow Rev. W. Shepstone's history up to July 1846 when J.W.S. was appointed Govt. Interpr. Natal.
- When and where did Mrs Shepstone die? What was her maiden name? When and where did 2nd marriage occur and to whom? Family.
- General differences between Pondos and Xosas - compare with Zulus.
- Fingoes
- Kind of Natives about Fort Peddie, chiefs etc.
- Records at Cape, i.e. Sir T.S. despatches.
- J.W.S. book.
- Isibalo*
- Origin of 'Somtseu'
- Sources of assistance: (a) Europeans, (b) Natives
- Izibongo*
- Houses Theoph. lived in
- T. married Maria, daughter of Charles Palmer, Commissary Genl. in 1833 (Encyc. B.)
- Mtintandaba regt. (Ngoza)
- Names of Cape chiefs and places: Gaika, Gcaleka (Galeka), Tambookie, Vadanna, Voosanie, Hinza, Makana, Daapa, Depa, Amadola, Amandola, Macomo (Maqoma), Amakakabi, Amagonakwebi (p. 422, 423, Kay).
- Best Zulu linguists: F.B. Fynney, J.R. Dunn, Samuelson, Cross, Brickhill, Sir T. Shepstone, J.W. Shepstone, Saunders, H.F. Fynn, Ogle
- Origin of name Kei (Nciba)
- AmaDhlambi and amaGqunukwebi
- Dushani

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'Usutu'

Pmb in 1847

Had any of the residents in Pmburg got guns?

Relations with the Boers in Pmburg

Firing of gun from Fort Napier

What about old people, e.g. old Vanderplank?

Questions (subjects)

Give some account of T.'s life at Peddie. The Fingoes.

Relations with Colenso.

Relations with chiefs outside Natal and Zululand.

Special mission by Capt. Kyle to Zulu King in 1847.

Delivery of ultimatum to Zulus at lower drift, Tugela.

'Poko' and 'ox-hide' incidents.

First tour in connection with hut tax.

Wolseley settlement in Zululand.

Langalibalele affair. T.'s policy.

Modus operandi and constitution, judicial assessor's court.

Occasions on which T. was publicly treated with contempt by Natives.

Sidoyi expedition.

Fodo expedition.

Matshana expedition.

Ncapayi expedition.

Tifokati's being sent to marry Sir T.S. by Swazi king.

Differences between Pondos and Xosas. Compare both with Zulus.

Origin and meaning of word 'Somtseu'.

Origin of 'Usutu'.

When firing of gun from Fort Napier began.

Faku expedition of 1850.

Turning of Langalibalele out of Ladysmith district.

Issue - second union. Rev. W.S.

<8.3.1912>. Cliff House.<sup>3</sup>

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 1-14.

<In the original, the first digit of the date, together with most of the words in a brief set of notes pencilled in the margin beneath it, is obscured by a piece of adhesive tape. The date 8.3.1912 appears in Stuart's handwriting on the front cover of the notebook in which he recorded the evidence that follows - eds.>

1 Notes of conversation re Sir Theophilus Shepstone's life - by J.W. Shepstone Esq.

<The originals of the notes which follow were written in pencil, with numerous elaborations and insertions in ink. We here give the emended version. We retain,

with minor literations, the telegraphic form in which much of the original was recorded - eds.>

Trim goes into Avon - just below Clifton.<sup>4</sup> Westbury on Trim where Sir T.S. born. Theophilus, two girls, one of them dead (young), William, J.W.S., and George, and Mrs Giddy.<sup>5</sup> These were members of my father's family. He was married twice, issue both unions. Somerset and Gloucester are our counties in England, especially Clifton and Bristol. My father frequently spoke of these towns. My father was a builder. His father was a master builder. My father was of delicate health, slight build and had had bad asthmatic attacks. Went as missionary to Morley first of all.<sup>6</sup> Sir T.S. learnt language there. Threatened with attacks by Natives who were very independent.

Mdepa, chief, took Miss Campbell to wife - wrecked.<sup>7</sup> Party was sent to bring her back. She had had children and would not come back. It was to this chief's district that my father was sent as missionary. Sir T.S. went too and here it was he learnt the Xosa language. Xosa language better preserved than Zulu. *Hashi* word came from Cape.<sup>8</sup> *Injomane* is the Zulu word.

Hinza was paramount chief.<sup>9</sup> Things were all referred to him.

Nongqauzi (girl) was niece of the prophet Mhlakaza (Mahlangeni? Mhlazana?) - was *isangoma*.<sup>10</sup> Natives had their prophets. Nxele was a prophet. Took an army to Grahamstown 1819.<sup>11</sup> Bullets would be turned into water - was one of the beliefs  
2 then created in the native mind by prophets. The army went in full confidence forward to attack.

Quiet to 1835, i.e. from 1819 war to 1835.

Dun-coloured cattle to be killed - said by another prophet.

Nongqauzi was a ventriloquist.

The prophets used of an evening to go to broken ground where there was an echo. They declared there would be a general resurrection of all the cattle. '*How will it be in the heavens?*' asked some.<sup>12</sup> Mhlakaza affair occurred in '55 or '56. Sir G. Grey there then.<sup>13</sup> Got credit for saving a war. Natives, however, stopped it themselves by killing their cattle. Women killed their own children and ate them - so story goes.

Simultaneous rising was wanted by Hinza but he could not manage it.

Brownlee (C). says 25 000 Natives died of want.<sup>14</sup> Brownlee a good man - good Native scholar.

Brownlee was with me at ultimatum; he came with Sir Bartle Frere. Col. Pearson, Col. Walker, Brownlee and Fynn were present. Brownlee an old schoolfellow of mine, but rather older than I was. He may have advised Frere re Zulu War. Bulwer did not like war with Zulus.<sup>15</sup>

Date by which Zulus must give answer was fixed in ultimatum - I suggested it be left open, thereby leaving Government free to act whenever it felt it to be necessary.

3 Bulwer liked my proposal but Frere would not accept it.

I got back on a Sunday. Frere in church at the time - came to where I was with Sir H. Bulwer with books and prayer books in his hand 'Well, Mr S., will they accept ult. or not?' I said I did not think so. He said whilst twirling his chain, 'Not one hour

after 30 days.' Brownlee not present at that interview.

I remember my brother at Morley. Then about 14 and a schoolboy. He was very apt at languages.

Boyce was at Wesleyville near Grahamstown.<sup>16</sup> The grammar really done in Grahamstown.<sup>17</sup> I do not remember seeing my brother at Wesleyville at all, showing he was then in employ somewhere (Salem).<sup>18</sup>

When T. left school, which was at 16 or so, he went to Grahamstown - did not come home to Wesleyville. Boyce was, I believe, stationed at Mt Coke between Wesleyville and Kingwilliamstown. He used to ride over to Wesleyville. I do not remember ever seeing my brother there.

Wesleyan missionaries had printing office in Grahamstown. I there saw my brother; he did not learn printing. My brother really found euphonic concord, which discovery Boyce claimed credit of.<sup>19</sup>

- 4 Before emancipation of Fingoes, no natives in Cape proper. They fell beyond its borders. Hottentots dwindled off, died out.

William, my brother, was comdt. of Native levies in 1850-51 at Whittlesea, near Queenstown. Died in '61 at the my father <sic>.

My father died in 1873 in Cape Colony, near Queenstown.

Dutch - my brother picked this up among Hottentots. Knew it very well - learnt at Grahamstown. There were Hottentot servants.

T. was at Peddie after returning from his first visit to Natal.<sup>20</sup> Was appointed interpreter to Col. (Sir H.) Smith in 1835.<sup>21</sup> Think this war lasted about a year; people reluctant to go back to farms.<sup>22</sup> I was then a schoolboy. I had to go from Salem (school) to Grahamstown - no school in Grahamstown then. Boys from Grahamstown came to Salem.

Dutch understood the commandeering of horses by T. - large envelope. He had to commandeer them when he rode to Cape Town in connection with first voyage to Natal.

Between 1835 and 1838 T. was in Grahamstown.<sup>23</sup>

- 5 Used to go to office every day. That I well remember. Fingoes were distributed all over, Peddie, Alice, Fort Beaufort. Think T. had to do with them. There was no one else to do it. Natives very independent and wild in those days.

We lived under dangerous conditions in those parts.

<The paragraph which follows appears in the original as an insertion in the upper margin of p. 5. Stuart indicates that it should appear at this point in place of telegraphic notes on the same subject - eds.>

Once we were to be attacked. An *impi* came along but during the night, when bivouacked, one man jumped up shouting, '*Ingene*'. Whereupon they began stabbing one another.<sup>24</sup> This incident was regarded as an *omen (umhlola)*, so enemy decided to refrain from carrying out their intention and go back home.

At Fort Peddie he remained till December 1845 - got to Natal in December.

Elephant story, Natal.<sup>25</sup>

At Fort Peddie. There was a murder in Pato's district.<sup>26</sup> This man, Pato, had known us well since we were children. Man of name of Charles Besant - a storekeeper - amongst lot of tribes was found murdered one morning. T. tried to find out who had committed the crime. Besant was a harmless and quiet man, say 30-35; he could not speak the native language. It was T.'s duty to enquire as the matter was within his jurisdiction. Dhlambe, Gqunukwebi etc. tribes there. He collected chiefs together to find out. I was present and listened to inquiry. Hottentot servant of T.'s got hold of certain information which tended to implicate Pato. Pato got hold of this  
6 news and made up his mind to kill my brother by waylaying him. He was waylaid several times but always had men to put out to warn him in good time of intended attack. No kaffir paths then - the bush was too dense. The Natives were disinclined to go a distance to waylay - no way of getting food, for no kraals thereabouts. Did not suit their purpose to go any distance to carry out design.

This waylaying was done over a river - till a German missionary came to Kaffirland with his waggon. There was accompanying him a waggon of Tainton's (cousin of ours) making for Peddie. These waggons outspanned outside Fish River bush - or jungle. T. happened to be in Grahamstown at the time. The Hottentot was with T. but took advantage of position, having no horse, and came by waggons. After camping in evening (bright moonlight) saw objects in bushes - there were very many wolves - they said, 'If we had gun we might shoot those wolves.' However, nothing was done. Waggons were shut up and people retired to rest. Hottentot presently took  
7 a stick of fire and said let us see if things are still there. All went forward, 5 or 6 of them. At last they found a lot of kaffirs huddled up and armed. The Hottentot threw stick in among them and ran, the men rushing after him. They overtook Hottentot before he got back to waggon, '*Here is the one who told on us,*' and killed him. Did not trouble about others. Then came on to waggons. The missionary, hearing noise, opened flap of waggon and leaned out. Kaffir came up and stabbed him in the pit of the stomach; he died that night. Kaffirs were satisfied they had killed my brother and the Hottentot. They then went off; did not interfere with either waggon. Did not attempt to kill others.<sup>27</sup>

This made my brother decide to get away from that district. He got offer afterwards to come to Natal and seized it.

It was never ascertained why Besant was killed. He was quite alone in the house. May have had an altercation with some Native. No light ever thrown on matter. Was  
8 an employee under Joseph Walker. He, Walker, was a good linguist.

J. Walker was present when inquiry was made. A native (fine-looking fellow) asked Walker why man was killed. Walker said, '*He died after being threatened (Wafa esongelwe).*' 'Alright, go on,' said the Native. From 11 a.m. till 11 a.m. next day continued the discussion as to who had *made the threat* and on what grounds etc. Walker was called on to justify his assertion. A native will not pass over a question

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until it has been answered. Don't know if my brother gave W. hint not to speak out and give information or not. Walker finally said he had no grounds for making his assertion and he had made the remark merely as a matter of opinion ('*Nda ndi linganisa*').

T. had to make inquiry on behalf of Govt. W. Fynn was at Fort Beaufort then as agent.<sup>28</sup> Reported to Government all tranquil thereabouts. T. and W.F. sent for to meet Governor. Proved that Natives were hostile and Fynn was mistaken. All barricaded at Fort Beaufort. Lagers at Winterberg and other places.

Ride from Grahamstown. My brother was alone. In the Fish River bush nearer Peddie than Grahamstown, two kaffirs sprang out of the bush, seized his horse and told him to dismount. One kaffir said to the other, 'Knock him off.' T. dismounted and the kaffirs took the horse. They did nothing more to my brother. T. guessed from the accent and dialect the chief they belonged to. He then shouted after them, 'Tell so and so (giving correct name) I want that horse back at Nqutshwa (Fort Peddie) with all its belongings.' (He was very plucky). One kaffir looked at the other, 'Oh! *It is Somsewu*,<sup>29</sup> and forthwith let go the horse and went off. T. caught the horse and went on his journey. He was always very cool and calm when in danger.

Once he had ridden out to Botumana or Mbodhla, a chief.<sup>30</sup> The chief met T., evidently waylaid him. As he rode up B. came up to him and spoke rather insolently (for he was in T.'s jurisdiction). 'I've met thee, oh mine enemy,' passed through my brother's mind. T. felt in his power. He turned at once to his boy. 'Give me my gun,' he said. It was given, a double-barrelled one. Botomana was there with his son and other men scattered about nearby. 'Now look here, Botomana: There are 2 bullets in this gun. If you intend doing anything from the way you speak, one bullet is for you and the other is for your son.' Botomana said, 'I was merely joking (*Nda ndi ncobola nje*)'. 'Won't you offsaddle?' T. said, 'Yes,' and rode a few yards and offsaddled. He kneehaltered the horses and sat talking some time, when Botomana got up, stretching himself. (There were dwarf mimosas about.) He said, 'Whose goats are those over there?' Sir T. told the boy to catch the horses. He then saddled up and rode off. Shows his calmness when in actual danger.

B. wanted to see how his men were situated and was evidently giving a signal to them.

Ride. T. was in Grahamstown. A report came to Government as to something wrong in country in my brother's direction, i.e. Fort Peddie way. He was ordered to go out that night at once. He had no horses, had to hire. The man supplying horses was to give one for the Hottentot (a hotel Hottentot, to bring back horses). Hottentot was half-seas over; he rode troublesome horse. My brother's was a good horse. They rode 8 or 10 miles, got to a place called Driver's Hill, rode down it. When they got to bottom, my brother decided to change horses with the Hottentot, and walked on a little way, dismounted, whilst changing going on. Moon just rising at that time. He saw something between himself and the moon. He thought he saw a stone but, as moon rose higher, he perceived the whole outline of a lion. The lion saw him at once. Just about same time the man came up with the two horses, the Hottentot being

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12 already mounted on the good horse. Directly he got to my brother, he gave over reins of horse to be ridden, and, uttering one shriek, dashed off as hard as he could, leaving my brother standing there with his horse. The lion did not do anything; it was the only one in the country. T. then had to pass through Driver's bush, infested at that time with wolves.<sup>31</sup> Got through all right, got to Fraser's camp 5 or 6 miles further on, where he slept that night. When he got there he found the Hottentot had already arrived, and quite sober. He went on next day to Peddie.

[Written 2½ hrs afterwards.]

13 In 1850 I was stationed at Fort Nottingham, on what is now Sir D. McKenzie's farm. My brother came up there on a visit. When out in the field a couple of reedbuck got up and made off. At once the two greyhounds Theophilus had usually with him set off after them. Dr Gibbs was with my brother.<sup>32</sup> This other person and I having separated from Theophilus, afterwards came on him astride one of the reedbuck, holding it down, the buck having been caught by the dogs. He asked me for a knife: I had none. We went to where the doctor was. He too denied having one, but wondered whether an old three-bladed clasp knife he had just picked up on the spot would be any good! This was very singular as no Boer could have had such a knife at that time, so it must have been dropped by some Englishman, which in those early days was very strange. The buck was killed on J.W.S. twisting its neck. It could not very well be carried on horseback.

14 In 1849 Langalibalele was turned out of the Utrecht district (still known by Boers as Balele), when he came into Natal proper.<sup>33</sup> One day J.W.S. and Theophilus were together in the field. The greyhounds chased some jackals and caught one. On getting up, the question of carrying the jackal was considered. Presently the animal jumped up and, running away, escaped. It had evidently been feigning to be dead!

<The originals of the notes which follow were written in pencil, with numerous elaborations and insertions in ink - eds.>

10.3.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 14-21.

Elephant affair at Durban, 1838.<sup>34</sup> [See papers by J.W.S.]<sup>35</sup>

Mission to Faku was in 1844. Sir Peregrine Maitland took up a treaty to be signed.<sup>36</sup>

Faku expedition of 1850. J.W.S. went on this.<sup>37</sup>

J.W.S. and Kyle re district north of Tugela and Buffalo.<sup>38</sup>

1849 Langalibalele - turned out of Ladysmith district. Went with my brother Theophilus on this occasion.<sup>39</sup>

No letters of Sir T.S. are in my possession. Rupert has photo of Rev. W. Shepstone. Miss Brookes was name of my mother, Rev. W.S.'s wife. It is an Irish name.<sup>40</sup>



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Kamastone, for Shepstone name of mission station, Witbergen, Herschel district. The first Kamastone mission station was located there. I have a photo of this old station.<sup>41</sup>

Kobe, not Kobi. Pato, Kobe and Kama were 3 brothers, half brothers, of amaGqunukwebe tribe.<sup>42</sup> Pato's kraal was in sight of Wesleyville.

My mother died in July 1832.<sup>43</sup>

Nightingale - first reporter.<sup>44</sup>

15 Mr Matthews was schoolmaster at Salem. He was my schoolmaster.

Col. Somerset came with troops on hearing of invasion. Intended to oppose Chaka but met Matiwane and fought them.<sup>45</sup> 'That is what finished us off (*Nako okwasi qedayo*),' i.e. bayonets. The amaNgwane said this when I visited them in about 1849.<sup>46</sup> Rockets: 'All bushes got on fire,' said the Natives.<sup>47</sup> Mist coming on. I was only about 18 months old at time.<sup>48</sup>

Umyeki was the only stout Xosa I ever saw.<sup>49</sup> Had only *invaba* (milk sack) for *curds* - no beer.

.... <Linguistic note omitted - eds.>

In about 1830 wolves were frightful. Tshaka's *impis* caused this, for wolves got ravenous through eating human flesh. Wolves would always take the children. I remember a girl came to Morley with 14 wolf bites on her - side of her face was torn away. She was rescued. Natives tried to cure her of these wounds. They made her a target for boys and their spears as her case was hopeless. She escaped and sat on tree all night. Came to us about 11 on a sunny day. About 1831 or so.

One night I was put to bed in usual way. Afterwards I heard some loud sniffing at or near my window, outside. It turned out to be a wolf sniffing, and had its paws on the window sill - bright moonlight night. I was then about 4. Father came on my calling out; he had nothing in his hand. I called out, frightened. Had a very narrow  
16 escape. I was alone in room in bed. On another occasion a wolf came into our kitchen and carried off a large pot of dripping. After being taken some way, the wolf in trying to get at the dripping bit through the sides of the pot. I wanted pot kept as a curio. Father had a gun for he had gunpowder.

Quite open country about Morley, but bush between that and Umtata river.

There was a sawpit 40-50 yards off house. Seeing a fire which threatened to burn house down, my father carried out and put into the sawpit some powder - put it in the pit for safety. It appeared inevitable house would be burnt but a curious change of wind took place and house was saved.

Fish River bush. This was full of elephants. Once a party went out and came to look. Elephant that had been wounded suddenly got up to charge. Father aimed at random but managed to hit in the right place and killed it.

Animals communicating with each other. I believe in this. Father says riding one day through Fish River bush he saw elephants everywhere, 3's, 6's and 7's, all on the move. Could not make out cause or what had scared them. From that day to day of

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his death he never saw an elephant anywhere. They were all trekking that day for some other part of the country. They were to be found in Addo or Nqado bush between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, and also in Knysna bush.

This exodus happened when people began to hunt them.

- 17 Theophilus - 'lover of God' - father's fancy name - not in family.

My father died at the last Kamastone, near Queenstown - the station was about 20 miles off. He died in 1873. He never wrote anything. He was a great reader, very clever man. Major Erskine once went to see my father.<sup>50</sup> He said on his return, 'Theophilus can't hold a candle to him.' He had a small head.

Sonzica should be Sonjica.<sup>51</sup> Samuelson inquired as to meaning of name in the Cape Colony.<sup>52</sup> Given as 'So determined' and 'so decided'. '*A nga libeka igamu, so ku jica!*' - 'If he says anything there's nothing more to be said'. *Injica* was a broad, grass armband, worn by Natives - 2 in. wide - father used to admire these very much. My father was also admired by Natives, being handsome. The name may have arisen from his admiring and his being admired. He had an open, general countenance - never ruffled, more active spirit than my brother Theophilus.

I was born in Grahamstown in 1827. I don't know if my father was there then or not.

The Umzimvubu could not have been crossed until about 10 miles up. This apropos of Farewell's murder by Nqeto as fixed on Kay's map (see Caffrarian Researches).<sup>53</sup>

- 18 Position of Morley. Morley quite close to sea. There was, I remember, a ridge (narrow) 150 yards from our house. I remember a ship coming in sight and my father signalling to it with sheet. Our house was 3 or 4 miles off sea. Further from Mtata than from sea. It seemed to me 6 or 7 miles off from Mtata.

My mother died at iBira river, called Beka by Europeans. There was a little mission station there. Rev. Roberts was in charge.<sup>54</sup> Mother buried there. That was the same spot where Charles Besant was killed.

W.G.B. Shepstone, my brother, very plucky fellow.<sup>55</sup> Had running fight once when commandant at Whittlesea in the war of 1850. Lasted all night. He had a pointer dog. This had to be tied up. Attack so hurried that there was no time to tie it up.

'Schiet de wit hond sijn baas; hij kommandir (Shoot the white dog's master; he commands),' shouted the enemy. Tied up because did not want dog - no use in field when fighting was on. The dog happened to be forgotten that night and so came out. William was very fond of bird shooting, hence the pointer.

- 19 W.G.B. Shepstone died in 1861 at Kamastone, at my father's place. He was the first magistrate at Queenstown. Was Chairman of Land Board. Sir George Grey once came and found fault with Land Board. My brother thereupon took up his hat and said, 'You must excuse me, Sir, I can't hear abusing the board of which I am the

chairman.' He took up his hat. He was persuaded by Sir G.G. to remain, which he thereupon did.

Sir G. Grey said to Maclean afterwards, when out together and speaking of William, 'I thought I saw some fire in his eye!'<sup>56</sup>

Mission to Faku in 1844. Sir P. Maitland had drawn up a treaty and entrusted it to my brother and William Fynn to take to Faku so that he might put his signature to it also.<sup>57</sup> They went. Rev. Jenkins (Marwanqana) was at Faku's. He was long in residence there.<sup>58</sup> Faku signed it; Ndamase, his eldest son, also signed. T.S., Fynn and Jenkins also signed. The treaty was about a grant of land south of Umzimkulu - should, I consider, have been Umzimvubu, for British Government (or Cape) had no jurisdiction as far as Umzimkulu. Faku denied to me when I saw him later having any jurisdiction east of Umtamvana.

20 Natal Native Police Corps. The Native Corps was authorized by Sir Harry Smith, the High Commissioner (for we were still under Cape jurisdiction in those days). This was end of 1847. I was appointed as officer in the corps on 8th March 1848, date of my letter of appointment. My brother Theophilus was appointed Captain. The strength was 200. Only 2 white officers, Melville and myself.<sup>59</sup> M. was very delicate. Melville could not undertake long journeys to Drakensberg etc. Afterwards James Howell, a lawyer, was appointed.

When Pine came in 1850,<sup>60</sup> he got vexed at something. In 1850 the Cape Government requested this Government to assist with a force so as to attack the Xosas at the sources of the Imbashi [Umbashi?] and Nciba (Kei) river, where European troops never reached and where Kaffirs always felt secure. (Cattle and children were accordingly concealed there - sort of Nomansland.) Native Police and Native levies from different chiefs were got together, some 4 000 - 5 000 men. We  
21 were not then sure of feeling of Zulu power towards us (Natal). Natives grumbled to my brother about Zulus, for '*Our children will be left by themselves.*' The scheme could not be carried out - fell through.

I had not actually left Pietermaritzburg - I was to follow up, hence I am not familiar with causes of all this falling through.

One or two of the Native Police said something or another - I think Jantshi (alias Mqundane). Pine thought such statement amounted to disrespect and was mutinous, and decided to disband the corps, which was done - very useful lot of men.<sup>61</sup>

I felt we ought to have a Native Corps. I still think there should be a Native regiment. Keep, say, at Zwartkop.<sup>62</sup> I have always had this opinion. They (Natives) like having authority. Responsible Government has done so much harm in removing responsibility from the chiefs - such a step removed power and authority. The chiefs like to govern. They know their people and work in our interest if entrusted with the management of their affairs.

The Corps was armed with 'Brown Bess' muzzle-loaders, rather long, with bayonets. These guns came in before the breechloaders.

One must utilize services of Natives in connection with themselves, i.e. in regard to management of their own affairs.

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File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 22-33.

22 I got to Pietermaritzburg about May 1846.

Pietermaritzburg - there was only just a house here and there then - only about 50 houses in all. Col. Boyes lived in old house at St. Anne's that one steps down into - Bishop's College.<sup>63</sup> My brother T.'s bedroom was part of old house that stood there when he bought property. D.B. Scott - this house, corner of West and Loop Streets, belonged at first to Wynand Mare. Nothing all along where Catholic buildings now are, nothing till one came below Imperial Hotel. There was there a cottage belonging to Mrs Scheepers. Allen's present house belonged to Cloete. Culverwell had a house opposite Jesse Smith and Cloete's - then opposite Market Square lower down was where Governor West lived (house is still there).<sup>64</sup> Lower down were one or two other houses.

Somerville House was standing, opposite Wesleyan school (this school built later). Somerville house is still the same house. There was a building opposite Thanet House (in this Dr Addison's children were nearly killed by lightning). Houses below Anderson's (bootmaker). D. Moodie occupied one of these. Old Deanery belonged to - <sic>. In Church Street there was present Dutch Church, standing on the street nearly opposite Gallwey's, in Church Street. It was a memorial church in connection with Dingana's day - church still there. Native police corps located at Hime's place. The flat below was our drill ground. I shot wild duck.

Harding (afterwards Chief Justice) was appointed acting magistrate,  
23 Pietermaritzburg.<sup>65</sup> I was first magistrate, assistant, for Harding acted as magistrate by virtue of being Crown Prosecutor.

Below Dutch Church, Stoffel Boshoff lived. Stoffel was a butcher. Gert Naudé lived nearby. Boschfontein, near Balgowan, where Hutchinsons live now, belonged to Naudé.<sup>66</sup> Martinus Stuart was a schoolboy. Put into a bath - so sleepy, so hard to wake.<sup>67</sup> I don't remember any houses lower.

In Pietermaritz Street stood the old Deanery, and an old brick house nearby that was there for many years. Where Pietermaritz Street joins West Street - house at corner - De Waals lived there.

Government offices - where present Colonial Office is - old low tiled building, erected by the Dutch. This had already been built when I arrived. At end of Bank Street, into Pietermaritz Street, was Swanapoel's house (Harding's father-in-law).

Diplomatic Agent had an office in same premises, close to Treasury - nearest to street. All open at back. The Diplomatic Agent's office abutted on Church Street.

In Pietermaritz Street, back of Colonial Offices, where C.I.D. now are, was Dr Portman's house. Just below that at corner, Commercial Road opposite Zulu  
24 monument. Jung's store was there - on opposite side of Commercial Road there was store - Jargal's.

F.S. Berning, Theod. Crowley, and late Sir M. Osborn (counter jumper). F.S.B. was Osborn's step-father; he married Mrs Osborn. What was Barnes's butcher shop afterwards was Berning's house, i.e. below C.I.D. and at corner.

Dutch Court House was where Town Hall stands - say about middle of Town Hall.

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Further down Pietermaritz Street, near Mr Gem's, a corner house on Boshoff Street and Pietermaritz Street - there my brother lived - above that was house Behrens occupied, being a butcher at that time. Above that was Dr Schulz's house. Open veld between this and Allen's house (Cloete). Volunteered one night to go for doctor, Melville being extremely ill. As I walked across veld I knocked up against what turned out to be a wolf. Moodie went to camp for military doctor. Fort Napier was built at this time, had billiard table - officers' quarters, though inadequate.

There was a house or two in West Street.

The first trap I saw in Natal was an Irish jaunting car. My brother bought this somewhere.

- 25 Dr Stanger had cottage at Government House. Projecting wing, at back, and opposite the dining room is the old cottage that Dr Stanger . . . <sic>.

West died in his house above referred to. Pine bought Government House property and then sold to Government. West, don't know what died of - died about 55. Married, had 3 girls. Was Civil Commissioner, Grahamstown. All girls have left Natal.

No buck waggons in early days - only covered or tent waggons.

Government House made up of pieces. Watermill on the Church Street side, where the stables are now. On Longmarket Street side was piece of ground belonging to Bernard Rudolf (Gert Rudolph's father). All that has been added to Government House grounds.

My father never visited Natal. Was coming with Rev. W. Shaw and another. Shaw a fine man.

- 26 Corner house, Pietermaritz Street, long low house left going down Commercial Road towards Town Hill (mother). Theophilus first lived near Gem's house. He bought house just above Colonial Offices. Turned into wine store (not Fass). Did not live there. Exchanged this for house - last one. Had this house enlarged. I can't remember who lived in Theo's house before T. went there.

Ngoza lived just under bushes near old Melsetter. Ngoza was servant of Stoffel Boshoff, the butcher.<sup>68</sup>

There were kraals dotted about, also at Hilton Road. Nxamalala lived all about the Zwartkop, extending back to Cedara (don't know what it means).<sup>69</sup>

Otimati, iUtimati = the bull stream: *iuti* = *inkunzi* - Lala dialect. Nyambuti - hill beyond Krantzkop, Mapumulo side of Kranskop: *buti* = *buzi*, *Matimatolo* = *amanzi amazolo* = mist water, or dew water.<sup>70</sup>

Amanzamtoti, not Amanzimtoti; Ezimbokodweni.<sup>71</sup>

Kangela - may be due to Boers.<sup>72</sup>

.... <Linguistic notes omitted - eds.>

- 27 Every street had its water furrow. Burger and Prince Alfred Streets did exist. The others all had their slit.<sup>73</sup>

You could canter about any part of Pietermaritzburg - no fences etc. Very few trees - scarcity of. No lightning conductors. Thatched houses existed all about. Some

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struck by lightning in consequence of having no trees about to protect them. In Loop Street house once occupied by your mother was once burnt by lightning, or it was next house.<sup>74</sup> Same house burnt by fire.

Natal Native Police Corps. Uniform - same as still being worn i.e. white canvas suits.<sup>75</sup> [Not 'duck' suits, says mother - too expensive.<sup>76</sup>] They were not supplied with caps - nothing of that kind to be had. I couldn't buy a hat anywhere in the town. At time one noticed no difficulties to contend with - I remember none in particular.

Had Natives to carry mails between Pietermaritzburg and Durban; later Welch took up contract.<sup>77</sup>

I remember Umsunduze used to get very full but no bridge. Willem Van Aardt built first bridge where Victoria Bridge is now - no cement. [Mother was present at opening of this as a little girl.] He had a house at bottom of town; afterwards  
28 became a lunatic asylum.

Native Corps was drilled every day. A man came from camp - a Sergt. Doyle came to drill. 45th Regt. here for 16 years. [Mother says were here for 20 years.]<sup>78</sup> Told to go, then come back. Had enormous troop of cattle; belonged to men of the regiment. [All the officers married here - Mother.]

First taxes. Not paid in money but cattle. Nice young ox fit to break in was valued at 10s., a really good cow at 28s. We were obliged to be on safe side as far as valuing was concerned. My Richmond collections showed a profit of £300 on being sold by public auction. [No lung sickness in those early days - Mother.]

Mtintandaba - a kind of force, Ngoza's people, a kind of Government reserve force, started by T. so that any rising occurring, this force was ready to be used. [Cf. Lasi.<sup>79</sup>] 'In touch with affairs' hence 'defensive' - origin of name.<sup>80</sup> Ngoza, Funywayo, Mqundane (Jantshi) and his brother were in command. Table Mountain was not occupied then. Nomsimekwana lived about there.<sup>81</sup> Mfulatelwa and Ngoza (brothers) allowed to go there, also Mqundane.

29 My brother never appointed Ngoza as *induna*. His appointment came about in this way. In 1847 we had a row with Fodo.<sup>82</sup> Messengers had been sent here by chiefs down south. Fodo attacked them. Government sent force to attack Fodo for doing this. Natives came and attached themselves to Theophilus, and Ngoza behaved so well that he stuck to my brother, who allowed him to become chief *induna*, but such appointment was never proclaimed. But he was later on generally acknowledged as the *induna*. He was too submissive and accommodating to my liking. I preferred a more independent and original, a man of ideas, one who did not agree with all I said. Short, thick-set man.

Zatshuke was another headman. Was given Sidoyi's tribe on that chief being turned out - on right or south side, in the thorns, all about where Leask used to live.<sup>83</sup>

Mzwangedwa - good man, was a favourite - attached himself to my brother. Mqundane (Jantshi) and his brother Mahlanya. Mdepa was Jantshi's nephew. Too young to know much.

I was sent in 1850 by Pine to Zulus.<sup>84</sup> [J.W.S. went same week he was married to  
 30 Grandmother to Zululand - Mother.<sup>85</sup>] When I got to Pate drift, heard one of Pande's  
 sisters (wife of Mlandela of Mtetwa tribe) had just died.<sup>86</sup> I discussed with my men  
 what ought to be done. I then sent Luduzo and another to say I had just heard of this.  
 Such occurrence was spoken of by Zulus as *a meeting of the heavens and the earth*  
*(ku hlangene izulu nomhlaba)*. After sending Luduzo, I rode on, continuing my  
 journey. Having got a mile or so from Nodwengu, I met them returning.<sup>87</sup> 'They say  
 they wish you to go back to a certain *kanda* and wait there to hear further from  
 Mpande,' said Luduzo. I said, 'Did you see Mpande?' 'No'. 'Did they (*izinduna*) see  
 Mpande?' 'No.' 'Why do you say this?' 'Because,' replied Luduzo, 'they did not  
 leave the hut.' I decided to go on to the kraal. I rode into the gateway and found 400-  
 500 men sitting with heads bent down resting on their arms, looking most miserable.  
 One of these men, Ntshingwayo ka Marole, and another came up and, speaking to  
 Luduzo, said, 'Did you tell him?'<sup>88</sup> 'Yes, I did.' 'What did you tell him?' 'I told him  
 31 what you told me to tell him. I told him to go back.' A little sparring continued. At  
 last they came to my chief man, Nozitshina (a Swazi), and tackled him. He at once  
 referred them to me. He said, 'Speak to him (me); *he will speak for himself*.'  
 Ntshingwayo came to me. He asked if I had not been told. I said, 'Yes, I had.' I said,  
 'Well, if that is your wish, I'll go back, as you have constituted yourselves chiefs of  
 the country. Mind you,' I said, 'from that kraal I go on home tomorrow and leave you  
 to tell Mpande what I have come about.' One caught the other by the arm and said,  
 'Come; *let us go*.' Seeming in a fix, they went off to headquarters (*isigodhlo*), the  
 Zulus sitting about remarking as they walked off, 'Where are they off to?', i.e.  
 implying they were going into danger, i.e. forbidden ground (for the king of course  
 32 was in mourning). They were away for about 20 minutes, when I saw a fine ox  
 coming down, a man driving it. When man (an *inceku*) came up, he, knowing me,  
 saluted. He told me the chief was 'dead', that he would eat *medicines (imiti)*  
 tomorrow, and see me the day following that. Would I go to Bulawayo in the  
 meantime?<sup>89</sup> Mnyamana then took me over to a fine hut. Mnyamana was a shield-  
 bearer at this time, not an *induna*.<sup>90</sup>

Lukwazi was Mpande's chief *induna* in 1847 - see his name at foot of Treaty of  
 1847 as one of witnesses - re country between Buffalo and Tugela.<sup>91</sup> This treaty  
 would have taken in Volksrust and country beyond Wakkerstroom, for it stated 'to  
 sources of Tugela on to sources of Buffalo in the Drakensburg.' This country was not  
 actually taken over till about 1854. We got it in '47. In meantime Dutch farmers had  
 occupied. There was some disinclination, from feeling of delicacy, about turning  
 them out from ground already being occupied by them.

33 [Mother says Dhlozi was able to tell when gun fired at Fort Napier,  
 Pietermaritzburg, at 8 a.m. to 'feel' a thud in air corresponding exactly with Father's  
 time, and he was at Heine's spruit - in a hollow or valley there near river.<sup>92</sup> It may  
 have been one of other Natives who heard this, but Dhlozi will know incident.]

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File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 33-6.

Route followed (with mother).<sup>93</sup>

Nseleni-Mlalazi-Mhlatuze (old, lowest drift) - no road in those days.<sup>94</sup> Dr Cowie (gave me snuff box). We kept along coast and followed Cowie and Green's route.<sup>95</sup> Turned up after crossing Mhlatuze, went above Mpangeni (Emacobaneni) where there were sandstone ledges. I had two waggons in '47. Same route was followed in 1852 or '53. Reached king's kraal, Nodwengu.

Went to Mgungundhlovu - saw Retief's party's bones - heaps of bones at KwaMatiwane.<sup>96</sup> *'The lump of earth is tired out (Igabade li diniwe)'* - said to Dingane by Matiwane.<sup>97</sup>

Nkata was different to KwaMatiwane. Former visited by Wolsey.<sup>98</sup>

There is a dun-coloured vulture, man-eating, never seen by one this side of Tugela - at least I never saw it.

Nkata was about two miles from Nodwengu, not so far. Deep valley, kloof (not a regular one), gentle slope down sides of valley. Cetshwayo's general, Mangongwana, was made out to be a wizard and was condemned to death but, being of position, had to be strangled. *'Where are we going? (Kusayi wapi?)'* He then *stripped bark from mimosa tree*; he himself made a rope and gave to them to use on him. The Zulus were simply indifferent to death.

Cetshwayo killing girls of the Ngcugce.<sup>99</sup> *'Let me take snuff,'* said a girl once, and after finishing she said, *'Do it. (Enzani ke).'* Human life of less value than that of a beast.

34 Mpande said to me, *'The Zulu people are ruled through killing (Uzulu ubuswa ngokubulawa)'*.

Nodwengu was on a ridge sloping down to river.

Kwa Sitshwili - I and Brackenbury camped there.<sup>100</sup> Nodwengu had 2 sites. Nkata was nearer the Mfolozi.

Kwa Matiwane was quite near to Mgungundhlovu ridge and parallel with kraal.

Owen could overlook Mgungundhlovu, and saw all that happened from there.<sup>101</sup>

Qwabe, Zulu and Mcunu - these were 3 brothers. The tribes never intermarried. [Incorrect.]<sup>102</sup>

Whole country used to say *ingxabiya* instead of *impande*.<sup>103</sup>

Came back same route I had taken in forward journey with your mother in 1852 or 1853.

First tour re hut tax.<sup>104</sup> T. discussed matter fully at Pietermaritzburg with the chiefs - said when man killed beast *insonyama* went to head.<sup>105</sup> The 7s. was the *insonyama*, and had to be given for protection. Government claimed something; only right natives should give something.

The first road-making was done at Botha's Hill - nasty ridge - about 1848. This was first collection.<sup>106</sup>



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Sir T.S. took Behrens (clerk) for first collection. Went round by Richmond, down to Nhlazuka. Sir T. named it Mount Misery on account of having been detained there 35 for 3 days by rain.<sup>107</sup> Natives paid in cattle - no money, no grain taken.

My brother never talked to one chief at a time, but many all together. They discussed, and he got their views. He was always very cautious. He would not undertake anything without previous discussion.

We also took taxes across Mzimkulu, that being a kind of noman's land.<sup>108</sup> First tour took 2 or 3 months. Sir T. took waggon and horses. Well *provided with meat (hlabisa 'd)* by Natives; beer etc. *Mbaqanga* also carried by the women for T.'s messengers etc.<sup>109</sup>

Fine race of people, these Zulus, and they have been destroyed - customs now gone and forgotten.

My brother had already been all round - re locations business - i.e. before he began collecting taxes, so knew country well.<sup>110</sup>

One day he came to a donga, riding old mottled grey horse I had lent him. Saw a lion on opposite side of donga. Did not like to turn, so turned horse quietly down hill and *went along* donga. Thankful when got to flat below. Bergvleit - name of farm that is a few miles from first railway station (Ennersdale) beyond Estcourt, almost west. All that country no inhabitants in those days as result of Tshaka's wars. It was at Bergvleit where T. came face to face with lion.

One night I had been after bushmen; there were lions about that part. I was 36 coming from Drakensburg. *It became dark.* 'Let us *camp* here' - no people - tied horse to tree. About midnight with my head on saddle heard distant moan or groan, about dozen times, not lion, tiger, wolf, wild dog, jackal or anything I could think of. It came from opposite side of kloof. Slight moonlight. Might be bushman trying to drag us or decoy us out. I woke natives and inquired *what could have moaned in this way.* Never found out. Some think might have been a large lizard. No lizard could have emitted so long a volume of sound as I heard.

The subsequent tour, hut tax. No magistrate in those days. The first magistrate was Peppercorne (say 1849), Pakade's location.<sup>111</sup> Cleghorne near Stanger (Umvoti mission station). I had to supersede him. He was dismissed for something.

Pine's casual ways - my letter of appointment - none issued until I asked for it.

Collected hut tax in 1850. I went all round colony. Harding and I collected in 1851 in Mkomazi district.<sup>112</sup>

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In 1850 I collected about Ntabamhlope beyond Estcourt where then Langalibalele was.<sup>113</sup>

In August 1849 I and my brother went to turn Langalibalele out of Ladysmith district (Mbulwana etc.) to go south of the Tugela to neighbourhood of

Ntabamhlope.<sup>114</sup> We put Langanlibalele there at Ntabamhlope. I was left there to see  
 37 that L. did what he was ordered to do. I had no trouble, only certain amount of  
 passive resistance. They were quite loyal.

The first day Theophilus saw Langanlibalele. I had already seen him (L.) near  
 Greytown on his way to Pietermaritzburg when fleeing from the Zulus. Mpande often  
 said to me, '*I was simply giving them a fright,*' i.e. did not really intend attacking  
 them, i.e. Hlubis. Mpande was quite right, for no serious action had been taken  
 against them.

Spirit of Langanlibalele. When we went to see where L. had gone on and located  
 himself at Ntabamhlope - i.e. still on our same journey, the one of August 1849 - L.  
 and his *indunas* met us at Bergvleit farm at Ennersdale station (railway). One of our  
 people, I forget what he was doing or how it came about, called L. by name. Two or  
 three of his *indunas* fired up sharp in my and my brother's presence. '*Don't you*  
*know that this is Langanlibalele?*', and repeated the remark. The man reiterated, '*It is*  
*Langanlibalele.*' My brother did not say a word. He was always very cautious. The  
 men of L. had to come back to our camp next morning, when my brother lectured  
 38 them. He put position before them. Said they had come and placed themselves under  
 the British Government. A man in his own hut might make that remark to his wife,  
 said Sir T., but it was hardly a thing to say when they had come to seek for  
 protection. There matter ended. My brother was reproving men of Langanlibalele's  
 tribe who had protested for presuming they were still an independent power.

L. had about 20 or 30 men with him on that occasion. We had about 100 of the  
 Native Corps as well as Ngoza's people. Zatshuke was also there.<sup>115</sup> There may have  
 been 200 or 300, all sitting round hearing what was going on. This took place at a  
 Dutch farmstead - no trees about. We had our tents (bell). Native Corps in tents too -  
 a dozen or more tents pitched about there. We had also a guard tent from which I  
 remember escaped one night <sic>.

Meetings in question took place about 10 a.m. L.'s party was not armed. Some  
 dressed in blankets, not in war dress. Copper-coloured people.

Headring. When I was a little boy in the Cape Colony, Mhlambiso, a brother of  
 Langanlibalele, had fled down there with his following. I then met Mehlomakulu (I  
 39 believe a nickname) in Basutoland years afterwards; this man was a brother of  
 Mhlambiso. I did not notice Mehlomakulu's appearance particularly but I noticed  
 Mhlambiso's men who had no headrings. I forget what Mehlomakulu's men had.

I always understood headring was substituted by Tshaka for *circumcision*  
 (*sokaing*), which he put a stop to. I think ring is of comparatively recent origin for  
 reason given.

Tshaka's *impi*. Gosa forest 16 miles long, near sea, extends to mouth of St. John's  
 river.<sup>116</sup> When Pondos heard of T.'s *impi* coming, all Pondos fled to this forest,  
 taking all with them. They remained there. This, I believe, was expedition on which  
 T.'s *impi* had to eat their shields, there being no other food. Pondos remained 3  
 months in the forest. '*We were afraid of being taken unawares (zunywa),*' they said.  
 Before taking refuge in bush, it was really studded or filled with buffalo. While they

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were there the buffalo fled in another direction. Buffalo have not been seen there since. (See elephant incident previously related by me.) Once driven out could not return, because country in between had become occupied by time they might have been inclined to go back.

T.'s army - one regiment - was almost completely wiped out by Pondos. Don't know where T. was at time - first or second expedition, I don't know which.<sup>117</sup>

Zulu *impi* broke away at Isandhlwana after the battle and returned home. Way to get better of Zulus and end war was to get Cetshwayo out of his kraal, when he would have to wander about and only with 5 or 6 men. Authority would then rest with the generals in command of the troops. I pointed this out to the Governor.

I never heard of *poko* and oxhide incidents. If they occurred they were only supplementary.<sup>118</sup>

Ultimatum. I had to deliver award about Buffalo River boundary question. Sir B. Frere waited so long that the award, as well as the ultimatum, had to be given together, which I consider was a mistake.<sup>119</sup>

Theophilus said I ought to have been sent to Zululand 6 months before Cetshwayo was repatriated.<sup>120</sup> What I had to do was to go to Zululand, take over all the country between Mhlatuze and Tugela for Imperial Government's use.

41 Cetshwayo would get piece between Mhlatuze and Zibebu's boundary.<sup>121</sup> There would be many people there who would wish to come under Imperial Government, and vice versa, i.e. go and live under Cetshwayo. I had to make all this known, and say those who wanted to come under Imperial Government etc. could do so. I was prevented from holding these meetings by C.'s arrival, who began at once to use his influence against the arrangement or plan.

Instance: Ntshingwayo (ka Marole?) who declared, before C. came back, '*You will never come back to the Zulu country! (Pinde ukuba ni buyele kwa Zulu!)*,' (i.e. to Cetshwayo), addressing his remark to someone about his (Ntshingwayo's) remaining in Zululand and under Zulu control.<sup>122</sup> Ntshingwayo spoke of himself, i.e. he would never again put himself under C.'s rule. C. frustrated whole affair. Ntshingwayo was still in Zululand when C. was repatriated.

When Zibebu made forced march on Ulundi he said, '*They are going to die with him,*' i.e. with C.<sup>123</sup> It was a magnificent march.

42 John Dunn showed me where Mbuyazi ka Mpande was killed near Mangete.<sup>124</sup>

After Ndongakusuka, Fynn was sent up in year we punished Sidoyi (1857).<sup>125</sup> Fynn's name was Mbuyazi. As a rule, we sent messengers from Tugela to king's kraal to say we were coming and who we were. Men were sent to say simply, Mbulazi was coming. When Fynn's messengers arrived at king's kraal, several regiments were then passing out of it for some purpose or another. These messengers were being questioned by an *induna* - they said they had come from Mbuyazi. 'Where did you leave him?' 'We left him at Tugela.' So the false rumour got abroad that he (the famous son of Mpande) was still living and was being brought to

Zululand by the Europeans.

I believe Mbuyazi was pursued and run down; he was out of battle-field, *down below*, in direction of Inyoni. The man who did it, i.e. killed him, would not have reported having done so as he would have been killed.

- 43 Langalibalele - 1873. My brother was up there. Sir B. Pine was also there. My brother, therefore, with Governor present, kept as quiet as he could. Took very little part, left all to Governor.<sup>126</sup> T. did not agree with Pine. My brother disagreed some years before.<sup>127</sup> Pine disagreed with everyone. Matter was referred to Secretary of State who upheld T., which made Pine eat humble pie.

The attacking of the Putile tribe.<sup>128</sup> Intermarried a great deal with Langalibalele. Cattle naturally taken there, to that tribe, when Langalibalele's were attacked. Lucas attacked the amaNgwe tribe, i.e. Putile's.<sup>129</sup> Lucas magistrate at time. This not justified, for these people had not taken part in rebellion. Relatives not necessarily accomplices simply for harbouring refugees and stock. Should have been confined to Langalibalele. There was no complaint at all about Putile having guns. Home Government ordered a restoration of cattle to, or compensation to, Putile tribe. The Council voted £8 000 to Putile tribe. I bought them, an 8 000 or 10 000 acre farm. The rest of the money stood to their credit. Hear only £100 now to their credit. There was talk about industrial schools being put up with it. I objected on ground that money would only benefit the few.

- 44 Relations with outside chiefs. My brother's fame had passed on somehow or another into Zululand, and then to Mzilikazi and to Sotshangane (Mzila) and to Mswazi.<sup>130</sup> When Mswazi sent here to *konza*, he complained of Zulus always threatening him. The Government, through my brother, sent message to Mpande, saying the Swazis had extended hand of fellowship and asked protection of Government, and that it was the wish of Government that no more attacks should be made on the Swazis, which desire of Government I know Mpande religiously conformed to (Mpande was a very good fellow), but Cetshwayo tried to break through this arrangement by sending a messenger through me, as Secretary for Native Affairs, asking for permission to wet his spears. '*How can I be a king, unless I can do this?*' Government refused the application. Cetshwayo accordingly did not carry out such idea.

- 45 Mzilikazi and Mzila communicated on more than one occasion with my brother as representing Government, sending elephants' tusks etc. as tribute or presents. I received one lot. One pair of tusks was sent to Government House. Relations with all these chiefs were cordial and always remained so. My brother had nothing to do with Cetshwayo until he was at Pretoria, except install him and so on.

Theophilus went home to England in 1876. 12th April 1877 was date of annexation in Transvaal.

When Mzilikazi felt he was dying he sent messengers to look for Nkulumana, a son of his - his chief son - who had been captured with his mother by Zulus, where he was hidden on the outskirts of tribe somewhere.<sup>131</sup> This boy happened to have worked for my brother. By time they found him here in Pietermaritzburg, after they

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had wandered about considerably, Nobengula had already seized power and been installed as king.

Mzilikazi - i.e. the great mourner, faster (*umzili* = mourner). (Bengula = peel *sweet-reed*; Marandellas = Malandela).

- 46 Old John Bird laid off Ladysmith township.<sup>132</sup> I visited him when he was surveying at Ladysmith. Two boys fought one another; one got nasty blow on forehead. No doctor. I punished assailant but did not punish the injured boy. Later, brain fever set in and boy died in great agony. There was loud moaning by him. This was very distressing to Bird, whose tent was not far off. There was a little mocking bird which had evidently learnt its lesson well. A month afterwards moaning was heard again. It seemed as if the deceased had risen from the dead. Bird accordingly searched about to see the cause, when he noticed that the little mocking bird was responsible for the sounds.

26.3.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 49-56.

<In the original, the informant who gave the testimony that follows is not identified. The testimony is separated from John Shepstone's statements of 21.3.1912 by two and a half pages of testimony given by other informants. Internal evidence indicates that the unidentified informant was John Shepstone - eds.>

- 49 Refusal of a present is a kind of casus belli.

Sarili is name of Gcaleka chief, i.e. paramount tribe (Xosa) of Kaffirland.<sup>133</sup>

I know nothing of Tifokati who came and married Ngoza.<sup>134</sup>

- The Shepstonian policy. The replies Sir T. invariably gave to those who asked him what his Native Policy was were that he pursued no Native Policy, but took advantage of circumstances, in order to assimilate ours with theirs or vice versa whenever necessary. That made him complain, when the High Court was established, that it completely handicapped the Government as far as doing anything further in the way of taking advantage of circumstances <sic>. The Legislative Council insisted on a Native Code being framed.<sup>135</sup> Although my brother and I did not exchange views then on that subject, I found afterwards that, in giving these reasons about being handicapped, I had held the same views all along. (These came out when he was writing against Responsible Government in reply to the public papers. He was then fighting Sir John or Escombe, maybe Mercury - see reply to Sir J. Robinson.<sup>136</sup>)

One reason of making a hard and fast Code prevented what I always felt and am sure my brother felt the same - the elasticity that was required between the Government of whites and blacks, especially as regards the blacks. What I mean by elasticity, you could not then get any further with a Native policy. It prevented the Government from taking any action they considered necessary. If elasticity remained,

one could always improve or change as necessity arose. The creation of the Native High Court deprived the Governor of any judicial authority as Supreme Chief, and my brother, of course, through him. At the same time, the Legislative Council relieved the chiefs and headmen of each tribe from all responsibility over the wrongdoers and criminal doers in their tribes, and in that way threw the jurisdiction that had been enjoyed by the Governor, chiefs etc. upon the Native High Court, which was inadequate in this way, that its jurisdiction did not extend beyond the 4  
51 walls of its court, and the responsibility which had rested on the chiefs up to that time - being responsible for behaviour of their people towards the Government - was removed. This at once broke the tie or bond between the Governor as Supreme Chief and the aborigines of the country. Of course authority was at once on the wane. There was no active supervision, and no authority could be exercised by the chiefs, and our magistrates could not possibly supervise as their own chiefs could. A certain amount of lawlessness crept in, through chiefs being restricted, and the worst part of it was that the Government was quite ready, when it suited their convenience, to treat them as chiefs having authority. When taxes had to be paid their authority was depended on; so also when road parties were required. They were even fined for it if they did not carry out orders.

This responsibility of which the Governor, chiefs and headmen had been deprived was at last vested in the magistrates who had of course a certain jurisdiction over  
52 their districts and could exercise jurisdiction to a certain extent. But when responsible government came in, the magistrates were deprived of what authority they had, and the supervision of the whole colony was then vested in the police.

As regards Code, we were very particular in taking and making use of all laws and customs most common amongst the different tribes, like the common law with us.

One had the European on top of a ladder whilst Natives were on lowest rung of the ladder - enormous gap of generations and generations. My brother's experience of these people made him feel the necessity, if he could possibly do so, of keeping these people apart from an indiscriminate mixing with the white element, especially as regarded the women and children, who could learn no good from the white man. His object was to prevent as far as possible the demoralisation of both races. Because  
53 of the great diversity, the black being perfect savages, and the whites being the contrary - civilized beings. I also considered it was a danger to allow too great mixture between the 2 races. The young men coming into service would have been quite sufficient to influence even the people of their own kraals with what knowledge they picked up, either vices or virtues. The people themselves (Natives) did not wish to mix with the white man in the way that they have done, and the hardest part of the whole thing is that the Home Government never attempted to locate these people in such a way as to retain in a permanent way their share of the country, which ought to have been done at time Natal was annexed.

There was no hurry. There was no necessity for forcing these people as you would a hothouse plant. What should have been allowed to take place was Evolution pure and simple which we all know was a very gradual and almost imperceptible process. All we need have done, had these people been given their permanent tract of

54 country to occupy, was by force of example and precept. Our immediate control over them was a mistake, because in the first place it has become an indefinite subjection from which the people now - with 65 years of it - feel no escape. Their sincere desire is to be freed as a people and only subject to us as a paramount power, to give them an opportunity of making their way, one way or another, which need not interfere with us beyond a little friction now and then. That friction was only natural. As it is now, it is becoming daily a hopeless task, and as far as Natal is concerned, it must, if this present system of mismanagement is persisted in, drift into serfdom.

The granting of the franchise by Cape to Natives there is a lamentable mistake, for this reason: they have taken the Native and lifted him out of his sphere, where he could have remained, and placed him on the political platform of the white man, which could have the effect in the near future of a struggle for supremacy by constitutional means.

55 We know very well that the feeling of dissatisfaction is rampant in the Cape Colony as to their position. I do not know as to Council system.<sup>137</sup>

Every Native in South Africa is dissatisfied with the white man. The granting of charter to Native administration is a good one.<sup>138</sup> I approve of a system where self-reliance is put on the people, as at the Cape.

The Native question must be dealt with as a whole, you can't do it piecemeal as Parliament does.

You might have individual tenure if the people desired it and desired to become white people.

The Natives are really 'independent paupers' (*amamfengu*). I see no objection to Natives possessing and purchasing land.

Native may make his own choice within the limits of his own locations, but not when encroaching on white man. I don't admit Native has the right to come within white man's sphere. He must not force himself on white man. I would treat him as a subject race, for they are too far behind us.

56 My brother always felt they were, not ripe to mix beyond seeing white man in distance.

Brought up as I was for 20 years amongst wildest Natives, and 7 years in Basutoland, where they knew very little of white man and very little indeed of his rule <sic>. Everything ran far more smoothly than our Government does with us. We are always having conflicting elements. Natives are brought before magistrates etc. - not so under Native system. Boys not allowed to drink with men.

28.3.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 56-61.

Segregation should be the preliminary step in Native Government. They can then strike out for themselves. As we are, Natives are not British subjects in true sense, nor are they Native subjects. We put restrictions on them that are not put on whites.

Self-reliance - their government admits of this in highest and most intense form. My experience is we should have utilized Native services as much as possible, i.e. employ chiefs to manage their own people.

SHEPSTONE, J.

Let us have a regiment or two - I agree with this. I would sooner meet Natives with a gun than with assegais.

57 Utilize chiefs as immediate subordinates over these people, let them exercise this to our advantage, but don't think that because you deprive them of their authority and power you can deprive anyone of his personal influence.

My brother pointed this out when chiefs sent to Robben Island, for then martyred and got the sympathy of their people.

There is a vein of sympathy running through all Natives of S.A.<sup>139</sup> Only educate Natives by force of example and precept. Don't force them in any way. We are not commissioned by Almighty to uplift the Natives. We are too precipitate in our methods. Sir T. favoured the let alone policy - would not hurry anything but simply keep things straight. Improvement of Natives through us should be very gradual.

Sir T. tried 60 years ago industrial pursuits at various mission stations - all fell through. He was always in favour of Dr Dalzel, Msinga - industrial pursuits.<sup>140</sup> So anxious to make Natives use ploughs. Many imported and sold on credit to Natives at £2 or £3 apiece. The giving of credit was wrong. (I never give a Native credit unless he was really in need of it. My father said this.)

Sir T. got all these tremendous blocks for missions; wanted to help them.<sup>141</sup> These for drawing Natives to the station.

58 Ploughing. This took place at Zwartkop for cotton planting.<sup>142</sup> Edmund Tatham and John Trotter had charge of this scheme. They may have been growing something else, for industries. I was also got to try growing cotton. This was promoted by Sir T. but died out.

Matshana expedition.<sup>143</sup> I had afterwards to disperse the tribe. The boers wanted a 'paar kraalen'.<sup>144</sup> I did this. I told Natives to go and *konza* these Europeans. I gave them the right to choose what white man to go to. Don't like to be tied or forced. Even now Natives want their liberty. That is what troubles them now.

Tshaka's system still exists amongst them now - implicit obedience among themselves; *hlonipa*. Any wrong done in tribe is done there and then.

If Natives were wanting protection or anything, they appreciated our protection. They wanted protection whilst Zulu menace lasted. They never asked for or desired our rule.<sup>145</sup>

The whole land between here and Greytown and Noodsberg was all *wild (ehlane)* and open - reason people remained in fastnesses.

Cannibals. Tribal respon<sibility>.<sup>146</sup>

I was here only a month when I went after the Bushmen. I then found nothing but  
59 open country with game. Mshukangubo was living near Dronk Vlei and a forest. Mshukangubo was killed by Sidoyi. The Government outlawed Sidoyi. We found Bushmen at last - we kept along the Natal side of the Berg.<sup>147</sup>

Directly white man came, Natives emerged from the forests and bush (*hlanzes*) etc., and came to live on European farms. Where they were restricted was in regard to gardens - could not plant these for fear of being detected.



A kaffir chief will come to you, as they have done to Government, and ask to be placed under Government, but he never means for one moment that you are to rule them; he must not lose his influence or position. All he wants is protection and paramount authority but no interference in his rule, except in tribal quarrel.

*Konza* means *he is now under So-and-so (use ngalo kodwa)* - have heard them use it here - but you don't become subject.<sup>148</sup> In old times a Native could not leave his tribe unless he bolted, and then ran risk of being caught on way. If he bolts and  
60 takes cattle, he would be followed, for all cattle in the tribe belong in theory to the chief. If he bolts and takes cattle, it is a *casus belli*. *Konza* = fealty, or acknowledge as superior. Supreme Chief is a white man's phrase; paramount chief is a Native expression, although very few paramount chiefs in the country.

Lanalibalele came here to place himself under the British Government. At that time chiefs more or less governed their own people but they were always supposed to report anything of importance to Government here, and they did. Lanalibalele was about the most independent of chiefs. Putile conformed to the rule. (He came from Baleleberg.<sup>149</sup>) The object of every chief submitting himself to a higher power is that he should still remain ruler over his own people though subject to the higher power. So with themselves. No paramount chiefs ever interfered with in the internal government of the people <sic>.

My brother and I both objected to the Code. The Legislative Council forced the  
61 Code on us. It insisted on it. The Council thought Governor, and my brother through him, had too much power, and so decided to have Native High Court. Code was an addendum to High Court. The Council also prescribed sending in of returns re marriages etc.

Ridley wanted to increase the taxes. My brother said Natives hadn't the money - money not in the country; Europeans hadn't it - and could not pay. The Government was obliged to give this up.<sup>150</sup>

Pulleine's (Col.) body could not be found at Isandhlwana.<sup>151</sup>

*Ni gwaz' amabece* (killing women etc.).<sup>152</sup>

16.4.1912

File 54, nbk. 4, pp. 61-4.

Differences between Zulus, Xosas and Pondos.

The Amampondo are connecting link between Xosas and Zulus and natives to north of Pondoland. The Pondos seem to have no connection with any other tribe. They are a tribe of their own, not belong to any family of tribes. The Amaxosa have no *headrings* at all; those of Pondos are small. Circumcision is said to have been abolished and the *headring* substituted, but Tshaka never ruled in Pondoland.

*Mondi* grows in the Goso forest.<sup>153</sup> The Pondos used to take *mondi* and catskins  
62 (*genet* and *blue monkey*) to Tshaka. They gave these as indirect tribute.

I have seen great troops of the *blue crane* near Orange River, dancing and playing together as well as any ladies could do. (I have also seen a troop of wildebeeste

dancing a sort of quadrille in Free State.)

Xosas and Zulus. Xosas had not a despotic Government; that is why all chiefs up here (Zululand, Natal) never could trust their subjects. In Cape Colony, if an heir is born to a chief the fact is at once proclaimed throughout the country, but not amongst Zulu tribes. Kulumana was real heir of Mzilikazi; was kept concealed until an attack on a portion of the tribe on the outskirts thereof, when the boy and his mother were captured. Kulumana subsequently worked for my brother. When the party sent to search for him reached here, after wandering about a great deal, Nobengula was appointed as they could not wait any longer. Kulumana was sent up in a waggon, but Nobengula refused to recognize him.<sup>154</sup>

63 The Xosa government approaches European system of Government more than any other S.A. tribe. Their trials are properly held on our principles; one never hears of a man being killed off-hand without trial. They had a system in their trials. When a case was tried some 8-10 experienced men formed the court. One party of litigants would sit about 20 yards off in one direction and another party would sit about 20 yards off in another direction and 20 yards from other party. That gives opportunity of each party discussing its points without being overheard by the other party; so could court discuss its own points. The court appoints one of its number as chief spokesman and examiner; every question put goes through him. Any member can put a question, but it must go through the chairman. They never put a question directly; all is done in perfect order.

They had *smellings-out* (*umhlahlos*) amongst Xosas. The principle of tribal responsibility existed, for every man, woman and child became detectives.

64 It was most unusual to find dead bodies, i.e. for murders to be committed. The great safeguard was, e.g. 2 Natives quarreling, fight there and then or threaten one another. When insults occurred they were allowed to fight it out. This would be a good thing for us. If a man was killed in fight, the assailant would be looked on as merely having robbed the chief of a warrior, and so have to pay compensation. If neither killed, the defeated wanted no more from that man. All kaffir law was directed at the welfare of the tribe. They never passed a law unless urgently necessary. This would be accepted at once; they would not dispute about it, and would be perfectly satisfied.

All individuals in a tribe who can exercise brains or common sense are officers of the law. Directly anything happens affecting any part of tribe, say invasion, news is sent through whole tribe at once (*hlab' umkosi*).

I suggested that Cetshwayo should be called on in the ultimatum to disband his regiments. I said to Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Henry Bulwer, 'Don't take a single man from <sic>.' I said, 'Let every man go back to his kraal. C. does not lose a single man, and in case of emergency can be called up in a single day.' What I objected to was a standing army - always hankering after something to do. There was so little to do; to give them something, parties of them were sent out to destroy their own people.

16.4.1912

File 54, nbk. 5, pp. 1-3.

1 J.W. Shepstone continues.

Pietermaritzburg. The first suicide that took place in Pietermaritzburg was in a little butcher's shop just about where Kershaw's shop is - in a little building (green brick) standing alone. A man of name of Thompson cut his throat there. This would be in 1847 or 1848. Being a suicide, he was buried at the crossroads very near where the Grey's Hospital stands.

I was the first magistrate to visit Richmond as magistrate. I was Assistant Magistrate, Pietermaritzburg, then.

When we went to Faku in Pondoland in 1850, the village of Richmond was then being surveyed, I think by John Bird. I think it was on our way back, or directly after, I found that some of the people had arrived.<sup>155</sup>

The Pondos, out of their country, were most unreliable as a fighting force; consequently they never cared to fight out of their country, only in self defence. They are not a warlike people. Faku was about the only chief in S.A. who exercised  
2 jurisdiction as Paramount Chief. We taking these Natal people under our immediate control was one of the greatest mistakes we could have made. Every day proves it. When we came here they were glad enough of our protection from the Zulu menace, but protection does not mean rule, and they never cared to be taken under our rule. They would live under us as our subjects as their paramount power, but a Kaffir chief will never surrender his authority over his people or tribe. That is where the mistake was made. That is what is rankling in their minds now.

We should have required them only to acknowledge us as the paramount power. We deprived them of every right they had, even their identity. Look at chieftainship. We call them British subjects; how are they? They are simply a floating population here. We are to live here for generations and they must live here too. How is this state of things to continue, with not an inch of land to call their own? The locations  
3 are not permanent. They are no more secure than on private farms.

True that locations have been laid off, but Natives thereon are only occupants on sufferance.

*Beer (tshwala)* - now being prohibited from being made within 5 miles of Pietermaritzburg.

18.4.1912

File 54, nbk. 5, pp. 3-10.

Causes of rebellion. When Dinuzulu came back from St Helena, certain chiefs sent messages to him of congratulation that he had come back, and he took advantage of sending messages to other chiefs here who had not done so.<sup>156</sup> Why does not so and so and so and so come to see me? In that way, he felt the majority of pulses in Natal so as to give him something to work upon.

The subject of turning us out of the country was discussed. Natal was to start the

thing, and Dinuzulu would march in afterward, when there was nothing to be done. From what I can gather, that is how Stainbank's death came about.<sup>157</sup> S. was in his (D.'s) way. Bambata was so driven to desperation, not a 6d. to bless himself with.<sup>158</sup>

4 He went and arranged with Dinuzulu to start the rebellion. The reason why the rebellion cropped out here and there like a mushroom was because the general order had not been given. They said they were waiting for it. 'These people, Fynn, Mapumulo, Ngobizembe, were made-up tribes.'<sup>159</sup> Mkonto was always a distrustful man.<sup>160</sup>

As far back as 1861 we found at Krantzkop we were thinking Cetshwayo was going to attack us. Mpande sent two special messengers to Government to say, '*Be alert (hlakanipani)*. C. says he is going to have a hunt in the Tugela valley.' This is why we went there. I raised a force of Natives at Table Mountain and took it to Krantzkop.

Mkonto was not an hereditary chief. Mkonto was formerly a servant of Hans de Lange, later on hanged at Ladysmith for shooting a kaffir.<sup>161</sup> He could easily have escaped.

These chiefs anticipated Dinuzulu's order. Dinuzulu was then merely watching for his opportunity. He wanted a general rising. He did not get over the Makabela, and Mabomvu, but he did the Macunu.

5 Leuchars came to me before going to Ngobizembe.<sup>162</sup> I told him he could trust the Mabomvu under Homoyi, and Joli's people (live near Krantzkop).<sup>163</sup> Homoyi lived near Mapumulo, Allen's store, in the *bush country (hlanze)*.

Killing white fowls etc. This was a kind of test step. If they killed these things it showed they sympathized in killing white people. Zulus are very stupid in keeping a secret. The first thing that was to have been done was for all Native servants in towns to kill their masters and mistresses.

At Howick, where I was, I heard of a boy who told certain children that they (servants) were going to kill the white people. This mother of the children called and asked the servant what he had said. '*Wena bulala mina!*' '*Mina hai bulala, that boy,*' pointing at neighbour's servant.<sup>164</sup>

The Basutos. There is a vein of sympathy running through every black tribe in Africa, Basutos, Barolongs etc., and information never fails to go by telegraphic speed throughout the country.

6 Sarili (Kreli), ventriloquist Nongqawuzi (girl) and Mhlakaza.<sup>165</sup> Sarili's object was, by killing all cattle and destroying all corn, to make a combined desperate attack on the Cape Colony. But each tribe hesitated. By time one tribe took it up, other tribes were starving. Hence the failure. Charles Brownlee (Tshalisi) worked hard at it.<sup>166</sup> Went for them hard, knew them so well. He (C.) tells of one man especially who came to his kraal with all *mabele* pits opened etc., came back starving, found lying with his head looking into a corn pit.

The white man is not liked. He is an interloper, has interfered with Natives right and left. There is therefore sympathy in regard to this, if alone things would be very different. We have broken down by our own mismanagement the natural divisions between the various tribes.

Natal is taken by all the tribes of S.A. as an example. 'Then it will be like this in time in our own country.'

In 1861 my brother went to Zululand. I remained acting for him. Whilst here, I heard here of a scheme of Cetshwayo's although not king then, which was, strange to  
7 say, heard by my brother. The Zulus, Basutos and Amaxosa were all to combine and sweep the white man out of the country. Mtshwetshwe was to be general in chief.<sup>167</sup> Mtshwetshwe was always in favour of the white man. Mtshwetshwe was to start the affair by making an attack on his nearest white neighbours. I wrote to my father about it, then in Queenstown, and asked if he had heard of it and what his opinion was. He said, 'Yes, I have heard of it, and what I think of it is this, that it is too gigantic to carry out.' No attempt was made, and matter fell through. They would have done much mischief, but we would have gained the day.

[Speak to Henriquez of this.]<sup>168</sup> I do not remember how I heard of this. I must have heard it from one of the *indunas*. They might have said, '*It is said that...*' and then gone on.

Subsequent to that, when I was SNA, messengers and important deputation went through from Zululand to Pondoland in 1877 when I was travelling with Sir H.  
8 Bulwer round by Greytown, Ntunjambili, Inanda, Durban and here. When we got to Stanger, a special messenger came from Mitchell (Colonial Secretary),<sup>169</sup> saying something of rising of Pondos (he referred in some way to the Pondos), and he wanted Governor to come back sharp. Governor spoke to me about it. I advised no notice being taken thereof. I pointed out to him that the Pondos are not particular friends of the Zulus. 'Do you think for one moment that they would try and drive us out, we, being a barrier between the two, and their safeguard? The Pondos are known as people who never care to fight outside their own country. Won't attack another. To say a danger to us is nonsense.' He did not come back, took no notice. Nothing happened. After that - before the Zulu War - a big deputation went from  
9 Umzinto.<sup>170</sup> Wrote saying the deputation was on its way to Pondoland and was holding meetings with every tribe on its way. I advised no notice being taken, for no messengers, no matter what sent to do, will sow broadcast on their way their intentions among the people <sic>. The chief daren't consult his people alone, the *indunas* must be present, hence there could be no concealment.

A.K.D. Edwards.<sup>171</sup> Sir T.S. finding he had written an article on the Native Question after being 2 years in country, said, 'You say you have written to the papers on the Native Question?' 'Yes, Sir T.S., that is so.' 'Well, if you will take my advice, don't think of writing a letter on the Native Question for 10 years and when that time arrives, just think well in your own mind whether you will not wait another 10 years before you do actually write.'

I thought that a splendid answer for with my knowledge all these years (in earlier days among some of the wildest tribes), I have still to think over things as to what to decide on in any particular circumstances.

10 'Hippias' - C. Barter.<sup>172</sup>

'Spectator - who is this? Writes to 'Witness'.

21.4.1912. Cliff House.

File 54, nbk. 5, pp. 10-21.

My brother had asthma, but only just before his death, but not for long. 'Which would you rather have, asthma or gout?' I once asked him. 'I would rather have gout,' he replied. He had generally good health. Had a touch of fever when went with Dr Sutherland to lay off the boundary of Natal between this and Transvaal.<sup>173</sup> Theophilus got fever at Weenen, this in about 1857 or 1858.

*Unasukumbili* disease - attacked back of head, dead in 2 days. [Cf. *gudhlutugela*.] This was in Polela division - I think this was about 35 years ago among Natives only. No doctors there then.<sup>174</sup>

He (T.) was lazily cautious, did not run any great risks as boy of getting wet on his rides etc.

Another chief wanted to drive my father away in the early days, and break up his station. He collected his force and started, had to sleep on the way. They killed cattle (numerous then) and had a good feed. After all gone to sleep, one man got up having had nightmare, jumped, seized shield and assegais and shouted out, '*It (the impi) has engaged; it has arrived (seyi ngene, se i fikile)*'. Shouted war cry. Several of the impi fought against one another, some wounded and some killed. At last, somehow, they found they were fighting with each other. This stopped things. Next morning a meeting of *indunas* was held to discuss the *omen (umhlola)*. They decided so bad an omen that they had better go back, and go back they did, so we escaped that.

My brother was only 3 years old when he came out.<sup>175</sup> We can't find any of our people in England. Certain money was left - we had no documents to guide us as to whether we were entitled thereto or not. Jane was surname of my uncle [Janes?].<sup>176</sup> This why Annie (my sister) was so named. My mother's surname was Brookes; she was a niece of Jane - also living about Somersetshire. May have been spelt Jeanes or Janes.

Have always been told Brooks should be spelt with an 'e', according to Irish way I believe.

Can't think of anyone in England who could give information re Sir T.S.

Jenkins, an M.P., author of little book *Jinks's Baby*, is a cousin of ours. A negrophilist, could not get on with Sir T. Was sent to West Indies [?] to inquire into Negro treatment there.<sup>177</sup>

12 Sir H. Bulwer might give personal reminiscences re Sir T. S. - admired my brother very much. [See below.]

Extract from letter from Sir Henry Bulwer written to Mr Beaumont, i.e. Sir

SHEPSTONE, J.

William B., 21.7.1893. [Copied from an extract in Rupert's handwriting.]<sup>178</sup>

'You have lately had a great loss in the death of Sir Theophilus. He, poor man, must have been glad to go, for last year he lost his son William - such a good fellow William Shepstone was - and then early in this year the wife of many years - and age and infirmities, I daresay, were telling on him.

'I have felt very, very sorry in thinking of poor old Shepstone, recalling the years that I knew him, and all our associations and I have been deeply touched and affected by these things, and of his death.

13 'He was a very remarkable man, a man to be remembered always by those who knew him: a strong tower of experience, knowledge, wisdom, prudence, calmness of judgement, a kind-hearted man too, behind all his reserve of character: a man of very many valuable and estimable qualities of head and heart that one likes to dwell upon, in thinking of him.

'With him the Colony loses one of its earliest fathers, and probably the man who has played the chief part in its history, during, at all events, the first twenty years of its existence - he was the very Nestor of the Colony.'

Sir Bartle Frere was jealous of my brother when he was appointed administrator of Transvaal whilst Sir B. was High Commissioner of S.A.<sup>179</sup> In this way, he wrote to Secretary of State and said, 'Shepstone communicates direct with you, and I am not told what is going on.' Where was the necessity for Sir B. complaining, for Sir B., as  
14 High Commissioner, had nothing to do with any colony that had its own Governor and Government? He had only to do with what was going on outside. He said, in writing, my brother was one of those men it was very hard to get anything out of, and when you did, it would simply be a reply to your question and nothing more. You felt there was a great deal behind it you could not get at.

That was the case with my brother. He told me once never to give everything, always keep something back. Give only what you are obliged to.

My father, writing to me, said, 'Your brother owes all his position etc. to his reticence. He was very reticent.' I don't believe he ever told his wife a single syllable of what went on in his office.

15 Colenso dedicated his first book to my brother.<sup>180</sup> Don't know if T. told my father of this. My father said Colenso was simply reviving the old German school of theology. He wound up his, I think, last letter to Sir T., 'Depend upon it my son, you'll never get to Heaven by mathematics.' He (father) was very sore about the dedication.

For more than 20 years, Colenso and T. were like brothers, always discussing affairs. My brother would always wait for him after church - walk home together - always dine with him on a Sunday.

One afternoon (a Sunday) that brotherhood snapped. I never could forgive Colenso for his part in this. I did not mind much as far as I was concerned. He stood on steps of my brother's house. My brother said Langalibalele ought to be punished. C. took the point up. My brother was always calm. C. said on the steps on this difference occurring, 'I'll never enter this house again.' My brother was, of course,

speaking in official capacity.

- 16 I saw my brother next day. He said, 'I never could have believed that he (C.) was the kind of man he showed himself to me to be yesterday.' I said, 'I have often wondered where the fascination for C. came in. He wouldn't be known to the Natives but for you, and this is all the thanks you've got.' He would have been a mere missionary.

Sobantu.<sup>181</sup> John Bird was Nyoniyentaba.<sup>182</sup> My brother gave him this name, he (B.) being a surveyor. Just the same with Sobantu. When C. came to Bishopstowe,<sup>183</sup> my brother collected a lot of sons of chiefs to be educated at the station. They learnt to play piano, organs, and subsequently went back to their kraals and never did any good. Their accomplishments were of no practical value to them. This is where I found fault with my brother - he was no business man. Re ploughs - have referred to plough incident previously.<sup>184</sup>

- 17 My brother gave out among the Natives that Colenso was a great missionary of the Church and gave him the name *Uyise wa bantu - uSobantu*.<sup>185</sup> My brother gave Colenso this name. That I am quite certain about.

They (Colensos) owe all their independence to my brother.

My brother collected all the material for them in shape of Natives at the station, getting the mission up; took an interest in it himself.

My father was of the Church of England - I think my mother was also of Church of England.<sup>186</sup>

My father said although he had joined the Wesleyans it was because there was no Church of England then in the part of country he came to - Albany (Bathurst). The true Wesleyan is the Church of England.

My father was a master builder and architect,<sup>187</sup> but his health was too delicate to enable him to ply his trade. So came out to S. A. for his health. He and Tainton (his brother-in-law: the 2 married sisters) paid their own passages out - were not assisted by Government; this was case with others of the Albany Settlers.

- 18 Bryant's Dictionary - send down - also Colenso's Epistle to Romans.<sup>188</sup>

My father had nothing against Colenso except his doctrine. Of course he did not even know him.

I think my brother identified himself with Colenso's doctrines.

I believe my brother assisted Colenso with his Zulu Dictionary. I do not see how Xosa spelling can be improved on.

*Imbali* = *kubaliwe*, so gives the kind of tree, i.e. from the flower.<sup>189</sup> I think *bala* = to write, originally came from *imbali*, for *bala* does not appear to be a true Zulu word - in what sense could it be used? One cannot get it in a proper context, apart from the spurious one of 'writing' of which Zulus knew nothing.

'What a load the horse is carrying (*Wol la twal' ihashi*),' said to father (Mcopela) at Greytown.<sup>190</sup> Heavy man riding up street on weak pony. Father couldn't stop laughing.

Ntshingwayo ka Marole - tall, slight fellow (at Mhlatuze), killed at Ondini by



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Zibebu.<sup>191</sup> This man once used the word to me, 'Pinde!' (in regard to C. coming back), that is, that he would never join him.<sup>192</sup> He (Ntshingwayo) hadn't time to come through to me.<sup>193</sup> Numbers did not want to join C. because he was a despot. C., however, had his own party. I had several of them south of Mhlatuze. They were tired of his rule.

The men who came in a big body to Colenso no more wanted C. back than they wanted the moon.<sup>194</sup>

Sir Henry Bulwer spoke to me once about a plebiscite in Zululand as to whether Zulus really wanted Cetshwayo back. Not one of them wanted him back - I knew this. I said one might go to Zululand and if the question were asked of one Native, others standing by, whether they were glad of C.'s return, he would say, 'Yes.' But you take that man and have him quite alone out of earshot of others and not even be seen by another, and you put the question. The reply would be quite the reverse, 'No, we don't want him (a si m funi).'

I said, 'You must remember the greatest friends in a country where despotic power is exercised one will not confide in the other. *Tomorrow we might argue over a matter which we were plotting today, and break up.*'<sup>195</sup>

The greatest friends were afraid of one another touching Government of the country.

Black peril. A cruel thing to whole country - simply end in setting white against black. That is why I wanted segregation.

Old Mpande said to me, 'Son of Sonjica, look'<sup>196</sup> *You people lock up a man who has committed a crime. Then you let him go, and he commits it again. Among us, if a man troubles the country (umhlaba), if he troubles the people, he is got rid of (sudukiswa), and that is the end of it' - a splendid rule.*

21 IVungu river, the real Port Shepstone, 16 miles beyond. My brother told me of this many years ago - rock all round. Pretty stream, down a little waterfall running in.

T. went overland in 1838 with Charters, having come forward journey by sea.<sup>197</sup>

<Non-historical notes omitted - eds.>

[Will give me a letter of introduction to Sir Henry Bulwer who would be able to give reminiscences re Sir T.S.]

Notes

<sup>1</sup>Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893) was successively Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. By the time of his death he had become something of an 'elder statesman' in the eyes of the colony's white inhabitants. John Wesley Shepstone (1827-1916) was a younger brother who held the office of Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1876 to 1884. The testimony reproduced here was recorded by Stuart as part of a project of

collecting biographical information on Theophilus Shepstone: see also Appendix 3 to this volume.

<sup>2</sup>This question is scored out in the original.

<sup>3</sup>Cliff House was John Shepstone's residence in Prince Alfred Street, Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>4</sup>In the original the word 'Westbury' has been written in above the word 'just'. The Trym river flows into the Avon in Bristol, England.

<sup>5</sup>An important source of information on the Shepstone family is Ruth Gordon's Shepstone: the Role of the Family in the History of South Africa 1820-1900, Cape Town, 1968. While being aware that Gordon used James Stuart's record of John Shepstone's testimony as a source, we have drawn on her book for much of the biographical information on Shepstone family members in these notes.

<sup>6</sup>John William Shepstone (1796-1873), father of Theophilus and John Wesley, arrived at the Cape in 1820. He was ordained as a Methodist minister in 1827, and in 1829 established Morley mission station among the Bomvana people near the lower Mthatha river.

<sup>7</sup>Mdepha was chief of a section of the Bomvana.

<sup>8</sup>The word *ihashi* means horse in Xhosa and Zulu.

<sup>9</sup>Hintsa, chief of the Gcaleka, was the senior chief among the Xhosa until his death at the hands of the British in 1835.

<sup>10</sup>Nongqawuse and Mhlakaza were leading figures in the events which led to the Xhosa 'cattle-killing' of 1856-7.

<sup>11</sup>Nxele acquired a widespread reputation as a prophet among the Xhosa in the 1810s. In 1819 he was one of the leaders of a Xhosa attack on the British garrison in Grahamstown.

<sup>12</sup>The original reads, '*Kuyoba njani amafeni*'.

<sup>13</sup>Sir George Grey was Governor of the Cape from 1854 to 1859 and again from 1860 to 1861.

<sup>14</sup>Charles Brownlee was Civil Commissioner among the Ngqika people from 1849 to 1852 and from 1853 to 1866, and Secretary for Native Affairs in the Cape from 1872 to 1878.

<sup>15</sup>The reference is to the ultimatum delivered to envoys of the Zulu king in December 1878 by John Shepstone at the behest of Sir Bartle Frere, British High Commissioner in South Africa. Colonel C.K. Pearson commanded one of the British columns which invaded the Zulu kingdom in 1879. Colonel F. Walker was Frere's assistant military secretary. H.F. Fynn was magistrate at Pomeroy in the Msinga region. Sir Henry Bulwer was Lieutenant-Governor of Natal from 1875 to 1880.

<sup>16</sup>The Rev. W.B. Boyce was a Wesleyan missionary at the Cape from 1829 to 1843.

<sup>17</sup>The reference is to Boyce's A Grammar of the Kafir Language, which he compiled with the assistance of, among other people, his interpreter, the young Theophilus Shepstone, and published in Grahamstown in 1834.

<sup>18</sup>Theophilus Shepstone was at school in Salem near Grahamstown in the early 1830s.

<sup>19</sup>The euphonic or alliterative concord is an important feature of the structure of the Bantu or siNtu languages. The 'discovery' of the features of the concordial system is

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often attributed to W.B. Boyce.

<sup>20</sup>In 1838-9 Theophilus Shepstone accompanied a British military expedition to Port Natal in the role of interpreter. In 1839 he was appointed as Resident Agent among the 'Fingoes' at Peddie.

<sup>21</sup>Theophilus Shepstone was appointed as interpreter on the staff of the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in 1834. Colonel Harry Smith was the latter's chief of staff.

<sup>22</sup>The reference is to the Cape frontier war of 1834-5.

<sup>23</sup>At the end of 1836 Theophilus Shepstone was appointed clerk and interpreter to Hougham Hudson, the government Agent-General in Grahamstown. He remained in this post until his journey to Natal at the end of 1838 (see note 20 above).

<sup>24</sup>'*Ingene!*' means 'Let it attack!'

<sup>25</sup>This note appears in the original as a marginal insertion. It presumably refers to an incident when, during his visit to Natal in 1838-9, Theophilus Shepstone was nearly killed by an elephant.

<sup>26</sup>Phatho was senior chief of the Gqunukhwebe.

<sup>27</sup>The incident here recounted took place in 1845.

<sup>28</sup>William Fynn held various offices under the Cape government from the mid-1830s onward. He was appointed Diplomatic Agent among the chiefdoms north of the Kei river in 1836.

<sup>29</sup>Somsewu was the African name for Theophilus Shepstone.

<sup>30</sup>Bhotomane was chief of a section of the imiDange people. He died in 1867.

<sup>31</sup>I.e. hyenas.

<sup>32</sup>The small military outpost known as Fort Nottingham, near what is now Nottingham Road, was established only in 1856. John Shepstone was stationed at the site with a party of Natal Native Police in 1850-51. Duncan McKenzie was in command of the Natal government's field forces during the rebellion of 1906, and was appointed Commandant of Militia in the colony in 1907. Dr Alexander Gibb was surgeon of the 45<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which was stationed in Natal from 1843 to 1859.

<sup>33</sup>Langgalibalele kaMthimkhulu, chief of the Hlubi, fled with his adherents from the north-western borderlands of the Zulu kingdom into the northern regions of Natal colony in 1848. In 1849 Theophilus Shepstone, the Diplomatic Agent in the colony, travelled to the area to resettle the chief and his people on land west of Estcourt.

<sup>34</sup>See note 25 above.

<sup>35</sup>A collection of papers left by John Shepstone is now in the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>36</sup>In 1844 the Governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, concluded a treaty with Faku kaNgqungqushe, chief of the Mpondo. Faku was recognized as paramount chief of the region between the Mzimkhulu and Mthatha rivers. The text of the treaty was conveyed to Faku by Theophilus Shepstone and William Fynn (for whom see note 28 above).

<sup>37</sup>In 1850 the Natal government sent two missions to Faku. The first had two purposes, to obtain the cession by Faku to Natal of the territory between the Mzimkhulu and Mthamvuma rivers, and to try to identify stock thieves who were said to be raiding into the colony from territory under Faku's jurisdiction. The second

was to demand compensation from the chief for stolen livestock. It is not clear whether Shepstone was involved in either of these missions. He is known to have been a member of a third mission which, after the intervention of Sir Harry Smith, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, was sent by the Natal government to Faku in 1851 to re-establish good relations with him.

<sup>38</sup>Major H.D. Kyle was Secretary to the Natal Land Commission in the late 1840s.

<sup>39</sup>See note 33 above.

<sup>40</sup>Rupert was a son of John Shepstone. The Rev. William or John William was John Shepstone's father. In the original, Stuart has underlined the 'e' in 'Brookes': in Ruth Gordon's Shepstone the name is spelt 'Brooks'.

<sup>41</sup>The Kamastone mission station near the Witteberge in the Herschel district was established by William Shepstone in 1842. It should not be confused with the mission station of the same name which he established near Queenstown in 1849.

<sup>42</sup>Phatho was senior chief of the Gqunukhwebe. Khobe and Khama exercised autonomy over their own followings.

<sup>43</sup>Gordon, Shepstone, p. 43, gives the date as July 1833.

<sup>44</sup>This note appears in the original in the top margin of p. 14. We have been unable to identify Nightingale.

<sup>45</sup>In 1828 a force of colonial troops and levies under Col. Henry Somerset, together with a force of Thembu, Gcaleka and Mpondo, attacked and broke up the amaNgwane of Matiwane kaMasumpa west of what is now Umata. Somerset later claimed that he had mistaken the amaNgwane for the forces of the Zulu king Shaka which were then raiding the Mpondo and neighbouring chiefdoms, but there is now doubt about the veracity of his claim.

<sup>46</sup>Shepstone is presumably referring to those amaNgwane who, in the 1840s, had settled on the upper Thukela river.

<sup>47</sup>In the fighting at Mbholompo, so the story goes, bushes were set alight by the artillery fire of the colonial forces.

<sup>48</sup>John Shepstone was born in 1827.

<sup>49</sup>The reference could be either to the Myeki who was chief of the Jali or to the Myeki who was chief of the Mpondomise.

<sup>50</sup>Major David Erskine was Colonial Secretary in Natal from 1868 to 1875.

<sup>51</sup>Sonzica (Sonjica) was the African name for Rev. John William Shepstone. See also notes 190 and 196 below.

<sup>52</sup>The reference could be either to S.O. Samuelson, who was Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1893 to 1909, or to his brother R.C.A. Samuelson, who was an attorney in Natal.

<sup>53</sup>Francis Farewell was the leader of a group of British hunter-traders who had established themselves at Port Natal. In 1829 he was killed near the Mzimvubu river by the adherents of Nqetho, chief of a section of the Qwabe which, a few months before, had made off from Dingane's Zulu kingdom. Stephen Kay, a Wesleyan missionary, was the author of Travels and Researches in Caffraria (London, 1833).

<sup>54</sup>Gordon, Shepstone, p. 43, gives Daniel Roberts as a trader on the Beka river.

<sup>55</sup>The reference is to William George Brooks Shepstone (1823-1861).

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<sup>56</sup>John Maclean was successively Chief Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor of British Kaffraria from 1852 to 1864.

<sup>57</sup>See note 36 above.

<sup>58</sup>Thomas Jenkins, a Wesleyan missionary, worked in Faku's country from 1838 until his death in 1868.

<sup>59</sup>James Melville was an officer in the Natal Native Police Corps in 1848-9.

<sup>60</sup>Benjamin Pine was Lieutenant-Governor of Natal from 1850 to 1856.

<sup>61</sup>The Natal Native Police Corps was disbanded in 1851.

<sup>62</sup>The Zwartkop African reserve lay to the west of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>63</sup>Lieut.-Col. E.F. Boys was officer commanding British troops in Natal in the late 1840s and 1850s. On several occasions during this period he acted as Officer Administering the Government of the colony.

<sup>64</sup>Martin West was Lieutenant-Governor of Natal from 1845 until his death in 1849.

<sup>65</sup>Walter Harding was Crown Prosecutor in Natal from 1845 to 1856, and Chief Justice of the colony from 1856 until his death in 1874.

<sup>66</sup>Balgowan is a railway station some forty kilometres north-west of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>67</sup>Martinus Stuart was James Stuart's father. From 1868 to 1876 he served as clerk to John Shepstone who was then resident magistrate in Greytown.

<sup>68</sup>Presumably a reference to Ngoza kaLudaba who by the mid-1850s was Theophilus Shepstone's principal *induna*.

<sup>69</sup>The Nxamalala or Zuma people had established themselves near Swartkop mountain, which overlooks Pietermaritzburg from the west, in the late 1830s. Hilton and Cedara are localities near Swartkop.

<sup>70</sup>In Zulu, *inkunzi* means bull, *imbuzi* means goat, *amanzi amazolo* means water of the dew. Stuart is here drawing attention to Lala forms of these words.

<sup>71</sup>Amanzimtoti (derived from Zulu *amanzi amthothi* - the water is sweet) and Umbogintwini (derived from *ezimbokodweni*, the place of grindstones) are the names of towns south of Durban.

<sup>72</sup>KwaKhangela, corrupted by white colonists to Congella, was a locality on Durban bay.

<sup>73</sup>The Afrikaans word sloot means ditch.

<sup>74</sup>James Stuart's mother lived at no. 34 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg, from about 1890 onward. It is not clear if this is the house to which Shepstone is referring.

<sup>75</sup>The original Natal Native Police Corps was disbanded in 1851 (see note 61 above). It is not clear to what later uniform Shepstone is referring.

<sup>76</sup>'Mother' here and in subsequent paragraphs seems to mean Stuart's mother, Mary.

<sup>77</sup>J. W. Welch operated a horse-drawn omnibus service between Pietermaritzburg and Durban from 1862 to about 1880.

<sup>78</sup>The 45<sup>th</sup> Regiment was stationed in Natal from 1843 to 1859.

<sup>79</sup>For Ngoza see note 68 above. 'Lasi' was Lazarus Xaba, another of Stuart's informants. His evidence will appear in volume 6 of the Stuart Archive.

<sup>80</sup>The name uMthintandaba derives from the verb *ukuthinta*, to touch, and the noun *indaba*, affair.

<sup>81</sup>Nomsimekwana, chief of the Nyavu, lived near Table Mountain to the east of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>82</sup>Fodo kaNombewu was chief of a section of the Nhlangwini people.

<sup>83</sup>Fuze, *Black People*, pp. ii, 102, gives Zashuke kaMbheswa of the Ngubane people as a headman under Ngoza. Sidoyi ka Baleni was chief of a section of the Nhlangwini people. He was deposed by the Natal government in 1857. At that time he was living near the Mkhomazi river. 'The thorns' means the country of thorn trees, or low-lying bushveld.

<sup>84</sup>John Shepstone's mission on this occasion was to try to dissuade Mpande from sending a raiding expedition against the Swazi.

<sup>85</sup>In the original, the notes in parentheses occur as a marginal insertion. In 1850 John Shepstone married Sophy Taylor, a widow with two children from her previous marriage. One of these, Mary, later married Martinus Stuart. Their first child was James.

<sup>86</sup>The uPathe stream flows into the White Mfolozi from the south near present-day Ulundi. Mlandela was a member of the Mthethwa chiefly house who had been installed as chief of the Mthethwa by Shaka after the death of Dingiswayo.

<sup>87</sup>KwaNodwengu was Mpande's principal *umuzi*.

<sup>88</sup>Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people was a notable figure in the Zulu kingdom in the reigns of Mpande and Cetshwayo.

<sup>89</sup>KwaBulawayo was one of Mpande's *imizi*.

<sup>90</sup>Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi people later became Cetshwayo's principal *induna*.

<sup>91</sup>In 1847, when the British were still consolidating their rule in the recently annexed colony of Natal, a number of Boers in the north of the colony sought to repudiate British authority by recognising Mpande as ruler of the territory between the Thukela and Buffalo rivers.

<sup>92</sup>Dlozi kaLanga was an employee of the Stuart family. He was also one of James Stuart's informants: his evidence appears in volume 1 of the *Stuart Archive*. *Spruit* is an Afrikaans word for stream.

<sup>93</sup>The reference is to Stuart's mother, who was John Shepstone's step-daughter (see note 85 above). Shepstone's family seems to have accompanied him on more than one occasion on journeys to the Zulu kingdom.

<sup>94</sup>The names are those of rivers in the south-east of Zululand.

<sup>95</sup>Alexander Cowie and Benjamin Green travelled from the Cape to the Zulu kingdom and then to Delagoa Bay early in 1829. Both died of fever soon after beginning their return journey. We have been unable to identify the Dr Cowie referred to.

<sup>96</sup>UmGungundlovu was Dingane's principal *umuzi*. KwaMatiwane was a nearby hillock where Piet Retief and his party were put to death in February 1838.

<sup>97</sup>After his defeat by the Cape colonial forces and their African allies in 1828 (see note 45 above), Matiwane made his way back to the Zulu kingdom. He was put to death by Dingane at the hillock which subsequently bore his name (see previous note).

<sup>98</sup>KwaNkatha was a place of execution near what is now Ulundi. Sir Garnet Wolseley, newly appointed High Commissioner for South-East Africa, briefly visited the territories north of the Thukela to impose a settlement after the defeat of the Zulu

by the British in the war of 1879.

<sup>99</sup>The inGcugce was an *ibutho* of young women formed by Cetshwayo soon after he became king in 1872. In 1876 he put some of its members to death for disobeying his marriage regulations.

<sup>100</sup>KwaSithswili (kwaSishwili) was a plain near Cetshwayo's uluNdi *umuzi*. Henry Brackenbury was a member of Wolseley's staff (see note 98 above).

<sup>101</sup>The Rev. Francis Owen had a mission station near umGungundlovu at the time when Piet Retief's party was put to death there (see note 96 above).

<sup>102</sup>The word 'Incorrect' appears in the original as an insertion in the bottom margin of p. 34.

<sup>103</sup>*Ingxabiya* is a *hlonipha* word for *impande*, root.

<sup>104</sup>In 1849 the Natal government imposed an annual tax of 7s. per hut on African homestead heads.

<sup>105</sup>The *insonyama*, or rib-meat, of a slaughtered beast was regarded as the perquisite of the head of the *umuzi*.

<sup>106</sup>Shepstone is probably here referring to work done on public roads by Africans in terms of the *isibhalo* or forced-labour system imposed by the Natal government from the late 1840s onward. Botha's Hill is a locality some thirty kilometres west-north-west of Durban.

<sup>107</sup>Mount Misery or iNhlazuka overlooks the Mkhomazi river twenty-five kilometres south-east of Richmond.

<sup>108</sup>The Mzimkhulu river was officially the southern boundary of Natal colony.

<sup>109</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 24, gives *isibhaqanga* or *umbhaqanga* as 'Thick, lumpy porridge of crushed mealies, mostly eaten by boys after they have attained to puberty'.

<sup>110</sup>In the late 1840s Theophilus Shepstone played a major role in setting up reserves or locations for Africans in Natal.

<sup>111</sup>Phakade was chief of a section of Chunu which, in the late 1830s, established itself near the confluence of the Mooi (Mpofana) and Thukela rivers.

<sup>112</sup>For Walter Harding see note 65 above.

<sup>113</sup>Ntabamhlophe is a prominent hill to the south-west of Estcourt. Langalibalele was chief of a section of Hlubi which had fled from the Zulu kingdom in 1848. The following year he and his adherents were settled by the Natal government near the sources of the Msuluzi (Bloukrans) river west of Estcourt.

<sup>114</sup>Mbulwana is a hill near Ladysmith.

<sup>115</sup>For Ngoza see note 68 above. Zatshuge (Zashuke) was another of Shepstone's *izinduna*.

<sup>116</sup>St. John's river was a colonial name for the Mzimvubu.

<sup>117</sup>Shaka's forces raided into the Mpondo country in 1824 and again in 1828.

<sup>118</sup>*Uphoko* is a species of millet. The reference here is to a story that, soon after his accession to the Zulu kingship, Cetshwayo sent a bag of millet to the Natal government with the message that the Zulu people were as numerous as the grains in the bag. In return, so the story goes, Theophilus Shepstone sent back an oxhide, with the message that the British were as numerous as the hairs on it.

<sup>119</sup>The reference is to the ultimatum sent by Sir Bartle Frere, British High Commissioner in South Africa, to Cetshwayo in December 1878, and to the findings of a commission which had been set up earlier in the year by the Natal government to arbitrate in a long-standing boundary dispute between the Zulu kingdom and Boers from the South African Republic. John Shepstone, at that time Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, was a member of this commission.

<sup>120</sup>John Shepstone was temporarily appointed Resident Commissioner of the Zulu Native Reserve between the Thukela and Mhlathuze rivers in December 1882. He held office until March 1883. Cetshwayo returned from exile in the Cape in January 1883 as ruler of a portion of his former kingdom.

<sup>121</sup>Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu clan. His territory lay in the north-east of what had formerly been the Zulu kingdom.

<sup>122</sup>Ntshingwayo kaMahole of the Khoza people had been a leading figure in the Zulu kingdom under Cetshwayo. See also notes 191 and 192 below.

<sup>123</sup>The reference is to the march which Zibhebhu's forces made in attacking Cetshwayo's uluNdi *umuzi* in July 1883. 'They' here presumably meant the *izikhulu* among Cetshwayo's adherents.

<sup>124</sup>John Dunn rose to prominence in the Zulu kingdom from the late 1850s onward as a hunter-trader and an adviser to Cetshwayo. Mbuyazi, son of Mpande, was killed in a battle between his forces and those of his half-brother Cetshwayo at Ndongakusuka on the lower Thukela in December 1856.

<sup>125</sup>After the fight at Ndongakusuka (see previous note), Henry Fynn, a colonial magistrate, was sent by the Natal authorities to investigate the state of affairs in the Zulu kingdom. Sidoyi kaBaleni, chief of a section of Nhlanguwini, fell foul of the Natal government in 1857 and moved out of the colony into what is now East Griqualand.

<sup>126</sup>The reference is to operations conducted by the Natal government against Langalibalele, chief of the Hlubi in the Estcourt district, in 1873. Sir Benjamin Pine was at this time in his second term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.

<sup>127</sup>Pine and Theophilus Shepstone had quarrelled over the Natal government's policies during the former's previous period of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, 1850-56.

<sup>128</sup>Phuthile was chief of the amaNgwe in the Estcourt district at the time of the Natal government's operations against the neighbouring Hlubi in 1873.

<sup>129</sup>G.A. Lucas was resident magistrate at Ladysmith.

<sup>130</sup>Mzilikazi was the first ruler of the Ndebele kingdom which, since about 1840, had been located in the south-west of what is now Zimbabwe. Soshangana(e) was the first ruler of the Gaza kingdom, located in south-central Mozambique. Mzila was one of his sons. Mswazi (Mswati) was king of the Swazi from the mid-1840s until his death in 1865.

<sup>131</sup>Nkulumana was supposedly the son and heir of Mzilikazi. At some stage during the latter's reign, Nkulumana seems to have disappeared or to have been killed. After Mzilikazi's death in 1868, several impostors outside his kingdom claimed to be the long-lost Nkulumana. One of them was backed by Theophilus Shepstone. See J.D.R. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896', unpublished Ph.D. thesis,



University of Lancaster, 1976, ch. 7. See also the text at note 154 below.

<sup>132</sup>John Bird held various posts in the Natal colonial service from 1846 to 1879. He worked as a government surveyor in the Ladysmith area in the late 1840s.

<sup>133</sup>Sarhili was chief of the Gcaleka from 1835 to 1877, when he was deposed by the Cape colonial government. He died in 1892.

<sup>134</sup>Tifokati was a daughter of the Swazi king Sobhuza (Somhlolo). In the later 1850s or early 1860s, as part of an attempt to establish closer relations with the colony of Natal, Sobhuza's son and successor, Mswati (see note 130 above), sent Tifokati as a bride to Theophilus Shepstone. He in turn gave her to his *induna* Ngoza as wife.

<sup>135</sup>The Native High Court was established in 1875. The first attempt to codify African customary law in Natal was made at the same time.

<sup>136</sup>John (later Sir John) Robinson and Harry Escombe were leading figures in Natal politics in the 1880s and 1890s. The Natal Mercury was a Durban-based newspaper.

<sup>137</sup>District councils and a General Council were set up in the Cape Colony's Transkeian territories in 1895.

<sup>138</sup>We have been unable to establish what 'charter' refers to here.

<sup>139</sup>This sentence is underlined in the original.

<sup>140</sup>Dr James Dalziel, an ordained medical missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, was in charge of the Gordon Memorial Mission near what is now Pomeroy from 1870 until his death in 1901.

<sup>141</sup>The reference is to blocks of land allocated by the Natal government to the various mission stations.

<sup>142</sup>Zwartkop (Swartkop) location was situated a few kilometres west of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>143</sup>In 1858 John Shepstone was sent by the Natal government to arrest Matshana kaMondise, chief of the Sithole in the Msinga region of the colony, for an infraction of the law. Shepstone's attempt to arrest him ended in violence, and Matshana escaped to the Zulu kingdom. In 1875, at the insistence of Bishop John Colenso, the Natal government held an official enquiry into the affair. Shepstone was largely exonerated.

<sup>144</sup>I.e. a few 'kraals' or homesteads.

<sup>145</sup>In the original, Stuart draws a line to indicate a link between this paragraph and the fifth paragraph below, beginning 'A kaffir chief will come to you...'

<sup>146</sup>In the original, the words in this paragraph appear as insertions in the top margin of p. 58.

<sup>147</sup>John Shepstone was interpreter in a four-man party which was sent out by the Natal government in September 1846 to make contact with Bushmen who lived in the territories south of the colony. Mshukangubo was chief of a section of the Memela; Sidoyi was chief of a section of the Nhlangwini (see note 83 above).

<sup>148</sup>The meaning of the statement *Use ngalo kodwa* is obscure. Our translation of it as 'He is now under So-and-So' may not reflect Shepstone's meaning.

<sup>149</sup>The Baleleberg or Balelasberg is the range of hills in north-western KwaZulu-Natal between Utrecht and Wakkerstroom.

<sup>150</sup>R.E. Ridley (d. 1875) was an elected member of the Natal Legislative Council. The Council voted to increase the hut tax on African homestead heads from 7s. to 14s. in

1875.

<sup>151</sup>Lieut.-Col. Henry Pulleine was in command of the British camp at Sandlwana when it was overrun by the Zulu army on 22 January 1879.

<sup>152</sup>*Ibhece* is a kind of melon. In the KwaZulu-Natal region in precolonial times a sport common among boys was to roll an *ibhece* melon down a slope and to hurl sharpened sticks at it. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 26, gives *ukugwaza ibhece* (literally, to stab a melon) as 'to kill a defenceless or powerless person, massacre an enemy when already vanquished, surrendered or overtaken in flight'.

<sup>153</sup>Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 391, gives *umondi* as 'Certain forest climber, whose aromatic bark and roots are used as a stomachic for giving appetite and relieving flatulence'.

<sup>154</sup>On Nkulumana see note 131 above.

<sup>155</sup>The reference is to British immigrants who, in 1849-51, were brought to Natal under a number of government-sponsored schemes. On John Shepstone's visit to Faku, see note 37 above.

<sup>156</sup>In 1889 Dinuzulu was found guilty of treason. He was held on St. Helena from February 1890 to December 1897, and returned to Zululand in January 1898.

<sup>157</sup>H.M. Stainbank, magistrate of Mahlabatini district, was murdered near the White Mfolozi river in May 1906.

<sup>158</sup>Bhambatha kaMancinza, chief of a section of the Zondi people, was a leading figure in the rebellion of 1906.

<sup>159</sup>The reference to Fynn is presumably to Charlie Fynn, who was chief of the iziNkumbi in the Alexandra and Lower Umzimkulu divisions. Ngobizembe was chief of the Ntuli people in the Mapumulo division. He was deposed during the rebellion of 1906.

<sup>160</sup>The reference is possibly to Mkhonto kaNtwananhle, who seems to have become head of the section of Ntuli previously led by Ngobizembe.

<sup>161</sup>Hans de Lange was hanged in Ladysmith in 1861 for murder.

<sup>162</sup>Colonel G. Leuchars was a column commander during the rebellion of 1906.

<sup>163</sup>We have been unable to identify Joli.

<sup>164</sup>'*Wena bulala mina*'; '*Mina hai bulala*,' is the corrupted form of Zulu known as *fanagalo* for 'You will kill me'; 'I will not kill'.

<sup>165</sup>For Sarhili see note 133 above. For Nongqawuse and Mhlakaza see note 10 above.

<sup>166</sup>For Charles Brownlee see note 14 above.

<sup>167</sup>Moshoeshoe (Moshweshwe) was king of the baSotho.

<sup>168</sup>Henrique was a son of Theophilus.

<sup>169</sup>Charles Mitchell was Colonial Secretary in Natal from 1878 to 1886.

<sup>170</sup>Probably G.A. Lucas, a Natal magistrate.

<sup>171</sup>We have been unable to identify A.K.D. Edwards.

<sup>172</sup>The reference is to Charles Barter, who was active in public affairs in Natal from the 1850s to the 1890s. Under the pseudonym Hippias he published a number of articles on horsebreeding.

<sup>173</sup>Dr P.C. Sutherland was Surveyor-General in Natal from 1855 to 1887.

<sup>174</sup>The name *unsukumbili* derives from *izinsuku*, meaning 'days', and *-mbili*, 'two'. Bryant, *Dictionary*, p. 600, gives it as 'small plant...whose highly poisonous roots are

used as a clyster for back-ache and stomach pains'. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 273, give *ugudluthukela* as (1) a species of burweed, and (2) the Mexican poppy.

<sup>175</sup>Theophilus Shepstone was born in England in 1817 and went with his parents to the Cape in 1820.

<sup>176</sup>Jane/Janes should read Jeans. 'Uncle' should apparently read 'great uncle': see Shepstone's statement three sentences further on.

<sup>177</sup>John Edward Jenkins (1838-1910), politician and satirist, seems to have been related to the Shepstone family in Natal through his mother. He was the anonymous author of Ginx's Baby, His Birth and Other Misfortunes, a highly successful satire first published in 1870. See the article by Robert E. Graves in the Dictionary of National Biography for 1901-1911, vol. 2, pp. 370-1.

<sup>178</sup>William Beaumont held a number of posts as a magistrate in Natal, and became a judge in the Natal Supreme Court in 1902. He was knighted in 1910. From 1913 to 1916 he chaired the well-known 'Beaumont Commission' which had been set up in terms of the Native Land Act of 1913. Rupert was one of John Shepstone's sons. The notes in parentheses appear in the original as a marginal insertion.

<sup>179</sup>Theophilus Shepstone, by then a knight, became Administrator of the Transvaal in April 1877 after he had formally annexed the territory to Britain.

<sup>180</sup>The reference is to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: Newly Translated and Explained from a Missionary Point of View, published in 1861 (see Gordon, Shepstone, p. 209). Colenso had in fact published several other books before this.

<sup>181</sup>Sobantu, meaning father of the people, was the Zulu name for Bishop Colenso.

<sup>182</sup>For John Bird see note 132 above. Nyoniyentaba means bird of the mountain.

<sup>183</sup>Bishopstowe was Bishop Colenso's residence, some eight kilometres to the east of Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>184</sup>It is not clear what incident Shepstone is referring to here.

<sup>185</sup>*Uyise wabantu* means father of the people.

<sup>186</sup>For most of his life in South Africa, John William Shepstone was a Wesleyan missionary. Gordon (Shepstone, p. 1) indicates that his first wife, John Shepstone's mother, grew up as a Quaker and became a Wesleyan on her marriage.

<sup>187</sup>John William Shepstone began his working life in England as a stonemason. After emigrating to the eastern Cape, he opened his own business as an architect and builder in Bathurst and Grahamstown. (See Gordon, Shepstone, pp. 1, 13.)

<sup>188</sup>See note 180 above.

<sup>189</sup>Shepstone is here speculating on the relationship between the Zulu word *imbali*, flower, and the word *ukubhala*, to write.

<sup>190</sup>Mcophela, whom we have been unable to identify, was presumably the speaker on this occasion. John William Shepstone's African name was Sonzica (though see John Shepstone's statements referred to in note 51 above and note 196 below).

<sup>191</sup>For Ntshingwayo kaMahole see note 122 above. He was killed in the attack made on Cetshwayo's uluNdi *umuzi* in 1883 by the leader of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu, Zibhebhu kaMaphitha (see notes 121 and 123 above).

<sup>192</sup>*Phinde* means 'never'. The 'C.' referred to here is Cetshwayo. See also the text as referred to at note 122 above.

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<sup>193</sup>In 1882, when the British authorities were preparing for the return of Cetshwayo to part of his former kingdom, John Shepstone was temporarily appointed Resident Commissioner of the Zulu Native Reserve. He held office until the end of March 1883. (See also note 120 above.)

<sup>194</sup>This is a reference to one or other of two large deputations of the exiled Cetshwayo's supporters which visited Pietermaritzburg to ask the colonial authorities for the former king to be restored to his kingdom. The first party arrived in May 1880, the second and much larger one in April 1882. The leaders of both parties visited Bishop Colenso at Bishopstowe.

<sup>195</sup>The original reads, '*Si nga xabana ngomuso ngento e sa si yi ceba namhlanje, ku hlakazeka*'.

<sup>196</sup>In the original the 'j' of Sonjica is underlined. The name is usually given as Sonzica. This was the African name for John William Shepstone: see also notes 51 and 190 above.

<sup>197</sup>In November 1838 a military expedition under Major Samuel Charters was sent by sea from the Cape to take occupation of Port Natal. Theophilus Shepstone accompanied the expedition as interpreter. He returned overland with Charters in January-February 1839. See also note 20 above.