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Cape of Good Hope Report and Proceedings, with Appendices, of the  
Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs.

Cape Town 1883

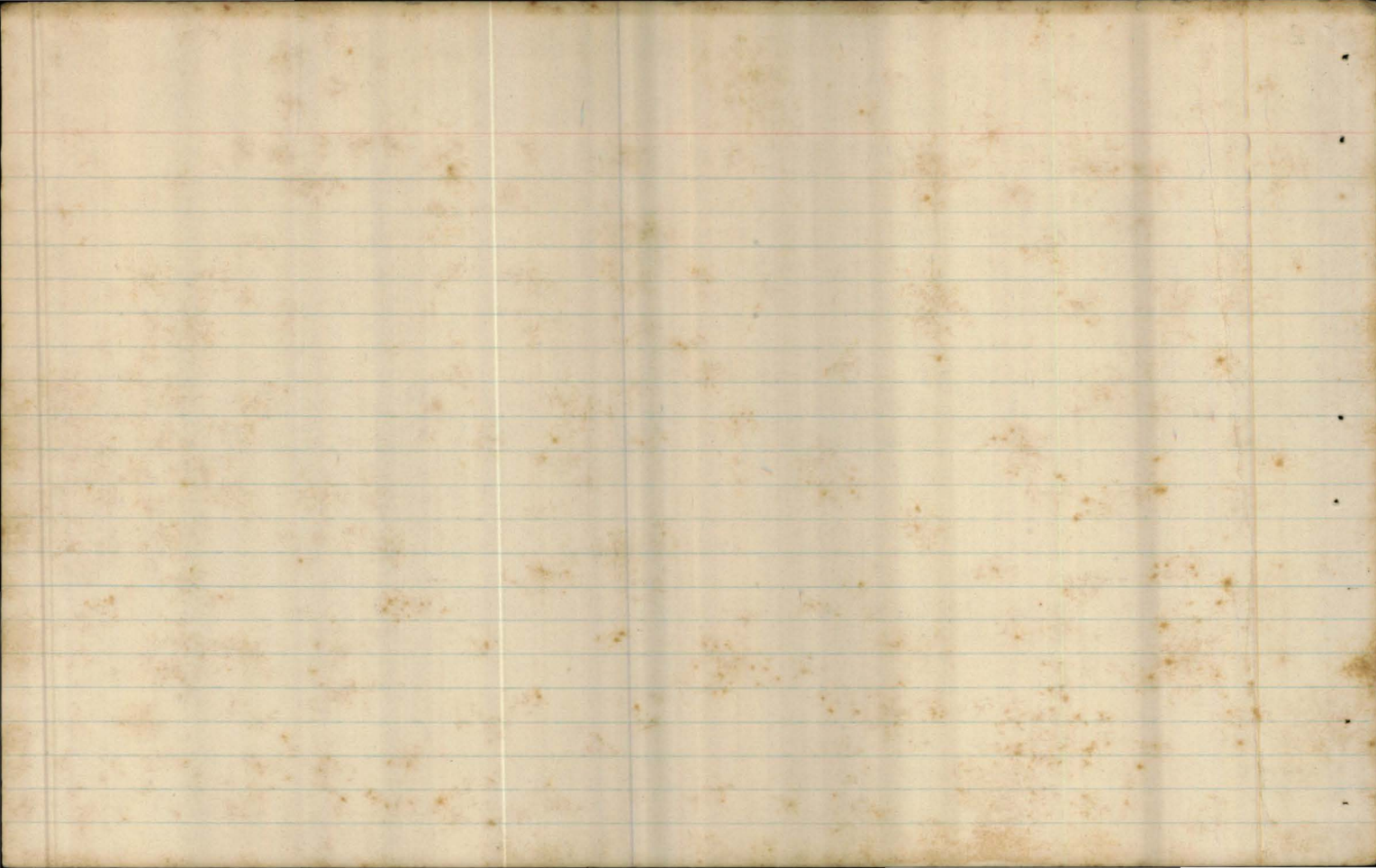
Minutes of Evidence Sir T. Shepstone 7/9/81 Grahamstown-68

Entered public service under Smith in Jan 1835. On first military expedition to Natal in 1838. 1839 Diplomatic Agent to Ndhlambe's tribe. 1844 negotiated treaty with Kreli and Faku. 1846 appointed as Diplomatic Agent in Natal, then SNA and Judicial Assessor, and Administrator of the Transvaal.

41 "Can you name the tribes with which you are familiar?---I have had more or less to do with all the tribes from here to the Limpopo, and even beyond .

42 Is the form of Government the same among them all?---Generally speaking, it is so.

43. What is the form of Government?---It is a form of Government at the head of which is the chief, who is apparently arbitrarily supreme, and who possess all power, but, practically, that power cannot be exercised by him safely, except with the consent of the people. That consent is given at assemblies of the chief men of the tribe. These men are not always entitled councillors, but they have the right of meeting at these assemblies, owing to personal influence, or the possession of riches, or to their being the heads of large families, or of hereditary descent in the tribe. These people again go upon the opinions of their constituents, or people under them.





44. Are these headmen selected by the paramount chief or by the nomination of constituents? No, they are mostly rulers of special districts.

45. And become so by appointment of the chief?---No; I think their title is hereditary practically, through not always so. Sometimes the chief sends for one set of headmen one day, and another on another day. It is not necessary that any particular set of headmen are present at an assembly, so that the chief satisfies himself that public opinion is represented.

~~...The~~ /admits that even amongst the Zulu that the king/ "is obliged, in some form or other, to ascertain and conciliate the opinions of his people.

/Believes there is a general uniformity/ ""They live more or less under the same conditions and the same remedies suggest themselves" /At the same time there are differences particularly for example the marriage

NB law. /

/Discussion follows on crime, with offences against the chief, tribe, murder, cattle stealing as the most serious offences. On the giving of evidence/

"They are logical people, and make allowances for the evidence of a wife, a child, or accomplice." New laws should be introduced/

"Only by degrees as new laws may be found necessary, and the necessity commends them to the minds of the people."

/Best form of control "collective responsibility."

Best form of criminal code "You want laws as general as possible, giving you the power of filling up".

/ On the place of the chief in a court. TS gives example of the special court





set up to deal with cattle thefts in Natal. Magistrate Chief and TS. Chief usually only recommended greater severity. People gained confidence in the court / "The chief may, I think, be safely left to adjudicate, with the assistance of his headmen, on minor cases, provided appeal to the magistrate is allowed to the people."..."I would only give it the power of dealing with smaller crimes."

/Is of opinion the exercise of trial law has always been a form of trial by jury - because it held in public, held by people who can intervene in the process. /

/In Natal the rule is to try all serious criminal cases by Colonial courts and laws before a jury of colonists; but there are cases, such as faction fights and riotous disturbances of the peace, which it has been found more convenient to remit for trial ~~and~~ under native law, because the principle of collective or mutual responsibility is the only principle upon which, among such a population, such offences can be effectually dealt with."

/A criminal code / "Considering the assistance that it would afford to an administrator, a criminal code would, in my opinion, be most desirable, and tend to secure uniformity in the practice of magistrates. I should be inclined to adopt such of the laws of the natives as may be found unobjectionable, and improve upon them by degrees, and with their assistance and consent, which could, and I think always should, be secured beforehand by judicious action of the magistrates."

/On the Natal system, Paramount Chief (ov) ~~assisted~~ represented by SNA magistrates and so on. Native messengers acting as Shreiffs to collect fines





and recieved either a % of fee accrocing to mileage. Asked whether they should not recieve a fixed salary/" I doubt it. If you want ~~ze~~ zeal you must have an incentive. If you pay by the case or the journey, and employ different men, you secure energy and the services of many individuals, instead of having to rely upon only one, who is li ble to become indiffernt in the discharge of his duties from many causes." /It is called the ukubusa system.

2000 /If Cape Africnas/ "have shown themselves for 40 years capable of being governed by a more advanced code of laws, I see no reason why they should be put back. The main object of keeping natives under their own law is to ensur control of them. You cannot control ~~xxx~~ savages by civlized law."

"202. Am I correct in assuming that a prominent feature in the administration of native law is the power of the chief?---Yes

203. Are you aware of any aboriginal tribe or organization in South Africa which has existed without the presence or authority of the chief?---No

204. In your opinion arenative laws and customs at capable of administraiton, and being carried out, without the power of the chief?---You must have some power corresponding with the power of the chief.

205. Are any native laws and customs of such a nutre that they require the absolute and depsoctic power of one man?---They are based upon the theory of absolute powere residing somewhere.....

210 "When a youbg man is knows as the coning chief he is supposed to be under the care of the seniors of the tribe. It is a common exhortation on his a ssuming the position of chief that he must give up the compnaions of his

2. I received a letter from a friend of the President to inquire whether

the President had received a letter from me. I thought it was a mistake. If you want to read

your mind have an incentive. If you say, "I don't know," the case on the other side

enjoy different men, you receive energy and the services of many individuals

instead of having to rely on only one, who is liable to become inefficient in

the discharge of his duties. "I have said the whole thing."

1000

1000. The Government has a long history of being a more advanced country than any other

in the world. The main object of the Government is to get the best out of them.

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youth and go to those of his father."

211. Am I right in assuming that the chiefs' power is absolute? - Yes, always supposing that his exercise of it is popular with the head\* of the people

215. I notice that the Natal code provides not only for the administration of native laws, but prohibits any law not based on native laws and customs.

Does that give each of your magistrates discretion to adopt his own views of what the native laws are? - If the facts of a case are affected by native laws and customs they must be taken into account by the magistrate: his knowledge of them may be small, but he is bound to inform himself on the point, but his decisions are always liable to review by the court above him."

TS says the there has been progress since the introduction of these <sup>but gives material examples, plunging, trade goods</sup> as it enables the Govr to give advice which is accepted/

"Under a system which provides no head for the natives they are like a flock of sheep without a shepherd. They require to feel that they have the fostering of some one to whom they can look up to as their adviser."

274 "Is there not a danger in having a supreme chief to take the place of a black one. Anything said against the chief is looked upon as a serious offence, and in order to keep up that system you must look upon disobedience to authority as an offence, ~~then~~ as you did in the case of Langalabalele

~~If you had not looked upon disobedience to the Supreme...~~ As to toleration disobedience, take the case of civilized country, and suppose the order of its Supreme Court were resisted when attempted to be enforced by the usual officer; if resistance were persisted in force must be used to vindicate the law. In the case of Langalabalele force was used to secure obedience to the law."





275 "he the magistrate would demand implicit obedience? - there is no instance in which the magistrate in Natal has taken the place of the chief; it is not and cannot be done; the position and influence of the chief are used as a means of government.

8/9/81

/On Shaka. Stopped circumcision because he did not like people being treated like cattle. But look at his question: /

"287. "Did he put down the rite in all those tribes he commanded?--- ~~Exempt~~  
~~know~~ He never administered the government of any tribe he conquered, his practice was to destroy the tribe and incorporate the people; he differed in that respect from his first chief and patron, Dingiswayo.....

/What of customs accompanied by immorality / "I should still be opposed to legislate for the mere purpose of making people moral. I would punish for a wrong all which caused mischief or injury..... 301

300 "Would you treat adultery as an offence?--- ...I think it would be best left to be dealt with as a civil injury.....

307.....Does native custom recognize civil rights as distinct from criminal?--- Practically the distinction is recognized, because there is a class of offences which work injury to the chief and the community, and which are recognized as working such injury, and punished; but there is no technical distinction drawn.

308. If a man is injured by an act of negligence on the part of another, would he be able to get redress?---Yes by complaining to the chief or headmen who had jurisdiction over the man who injured him."





338 Would you interfere with that custom by giving a woman rights?—  
I should be inclined to wait until such interference is called for by the improved condition of the women. A wife who by her industry produces enough to maintain her family, and with surplus to barter a cow, that cow with its increase is looked upon as her property separate from the estate of her husband."

/Agenst - I suppose lawyers - in court would be / "an unmitigated evil"  
/Disagrees with Maclean when he says that generally the native is not to be believed in court § 379-80/

/The recent separation of the Judicial and executive functions of the SNA has been unfortunate. There no longer exists the close relationship, between the natives and the SNA/

"398. Don't these remarks of yours show that the personal relationship of SNA to the natives was very close?---Yes; my experience leads me to think that natives require, beside their local magistrate, an authority to whom they can always look, and upon whom they can always rely as their permanent head; and that this head should be always easily accessible to them."

/His objection ofification is that it implies a rigidity. On a dual system of law/"I think the two systems will go on assimilating up to a certain point; and that those portions of the two which will assimilate sooner and the most perfectly, are such as involve the most frequent transaction between the races; such for instance as trade."

439. Then it becomes a serious question whether community of interest between





black and white can be brought about? ---I think that , in Natal for instance, the natives feel that their interest are identical in all material respects with those of the whitepeople. The creation of such a feeling should be the object of all rule of native tribes by a civilized Government."

/On polygamny - it might be a bad custom but to ~~legix~~ ban it would be like legislating to straighten the hind legs of a grasshopper, and the women like it as / "She likes to think she has added to the comfort of her family" 484  
489 "What is her position after marriage?---She is mistress of her house, and has sometimes more to say to her husband than he cares to listen to.

490. Is she not subservient to the will of her husband?---Just as all wives are supposed to be. The pride of a native wife is to make her house acceptable and attractive to her husband.

491. That is where she has consented. But where she has not consented, does she not become a slave to her husband?---Yes I believe she may, as thousands of our own women do by pressure being put upon them to induce them to marry. I object to the 'Slavery' because it implies a great deal more than is even represented by the conditions of the woman; she can't be sold as a slave can. She has the status of a wife, and enjoys privileges as such. Moreover she is protected by the chief and by public opinion."

/And in Natal no. is limited at ~~ten~~, and a public declaration, witnessed is made at the marriage.\_/

... it is a matter of fact, is limited to them, and a very limited one.

... the fact that a wife, and a very young one, is ...  
... the condition of the world, and could be said to be a ...  
... object to the 'Sister' because it makes a great deal of ...  
... one of the women to be married before, and then to be married ...  
... and not become a slave to her husband? -- Yes, believe me, as ...  
... 191. That is where she had consented, but she and her husband ...

... and attractive to her husband. ...  
... 190. Is she not as devoted to the will of her husband? -- Yes, as all wives ...  
... are expected to be. ...  
... and attractive to her husband. ...  
... it is a ...  
... 191. That is where she had consented, but she and her husband ...



9so make improvement impossible.

523 "Regarding polygamy, is it not usual that there are as many monogamous marriages as polygamous?---I think it may be taken for granted that in most tribes the majority of men have only one wife."

/But the numbers of boys and girls are usually equal and so monogamy must be the "law of nature"/

527 "Why do they approve of it?---There are things connected with this custom that cannot be publicly discussed. The prejudices of the women have a great bearing upon it. In some tribes women deny themselves during pregnancy or lactation, or during both. The men, too, have their ideas of what is seemly and right, and those ideas condemn as indecent and unclean what they observe among monogamous races."

/Asserted that the only reasons for polygamy is for the man  
"to satisfy his passions. TS replies there are many other reasons/

"Is there any other argument?---Polygamy lives in the ideas and minds of the people from the highest to the lowest; our objection to it seems to be looked upon by them as arising from some radical difference of race which incapacitates us from judging of its fitness or otherwise for them; and the consequences of that difference, they think, do not show much to commend monogamy."

/TS believes immorality increases as one goes south through less discipline and greater contact ~~is~~ with the Basotho, and with civilization./ In Zululand it is not so, although they have practices which they substitute for the actual immorality itself.... They have a way between the sexes of satisfying themselves. // Eventually TS, who clearly shows an understanding here is made to back down //

and there is more and more...

...is it not true that there were many more women  
...than there were men... I think it is true that it is not  
...the number of men have only one wife.

...the number of men have only one wife... and no longer...

...there the half-breed... I think it is true that it is not  
...the number of men have only one wife... and no longer...

...the number of men have only one wife... and no longer...

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"538. Polygamy, then, is the result of passion? - I suppose, that in the main, it is; another recommendation of it is, the importance that it addis to a native establishment.

539. he man then, not only satisfies his passion, but he gets a number of women <sup>to</sup> work for him? - Yes; and the difficulty of dealing with the matter consists chiefly in the fact, that the woemn are proud to work for him and for their children, and of their poxision as wives among a number.

540. As A Christian community, we must look upon polygamy as an evil.

Seeing that men and women are equal in number, one must consider that it is not in accordance with the laws of nature? - I should think so.

541. Legislation should tend to bring about monogamy? - Yes; but to be really successful, it must be gradual, and at first, I think, indirect.

/Shepstone then repeats that legislation would only increawe immorailly / Because the condition of the men would remain the same, and the ideas and habits of the women could not change by legislative enactment."

/Adultery would increase ~~x~~ and ~~an~~ indirect legislation would / "not necessarily; but , after all, the only hope of real success lies in changing the ideas of the people.

549. We have tried conversion to Christianity, as an indirect means? - The fialure of that on the whole goes to show the impracticability of stopping it in the way that seems to commend itslef to most people.

550. I mean to say, that if the great objection to stopping it is the fear that immorality will increase, and yet immorality arises among them from other cuases, why should we not stop it by direct legislation? - I don't

500. To-day, then, is the result of a long - I suppose, to a large  
in, it is, another reason for it, in the language that it adds to  
a native establishment.

501. The way the, not only the, his reason, but also a number of  
never be more for this - yes; and the difficulty of dealing with the  
matter comes out in the fact, that the women are now to be taken  
and for this reason, two of their children, as I have said, are  
502. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

503. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

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506. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

507. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

508. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

509. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

510. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.

511. As a Christian community, we must look out for our own evil.



wish to say that the only objection to stopping it by direct legislation is the fear of immorality. There are political dangers which wise men would not incur, by attempting what they must know will be ineffectual legislation.

551. Still, if it is expedient that it should ultimately be put a stop to, what means would you suggest for the purpose? - I would, in the first place, suggest that the amount of dowry should be restricted; this would discourage the spirit of barter, and prevent fathers from treating their daughters as mere chattels; and, in the second place, I would suggest that the consent of the girl, publicly expressed should be a necessary part of the marriage ceremony." /As of course occurs in Natal./

/He considers the Pongos much more immoral than they were 40 yrs ago

/ "I attribute this immorality to the fact, that, whereas, they at one time had to be always on their guard against attacks from the Zulus, they now have Natal as a barrier between them and their old enemies, and there is no longer any necessity for cultivating the manly qualities which continued preparedness for self-defence requires; hence they have become both licentious and effeminate, and worth very little as warriors."

9/9/81

/Gives the regulations of 1869 on the public announcement. and are now embodied in the Natal code.

575. Whose property do the lobola cattle become? The property of the girl's father, or his heir.

577





577. In case a woman dies without issue, must the lobla be returned? - Returned I think among all independent tribes, unless another wife from the same family takes her place. In Natal this has been one of the most difficult points to decide. On the one hand it seemed desirable that native marriages should be clothed with as much finality as possible; it was through that to make the circumstances of marriage a final transfer of the daughter from the family in which she had been born, to that into which she was married, presented many advantages political as well as social; that it would prevent misunderstandings and litigation where they most frequently occurred, and attach more reality and solemnity to the marriage itself. On the other hand it became apparent that the more completely this finality was effected, the more completely would the woman be deprived of a real advantage, the protection of her natural protectors; her father or her relations would no longer loyally possess this right, nor would self-interest any longer prompt them, to expostulate or interfere in her behalf, or to receive her back and care for her, should she be ill-treated. The feeling created in her mind by the custom of lobola, that the cattle which passed from her husband's to her father's family gave her the right to claim from the latter, should she need them, ~~bring~~ both protection and maintenance, would be destroyed, and her interests materially injured. In most tribes which retain their patriarchal form of Government, in contradistinction to the autocratic Zulu form, the father's family always retains the power of protecting its daughters, even after marriage, against ill-treatment of her husband; and this power is frequently exercised sometimes to an extravagant and pernicious extent. Among more autocratic tribes it falls somewhat into





abeyance until dissolution of the marriage, when the daughter reverts to her father's family and he becomes again entitled to whatever may accrue from a second or further marriage. The Natal Government endeavoured to avoid the evils of both courses by making the marriage a final transfer of the woman, while it hoped to conserve for her all the advantages she had previously possessed, by transferring to the husband's family all interest in any future marriage she might make. This involved that no property which passed between the families at the first marriage could be reclaimed on its dissolution, and further, that on the marriage of a daughter her father's family lost all legal right to interpose on her behalf. The success, or otherwise of legislation on such a subject must be judged of almost exclusively by the effect it produces on the condition of the woman. As I had most to do with choosing among these various evils, I may be excused if, after seeing what I have of the working of the system chosen, I express a doubt that the device, although accepted generally by the natives as fair and just, has improved her condition. My own belief is, that the original object of the lobola custom was to protect the woman and to place her father's family in a position to afford her maintenance in her need; the custom has however been corrupted or prevented, and the direction has been influenced by the form of government under which it has been practised; the patriarchal form had encouraged licentiousness, while ~~the~~ under the autocratic form the tendency has been towards treating the woman as a chattel. I am inclined to the opinion that in any legislation on the subject the lobola cattle should ~~be~~ held to give the daughter the legal right of asylum and maintenance. You cannot abolish the custom, and such a

anyone with dissolution of the marriage, and the husband's right to her  
in her family, and to become a member of the family, and to be  
second on the marriage. The fact of a woman's being a member of the family  
of both parents by making the marriage a part of the family, and it  
belongs to everyone for her all the members, and not exclusively to one, by  
transferring to the husband's family all interest in any future marriage  
and child. This involves that no property which passed between them  
shall be the first marriage, and no dissolution, and  
further, that on the marriage of a daughter, the family lost its  
legal right to interest in her. The husband, on the other hand, has  
on such a case, at least the right of interest in the property, and  
on the condition of the law, and I have to say that I have to say that  
various evils, I may be assured, I am not aware of, but I have to say that  
the system chosen, I have no doubt that the device, although accepted generally  
as a device to save and that was intended to be a device, and not a device  
that the principal object of the local custom was to protect the woman  
and to place her in a family, and in a position to allow her  
maintenance in her need. The custom has however been so far as revealed,  
and the question is a good one, whether by the form of government which it  
has been suggested, the custom is a good one, and whether it is a good one,  
the under the suggestion, the custom is a good one, and whether it is a good one,  
as a matter of fact, it is a matter of fact, and whether it is a matter of fact,  
right of the family, and whether it is a matter of fact, and whether it is a matter of fact,  
right of the family, and whether it is a matter of fact, and whether it is a matter of fact,



provision would I think, restore to it its original object.....

/Lobola/ "is a contract between families, as distinct from one between a widow and her husband."

/TS undecided whether lobola should be paid at once or by instalments but probably the latter/

"Would you enforce a promise to pay? ---To hold such a promise not binding would be tantamount to insisting upon the whole payment being made before marriage, because the girl's family would not permit the marriage until all should be paid; and the inconvenience of this would be that it would delay the marriage of young men, and tempt to theft, whereas payment by instalments would avoid this. On the otherhand, completion of payment before marriage makes the transaction final, and has the effect of preventing a good deal of litigation. It is a question which, like most others, has two sides to it."

"When a married woman's children become of age, have any of them a right to receive cattle from their mother's relations in the form of ukucela (begging)?---It is a custom, but there is no law to enforce it.

It is usual for them to get a present of this kind?---Yes, among most tribes. ...What is about the usual number of wives of heads of kraals, and of chiefs in Natal?---There are some who have 20 and 25 wives, but the average is very much below that, and I should think from about 4 to 6 would be the average. Have ~~not~~ many of the common people more than one?---Many of them

623 Would not any attempt forcibly to put down polygamy be politically dangerous....There would be great political danger, because there must be great





and severe coercion applied to change even the form of the custom. I believe that no extent of coercion ~~applied to change even~~ would do more than change the form, and the effect of such a change would be much more demoralizing ~~to~~ to the people than the custom itself. Of all institutions among them, that of polygamy is the one which they cling to with the greatest tenacity.

....

646 "In the Natal law of divorce adultery in the husband is omitted, why is that ---Was there not, until a comparatively recent date, the same omission in our own civilized law?

682 "Is it not a fact that according to native custom, besides the duty of hut-building and attending to domestic work the women also perform all the agricultural labour of the establishment?---As far as my knowledge goes I should not say that hut-building is done by the women alone. The work is divided; the men get the food and the ~~women~~ women bring the grass. The ~~women~~ women as a ~~rule~~ rule do the cultivation, but in many tribes the men work quite as hard as the women in the field. The plough is now, however, fast emancipating the women from the most laborious position of field labour."

683 "What is the status of a wife; is she regarded as the equal of her husband? ---Certainly not as the equal of her husband. She has her own rights and position, which she carefully guards."

697 "Is a polygamist punished if he violates the marriage tie? There are civil consequences which must depend upon the circumstances of the case, but there is no more punishment in native law for such violation than there





is in ours.

Why has Natal created a limit to the dowry - To stop father's putting pressure on pretty daughters to marry rich men .

708 "Was that because you found the fathers making a trade of giving away their daughters? - Because when there was no check the fathers were tempted to put pressure on their daughters to marry the man who could and was willing to pay most for her, irrespective of the girl's wishes; and the man who had a pretty daughter rated her according to his idea of the value of her beauty.

709 Don't we attach the same importance to beauty? - We do attach a good deal of importance to it; in fact, we do a great many things which we condemn the Kafirs for doing.

710 Has the law been successful in discouraging that differential value of women? I believe that it has; but the working of it will have to be narrowly watched to prevent its object being defeated by the ingenious devices of avarice. I believe, too, that it has had the effect of enabling more young men to marry than before. Table at end "contains many interesting facts...

719 "Your general belief is that any rude disturbance of the habits of the people would make them discontented with our rule? - Yes

732 "Do you think, as far as you know, that young men have a difficulty in getting wives under this dowry settlement? - I suppose that as a rule most





of them have. Our young men find less difficulty in getting than supporting wives after they have got them; but among both classes, so long as the difficulty exists as an incentive to industry and diligence, it can do but little harm."

733 "Have not the parents a preference for old and rich men? - Yes

734 Does this preference arise from a self-regarding consideration that by the speedy death of an old man the daughter may be free to marry again? - I scarcely think that such a calculation enters much into their consideration. I imagine it is the same sort of feeling as that which induces us to wish to see our daughters married into respectable families."

768 "You disapprove of the law forcing native converts to give up all their wives? - I think it is a most cruel law, and cannot reconcile it with the unselfishness of our Christian religion."

10/9/81

On the property rights - each section under wife and eldest son, and given cattle by head of kraal. / "The eldest son of each section is required to help his junior brothers in that section with sufficient property to enable them to get one wife.....It is a donation. He does not get it back again; it is the only claim that his brothers inherit....He may become himself the head of a new kraal, or he may remain attached to his brother's family, but wherever he may go he is looked upon as a servant of the elder brother.

784 Until they marry has the eldest son any control over the labour of his brothers?---The eldest son takes the control that the father had over them.

of them have. Our young men find less difficulty in getting than our young  
wives. After they have gotten; but even those classes, so long as the  
difficulty is not an insurmountable barrier to industry and diligence, it is not out  
of the question.

733 "I've got the parents' welfare for old and true men - yes."

734 "Does that reference mean from a self-regarding consideration that if the  
nobody doubt that an old man who has been married to many women - I am now  
think that such a consideration interests much more their country, I imagine  
it is the same sort of feeling as that which induces me to wish to see our  
people are married into respectable families."

735 "You will remove of the lawless, native converts to give up all their ways  
- I think it is a most cruel law, and cannot reconcile it with the maxims  
of our Christian religion."

10/2/11

(On the subject of rights - each section under wife and eldest son, and  
given of the law of inheritance. The eldest son of each section is not to be  
to help his younger brothers in that section with sufficient property to  
enable them to set on a wife. It is a donation. He does not get it  
back a son; it is the only claim that the younger sons have. He may become  
himself the head of a new family, or he may remain attached to his father's family.  
But wherever he may go he is looked upon as a member of the eldest son's family.  
And until they marry has the eldest son and control over the family of his  
brothers--the eldest son takes the control that the father had over them.



He may call upon them to do the sort of work required of men, such as a helping to make the kraals, or going out to defend the family, or the chief.

785. If the brothers earn anything before they are married, does it become their own propoerty? ---Yes; but the earnings of boys are considered to belong to their fathers.

12/9/81 "/Polygamy/" "I fell strongly on that point myself; I know that my views on the subject are not popualr, but it seems to me to be a monstrous thing that we shoould attempt to promote our views of civilization by perpetrating a great wrong upon a large proportion of the population."

1009 "Is there not any service that the chief expects from his people in virtue of their holding land from him ? - I don't think he expects any return for this.

1010. Are they not bound to serve him in certain ways? I think not , in consideration of holding or occupying land.

1011. Not to pay him anything ? ---No.

1012. Don't they contribute cattle sometimes to help him to get wives?---

In some tribues they contribuite towards paying for the grear wife; they also render him other services such as cultivating his gardens, builing his kraals or his huts, but all these services are considered due to him as chief. In Zululand the young regiments do this work.

"1015. I suppose you would think it the duty of Government to keep the natives on the land and to give them every encouragement to like it?---Yes.

He said if you mean to do the sort of work I described or mean, and as a result  
to make a mistake, or going out to find the family, or the child.  
101. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
to the family.

102. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
to the family.  
103. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
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104. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
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105. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
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106. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
to the family.  
107. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
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108. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
to the family.  
109. I have not seen anything before there are married, and it seems  
familiar to me, but the language of the people is different to belong  
to the family.



1016. What course be adopted to encourage the natives to adopt individual land tenure?---I suppose the best way to encourage them, would be to improve their social condition by education; but as far as I have seen the practical teaching which struggling contact with civilization gives a man, is the most effective."

1017. Would not the breaking down of the power of the chiefs be one way? --- By breaking down the power of the chiefs you do not change the condition or ideas of the tribe; you are more likely to establish a grievance. To govern the tribe you must put another chief over it, and the question is whether your nominee will really take the place of the other in the eyes of the people. The withdrawal and education of an individual member of the tribe away from the influence of his chief and people is another and a very different matter, and is, I think the right end to begin at.

1065 "Do the inhabitants of the villagemake any contribution to the headman? ---Their labout is contributed in the way of building kraals, or in other ways connected with the necessities of the establishment; but their wants are very few in that respect.

1066. "hat is pbulic work then; ~~xxx~~ is it done at state periods?---Every year the fences require renewing , and the labout of the men of the kraal is put in requisiton for such needs."...

1070. In there no sort of return made to the chief, for unless he gets some revenue from other sources one would expect conributions to be made to him





at the feast?---A Zulu king has many sources of revenue; ~~the~~ the chief are fines, confiscations, contributions of cattle and girls demanded on his behalf, ~~and~~ fees, and voluntary contributions.

1071. Was the idea of the hut-tax suggested by anything which exists among the natives?---No; it ~~was~~ an idea of mine; ...It seemed the most convenient mode of collecting revenue, and possessed an additional advantage of bearing upon polygamy.

/Has it checked polygamy - I doubt it. You said that public statements and fixing the amount of lobola was a check/ "That is to say, it has had the effect of bringing wives within the means of young men; I think the statistics of Natal show that.

1098 "Don't you think it would be a good thing if Government allowed the hut-tax to be paid in kind? - That was permitted for several years at first in Natal, but the natives themselves found it more advantageous to make the money in other ways than annually to draw upon their stock, and now the payment is universally made in money.

*Take on Mortgage 1869-1880*

*% of first mortgage money*

at the least?---And this kind has many sources of revenue; in the chief  
times, contributions, contributions of cattle and wine based on his  
household, and voluntary contributions.  
1071. Was the idea of the hut-tax suggested by anything which exists among  
the natives?---No; it was an idea of mine... It seemed the most convenient  
mode of collecting revenue, and possessed an additional advantage of bearing  
upon polygamy.  
Was it checked by any?---I doubt it. You said that public statistics and  
likewise the amount of labor was a check. That is to say, it has had the  
effect of bringing wives within the means of some men; I think the  
statistic of it will show that.

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other ways than annually to draw upon their stock, and now the payment is  
universally made in money.



227 10002/4/80  
C2695

detention

Cetshwayo - T Shepstone on

No30 Frere to Kimberley 15/6/80 (Rec 7/7/80) p64

Enclosure 2 MEMORANDUM in answer to the Question whether any continued detention of Cetywayo or Langalibalele is necessary or justifiable.

[see page 225+.]

The native problem in Natal and Zululand cannot be regarded as distinct problems

2. Over the last few generations there have been divisions between the two territories although the both contain members of the same tribal subdivision and often the same family.

3. The counties adjoin over the entire south western boundary of Zululand and there is no natural barrier to speak of and as they are the same race blood and colour it is inevitable that these already strong cognate sympathies will become stronger and more formidable as time goes on.

4. He does not say that the Zulus and the Natal Zulus should be treated in the same way. The latter have been in contact with civilization whereas the former have continued subject to a degrading, barbarous despotism into which no gleam of civilisation has been permitted to enter but when they mix the Natal natives will not improve.

...and when we see that members of even our own cultured race, become by contact with this barbarism, converted into willing disciples to its social degradations, we cannot doubt in which

Dinner.  
Adenro?



to increase the personal security of the king"

direction the action will be most potent; the Zulus of Natal will prove no exception to the general experience that it is easier to go down hill than up."

5. the object of the negotiations which ended in war was to improve the conditions of the Zulu people and remove the dangerous aspirations of the young men of the nation to make peace possible.

6. Events in 1876 and 7 showed that the explosive point had been reached

7. This was the situation when the war occurred. The older generation in Zululand had often complained to Natal between 1856-78 of their hard lot but this was overwhelmed when British troops crossed onto Zululand

8. How has this war left Natal and Zululand?

9. The Zulu power is more disorganised than broken. The regiments have been depleted and the remaining members split among supposedly independent chiefs but as long as the regimental name exists and the men who were in it live the regiments exist and will become a source of strength, ..., the moment that the centre of unity presents itself, and that centre is the king.

10. Refers to the fact that a deputation is that moment in PMB and visited him to pay their respects. As he is no longer a public officer he did not speak of the subject of their visit and the interview only lasted 20 minutes and he refers to the visit merely to confirm the opinion I have expressed of the present condition of the Zulu power. Their belief was evident to me throughout the interview, that although the Zulu power strength had been weakened, it had not been broken; they spoke in exaggerated terms of their losses, but, they added, if you, who knew the Zulu army were to go and assemble it, you would not miss the missing men. We must bear this in mind



228 10202/C/80  
C2695

Cetshwayo - Restoration - T. Shesptone on

3/4

35. G.mct No 30 Frere to Kimberley 15/680 (Rec 7/7/80) p64  
Enclosure 2 Memo 4-6-80

[Continued from p227 where he has just written that the Zulu power is not broken]

11. There is a good deal in the settlement of Zululand that will have been acceptable and pleasing to those of the Zulu people who value peace and quiet; but they are probably still in the same minority which they before suffered from; and they cannot but see that there is no security for the continuance of what they value, until so me effectual control is established over the restless and dangerous major<sup>ty</sup>

12. To these latter the return of their king would be the revival of all their former ~~and~~ aspirations, and the Zulu army would organise itself in a month or two in spite of the 13 chiefs. We certainly shall have gained a good deal of experience in dealing with it, should it adopt the tactics that have given us this experience; but the knowledge which the Zulus have gained will, I believe, more than counter-balance their losses; and we may find ourselves in no better position than we were when the war began.

13. By the restoration of Cetywayo, the continuance of peace would be made dependent ~~on~~ upon the fancy, or good faith, of one man, instead of upon a system that should contain within itself the checks capable of ensuring permanent quiet. Such a system has not yet been established, and the choice lies between establishing it and the restoration of the Zulu king.

" 14. The present state of affairs in Zululand satisfies neither the sagacity nor the pride of the Zulu people, and every day's experience of it will but add to their knowledge of the weakness of the rule that has been substituted for that of their king. When on my way from England, I saw Cetywayo in the Castle at Cape Town, and one of the remarks he made to me was, Zululand must be ruled either by me or by officers appointed by the Queen; how can others venture? And the remark well represents Zulu pride and true Zulu feeling.

15. It is beyond doubt that, unless some strong paramount authority is established in Zululand, anarchy must speedily subvert an arrangement that was made to serve but a temporary purpose. ~~paper~~ Annexation may not be necessary; but protection for the people, and the control of the Chiefs and leading men, are indispensable, and that protection and control must be such as the Zulus both feel and ~~they~~ natives in Natal pay for, as do the

16. Greatest danger comes from the attitude of Natal Natives to the settlement for they cannot comprehend why the war upon which so much was expended was not resolved ]

17. they have seen, it is true, the irresistible power of the British government; but they have seen, too, how readily that government forgives, they have observed, also, many weak points, and have learned lessons which they can never unlearn, and which it would have better they had never been taught. I do not for a moment wish to depreciate the mercy that so well becomes the strong; but the Zulus are a practical people; they consider the men who fall in battle to have died where men should die; and they measure the results of a war more by the consequences to the people and to the country, than by the number of the fallen.

"



229 9 10202/0/80  
C2695

Settlement/

T. Shepstone on

36  
No 30 Frere to Kimberley 15/6/80 P64

Memo Enclosure 2 4-6-80

6

[Continued from p228 where T.S. has just domplained that the settleme  
nt was not going to preserve the peace in Zululand]

14. The present state of affairs in Zululand stisfies neither the saga  
city nor the pride of the Zulu people, and every day's experience of it  
will add to their knowledge of the weak-ness of the rule that has  
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le, and the contol of the Chiefs and leading men, are indispensible, a  
and that protection and control must be such as the Zulus both feel and  
pay for, as do the narives in Natal.

I need no allude to the obligations which we enætered into  
with regard to the Zulu people when we undertook the invasion of their  
country, except to say that they remain unfulfilled, and that the Zulus  
have good cause for thinking, as they do thæink, that the last word  
has not yet been spoken by their victors.

16. The great danger of the Zulu situation is the encouragement it might give to evil doers in Natal who cannot understand the magnanimity of the British in expending treasure and men in war just to let the place go

17. They will interpret mercy as weakness

[cont from p230+]

20. As he said the choice for Zululand lies between restoration and the establishment of strong government in Zululand. He has ruled out the former and now writes that the continuance for any length of time of the third course, namely, the present arrangement is impossible. The emigration of Natal natives into Zululand which would have occurred if there had been a strong Government in Zululand would have relieved a dangerous situation.

21. ...as far as I know, there is, even yet, no insuperable obstacle to the establishment in Zululand of a Government suited to the wants of the country, capable of supporting its own cost, and of giving contentment of the Zulu people. The conferring of such a blessing on the country would be a fit ending to such a war, and would tend more than anything else to justify our action, and to prove to the Zululs that we are not unmindful of our professions to them.



10202/080

Cetshwayo - restoration and ~~future of~~  
~~the~~ T. hepstone on240  
3337 Cont. in C.T.  
Cont from 229

18. It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that I look upon the restoration of Cetywayo as certain to produce most disastrous consequences; it would give a fresh point of departure to all realisation off that sense of staility, without which confidence and epeace and progress are imposibbe. I do not suppose that Cetywayo's misfortunes will have had not salutary effect upon him; but the same elements and the same forces are as likely to become his masters in the future, as they have been in the past.

19. It would produce disturbing effects in Natal and Zululand.

It ~~stax~~ is impossible to repress a feeling of regret for his fate; but it would be culpable wakness to ignore the consequences that would be brought about by allowing such a feeling to outweigh what prudence demands. Cont on page 229

20 I have remarked in a preceding paragraph, that, as regards the future quiet of Zululand and Natal, the choice lies between the establishment by us of a strong Government in Zululand, and the restoration of Cetywayo; the views I hold on the latter measure, I have already explained. In mentioning those alternatives as the only possible solutions, I wish to be understood as expressing my conviction, that the continuance for any length of time of the third course, namely, the present arrangementx in Zululand, impossible.

The migration of a portion of the native population of Natal into Zululand, which, if a strong and settled Boverment had been established in that country, would have been a great advatageous relief to the dangerous tension that has so long caused anxiety to the statesmen of Natal, will become, under the present system, a source of

additional danger; instead of exchanging one system of control, and recognition of authority for another, equally capable of enforcing both, those who migrate will exchange restraint for licentiousness; and a process will be commenced, that must ultimately involve the disadvantage to us of having to deal with a large proportion of the population of both countries opposed, to us at once.

21. But there seems to be no necessity for incurring this danger, or the risks inseparable from the restoration or release of Cetewayo; as far as I know, there is, even yet, no insuperable obstacle to the establishment in Zululand of a Government suited to the wants of the country, capable of supporting its own cost, and of giving contentment to the Zulu people. The conferring of such a blessing on the country would be a fit ending to such a war, and would tend more than anything else to justify our action, and to prove to the Zulus that we are not unmindful of our professions to them.



376 Cex in C.T

Cetywayo - T Shepstone on

37741

C2695 No30 Frere to Kimberly 15/6/80 p64 (Rec 7/7/80)

Enclosure 1 Pietermaritzburg 4/6/80

I feel that I have but ~~very~~ imperfectly described, or even indicated, the very grave issues that are involved in the decision of this question, they include so many interests and affect them in so many ways, that to do more than barely allude to some and hint at others, would be impossible in the compass of a mere memorandum, I cannot bring myself to feel that Cetywayo's personal character has, or should be allowed to have, any influence in the matter. Whether he is the bloodthirsty savage that he is considered to be by some, or the amiable just king that others represent him to have been, may be decided without much difficulty by the abundance of evidence which the Government has at its disposal when the decision of that question becomes necessary: but whatever he may or may not be in this respect, he is the representative of the sentiment, and of all those that cherish it in South Africa, that is opposed civilization, christianity, and progress, and cannot avoid occupying that position. I have, therefore, entered into any discussion of his personal character.





atim C.T.  
32

Sir T Shepstone Collention Box15

~~Shpstone~~ to Frere PMB Private 31/5/80 (Probably a draft /

"I took your telegram to refer to the question of removing Cetywayo to a farm instead of keeping him the caste at Cape Twon and I thought that the ~~xxxxx~~ term 'The Goernment' meant your Govt; so when your letter came I was not prperated for the great and general question put to you by HM Ministers. I shall send you what I have to say about it by next mail. I hope it will not be too late.

I have not seen Miss Colenso's book, but I can easily imiagine the views which it is likely to present.

Nothing that I have seen or heard since my return to Natal has induced me to chagne my opinion that cand and dagnerous as it would be to restore Cetywayo, the ~~xx~~ present arragnemtn is ~~xxxxx~~ worse and more dangerous and will, ~~before~~ long, produce much more fatel consequences.

There is a deputation just now from Zululand consiting of one or two of Cetywayo's borthers and the sons of several Zulu nobles. I have not been allowed to know the object of their visit, but I gather that it is a sort of protest or remonstrance against the exisitng state of things in their country. / /I have not met Gnel Clifford and know nothing of the course which the Govt here proposes to adopt in the matter. It is a good opportunity, if only they will embrace it, to hint at chagnes that must take place, so as to prepare, by degrees, the Zulu mind for them beforehand.

He follows a draft of a memo on whether the continued detiention of Cet and <sup>an</sup> gailalele are fully justivied. dd 4/6/80

Get. Rest.

Box 15

T Shep to Frere PMB 30/8/80

Private

"I write just a few lines to say how hopeless the harsh and unjust treatment which you have received makes me feel about the future of this country" /and so forth..../ "The Zulus asked us for bread and we have given them a stone: - our gift will be our affliction, for that stone contains the germ of evil, and planted, as it ~~is~~ is, will grow."

/Reply thanking T S for the memo sent over leaf/ and the letter which sparked it off/

Frere to Shepstone 17/5/80 Private and confidential

"You will probably have heard that the question is being seriously agitated by some of your neighbours in Natal & their friends in England, & here, whether any continued detention of Cetywayo ~~& Langilibibelele~~ Langilibibelele\*  
" /HMG have asked for my views /I have telegraphed you/ "in the hope that you will take pen in hand & speak with an authority which may prevent any act of sentimental folly such as would undo all your labour of a lifetime & ruin Natal & its neighbourhoods in time to come...../ / You will probably have seen Miss Colenso's book, & observed that the inference she & her Father draw in his notes to Vijn's 'Dutchman', & in his letter to Chesson & the newspapers, is that Cetywayo's good behaviour for some years previous to the Annexation of the T.V. indicates 'a just & humane disposition' & say not a word of the influence which kept him in order. / / his is much as if a child should argue that the docility of the Lions in a show was a proof of the fallacy of old opinion about the ~~re~~ ferocity of the wild beast: & in no way due to the authority of the Lion 'amer."

24/6/80 F-TS /thanks for the memo - just what I wanted to finish D. Colenso and Solomon. Colley is coming and I trust you will co operate with him and I showed him your memo and your warning voice will not be unheeded /



140

....

I am not aware what policy it is proposed to adopt with regard to the amaswa<sub>7</sub>i; nor indeed do I know what plan it may be intended to apply to Zululand; but I have written with the conviction which my long knowledge of the country and people has forced upon me, that the present arrangement is pervaded by so many elements of disturbance that it cannot be regarded as permanent.





Shepstone collection

~~Folder~~ KC folder F

16 Sir T S to Henrique Eastbourne 24/9/79

"The capture of Cetywayo has practically shown to the world and especially to the ~~the~~ black South African world that we are the dominant race when we choose to assert our ~~diplomatic~~ supremacy and maintain it by force. I cannot however approve of the kind of settlement which Sir Garnet has made of the Zulu Country. It should in my opinion have been based upon the principle of actual adctive control and not upon that of giving the Zulu people in whose cause we pretended to go to war six tyrants instead of one. ~~Then~~ again I think that to appoint a man like John Dunn as a chief over a section of the Zulu country is a scandal to the Govt and to civilization and moreover that as a British subject he cannot without infringing an Act of Parliament discharge the duties or rather functions of the position of Chief. <sup>C</sup>Keep my views to yourself but when they sent me Sir Garnets proposals to make a minute of my views upon <sup>in the</sup> ~~the~~ matter, but ~~wrote~~ must strongly ~~with~~ direction of what I have told you. They were much disquieted about it at the C O and asked me wheter I had any objection to their sending my memo to Sir Garnet in a confidential way; I said of course that I had none and it went to him three weeks ago.

249 (3.5)





14/16  
CA204 Nol68. Memo on Wolseley's scheme for settlement 23/8/79

"I look upon the necessity for appointing Mr John Dunn in any capacity over any portion of Zululand as a misfortune, and as likely to produce embarrassment hereafter.

He is a man of considerable ability, and has rendered the Government good service during the war, but his previous history, which is known to every one, white and black, in Natal, will deprive of much of their value any services which he may be capable of rendering in time of peace. He is rightly described as partly English and partly Zulu, the former by birth, the latter by choice and long residence, a Zulu in manners and customs, and the quality relied upon for his converting his warriors into workmen is his own great desire to make money.

The strength of this quality has heretofore shown itself in the direction of traffic in firearms, and this traffic tended more than any other circumstance to bring about the Zulu war." [How can you civilize the Zulus if you appoint over them an Englishman who has rejected civilization.] "Better would it be for our credit, although not for our safety, that Cetywayo should be allowed to resume his rule chastened by his late experience.

If Mr Dunn is to be appointed at all, he should, I think, be appointed as a Government officer, and not as a native Chief, as a Government officer he could be controlled or removed; but to place him, being an Englishman, in the position of native Chief, will in my opinion, not only be chargeable with the inconsistencies which I have described, but will create complicated vested rights and raise difficulties legal questions.

The territorial jurisdiction which it is proposed to assign to Mr. John Dunn as a native Chief invested with sovereign powers, will make him practically the sovereign of Zululand; but I very much doubt whether he could, as an Englishman, discharge the functions of such a position over any part of Zululand without infringing the

of an Act of the Imperial Parliament. "



885 16424/N/79  
122

Shepstone attacks the lack of authority in Z'land

CA204 No168 Memo on "Olseley's Scheme for Settlement 23/8/79

With regard to the appointment of Agents of the Natal government to reside with or near the Chiefs that are to be nominated to govern the Zulu country, I confess that I can see no practical good in it, if such Agents are to discharge diplomatic duties only.

The arrangement seems to me to be too feeble for the position, and the position appears to be this, - the Zulu country has suffered the total destruction of its Government, that government was of an arbitrary and barbarous character; the natural and immediate reaction that will follow being freed from the restraint of such a Government must be towards anarchy of a dangerous kind, and Natal as well as Zululand will be affected by it.

The destruction of this restraint has been the work of our hand, and we are bound, for the safety of the people whom we have conquered, and for whose good we have professed to act, as well as for the safety of our own position, to replace the Government we have destroyed by one less barbarous certainly, but equally strong, until at least the country recovers itself somewhat, and the people better understand our wishes with regard to them.

No Zulu headman, or set of Zulu ~~tax~~ headmen, will be able, for some time to come, effectually to control the Zulu people without assistance; they themselves, suddenly released from the bondage of arbitrary and irresponsible severity, will be like beggars on horseback, and their rides are likely to be as eccentric and as fatal as those of beggars are said to be.

They will not understand their position; they will misapprehend the meaning of the tone which, we as conquerors, have held towards them, and it will not be wise, I

think; to trust to them to fulfil the purpose for which we have appointed them.

If Cetywayo remains at large, it will be better for us to allow him to resume his rule than to rely upon an arrangement that will, very soon practically restore it to him in spite of our prohibition, because, if it became restored to him by means of these Chiefs, we should be in a worse case than when the war began; we shall have lost much of the fruit of our labour and expenditure of life and treasure, and, in addition, the respect and confidence of the large Zulu population in Natal.

It seems to me, therefore, that, for the present at any rate, whatever may be done hereafter, effective control must be supplied by the power which destroyed the Government that did control the country.

In my belief, order will not be maintained unless the white Agents of the Natal Government exercise over the native Chiefs, to whose districts they are appointed, the authority ~~which~~ which Sir Bartle Frere contemplated should be exercised by the Resident over Cetywayo himself as King.

The white Agents should, I think be presided over by a Chief Resident, who should guide the general policy of his subordinates, and be a referee to whom all Zulus who may feel themselves aggrieved can appeal. He should be subordinate to the Government of Natal, because it must always be borne in mind that the question of managing the Zulus in Natal, and that of managing those in Zululand, separated as they are by only a stream of water, is essentially and practically one.

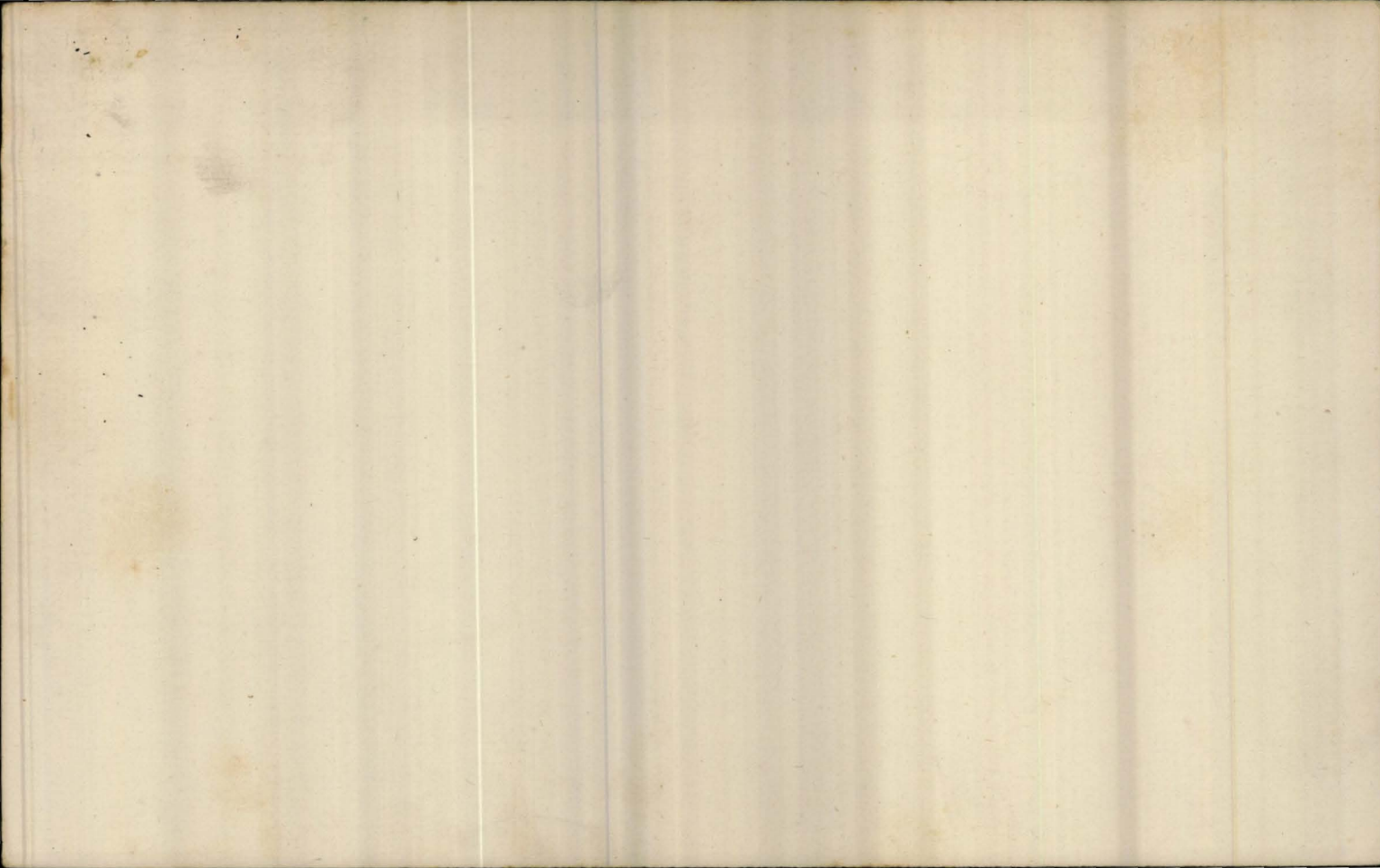


CA204 No168 Memo on Wolseley's Scheme for Settlement 23/8/79

"All this cannot be done, however, without money, and it would ~~be a~~ be a great amelioration in the condition of the Zulu ~~xxx~~ people if a regular annual contribution, the extent of which they know beforehand, and can prepare for, ~~now~~ were substituted for the uncertain ~~xx~~ exactions to which they are accustomed, but which involve in turn danger to the lives and property of all.

Each of these appointed Chiefs might be required to pay annually, as tribute, a sum calculated upon the number of people under him, equal to the direct tax that is so regularly and so easily paid by the natives in Natal."

The expenses involved in the running of the country would come out of this fund and this would include the payment of the Chief and this would ensure that he would not be allowed to arbitrarily impose fines for if he was able to have removed one tyrant only to set up a dozen /





843  
124  
16424/N/79

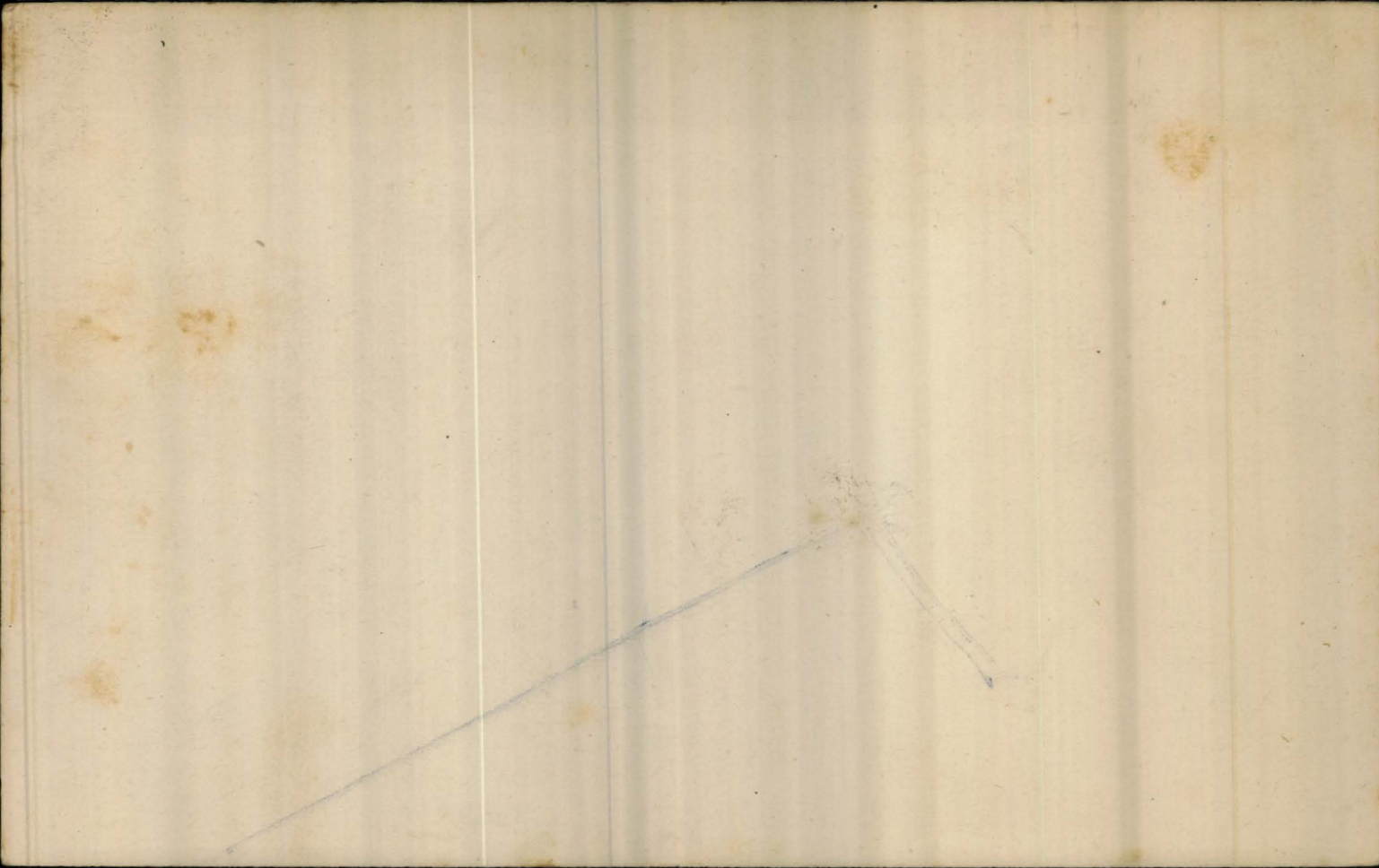
80  
Shepstone suggests that the settlement be only temporary,

CA204 No168 Memo on Wolseley's Scheme 23/8/79

Whatever is done in Zululand should, I suggest, be of a specially tentative character, provision should be made for change, when change is found necessary, and that it will, from time to time, be found necessary there can be no doubt.

Further Memo p362 14/10/70

"Perhpas the best and most prudent course will be to sanction the arrangements as they stand, reserving to Her Majesty's Government the right to revise a portion <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ the whole of the scheme after the trial of a year or two.





81  
125  
16424/N/79

obligations  
Shepstone's crit: British responsibility to their appointees

CA204 Nol68 Memo on Wolseley's Scheme for Settlement 23/8/79

There are many points requiring serious consideration which I am unable to notice one of the most pressing is the responsibility we incur~~x~~ into the appointment of the ~~Nazi~~ native Chiefs. What rights do we give them? Who is to succeed them? Suppose Zibebu receives from us thereward of an independent sovereignty that has been conditionally promised him, are we bound to support him in the possession of that reward. Are we bound to secure to the other Chiefs the possessions to which we appoint them? In my view, and in what will certainly be the Zulu view, we undoubtedly~~x~~ are, for they ~~xxxx~~ are our appointees and our creatures.

My experience, and I can safely say that it has been, at least, as great as that of most men on such a subject, is, that unless the personal qualities of the native appointed, fit him, in the eyes of the people themselves, for the position he is appointed to fill, the appointment will be null, while, unless we take proper precautions, our obligations to maintain it will remain.



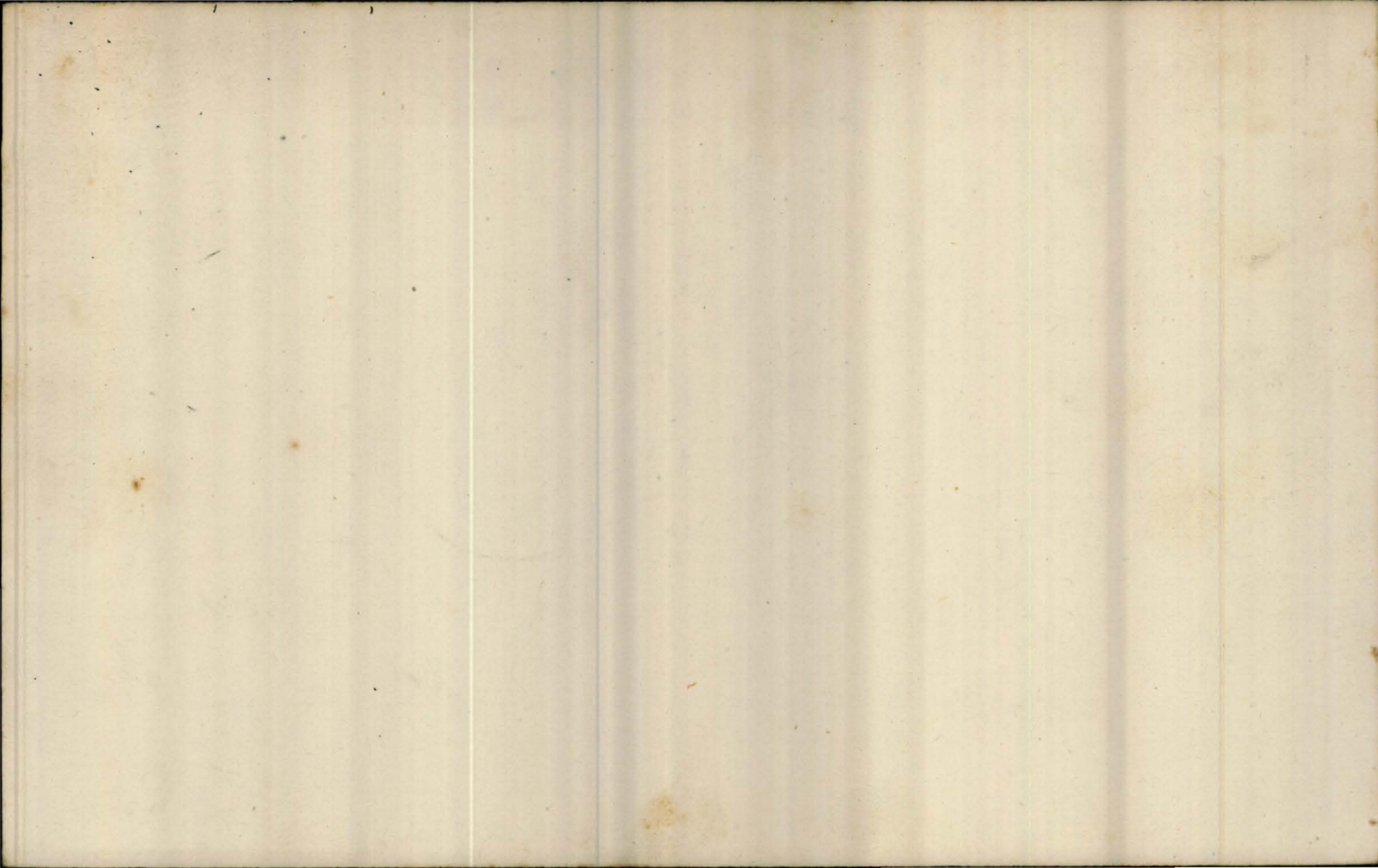


Further Memo on the Settlement of Zululand 14/10/79

I have little to add to the remarks which I offered on the subject of these despatches in my Memorandum of the 23rd August last. Fuller considerations has but strengthened the convictions under which I then wrote. Events which occurred since then have, however, changed the situation; Cetwayo has been captured and sent to the Cape, and arrangements which at that time were only proposed have carried into effect.

Stipulations and reservations, which seem to be indispensable for the successful working and ultimate adjustment of the scheme, appear, as far as I can gather from despatches, to have been omitted, and as these can be now supplied only by the action Her Majesty's Government, should it be deemed necessary to supply them, I shall confine my observations to those apparent omissions.

To be consistent with the professions we proclaimed when we entered upon the Zulu war, the Zulu people should be our first care. The Chiefs to whom they have been given as subjects belong for the most part to that class of headmen or indunas who, during the latter and feeble portion





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CA204 Further Memo on the Settlement of Zululand 14/10/79 p362

To be consistent with the professions we proclaimed when we entered upon the Zulu war, the Zulu people should be our first care. The Chiefs to whom they have been given as subjects belong for the most part to that class of headmen or indunas who, during the latter feeble portion of Panda's reign, caused many private appeal from the people to Natal for relief from the indiscriminate plunder and murder committed by these indunas.

It was the power which this treatment of the people under them placed in these men's hands that induced Cetyswayo, on the occasion of his being crowned by me, to accept the law which was then proclaimed, that no Zulu should be put to death without trial and without the King's sanction.

The sudden collapse of the Zulu power at the last rendered it necessary that measures should be instantly taken to establish some kind of effective government in the country; the instruments ~~xxxxxx~~ nearest at hand, and, for the moment, most capable of answering the purpose, were the Zulu indunas who had surrendered themselves, but it should not be forgotten that Panda, although clothed with the authority of a Zulu King, was unable to restrain the fierce avarice of these very men, as exhibited by their treatment of the common people under them, and that even the vigour and sternness of Cetyswayo's rule were not wholly successful.

By the agreements which the Chiefs have signed, their people are protected from being put to death without trial, and ~~xxxx~~ from the machinations of "witch doctors"; but there are no visible means by which the Government can be assured that the protection agreed to is really afforded, while for the security of personal property, without which contentment or progress or industry cannot be looked for, no provision, as far as I can gather, has been made.

What the ancient Zulu law may have been, I know, from my own investigation, no one can tell with much precision, but it is certain that in those days, as always, the element of might was not invariably excluded from the consideration of what was right and just.

The Zulus fought devotedly for their king. They believed that they could beat us in the open. The blow they dealt us at Isandhlwana strengthened this belief, and as long as it lasted, they considered it their duty to fight for their king, but the moment that the battle of Ulundi dispelled this illusion, they frankly and at once owned ~~their~~ our superiority, and submitted themselves to us as their conquerors and master; and, if we, in discharging the duties which that position imposes upon us, place no effective check upon the rapacity of the creatures to whom we have given them, at least those of them who are Zulu indunas, and who from their childhood, have been taught to look upon murder and rapine as wrong only when, and if, punished, we shall have delivered the people from the tyranny of Cetywayo certainly certainly, but we shall have handed them over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of a number of rapacious savages, who have all along been not only instruments of the tyranny which we complained of in the King but those who instigated and incited it.

Such a condition has its grave dangers, and, among other results, may soon force Her Majesty's Government into the unfortunate ~~position~~ position of being compelled to support worse tyrants than Cetywayo was against a justly complaining and oppressed people.

It seems to me quite certain that both the interests of the people and the peace of the country demand more effective checks upon the conduct of the Chiefs whom we have created, and whose conduct we are to a great extent responsible for, than the presence of a couple of Residents whose duties are merely to advise. We cannot rid ourselves of the responsibilities which the results of the war, and which the frank acceptance of those results by the Zulu people have placed upon us, by the simple device of practically leaving them to themselves, after we have taken away their head, and advising them not to hurt each other.



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16424/N/79

Shepstone's crit: suggest taxation of Zulu

CA204 Further Memo p362 14/10/79

"The proposal that Natal shall bear the cost of Zulu manggement, while the Zulus themselves, for whose benefit that manggement has been instituted, contribute nothing, will, I am sure, meet with great opposition in the Legislative Council of that Colony, not does it seem reasonable to expect that such a burden will be cheerfully accepted. On the other hand, if the opportunity be now lost or requiring the Zulu people to contribute, in some shape or other, towards relieving us of the cost of a overnment that has been devised for their benefit, it will be much more difficult to do so hereafter. It may be advsiable not to press for any actual payment during the first year after the conclusion of the war /Advises hut tax like that imposed on the Natives in Natal\_/





Shepston policy

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J.S.

Life of T S Evidence by J Shep Ex book 8/3/12-16/4/12

"The Shepstonian Policy"

The replies Sir T invariably gave to those who asked him what his Native Policy was 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 Govt. as far as doing anything further in the way of taking advantage of circumstances. The Legislative Council insisted on a Native Code being framed.....One reason of making a hard & fast Code prevented what I always felt & am sure brother felt the same the elasticity that was required between the Govt. of whites & blacks, especially as regards the blacks. What I mean by elasticity, you could not then get any further with with a Native policy. It prevented the Govt from taking any action they considered necessary. If elasticity remained one could always improve or change as necessity arose. The creation of the N. High Court - deprived the Govt of any judicial authority as Supreme & my brother of course through him. At the same time the Legislative Council relieved the chiefs & headmen of each tribe from all responsibility over the wrongdoers of & criminal doers in their tribes & in that way threw the jurisdiction that had been enjoined by the Govt Chiefs &c upon the Native High Court which was inadequate in this way that its jurisdiction did not extend beyond the 4 walls of its court and the responsibility which had rested on the chiefs up to that time, being removed for behaviour of their people towards the Govt was removed. This at once broke the tie or bond between the Govt as Sup Chief & the aborigines of the country. Of course authority was at once on the wane. There

was no active supervision & no authority could be exercised by the Chiefs & our Magtes could not possibly supervise as their own chiefs could. A certain amount of lawlessness crept, through Chief being restricted & the worst part of it was that the Govt was quite ready when it suited their convenience to treat them as chief having authority. That 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 response of wh the Govt Chiefs and heamen had been deprived was at last vested in the Magistrates who had of course a certain juris over their dists & could exercise jurisc to a certain extent but when responsible Govt came in the Mgstes were deprived of what authority they had And the supervision of the whole colony was then vested in the Police.



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# Shepstone/Cetshwayo - pt 1 w/ Claker

J S

Notebook on the life of T Shepstone Evidence by Lazarus Xaba 1/5/10  
 /Born 1839 came with James Allison to Natal ~~then went to~~ from Swaziland  
 in 1847 gives details of Shepstone's early career in Natal  
 "Ezingcepeni, on ~~Nx~~ Ncome river (Blood r) where Bejana memezad S.  
 When Z. went to beka'd Cetshwayo, & after he had been fully appointed, C  
 said to Z. Baba, ngi ya hlupeka emngceleni wami namaBunu lapa Ngenhla.  
 I see that fighting may result from it. On the Natal side there is no  
 cause for worry for we are on good terms with one another. I think you  
 should have a strip of land between us Zulus & the Boers. I will  
 give you land from Mzinuati to Pongola. We Zulus therefore should speak  
 about this on the boundary & you go & speak with Boers on the far side &  
 so prevent any discussion as between Zulus & Boers on boundary matters. C.  
 then said Kipa abantu (izinduna) so that C's man Nkomesiswebu wa kwa Xaba  
 could indicate the Zulu-British boundary. Manyosi ka Sigobe was sent with  
 Sir R S & may be, others -" /The boundary was pointed out and when S  
 returned he was ordered to England. When the Boers went after Sikukuku\*  
 and S was ordered back and he annexed the country as the Boers were unable  
 to run it. He was given the power to take over the country. / After  
 a while Cet sent Sintwangu Bejana & others to S who said / "I have been  
 sent by your son Cetshwayo. He said I was to come & see you if you are  
 still living, for he had heard something about your having been killed by  
 the Boers. S said Yebo, there was no opportunity when I returned from  
 England, for I was obliged to come at once & see if izwe li yonakala and I  
 did not send & tell him 'Cetshwayo' that I am going up (ie to the Tvl.)  
 Tell him " /that the rumour is untrue and I'm coming to discuss the  
 boundary question as he will remember I said I would cut off a strip



of the country as I was afraid of quarreling with the Boers.

/continued in second exercise book 6/5/10-9/5/10/ S reported by Sabulana ka Mavukesapela to Cet that he had arrived and that Mnymanana & other izinduna should be sent to discuss boundary questions if he found it too far to come. Mnymanana arrived and his men were armed and Sheptone said he would not allow an impi to come only the important men. my, amama said they were carrying nothing but stike ~~and~~ but the Zulu crept up and a gun was fired and travelled over us. / " Igamu ~~3~~ e la li li kulu kwa Zulu kwakutiwa uSomtseu u let' umbuyazi, ngoaba be no kukolwa ukuti ~~umbuyazi, ngoaba be~~ uMbuyazwe kafanga. For it became general talk that Somtseu u ne sifumba. when he heard the guns shot S ask Mnymanana what it meant. Mnymanana siad It is nothing, the boys are doing it. The troops however were greatly surprized & quickly prepared for action, but S. was undismayed. He simply asked what the guns watned as we have come here merely to talk over affairs. S said 'Mnymanana where is my child? M said ' I am here in his staid' /S said he would like to see C t for I have come about the strip of land I spoke to him about. / " On the west of the Buffalo C said there was no question at issue, all wassatisfactory. S repeated all this to Mnymanana. ~~Heu/2/said that Cet said~~ / "today added S I have come to recieve the land I was made a present of in Zululand. I proposed our talking matter on that account. here Mnymanana said Heu! you of Sonzica We Zulus know nothing of that. Now that you have today gone & annexed Boer territory & then say that you propose annexing that of Zululand and give it to the Boers. I, Mnymanana, say there is no such territory to be handed over to you, I know nothing of that kind. S replied was it not yoursuggestion that I should get land so as to form a buffer between you & the Boers. Moorevoer I have annexed the Boerterritory to HM Dominionshow then do you say I intend giving the



I intend giving the land to the Boers. I don't believe you when you say you know nothing of the land that I was given. It is accordingly desirable that Cetshwayo should himself be present in order that I could remind him of what he said, Where is Nkomyesiswebu who was the messenger who brought messages on this subject. His presence as well as that of Cetshwayo is desirable, I cannot believe C would give expression to what you are now saying. M. said uCetshwayo ka Nazwe and Nkomesiswebu ka nazwe. Izwe e letu. ~~Yax~~ Waye ngek' a lokota uCetshwayo a ku nik' izwe letu si ngazi. M replied he could not understand why C was wanted for he was fully representing him... S persisted saying that C would not give utterance to what M. was saying. .... I Lazi, was present on this occasion per Socwatsha /x/ I have heard it said that Bejana called 'We Somtseu!' & said something else, I do not remember what, about the land matter. I do not know what S replied. When Bejana got back C approved of what he had done instead of reproving him. /Lasi doesn't remember this. / Deadlock was the result S demanding that messengers be sent and Nymanana insisting that should not. S then sent his own messengers. I was sent with Sabulawa. M went to stay at a nearby kraal and I was told to tell him that S was going to PMB. / "M said Mamo! udhlala ngami uSomtseu, udhlala ni wakuluma, a wako na wake. When told him of S having gone to PMB he replied Ha! uyangitshiya napela? Hamb' uyokuzikolisa Ku ngoba kuya wena lapo, eliny' ikafula be le ngeke liye. I replied Qa wena ka Ngqengelele ungakwenza nje loko o buyo kwenzwa ku lelo kafula. He said Ha! utim' uyazi ukuba ku kwa Zulu lapa? I said Nami esilungwnini ngi induna emgangawe. He told me to go & say to Mgulugulu ka Nhlaka ka Dikane, ~~wakwa~~ wakwa Mdhlalasi and said I said he must ohlulisa you, a kuse

enkosini kwa Zulu . I thanked him ." /We were taken to Mgulugulu's and then to Diyikana. iyikana then said to Mgulugulu What is the meaning of the horse which passed here last night- apparently meaning a man who had been sent post haste to Cetshwayo. We then went to Hamu at Ondini. for Cetshwayo was away. Mgulugulu reported what was said and he said / "Kanti oMnyamanana be be yo ~~ex~~ cit' u tshwal betu na? We men ought to have been ~~sent~~ sent. He add, Hamba, Mgulugulu ku h yoziswa ~~ex~~ enkosini. Lo /ie Mnyamanana) ube yo dhlala ngobaba (ie S)

/Suddenly were were summoned by Cet. I recounted what passed at the meeting as did others. Cet said. / "'Nans' indaba Yezwe lenu Zulu. Pendulani' Kwaba ilowo wakulum' okwake, oko kuti ku pangw' izwe lakwa Zulu. When C. found that their various observations were not to the point C. said Hayi! Kanti ninanitsho njalo Zulu na? Mina ka ngitsho ngalo. they were simply xoxaing impi. C said Qa! nina ngiti, Izwe ufuna lipi omtseu. U se fan' ukungi fingingela ngekanda endhlini kwa Nondwengu na Be ngat' izwer la kwiti li ye la kaula esikaleni se Nyanga (Hadberg - on the Berg - emaxozeni - across ~~the~~ Umtate - Be ngati mantiya izwe Emlinganto na? Li ncinyane ini lelo ? Be ngati pangu umnikazi lomhlabati etsha nezikota kwa. + Dukuza - Li ncinyane im lelozwe na? He dded Ni yona nina Zulu, ngoku pendula nitsho njalo. Mina ngitsho njalo-ke. Abeseti kupela kilaasi, amagama iwo lawo. Goduka , ngi zo tum' uMkomowesisweba.

" /We were then taken to the isigodhlo for food  
++\*I asked C Indosi yakwa Zulu ku la mafamu e ngifike nawo ipendula lipi nga lamagama e wa Kulumayo nga lemifula e yi bolayo, Malinga (Marico) Mbolombe, sokukuku &c He said 'Nga yeslwa nje lapo Lasi'

"When we got into the isigodhlo the inkosikazi - one of C's mothers -



one of Cetshwayo's mothers - indaba i ya wa hlul'amadoda. ~~Inani~~ Inani ukub' i ~~nik~~ nikwe tin' abesifazane na? Si zo biz' umka Somstseu a zo komb unxiwa luka Sonzica ukuba wake waka lapa na? I replied Inkosikazi ikulma la Magama ngo ku bona tina ini na? E ya kiti inkosi yos esilungwani, a yi si tumanga kuwe, i si tume enkosini ya kwa Zulu. Wat Hayi! ngi ya zi kulumela nje, angitsho ngoba ngi bona nina." / he incekú returned and said the King says did you hear the amagamu na? I replied Uti uwezile Nksoi. He returned again and asked the same question and answered the same way. He came again and said / "'It' inkosi uzwisisisisis' impela - impel impela na? I put down the kamba sharply before me I replied Hamb' uti kayi kwenze loko eku qondile, ngitsho ngoba i size yatsho ka taty. Sabulawa picned me & said Tula lel'wakana. the incekú did not go off. the men there were amazed. I then said to the incekú say to the King ulasi uzwile. Kiti esilungwani ngizo qala ngama gamu ebe ngi wa lete lap! enksosini ya kwa Zulu. I zo kuzwa e ya kiti ukuti ngi lete won amagam' ayo na? or omtseu's plan was to hear first of all all that this messenger had been directed to say then to say what the reply thereto was. When he gave a message he always got the messenger to repeat it so that he found he had grasped it properly. I explained to incekú that the reason for my having asked C in what way his observations about the extent of his country in various directions formed a reply to the message I had brought. Say that to C. I said to the incekú. He went & returned to say. He said that ubaba u ~~ti~~ tum' indoda. Amagam' ami iwo lawo. ~~then~~ We then left & returned home.

8/5/10

/Position between the following and that on prvs page to be XEROXED/

I notice that Lasi always when speaking of S in narrative refers to him as indosi or the

"I discussed last night with Lasi the subject of Cetshwayo's having been forced into war with England by Sir T S constantly pressing the land Ce had promised at his coronation to give but which C no longer desired he S should have, pointing out that the object C had in view in first making the promise was that England should act as a buffer between the Boers and the Zulus, but later on, when S went to England, returned and annexed the Rvl, the motive C had originally in view no longer existed and therefore he should not have been pressed because the particular reason which led to his offering the land no longer existed, especially as his neighbours on the North west were no longer the Boers but the friendly English. C could not understand these demands even though Nkomoyesisebu had been sent to point out the land to Manyosi - and it seemed to him as if S's insistence meant that the land was required by him only to join to the annexed territory & then to give over to the Boers. Lasi looks on the fight as irreconcilable, ...this dispute about land was not a cause of the war that followed, it was only an aggravating element in the negotiations that arose, the true causes were the blood shed by Mahlokazulu, by Mbilini and by Bekane."



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COL79/138 Minutes

Mr Bramton I have marked in pencil in the margin of the Report of Sir E Wood's ~~despatch~~ speech what as far as I can make out from the telegraphic correspondence is the present state of opinion among the Chiefs as to the various points put before them.

All but one besides John Dunn apparently agree to receive sub-residents - all, but possibly Seketwayo, agree to abolish the liquor trade - all agree to a ten shilling hut tax - the making of roads - a periodical meeting of chiefs and combination to suppress rebellion. the proposition of a border police and industrial schools are (one altogether and the other) ~~all~~ ? unanimously opposed and must be given up

In Lord Kimberley's telegram of the ~~XXX~~ 7/9 he said that the question as to the Residents salary and the appointment of sub-Residents were too serious to be dealt with until he received this despatch. Subsequently he said in a telegram of the 20/9 that Sir E Wood asks to tell the Natal Council that the payments to the Resident had been?

provisionally made from Native Reserve fund, and that Her Majesty's Government had under consn. the question in what manner to provide permanently for the expense; but he was not to commit himself to the plan of payment by the Zulus. This was in reply to one from Wood of the 24/9 in which at the end it was suggested that the communication to be made to the Natal Council ought to depend on the hut tax in Zululand being satisfactorily collected this is an important factor in the problem.

The 13 Nobodies who now rule in Zululand are not popular, and not strong, and they may not be able or willing to get in the Revenue satisfactorily. So that we ought to think to go on paying the Residents from the Natal Native Reserve Fund for the present

The ? is not likely to be seriously or effectively disputed, though it causes ill feeling in the Council, of which there is already a sufficiency. If ultimately the Resident must be withdrawn, I do not know that any body would be much the worse. He hi

himself co ? thinks his office useless and so does Wood I gather /\_badly smudged\_/

As to the appointment of sub residents, there was an able article in the "Standard" yesterday pointing out the possibility of a repetition in Zululand of the history of Kaffraria. ~~Something with~~ will someday go wrong - the Standard suggests that some chief in a frenzy will kill his Resident - as Umhlunho? did Mr Hope last year - and then there will be a general rising - a war - and an annexation. his would be all very will if we are going to keep Natal as a Crown Colony, or if Natal, Being self governing, was strong enough, like the Cape, to take on its shoulders a great slice of <sup>adjoining</sup> ~~adjoining~~ Native Territory. But neither condition is likely to be fulfilled. here is a general feeling that as the ignorant and fanciful Boers have been given self government our own well-behaved Colonists in Natal cannot be denied it. We shall then have the most unsatisfactory of all tasks on hand, the task of governing a Native Territory through a semi-independent Colonial government. We have failed in this task in New Zealand and British Kaffraria.

The advantage of having only 1 Resident and having 1 Resident plus 12 sub-residents, is that there is 13 times less chance of a catastrophe.

Colonial Governors do not like the plan of having Native Chiefs provide themselves with independent white advisers. Because these white advisers thwart ~~their~~ them and the perception? of their power galls their pride. But from the point of view of the Home Government, I am not sure that a trading or missionary resident is not preferable to one, whose <sup>inquiries</sup> ~~inquiries~~ we are bound to avenge, and for whose politics we are responsible.

EF 14/10

The awkward thing is that although a vagrant white 'prime minister' to a Zulu chief may have well deserved violent handling, we cannot be sure that we can avoid interfering to avenge his ill-treatment or death. I would pay a high price to bring the Cape Frontier up to the Tugela. For the moment all must be in abeyance RLWH 15/10

Let me have a memo: giving a summary of the settlement made by Wolseley, the events since in Zululand, the proposals now made. It should be comprehensive enough to enable the whole case to be understood by reading it. It should be ready as soon as possible, & should be sent to me first, and afterwards printed. It should include ~~re~~ next page.



## Minutes on T. Shepstone's criticisms of Settlement

OC:CO 179/132

This & the preceding memorandum by Sir T. Shepstone will be of much service in considering the reply to be given to Sir G. Wolseley as to the terms of his settlement.

It seems to me to be a fairly good outline of a temporary scheme, but to need strengthening in several places.

The Resident ought to be a man of high standing & capacity (properly paid, such a man as Sir E. Wood, Col Colley, Col Lanyon) with a strong armed force comprising a good number of Europeans. He should insist (as in the Malay states) upon controlling the conduct & proceedings of each chief in regards to domestic matters, differences between one and another, the admission of men ~~etc~~ &c. It will not suffice for the resident to report to Natal; without interfering at the right moment he may be able to do little good.

[Obscured comment in margin by Hicks Beach] Rather I think he ask for instructions: the distance is short the Zulu seem never quickly the .

Ans as Sir T. Shepstone appears to have good reasons for recommending the taxation of the Zulus, there is no difficulty as to the ways and means.

We have not annexed ~~the~~ Perak & the adjacent Malay States, but we insist on and assist in some sort of system of Government: & we cannot do less in Zululand, or we shall in the first place lose confederation, & soon after have to bring back the troops into Natal and Zululand. RGWH 19/10

Mr Herbert This is a matter which must be decided by the Cabinet. I think it would be of advantage to have a short memo prepared, defining as clearly as possible the position of our Residents in the Malay States, the mode in which they are paid, and the powers accorded to them. When approved, this, with Sir T. Shepstone's two

Memoranda, should be put into print for circulation to the Cabinet. I should be obliged if in the mean time you would prepare a draft of the reply which you think should be sent to Sir G. Wolseley. You are aware that Sir Garnet has had a copy of Sir T. Shepstone's first memo: (by the mail of August 28th) and that I have put before him the advantages of taxing the Zulus through their chiefs for the support of the system of Residents, as proposed by Sir T. Shepstone. We shall have his views on this, I hope, before long.

I should have inclined to prefer Capt. McLeod or Major Clary(?) to Mr Wheelwright (though I do not know much of the latter), as Resident. I think it a point specially requiring consideration whether more Residents than one should not be appointed - and if this were done some of the best missionaries (Bp Shcreuder, W. Oftebro, Mr Robertsone might possibly be utilized as Assistant Residents: though not in J. Dunn's territory, where it might be well to place the Resident-in-Chief. MH-B 18/10/1? ✓



L8089 11/11/79

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CA204 131

No221 Wolseley to Hicks Beach 9/10/79 p449

"Having just read with great interest the valuable criticisms by Sir T. Shepstone upon the general principles of the settlement I meant to carry out in Zululand, as described in my Despatches to you, I think it necessary to put on record at once the reasons which influenced me in forming the plan I adopted.

In the first instance it must be remembered that I received no specific instruction as to the terms I should make with the Zulu people beyond the desire expressed in your Despatch of 29th May 1879, (footnote: No8 of C2374 July 1879) that I should bring the war to an end as soon as I could do "so consistently with the honour of our arms and the safety of the British Colonies." In that Despatch it was also observed that, when the conditions of peace were being arranged, I should 'carefully bear in mind that the object of Her Majesty's Government is not to add to the extent of the British possessions adjoining Zululand," and further on I am told that I have also been made fully acquainted by personal communication with Her Majesty's Government with the general scope of the policy to be pursued. I was also reminded of the views contained in your Despatch of the 20th March last, in which it is stated that "Her Majesty's Government, thoroughly desirous by every means in their power to promote the civilisation of the Zulus, are not prepared to sanction any further interference with the internal government of the country than may be necessary for securing the peace and safety of the adjacent Colonies." That Despatch goes on to remark upon the desirability of appointing agents to reside in Zululand, who, amongst other diplomatic duties, should keep the High Commissioner informed of all that went on there. Upon the subject of missionary enterprise in Zululand you stated that whilst "Her Majesty's Government were at all times desirous to befriend the missionary bodies, they could not undertake the obligation of protecting them in Zululand.

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From these sources I derived the impression that it was the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government looked upon our existing responsibilities in South Africa as already very considerable and desired above all things to avoid any measure or any settlement of the Zulu war that would add to them. I have never forgotten this view for an instant in all that I did in Zululand, upon it hinges all the details of the settlement I have carried out.

If Her Majesty's Government in any way endorsed the general views expressed in Sir T. Shepstone's Minute, I can only say that I have acted upon a most erroneous conception of what the views of Her Majesty's Ministers were regarding the settlement to be effected in Zululand, as all he says is based upon the assumption that Zululand was to be or at least ought to be annexed to Her Majesty's South African dominions. Sir T. Shepstone conceives it to be absolutely necessary that we should effectually control affairs in Zululand, and that if the Resident confines himself to the discharge of diplomatic duties only, no practical good will be secured by the creation of such an office. He considers that any such British agent or agents should exercise direct authority over the native Chiefs. He is of opinion that "a regular annual contribution", or "tribute calculated upon the number of the people," "equal to the direct tax that is regularly and easily paid by the natives of Natal," should be required from the people of Zululand. Out of the revenue so collected he considers that "the expenses of the control of the country could be paid," and an annual subsidy paid to each Chief in lieu of the revenue commonly obtained in South Africa by every independent Chief from his people.

I cannot conceive any more complete annexation of ~~Z~~ a country than that which would have been accomplished in Zululand had I acted upon these views as expressed in Sir T. Shepstone's paper. The country would have been governed by our officers, the people would have been taxed as they are in Natal, and the Chiefs would have been our pensioners. [Repeats a number of times that he had orders not to ~~give~~ make any arrangements that might increase British responsibility, and Shepstone's recommendation would do this.]



CA204 No221 Wolseley to Hicks Beach 9/10/79p449

p450 "In the arrangements I have made I have been most careful throughout to avoid all semblance of anything that might have the air of annexation in any form about it. As you will perceive by the instructions I have issued to the Resident, who as our diplomatic agent is to reside in Zululand, he is to have not executive or administrative functions whatever, and in order to avoid anything like the enforcement of taxes from the Zulus, I have carefully abstained from providing for the payment of the Resident from the revenues of Zululand. The country is henceforward to consist of 13 independent Chieftainships as I have already reported, and I believe that by the arrangements I have made all the objects which Her Majesty's Government to have had in view when I left England have been secured. Those objects, conceive to have been very different from the objects indicated in Sir T. Shepstone's Minute. That I did not secure the ends which Sir T. Shepstone conceives should have been aimed at was not because I thought there would be any difficulty in doing so, but because I was most decidedly under the impression that those ends were not desired by Her Majesty's Government, and because I believed and still believe them to be undesirable, inexpedient, and likely, were they achieved, to bring an increase of responsibility of difficulties with them and possibly of serious dangers in the future.

I feel convinced that the settlement effected has for ever put an end to the military power of the Zulus, and that, with the exercise of ordinary care on the part of the Natal Government, for generations to come we should have nothing again to fear from the Zulus as our neighbours.

There are one or two points referred to in Sir T. Shepstone's Minute that require notice.

At first I intended to divide Zululand into only about five or six territories, and Sir T. Shepstone in remarking upon that intention which I had expressed in My Despatch says it would be "better and safer, and the country would be much more manageable if these districts were smaller and therefore more numerous." I have already met his views on this point by increasing the number of Chieftainship to 13.

I put a very high value upon Sir T. Shepstone's opinion on all native questions, and upon a purely native subject I should feel great diffidence in putting forward my views in opposition to his. The qualities, however, of the Chief John Dunn, his ability and fitness for the position to which he has been appointed, is not a ~~pure~~ purely native question. During the eight months whilst the war lasted our officers have had much better opportunities for forming a sound opinion of John Dunn's character than Sir T. Shepstone has ever had. I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that Sir T. Shepstone's opinion of that Chief's character is based upon erroneous views derived from a very slight personal acquaintance with him, and that is, I believe, strongly tinged with the prejudice felt against him by all Natal Colonists, who are eminently jealous of his success in life. Whilst, under Ketchwayo's protection John Dunn became rich, independent, and powerful, most of them still remained poor and without influence, and it is but human nature that they should be envious of the success of such a contemporary, and that in seeking to discredit him they should be envious of the success of such a contemporary, and than in seeking to discredit him they should lay great stress upon his Mormonlike mode of life and hold him up to scorn because he has had the courage of his religious views to disregard the marriage laws common to Christian people.

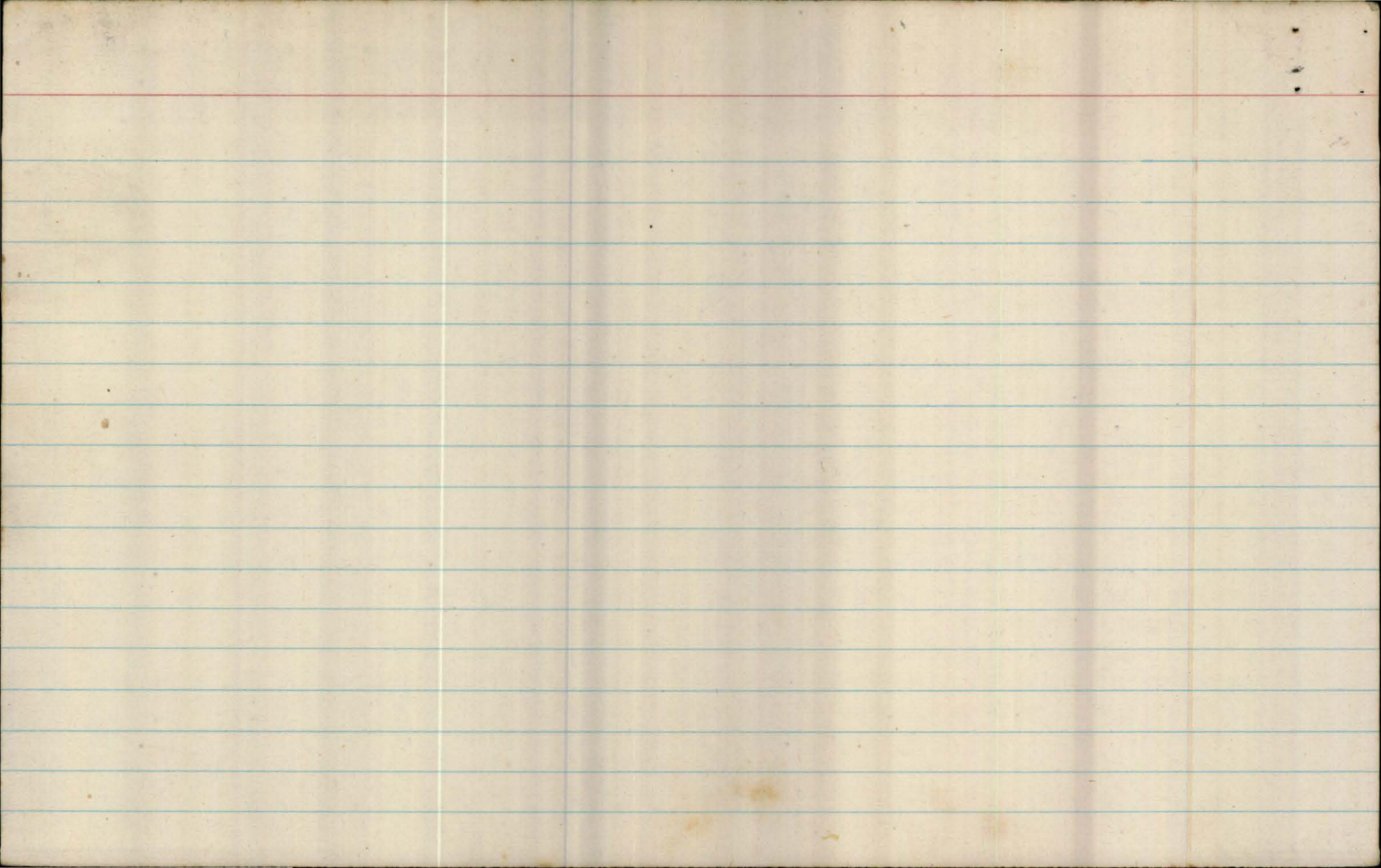


123  
I confess that I am not aware of how his 'previous history will deprive of much of their value any services which he may be capable of rendering in time of peace.' 93 76

I have no doubt Sir T. Shepstone believes his mistrust of John Dunn is based upon substantial grounds, but I am bound to state that in my opinion his usually very calm judgment is in this instance biased by the prejudice against that Chief, which he shares, without knowing it, with the bulk of the Natal people.

The only serious charge made against him is that of selling arms to the natives, a line of conduct not peculiar to him, as I believe it is beyond doubt that most of the leading merchants in Durban have been either directly or indirectly also engaged in that trade, the only difference being, that whereas John Dunn did so openly in and in the face of the world, and broke no law of his adopted country in doing so, the numerous British tradesmen in Natal carried on their trade in arms and ammunition surreptitiously, knowing it to be against the laws of the Colony in which they resided. If, as Sir T. Shepstone avers, this traffic in firearms "tended more than any other circumstance to bring about the Zulu war," I can only say that the responsibility of having supplied the Zulus with arms must be shared with John Dunn by a very large number of Natal merchants and traders, with mercantile firms in Delagoa Bay and with the Government and diamond diggers of Griqualand West.

Having, during my stay in Natal in 1875, frequently talked over with Sir T. Shepstone the missionary view of polygamy as practised by all the native races of Africa, especially as to its bearing upon the Colony in which he was then Secretary for Native Affairs, I confess I am somewhat startled by his statement that "the suppression of this practice in Natal is an object which the Government has always professed to desire," as I am not aware of any measure that have ever been undertaken by the Natal Government under Sir T. Shepstone's advice with that object in view.





Sir T. Shepstone refers to "the responsibility we incur in the appointment of the native Chiefs." Their succession is proved for in the terms of agreement they have signed. Should, however, the people of any district refuse to accept the lawful heir of to the Chieftainship, I can see no reason why we should go to war or take any other strong measures in consequence more than we should have done had the people deposed Ketchwayo who had been crowned in 1873 by Sir T. Shepstone as the representative of the British Government. He adds, when ~~answ~~ answering the questions which he puts to himself as to whether we are "bound to secure to the Chiefs the possessions to which we appoint them," that in his "view, and in what will certainly be the Zulu view, we undoubtedly are, for they are appointed as our creatures." I feel no hesitation in saying that the English Government would not at any time or under any circumstances have fired a shot to have deposed Ketchwayo on the throne, upon which he was formally and with great ceremony placed by Sir T. Shepstone. I would then call attention to the "Report of the Expedition sent by the Government of Natal to install Ketchwayo as King of the Zulus," presented to Parliament on 6th February 1875. In doing so I would remark that the installation of Ketchwayo was of a far more solemn character than the recent appointment of any of the 13 Chiefs has been, and as we should not most certainly have supported Ketchwayo's claims to Sovereignty had he been driven from his Chieftainship by any foreign war or internal revolution, I can see no good reason why we should be in any way whatever called upon to assert the claims of any of the lately appointed Chiefs in the event of their being similarly driven from power.

With all due deference to the views and opinions of Sir T. Shepstone, I presume to differ from his most emphatically when he suggests that "whatever is done in Zululand should be of a specially tentative character." as that the arrangements made might be altered from time to time to suit the interests of the Natal Government. My experience in such matters leads me to say that I know of

which is more likely to prevent the Chiefs and their people from settling down into orderly and peaceful habits of permanent contentment.

Sir T. Shepstone concludes his very interesting Minute by remarking " that so as the safe condition of Zululand is a matter of doubt, so long will the great question of South African Federation remain in abeyance"; whilst I fully concur in this sentiment, I assert in the most positive manner that the Zulus have to exist as a nation, and in a still greater degree as a military power, that so completely have they been crushed that for years to come it would be impossible under any circumstances to induce them to enter the lists against us, and that for many generations we can have nothing to dread from them if the actions of the Natal Government are directed by a man of even ordinary ability.

In conclusion, I would add that I fully endorse Sir T. Shepstone's opinion in considering that the British Resident should be a servant of the Natal Government, and that all his reports, &c, should be addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of that Colony .



remembered that John Dunn was for many years past the paid agent of the Natal Government in Zululand, an arrangement which I think was entered into upon the recommendation of Sir T. Shepstone... 78

"That John Dunn, already for years past a native Chief, should rule over a district in Zululand will not tend, in my opinion to create "complicated vested rights and raise difficult legal questions." If such were likely or even possible in the case of a man who has been for years past a subject of the Zulu King and a Chief endowed by that monarch with extensive power, it would have been a still more probable result in the case of Sir T. Shepstone himself, who some years ago wished to establish himself as an independent and hereditary Chief in the country lying between the Cape Colony and Natal. Indeed if such a result had been possible, I feel certain that Sir T. Shepstone would never himself have sought to be a Kafir Chief."

[ furnishes his attack by repeating the T.S. is like all Natal Colonists prejudiced and points out that ]

"Mr John Shepstone, who is now Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, thinks highly of John Dunn, and believes that whilst great benefits will accrue to the Zulu people from the position assigned to him, we shall, nationally speaking, reap great advantages from having a man of his character and ability as Chief of the Zulu territory where it borders on our Natal Frontier 453





Sir T S Coll. Box 13 continued 4

Bul to Shep 26/1/83 /Very anxious to know what the dealy is in the installion. Juding from your letter of 18/1 are suppose there are not enough people and the U<sup>s</sup>uthu are hanigng back. But rememebering what Robertson told you - ~~that the U<sup>s</sup>uthu are unwilling to have~~ / "namely, that they are unwilling, or say they are so, that Cetwyayo shd come back tied by any conditions- I am a little undeay that if some of them (such as Umnymanana) are compeeled to come against the rain they may in t<sup>e</sup>ir depseration turn round upon you, and , making x an excuse of the conditions, complain of them. Cetywa o wd fall in with their humour - is it not his too? - and you wd be in an unpleasant position" /Worried that Shep is waiting too long in the country and new difficuties are arising / "I have so full of confidence in yr judgment in these matters that I feel r reluctant to express a misgiving on this point: but as the misgiving has come to me so I name it." /Why haven't I heard of your return - have you put the day of installation off

/Now qbout the cattle - nothing int the interviews between Kimberley and Cet sustain Cet's calim to the roayl cattle but there is a des from Kim of 7/9 - describes it - notes that it was writtne after his deparatre and I don't believe that anything was said to him or promises made in nalnd. ~~Kim~~ but I think Cet has piced this up at the Cape. I asked Osb to rpeort - and he did on 2/11 and he largely denied Cet's akkeagations /

22  
29/1 Bul to T Shep /<sup>u</sup>ceived your of 29/1 & although it shows troubles it releivesmy mind. Dealy is due to reluctatnace of U<sup>s</sup>uthu to come forward. /  
30/1 Private Bul to T Shep but have since recieved yours of 2

~~22/x~~ 25/1 and am greatly concerned by it as things get worse not better. Greatly concerned over Z's safety and it souldn't have been left for him to come to the meeting because of what you say the <sup>U</sup>suthu are doing in the Ulundi valley. Wonders whether the <sup>U</sup>suthu are formed as a bodyguard or for aggressive purposes, which may involve you. - ~~which~~ I await your answer to my teleg as to whether you want more force with anxiety. I don't understand the situation. / "Are Umny, anana and Undabuko really afraid to come and meet the King, unwilling, that is to say, to acquiesce in his restoration, or are they simply playing Cetywayo's game with a view of getting Usibebu into a trap by pretending they cannot come until he also comes? Which of the two is it?" / the trouble arises out of Cet's ~~dishonesty~~ dishonesty for it is clear that he has not from the start the intention of abiding by his conditions. and your bro reports that he is intriguing the Reserve and told his supporters not to leave the RE. He has ordered his people to go to the meeting armed but not to let the white know. Rumoured that a military kraal is to be erected near the Mhlatusi. These are only rumours but it shows the direction the wind blows / "and if there be any truth in what you say as to the purposes of the <sup>U</sup>sutu party to attack Usibebu then we shall have civil ~~in~~ war in Zululand before long" / Most anxious for your safety

Various reports by Shepstone and copies of his official letters

Copy of T Shep's minute on Bulwer despatch to S of S dated 12/5/83

Various other official despatches and memos to do with installation and reports on important Gov despatches



19985/N/81

on No 83 W-K 13/10/81 ; C3187

21

98  
C0179/138 Minutes

Mr Bramston Annexation, John Dunn or Cetwayo seem to be the three alternatives now open. @ ~~RLWH~~ 15/11

AWLH

I favour a mixture of the 3 prescriptions, containing very little of the first element RLWH 16/11

Zululand 19978, 19980-5

These despatches suggest the danger that the difficulties of Zululand may be precipitated before we are in a position to deal with them as we should desire. . These may be we have come to the conclusions that it is interest to accelerate a crisis.

I suppose before Mr Sevdall leaves next week he will be informed full of the direction of the thoughts of the C.O., ~~unfx~~ and he will be charged to ascertain the weight of the obstacles that may impede giving effect to them.

I agree (19985) that annexation, John Dunn and Cetwayo present three paths open to us; and that it must follow the first as little as possible. The Resident in his report gives weighty and, to my mind, conclusive reasons for thinking that John Dunn could not be accepted as Supreme Chief, but the difficulty of getting rid of him is extreme. Cetwayo promises to be most amenable to advice, if returned, and I do not doubt that thorough him we could exercise the strongest influence without incurring the responsibilities of annexation, and we should thus have a chance of re-establishing a self supporting Zulu nation. There is however the feeling in

Natal which , to some unknown extent, probably a great extent - is opposed to the restoration of Cetewayo. Supposing we could manage to keep things as they are, or at least to prevent them from becoming for twelve months more. Mr

~~Siddall~~ charge would apparently be to ascertain the real-strength of opinion in Natal against the restoration of Cetewayo and the means of turning it, and to discuss whether there is any means of disposing of John Dunn. ~~As to this~~ As to this last I am not to be sure that the reestablishment of Cetewayo in the greater part of Zululand would not make John Dunn's position impossible, unless he at once waged war against the returned King: and he is acute enough to know that is is for his advantage to anticipate, in every way in the coming months the possible arrival of Cetewayo. All our influence should be exercised, in an unseen way if possible, to prevent his becoming stronger. ~~It~~

In connection with the above I that the of the Aborigines Soc (see note herewith ) writes me is correct the situation threatens to become complicated by an impending famine. I think we might telegraph to Natal to enquire as to the truth of this. It would be hopeless to suggest that the Colony should take charge of this, but the Treasury might be induced to do something if there is any serious apprehension of great extremity. We should be open to very severe criticism (however unjust) if it could be said that we had first disorganized Zululand and then left its inhabitants to die of starvation LC 22/11

CA 243 desp

C 3182 Encl

Encl. Copy The Zulus understood  
now that I have vapores



12/05/1990 - note this - this man TS is trying to save his reputation as an agent of the TS  
His his image - also says see through it and say what it is - not just false - but it is

SNA 1/4/3

Memorandum by Sir Shepstone 7/4/81

"The great anxiety which, I observe, is at this moment shown by the natives population of Natal to understand the conditions under which the sudden termination of hostilities with the Transvaal Boers has been brought about, suggests the pressing, nay absolute necessity, that some explanation on this subject, authorized by the Government, should be placed in the hands of its Magistrates and other representatives among that population, not as a formal communication to them, but as a guide to the Officers of Government in replying to the anxious questions that are likely to be addressed to them. / What the natives have seen is that the Boers entered, seized and held a position in Natal from which all the efforts of the British forces failed to dislodge them; that in each of the three encounters which took place our troops were decidedly and disastrously beaten; that in the last the Governor of the Colony, their supreme chief, was killed; that immediately after this crowning disaster, negotiations followed, and the position from which our forces had vainly attempted to eject the Boers by force, was of the free will of the latter evacuated, because, as it is said the Boer demands were complied with. / The fact that the Boers were the Queen's subjects, and they saw too that the victorious leaders of the insurgents against the Queen's authority became at once the honoured guests of the Queen's Representative. / These being the facts which the natives have themselves witnessed, it would be as useless as it would be unwise, not frankly to acknowledge them with such palliative explanation as may be possible; they are the facts too upon which they will form their opinions; from which they



will draw their inferences, and which they may possibly hereafter refer to as precedents; they ~~at~~ call therefore urgently for some explanation, which, upon the face of them, does not appear.

I believe that I can fully understand the main considerations which induced HMG to adopt the course that has been followed in this matter; but although these may be explained, they are not such, as in my opinion, would find much sympathy in the native mind; magnanimity, under such circumstances, they will not believe in; but they will understand, and to a great extent appreciate, the spectacle of a mighty arm uplifted to strike down a weak opponent being arrested by the vigorous and simultaneous interference of powerful mutual friends. / / The natives will know that it was the fortune of the Boers to encounter but a small portion of England's might, and that they vanquished that small portion; they will know too that, although large reinforcements arrived, they were not used, and they may misinterpret this non-use of them; it therefore appears to me to be necessary to give them a reason that is true and that will ~~satisfy~~ satisfy their minds on this point, in addition to any other explanations that it may be thought necessary to offer them. / / The simile of the staying of the uplifted arm by the action of mutual friends, I believe to be not only, as far as it goes, a true simile, but one that will account more or less satisfactorily for conduct on our part which would be explicable to the natives, only upon the hypothesis, that after our experience of the prowess of the Boers, we thought it most prudent to accede to their demands and to ~~the~~ sue for peace.

I am induced to offer these remarks because in answering the many natives who have sought information on the subject I have found that the additional explanation which I have suggested appeared to them to account for much that had lately happened in Natal, although it is of course quite inadequate to efface from their minds the discovery that weakness



2 Shepstone's memo on the Angl Boer war  
of purpose occasionally paralyzes the action, and reversed the decisions  
of HMG .

Minutes. xW JWShepe lays this before wood and says he has often used the  
story to natives when they've spoken to him and that the fact that England  
stayed her hand at the ~~xxxxxx~~ 'earnest and repeated solicitations of  
friends of the Transvaal Boers , has , to a certain extent, satisfied them. ..  
/although they still feel that unless the oers are conquered and brought  
under British rule there can be no chance of peace in the future.

Wood however does't agree that England styaed her hand for any reasons /  
~~xxxx~~ "but that her ministers consider it was right to reverse the  
annexation." /Wood appends his statement of what happened and says it  
should be ~~passed~~ given to all magistrates who, while not letting it get  
to the press, pass the info. on verbally to natives ~~who~~ wanting info.

Shepstone annexed the Tvl and there was no opposition but sicne  
then opposition has built and HMG ~~have~~ were made to consider whether they  
should give the Tvl a freerer consitution or perhpas their independence.  
meanwhile the Boers resorted to arms . gives detailed history of the  
clashes, the opening of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ negotiations - helped by President Brand  
~~xxxxxx~~ as the Queen did not wish any more blood shed. Wood said the  
Queen could n ot hand over the large nubmers of natives to the Boers in the  
Tvl and negoitated for securities on this point and go them. /  
"these temrs of peace were, woiing partly to the presence and coniliatory advice  
of President Brand throu hout the meeitns and partly to the recongitionion  
by the Boers of the fact tha they would be farily dealt with, gratefully  
accepted by them - and peace ensued." /When Royaa omm hasdecided this will  
be communicated /

"Here terms of peace were, with regard to the negotiation of President Grant, though the meeting and treaty to the negotiation by the terms of the fact that they would be finally decided with, especially by them - and peace seemed." When they came hesitated this will

mean could a of hand over the large part of the terms in the month as the terms did not mean any more blood shed. Wood said the clashes, the opening of negotiations - helped by President Grant, while the terms resorted to terms. Theives detail history of the should give the IV's former constitution or terms their independence.

then opposition has built and the terms are made to consider whether they should have entered the IV and there was no opposition but along to the press, and the IV, on verbally to natives mix war into. should be extremely given to all matters which, while not letting it get annexation. Wood says his statement of what happened and says it that not ministers consider it was right to reverse the

Wood however doesn't raise that point, leaving her hand for any reasons under British rule there can be no chance of peace in the future. Although they still feel that unless the terms are changed and brought to a certain extent, but failed them. stayed her hand at the terms, earnest and excited solicitation of story to natives when they've spoken to him and that the fact that

minutes. The IV's have said before Wood and says he has often used the of purpose occasion to paralyze the action, and reversed the actions of the IV's. 2. The IV's have said before Wood and says he has often used the

2. The IV's have said before Wood and says he has often used the



140

1848/N/82

C0179/140

Shepstone: 'Native policy' in Natal &amp; Zululand's role.

Settlement/82

(L)

Minute Printed copy of law No26, 1875, Mithcell to Kimberley 2/1/82.

T Shepstone to Private Sec. Govt House 2/1/82. Memorandum T Shepstone Dec 1881

Minute Pulver shown Memo before he leaves /

/ Covering letter states the the Memo was prepared at Wood's instance following a conversation Wood had with T Shepstone / —

"Memorandum"

When the <sup>u</sup>Zulu settlement was made two years ago, it is possible, that the pressure of circumstances excluded the full consideration, which they would otherwise have received, of matters, which although outside of Zululand would be more or less affected by that settlement; among these was the condition of the Natives population of Natal.

2. We are apt to conclude, because these people showed themselves to be, at that time, thoroughly loyal to Her Majesty; - because they have punctually and without murmur, paid their taxes ever since, and because no acts of disobedience, or sounds of discontent have been seen or heard by us, that therefore they feel no cause for dissatisfaction, and are a contented people.

3. / However the Natal africans have no way of airing their grievances except through magistrates and the SNA and because of the 1875 law " / "these channels have become less popular, and less effective, than is necessary to constitute a practical safety valve to real or popular grievances

4. In the most despotic of their own forms of government, the people have frequent opportunities of publicly stating their complaints, which when made use of, their Chief may notice or not, as he chooses; just as we notice or not, any statement of similar nature made in public newspapers. The tension will however have been relieved by the utterance and the chief will have noted the cause.

5. The practical suppression of such a privilege must produce untoward effects; the people will feel that they are cut off from the Government; - that they are being ruled solely for its convenience and benefit, and this will throw them back upon themselves, and suggest the idea, with all its serious consequences, that they are in the ~~hands~~ hands of an alien law that cares little for them. On the other hand the government is likely to remain in ignorance of the real state of feeling among the people, until made aware of its existence by some act of rebellion, or bordering upon rebellion; when it will be too late to apply a peaceful remedy without the certain loss of prestige and influence, which, in South Africa, especially, must stand in the place of real power.

6. A commission has been appointed and they will no doubt investigate other hardships the African suffers because of the 1875 law. 8. Writes of the overpopulation ~~in~~ in the Reserves, exorbitant rents they pay to squat, and the squatters on Crown lands that have now opened to sale. 10. The sale of Crown lands will affect 80,000 and the whole colony as they will have no where to move but the already over full locations/

11. The truth is that the colony contains a larger native population than, with its white inhabitants it can conveniently or safely under present conditions of native life accommodate; for a long time this has been yearly by year becoming more apparent; attention has been frequently called to the increasing pressure, and the proportionally increasing danger; we have lived on however ~~that~~ in the hope that some feasible solution will present itself; when such a solution did present itself in the Conquest of Zululand we neglected the opportunity, and no practical remedial step has been taken; what consequences may follow from the additional pressure which the sale of lands they occupy may produce remains to be seen. I confess to feeling some apprehension, when I consider the growing discontent which I have alluded to, and the fact that our prestige in South Africa as the dominant race, has of late received such practical and rude shocks.



141 1848/N/82  
COL79/140

Shepstone Zululand as answer to Natal's black pop problem

Memorandum (cont)

12. The Zulu country is the only direction in which relief can be looked for; it was the domestic policy of that country that forces its inhabitants to take refuge in, and so seriously in commode Natal; when the Zulu settlement was made the needs of Natal in this respect might have been satisfied, for they had been often enough brought to notice and were patent enough; but they were not. It may have supposed perhaps that this arrangement which supplanted Cetywayo's rule would have induced the Natives in Natal to emigrate to Zululand; but no greater mistake could have been made; no such emigration has taken place, or is likely to take place, because the natives of Natal distinguish too clearly between steady effective authority and its shadow, and they decline to trust themselves to the uncertain conditions of residence in Zululand under its present system of Boernment.

13 In the event of Cetywayo being allowed to return to Zululand, a contingency which, under the circumstances I cannot help regarding as probable, another opportunity will present itself of doing something to avoid the agrarian [?/] difficulty that is so rapidly coming to a head among the natives in Natal; and as far as I can see it will be the last.

14 As compared with Natal Zululand is but thinly opulated, and there is, I believe, ample room for the accommodation of the present Zulu population north of the Umhlathuze River; and if the strip of country between that river and the Boundary of Natal could be set apart for the redundant population of Natal, or more correctly, for that portion of the popluation of Zululand that has from time to time been driven by the past barbarism of Zulu rule to seek protection in Natal, the dangerous tension that now exists in ~~this Colony~~ this Colony would at once be relieved, and a source of safety be created that no other measure could accomplish.

15 That strip of country would however have to be ruled by a British Commissioner as the native population Natal has heretofore been ruled in Natal; the natives must pay the same taxes that they pay here, except perhas the dog tax, and they must see and feel that they remain under British Sovereignty.

16 I am aware that the strip of country which I have described and which alone can answer the purpose, is that which was placed under Mr. John Dunn at the conclusion of the Zulu War. That this gentleman can retain the position which he now occupies should Cetywayo return is out of the question; and therefore, seeing that if such an event takes place, the adoption or otherwise of my suggestion would not affect him, I need not discuss the nature or value of any claims likely to be advanced in his interests.

17 Nor is it advisable probably, in a memorandum the object of which is to show what I believe to be the condition of the country, and to point out the only course that appears to me to be likely to avoid catastrophe, that I should enter into more details than are necessary to accomplish the object I have in view. There will ~~be~~ certainly be much to consider, and the course I suggest will not be without its difficulties and dangers; but in any view these can, with care and judicious management, all be surmounted and avoided; which to go on much longer as we are in Natal, will be to invite disaster that will not delay its coming. The risks attendant on the two courses cannot be compared.

18 I need scarcely say that in writing this paper I have no desire to meddle officiously with the politics of the country, and that my only object is the welfare of a people in whose service I have spent my life; I can lay claim to at least as much knowledge and experience, in connection with subjects it refers to, as any other man, and I cannot witness the two races that inhabit this colony drifting day by day into antagonism towards each other, an antagonism, which I am satisfied, neither as yet welcomes, without, ~~which there is~~ while there is yet time, uttering a word of warning.

Pietermaritzburg Natal Dec 1881. Sgd T Hepstone.



## Reserve

9903/N/83

C3705

Minutes Desps removed In 3705

2Mr Bramston his raises the all-important question whether HM's Govt intend to protect the people in the 'Reserve Territory' from Cetywayo's threats & vengeance.

Lord Kimberley in his desp of 30th Nov (p216 of 3466) para 21, said, in rejecting the use of the term 'protected territory', that 'if this case (the viol tion by Cetywayo of his promises? should ~~be~~ ever arise, H.M.'s Govt. will deal with it adcroding to the crics at the time." The case seems now to have arisen, & the question is whtehr the crces require & justify active interference & protection. To my mind it would be impossible to retrun any but an affirmative reply.

AWLH 12/6

This serious question was not expected at the time of r the restoration - & any active intervention would be most unwelcome to people in England. I doubt whether in any event it would be actually required, a n intimation that H.M. Govt. intends to maintain the Reserve by arms if necessary would probably stop Cetywayo's bluster - But the question cannot I fear be avoided [?], unless Cetywayo's later defeats have already taken the fight out of him. ~~And~~ - a demonstration - e.g. sending officers to select places for camps in the Reserve would be likely to strengthn his wish for ;;;[?]/ power [?]/ J B 12/1

I think we are bound to maintain the inviolability of the Reserve.

But I would first send theis to Sir Shepstone & request his observations." RLWH 13/

← 11

If we do not maintain the inviolability of the Reserve we had better clear out of Africa altogether and never hear the word South Africa mentioned again - (although we should probably hear it mentioned more often than we should like) I agree there is no danger if we can only convince Colenso & Cetewayo of this. How to do it - I mean the bringing home of this consideration is the question. But time presses. Some informed but official communication to these two Cs. would have a good effect - and I shd. tell Cetewayo that if any attack is made by his adherents on the reserved territory we should withdraw our Resident from him & cease to recognize him as King of Zululand. these thing wd. be at once to send back the cavalry detachment but the objection to this is that the natives wd. not then do anything for themselves. Could we not move up a body of cavalry close to the Natal Bo~~X~~order - on the Tugela? This wo ld at once be taken as a reassuring notice without compromising us. EA 13/6 "To Sir Shepstone as proposed. D 13/6  
"Sent to Mr Gladstone in orig June 20 and returned ...June 22"



17V 793  
14803/N/82  
C3466

No57 Cetywayo to Kimberley 18/8/82

p92

94 680

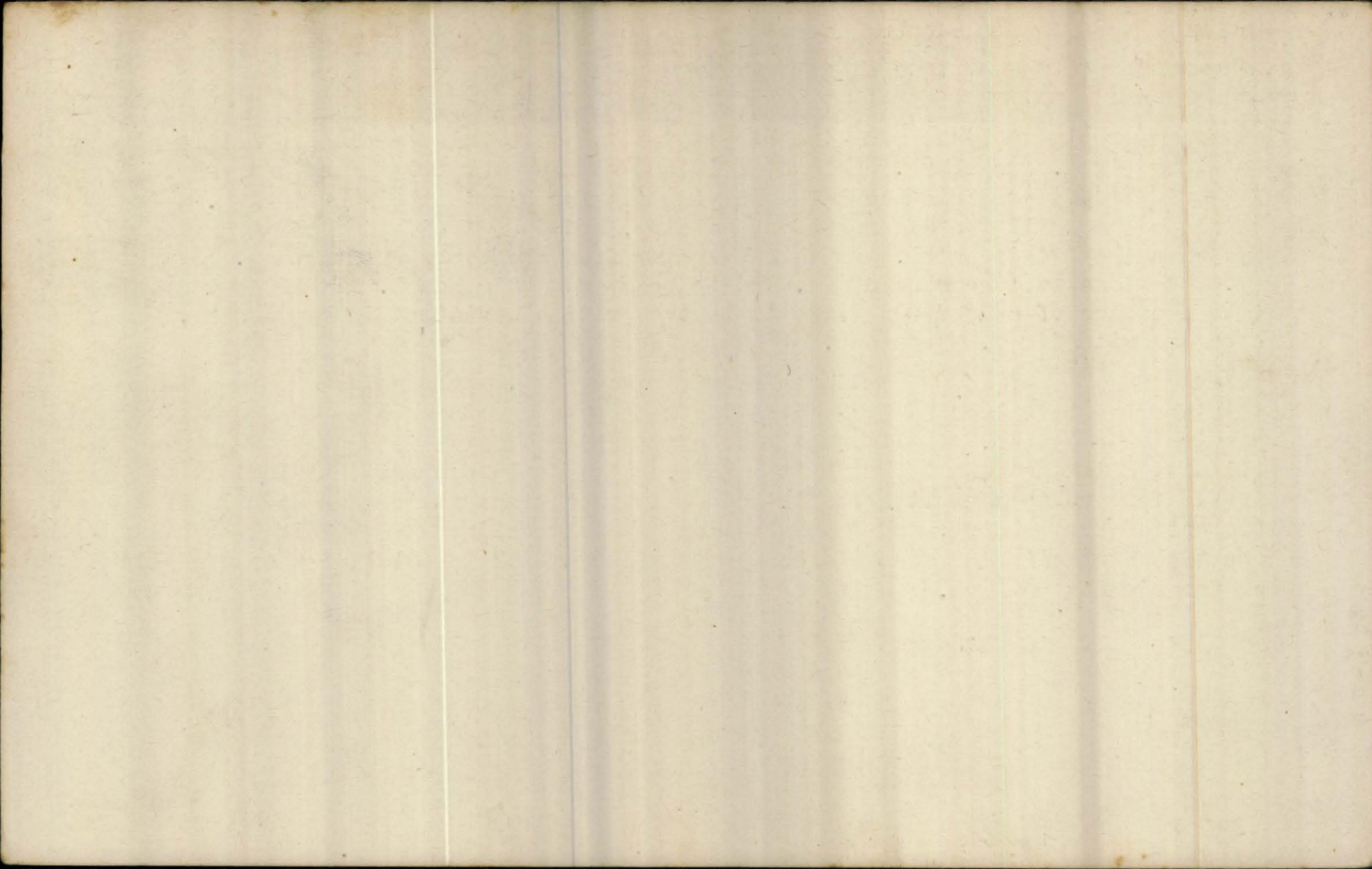
124

"I am writing to you Lord Kimberley to aks why the Zulu people are not received in Natal by ir T. Shepstone. Was not Zululand handed over to him and its people by p93//my father Mpānde? The Zulu people are crying out for him in their hardships. ir T Shepstone knows all the affaris of my country, and I want him to receive my pēople always when they visit Natal, and to convey any from the overnment to them. I want Sir T. Shepstone to take care of me, and to be my mouth in Natal. I always want him to make a choice of a good man forme to be the British Resident in my country, who will be one with Sir T. Shepstone." (Signed) CETYWAYO KAMPADZE

No63 Kimberley to Bulwer 26/8/82 p144

/Transmits aobe letter./ "It is of course impossible that this request should be complied with in the form in which it i made, but I would suggest that i might be desirable for you to consult with Sir Theophilus Shepstone as to many details of the new settlement of the country, and I should wish uou to consider whether Sir Theophilus would not be the most suitable person to conducet Cetywayo bakē to Zululand when the time comes for his restoration."

SEE 21334 Nol22 in C3466 (p114)





21334/N/82

C3466

Sentence 83: Shepstone on

Nol22 Bulwer to Kimberley 3/11/82 p220

/Refers to Nos 57 and 63 in C3466. See my notes/

Encl Minute Bulwer yto Shepstone 30/10/82 p221 /Look over Nol06/ in C3466/

Enc2 Minute Shepstone to Bulwer 31/10/82 p221 84 681

"I have read this Despatch with the greatest interest and pleasure, and thank your Excellency for having given me the opportunity of doing so. I think it covers the ground most completely, and that it is not only a faithful and able representation of the present state of things in Zululand, which it is most important that Her Majesty's Government should well understand, but a comprehensive description of the principles and action which must be strictly followed to ensure a fair chance of success to the scheme which it propounds.

I have no criticisms to offer; I think that the Despatch is as complete as under the circumstances it can be made.

/Notes that the tax imposed is 10/- a hut instead of 14/- as in Natal. The reasons for this he presumes is that the Zulu might have difficulty in raising the money "for the first year or so." From his experience in imposing tax in Natal he did the same but would now suggest that it is easier to fix a high rate and grant exemptions than to raise the rate at a later date.

Apart from the need to make Zululand self-supporting it is desirable to have the same tax in Natal. the Zulu (African?) will think it just

"another consideration is that at the Zulu populations of Natal and Zululand will be divided by a stream of water only, as at present, and it would not I think be desirable, / 222/ bearing in mind that the hut tax is looked upon as the acknowledgment of a supremacy, and the thank-offering for protection, to create the idea, by adopting different rates, that the supremacy is not the same on both sides of the stream, and that the protection is less on one side than it is on the other.

the only other suggestion I felt disposed to offer is in reference to the amount of the Resident's salary; 1,000l. is, in my opinion, much below what he will require for his actual subsistence, to say nothing of the expenses incidental to his position that he will continually be put to; a few years occupation as such a position with such a salary would ruin any man not possessed of ample private funds, and these it would be scarcely fair to expect an officer to sacrifice for the good of the public service."



254.1  
Sir T S Collection  
Box 18

Sentinel 83

Osborn to TShep 6/1/83 "I think it scarcely necessary to tell you how very grateful I ~~M~~ am to you for advocating my interests in respect to the appointmt. in the Reserved Territory. It is certain that I cannot remain with Cetwayo indeed it would be a very wrong move to leave me here. At the same time I am like all old officials too poor~~x~~ to remain idle. I am however thoroughly tired ~~wi~~ out with the work I have been doing since I came into Zululand. No one knows the amount of toil and anxiety I have passed through and it is impossible that anything near the extent or gravity of the work I have done during a period of very nearly three years can ever be known by anyone and I confess that the retrospective view of my experiences is in no way conducive to the bringing to bear of fresh energies either in the old or in a new but somewhat similar field. Still, as I have said I cannot do without employment; to thwix I suppose I may add the old saying that beggars have no right to choos~~x~~ and I must ~~x~~ only be content with what the gods send I should however greatly desire a little rest in shape of a holiday before buckling to again. / / I have no doubt a great many rumours & some probably of an alarming nature will reach you but you will remeber that Zululand is a veryparadise of alarmists and liars. The most outrageous stories are constantly being carried about. The ~~xx~~ part you are in must I can imagine be particularly well plied with lies & rumours specially manufactured by interested & disappointed parties and above all by shh~~h~~eming agents from Natal - Bishopstowe. They will however not succeed in producing the evil results they desire but unfortunately they casue much trouble. / Intend to tell Myamana and Ndabuko the ~~xxx~~ date of the expected arrival of Cet soon. Bulwer's letter of 31/12 doesn't say an

Why the  
delay

anything about my appointment in the Reserve. He says Fynn will probably be Res with Cetshwayo. I wouldn't have chosen him but it's Hobson's choice I suppose.

MO to T Shep 12/1/83 Entonjaneni /Would like to come and meet you but I'd better stay here to keep the triumphant Usuthu in check as they are preying on those who did not pray for the bone. / "As it is not prudent for me to leave I send my induna Yamela he is thoroughly up in all the politics & party movements in the country & will give you all the information in his power. As he was one of your old native staff you will know how very intelligent truthful & reliable a fellow he is. / / I send full information to Undabuko & Usiwetu & Umnymanana of the day when C. will probably land & where, and yesterday morning I sent them word that I was starting. I did not consider it advisable to send notice of the date of C's arrival to all the chiefs &c in the country - indeed time & all other considerations would not admit thereof. Dabuku & the others are aware of this & as I understand making arrangements for the attendance of a lot of people. Altho' I did not send notice of the exact date to all the chiefs &c I took care to mention it to all who came daily to me at Inhlazatyane & they were crowds comprising all grades. Yesterday when I was about starting a tremendous crowd was assembled again. Some for protection against probable injury to the oxen - others to Konza & hear the indaba. / Could you've decided on Entonjaneni, Ulundi is too hot and there is still evidence of the war lying about. /



20167/N/82  
C0179/142

*Reserve - Natal Freed*

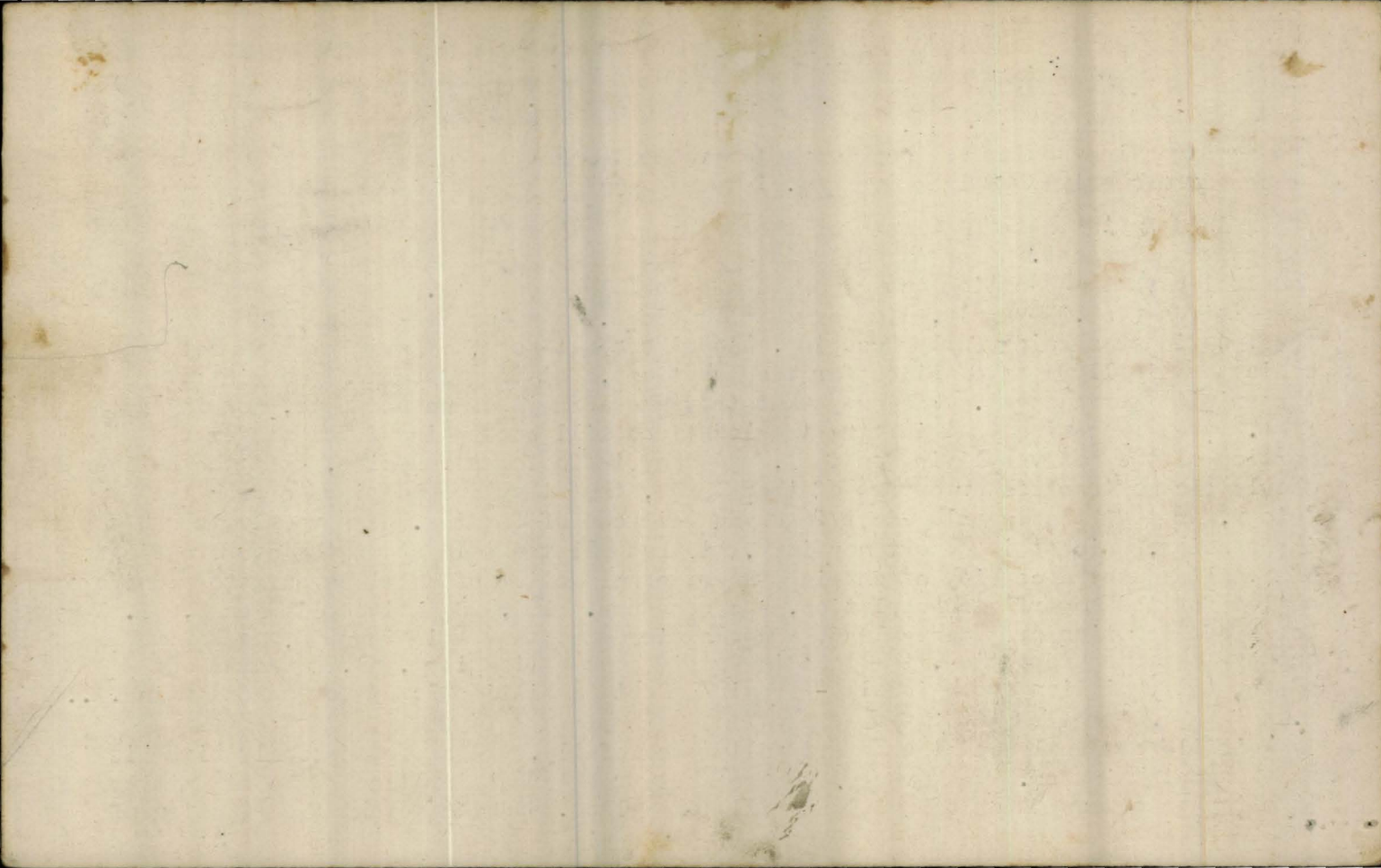
31

Minutes , Bulwer to Kimberley Derby to Bulwer 9/1/83. No copy of Report of NNC81-2 and Bulwer does not comment.

/Notes taken in so far as they are relative to the Natal desire to have Zululand as place for excessive Natal native pop./

/Fairfield feels that the purpose of the report was "to make Native Labour Plentiful cheap and permanent." for the Colonists/ Locations PP7&8 "the views of the Commission on the Location question are sensible and moderate. Rather less than half the Natives (169,800) only, live on the locations. the Commission describes some of the locations as being fully occupied, and others not so, they evidently regret the choice originally made of sites for the locations, but they recommend no disturbance of the existing arrangement. they say that they should neither be added to, nor taken from. they recognise that in time the locations will become insufficient for the portion of the Natives living on them, and they indicate as remedies, that the Natives should become tenants or owners of their lands, that they should migrate from the Colony, or that they should adopt improved methods of farming. I have always had a strong impression, which it is Report confirms, ~~that~~ that all the talk about the overcrowding of Natal and the necessity of shaping the external policy of Natal as ~~only~~ to provide an outlet for the superfluous population, was nonsense. 169,800 Natives live on 2,241,919 acres of Location or Reserve land, and assuming that the remaining 205,200 Natives occupy the same proportion, the total in Native occupation is 4,951,234 acres out of about 13½ million acres in all - leaving about 8½ million acres for colonization. ..  
E.F

Mr Fairfield has analysed the "report fully & carefully, & I agree generally with his Mr Bramson's minutes. We have yet to see whether a large migration of Natal Natives into the "reserved portion of Zululand will take place. In that event the question of the provision of land for them would become even less urgent than (I agree that) it has been shown by the Report to be. RIWH





4  
614/N/83

179/145

Minutes. Cutting from Daily News, 15/1 12/1. Sub of Tel Bul to CO 12/1

Tel Bulwer to Derby 12/1 Enquires "as to position and authority" of Res Comm in Reserve

### Minutes

Mr Bramston. "Sir T Shepstone's opinion to which reference is made will be found at pp. 224-5 of proof print herewith.

Lrd Kimberley's desp of 30/11 conveying the views of HM's Govt as to Sir H Bulwer's scheme for the restoration of Cetewayo is at pp 219-20

A W LH 13/1

Mr Herbert: "As to tax- see 21334 minutes - those minutes provide/?/ I think the assumption that Sir H Bulwer had considered Sir T Shepstone's proposal of 14/- before sending his own recommendations of 10/- but the desp. is dated Oct. 3 - p 201 of print - the sum is named at the bottom of p 210 - but Sir T Shepstone's minute is dated Oct 31 - p 224 If Lord Kimberley was under this impression he might have agreed to the 14/- which has much merit -

"Whichever sum is decided on the Commissioner will I presume be authorised to collect it.

Paramount authority is very like annexation. I understand that the chiefs are to be independent of Cetewayo but acting under the advice of the Commissioner who will manage the country on their behalf like the Residents in the Malay States. This will virtually be an exercise of paramount authority without the name which we must avoid if possible - for the present. Approve his retaining some troops - but? consult W O first.

1. When Sir H Bulwer sent home Sir T Shepstone's recommendation of a 14s hut tax in the Reserved Territory, he made no observation upon it, & this Department does not appear to have given any decision as to the amount. I would sanction the levying by the Commissioner of a 14s hut tax if Sir H Bulwer is of opinion that it is not beyond the means of the natives, & will be paid without resistance.
2. "Paramount" does not convey the same definite idea to different people. There may be a paramount authority, i.e., in this case, a commissioner (recognised by the natives as a chief ~~instituted~~ substituted for John Dunn & Hlubi) to whom those chiefs & others, being only heamen, must submit whenever his decision is called for, without it following that the commissioner, as such superior chief, must or can govern the country in detail as if it were annexed. We are not providing means for that.

I agree with Sir H Bulwer that it must be clearly understood by the people that the Commissioner has supreme control over them, and that Cetywayo has no power or authority within the Reserved territory. There is no via media between keeping for a time some sort of order in this territory, and abandoning it, either directly to Cetywayo, or to lawlessness. Paragraphs 13, 18, & 22 of Lord Kimberley's despatch, page 220 of print, show that he adopted Sir H Bulwer's views as to the authority to be given to the Commissioner.

3. It is fully understood that we have agreed to keep troops with the Commissioner for a time, as ~~proposed~~ proposed in the last paragraph of Bulwer's despatch of 3/10 - the WO and Treas have agreed to the cost until a mounted

Police is organised. I think we can inform HB of this w/o further ref to WO - Herbert /  
Tel based on this sent 15/2 and despatch on 18/1 and printed in C3466 /



Derbyshire Settlement

8984/N/83

179/145

Minutes Bulwer to Derby 30/4/83. Estimate of Expenditure  
CO To Secretary to the Treasury 13/6/83

Minutes /get involved in the question of the dvance at length - and self support - and the fact theire is no evidence to the sum which might be raised from the Reserve. The last to enries read /  
"Mr erbert. "...the prospects of the Native Reserve being self supporting no longer appear as good as before RM 7/6

"I would write to the Treasury as in the Draft annexed. I kept these papers until I had seen Sir T Shepstone; & his opinion is that the hut-tax should be levied at once, believing that to do so will inspire confidence among the natives & not dissatisfaction. Until the hut tax is levied they continue to fear that they will be haded over to Cetywayo. ~~xx~~ When it is levied, also, some of the Natal Natives will move into the reserve felling that they will be safe there & Natal will be depleted and the reserve made self appointing. I wd inst Sir H<sup>D</sup> ulwer not to dealy to levy the tax. ~~xxxx~~ RLWH 12/6

E A 12/6 D 12/6

Bulwer to Derby 30/4/83 /Refers to Derby's deg of 15/2 and submits estimate for 1883 in the Reserve Territory of £8320. HMG have advanced £3000 and much of that has gone to equipping the NMP and asks if he can draw on HM Treasury Chiest here for the remainder. It is all to

be repaid but it is impossible to say how much will be repayed in the first year

CO To Sec to the Treasury 13/6/83 [transmits above requests considertion\_]



Ref. 1883

36 J S

Life of T Shep. evidence by J Shep. H FF on Cet's restoration  
Nothing of great interest.

/At the time of his installation/ "The feeling between C & myself  
was at that time of intimate friendship (I had known him before & he  
knew my father very well. After the installation the troops moved off  
towards Natal/ "and I found myself left isolated with Cetshwayo to uphold  
the British authority. the mounted infantry with the Dragoons then hurriedly  
went off...at this time Cetshwayo turned to me & said, 'Do you see this  
, they have thrown you away in the long grass (U ya ba bon' abelungu be  
ku /?/ lahl' esikoteni) I replied: Ngi u~~swalix~~ uGwalagwala ka Mbuyazi  
weTeku, ngi ya kwaz' ukuzi landa noma kunjani. The feeling between C.  
& myself was at that time of intimate friendship.....Just as we said this a  
letter arrived, in a large envelope, addressed to Sir T S. I jumped  
on my horse & rode after him & gave him the letter. This was from Mr  
Nunn adviser with Hamu. He reported disturbances there of a serious nature.  
Sir T S after reading the letter handed it back to me & said 'herethat is  
a matter for you to deal with now' & bidding me farewell proceeded with the  
column which increased its speed & was soon over the plains and out of sight."

Evidence by J Shep. "Nthsingwayo ka Marole - tall slight fellow...  
This man one\*used work to me. Pinde! (in regard to C's coming back) that  
is that he would never join him. He hadn't time to come through to me.  
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 Mhlatauze. they were tired of his  
rule. <sup>came</sup> then who in a big body to Colenso no more wanted C back than they  
wanted the moon.

Sir Henry Bulwer spoke to me once about a plebiscite in Zulu as to whether Zulus really wanted Cetshwayo back. Not one of them wanted him back. I knew this I said 'One might go to Zulu & if the question were asked of one N. others standing by, whether they were glad of C's return. He would say 'Yes' But you take that man & have him quite alone, out of ear-shot, of toehrs & not even be seen by another & you put the question. The reply wd be quite the reverse No si m funi.

I said you must remember the greatest friends in a country where despotic powers exercised one will not confide in others. Si nga xabana ngomuso, ngento esa si yi ceba namhlanzi ku k hlakazeka

The greatest friends were afraid of one another, touching Govt of the country"



Cet: Shepstone

C3705

(received 19/6) p79

No48 Sir T Shepstone to Colonial Office 1, Charles Street, Grosvenor Sq  
Observations on Bulwer's Despatch to S of S dd. 12/5/83 (No42 in C3705)

"Cetywayo's object is evidently to render the arrangements under which he has been restored incapable of being carried out, by so agitating the minds of the people as to prevent their placing any confidence in the intentions of the Government. He knows that unless such agitation is immediately commenced and vigorously prosecuted the contentment of the people's will, later on, deprive his efforts in that direction of much of their chance of success. He is also fully aware that by keeping the country in an unsettled state he gives force to the argument that will be used in his interests that such a condition is the consequence of the whole of Zululand not having been placed under his rule.

I regard the state of things in that country disclosed by Bulwer's Despatch as the result of a deliberately adopted plan, which in Cetywayo's view is capable of attaining its object without recourse being necessary to acts of positive aggression; it is calculated so to unsettle and weary the minds of the people as to induce them eventually to prefer his rule, with all their objections to it, to the continual apprehension which his declarations and threats must cause, in the absence of any visible sign of the protecting arm of the Government among or near them.

the success of the scheme under which Cetywayo has been restored, which I to be self-adjusting and self-sustaining, depends very much upon the firmness shown by H.G. even to the exhibition of force, in insisting for the first year or two upon the terms of it being fully carried out; any sign of weak intention at first will cause the loss not only of the confidence of the people, but of

of control over them, and of the revenue to support their Government, which should be derived from them.

I see no reason, except the feeble assertion of authority at first, why Zululand should ultimately cost the Imperial Government any treasure, or why all necessary expenditure in firmly establishing the arrangement that has been sanctioned there should not be repaid; but a rule that neither inspires confidence nor commands respect cannot ensure revenue.

It was unfortunate that it became necessary to withdraw all H. troops before the Reserved Territory was more permanently settled; that that Territory must however be settled and firmly ruled on the principles proclaimed to the people, and that Cetwayo's aggressive conduct must be checked, if only to prevent disaster to Natal, is beyond doubt. -

I am inclined to think that a message to Cetwayo, firmly declaring the determination of the Government to maintain the condition on which he was restored, would produce a good effect; if this proved insufficient, a second message, accompanied by the movement of some troops in Ntatl towards the border, or even into the Reserved Territory, would, I think, be necessary to show the determination of the Government and give confidence to the people; but it seems to me to be clear that any further delay in the practical assertion of its authority by HMG will in the end entail consequences much more serious than need by apprehended ~~xxxx~~ now.

It will be desirable, should such messages be sent or action taken, that they should be formally communicated ~~before~~ beforehand to the native headmen in the Reserved Territory, in order that they fully comprehend their meaning.

T SHEPSTONE



194

Cet Rest

Sir T Shepstone Collection Box 14

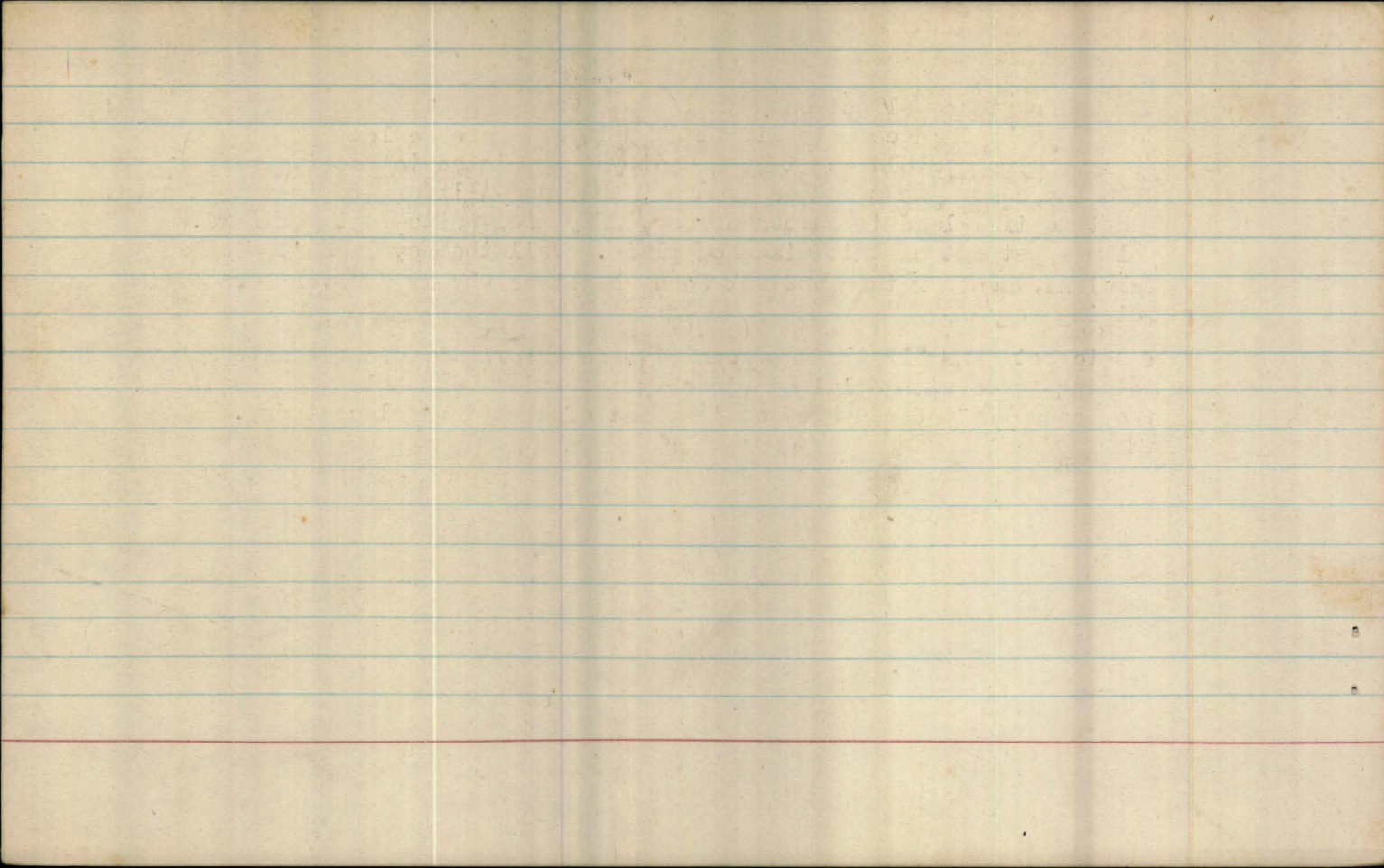
Cetshwayo ka Mpende to Sir T S 9/10/82 Oude Moulén

/I have already told Kim that I want you appointed to receive messengers when they come with messages from me, and you will forward them to the Gov

\_Meet me if I land in Durban or send Offy if I go to Port Durnford.

\_elpm e get out of this diseased place. Tell the Gov I don't Dunn in Zululand when I return and ask John Shepstone why ~~he~~ I never hear of him helping me\_

had T S to Cet PMB 12/11/82 /can give no answers to your requests I have nothing to do with Zululand since my interview with Zulu Indunas at the Income\_ "and you are not ignorant of what took place there."





172  
Let. : on T. Shepstone

118

C3466

GH.680 (copy)

No57 Cetshwayo to Kimberley 18/8/82 p92 (18 Melbury Rd, Kensington)

"I am writing to you Lord Kimberley to ask why the Zulu people are not received in Natal by Sir T. Shepstone. Was not Zululand handed over to him and its people by /93/ my father Mpande? The Zulu people are crying out for him in their hardships. Sir T. Shepstone knows all the affairs of my country, and I want him to relieve my people always when they visit Natal, and to convey any word from the Government to them. I want Sir T. Shepstone to take care of me, and to be my mouth in Natal. I always want him to make a choice of a good man for me to be the British Resident in my country, who will be one with Sir T. Shepstone (Signed) CETSHWAYO KA MPANDE

See also p114 of C3466 - Xeroxed

No63. K- Bulwer. 26/8/82

Also





Haggard Days of my life

p.68

"But the most interesting man of all with whom I came in contact in Natal was ~~xxxxxx~~ ...." ~~Shepstone~~ Shepstone.

69. "To me, ...when the mood was on him, he would tell a great deal - the stories I have heard from him would fill half a volume - and sometimes even unfold to me the secret springs of his actions." Relates Shepstone's life 71. "But of all these and many other events I have told in my book 'Cetewayo and his White Neighbours.'"

122ff. Defends Shepstone's annexation and his shameless treatment by the Colonial Office. Quotes letter from Shepstone dd. 6 July 1884 which ends p.124

"Poor old Osborn...."

Haggard Days of my life  
vol. 1 p. 45.  
Bulwer "was most painstaking and careful in all his methods, but to me his weak point seemed to be that he always so much of both sides of the case that he found it difficult to make up his mind which of them he ought to follow."



the case that he found it difficult to make up his mind which of them was best, he seemed to be that he always so much of both sides of the coin. He was most interesting and careful in all his methods, but to me he was a little bit of a puzzle. He was a very good man, but to me he was a little bit of a puzzle. He was a very good man, but to me he was a little bit of a puzzle.

[illegible]



was overcast and white clouds were visible.



Haggard Daysof my life

~~Osborn to~~ Shepstone to Haggard 6 July 1884

p.124 "Poor old Osborn seems to be quite worn out by all the worry that he has had ever since he left the Transvaal, and I do not wonder at it; he has not been allowed to rule, and yet has been required to interfere, so in the eyes of the Zulus, as indeed in those of everyone else, he is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring.... Sir Henry Bulwer has a very bad time of it; he sees and says what ought to be done, but there is no response, and things are left to drift, until some eddy or other in the stream strands them. I am very sorry, often, for him;....

169-170 Osborn to Haggard 14 April 1880

/Writes from Zululand / "I am entirely on my own responsibility and have /170/ to do just as appears right to me. And a proper responsibility I find it. Indeed it is no joke. I am not hard worked, but my brain is continually on the stretch to prevent the wily Zulu getting the better of me. Any mistake might cause endless complications. My pay is £1300, and a suitable Residency is to be built at once for me by the Government.... I had not forgotten you when the appointment was made, but there was nothing at all beyond an ordinary clerkship which I could offer you, and this was certainly not in your line. There is however a good prospect of something worth having turning up in six months from, and then you will hear from me again. Between us I have to report in extenso on the whole question connected with Zululand and the additional officers required to assist me in managing, for the Secretary of State's consideration, but this I will do only after I have been three months in the country, and tomorrow the first month will expire..... /The Zulu / "are submissive and civil to a degree. Almost every day a fine fat ox is presented to me for my dinner that day by some Zulu swell who comes to pay his respects, and hundreds come up to my camp daily with 'Bayetye' slautes thundered forth so as to make the hills ring again."

171 /Osborn retired, went to England and back to SA where he died / "I do not think that his departure from the world grieved him very much, for in addition to the loss of /172/ his son Jack, my ward, he was called upon to endure other heavy sorrows" /Origin of Alston in The Witch's Head. "Osborn was a great believer in the virtue of the raw Kaffir"

/Goes overseas and writes C and his WN using blue books but clearly strongly influenced by his experiences in South African, Shepstone and Osborn. /



Col Col KC Folio 26

*It is more than likely that there are  
all to Chesson*

Z164 JWC-Chesson 2/10/81 (out of order genl crit of Frere's policy not taken)  
Z225 H Escombe- W Grant copy  
Z224 Sir H Robinson to JWC Private On fox hounds not taken  
Z226 Drury Lowe to JWC 23/3 On a gun supposed to be from Mpande's grave <sup>taken</sup> not  
Z227 Undated and unaddressed but written in June 1883 Pbly by JWC  
~~and sexforth will take not from those that are necessary only~~  
Z228 Frances Colenso - Chesson partition undated just after JWC's death taken  
Z229 Message 26/3 from King - by Makeo and Mlilwane -death of Nozitsha -taken  
Z 230 Note on arrival of party from Zululand dated 19/3 not taken

[illegible]

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monstrum. Et si totum animalis non fuerit levius ne est.



RCAS

Col Col KC Folio 26

Z302

RCAS-? undated position of letter

"The Zulu language is not the exactly the same as the Natal Zulu; many phrases are different and are not understood by Natal. Interpreters. Cetywayo is very anxious and afraid\* that Government will send him without me to England. He wishes me to interpret for him in every important discussion. Poor Cetywayo supposes that the English people will send him back to Zululand ~~laden~~ laden with donations. I do hope that the rich people will subscribe for this -purpose as Cetywayo had all his property destroyed during the war. It is a sign of greatness among the natives to give large presents."

Col Col. 73 10110 26

3308

1925-2 undated position of letter

"The 20th January is not the exactly the same as the 20th July; many  
things are different and are not understood by the 20th January. 20th July  
is very anxious and advised that Government will send him without me to  
England. He wishes me to interfere for him in every  
important discussion. 20th July also agrees that the 20th July  
will send him to 20th July 1925. I do not know that  
the 20th July will advise for him - unless as 20th July will  
his property destroyed during the war. It is a great loss among the  
natives to give large resources."



Letters of General C G Gordon to his Sister M.A.Gorton  
London 1888

The Cape <sup>May</sup>~~March~~ 1882 to October 1882

p.261 20/5/82 "I went to see Cetewayo, and felt for him, a dtried to cheer him. I gave him a stick with an ivory head - a beauty - which had been given ~~me~~ by the Sultan of Perak, who was a prisoner at the Seychelles. When I told Cetewayo that I had always been intered in him and he must have hope, with a deep 'Ah!" he pointed upwards. He is a fine savage."

Dymond G C Catching Cobwebs Durban undated  
pp.273-275 Zibhebhu's account allegedly of Msebe.





GH(Z)

748

Z 682

/Letters from St Helana Septeber and October. Paul worried about the  
drink and loss of two oxen spans at Kösdtat. The others about death  
at home\_/

(10)

1947

2 528

Letters from it claim a letter and a letter. The letter about the  
claim the loss of two men and a letter. The letter about the  
at home.



A S ~~apers~~ papers

<u>J W Colenso</u>	3 vols of newscuttings	Some correspondence 1876-1883	Pages 19
Photographs			
<u>Frances Sarah <del>Colenso</del></u>			
<u>Letters from Natal 1878-93</u>			443
<u>Francis Ernest Colenso</u>			
Letters to Sophie	1876-1910		
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<u>Harritette Emily Colenso</u>			5267
Letters from Natal	1876-1930		965
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<u>Frances Ellen <del>Colenso</del></u>			
Letters from Natal 1	1876-87		376
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<u>Emily Robert's wife</u>			
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<u>Sophie Jeanetta</u>	Frank's wife		
Letters to Frank from England and Germany	1876-1909		3890

SECRET

1. The purpose of this document is to provide information regarding the activities of the [redacted] in the [redacted] area. This information is being provided for your information and is not to be distributed outside of your office.

2. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area.

3. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area.

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10. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently active in the [redacted] area.



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SNA

Minute book 1/7/12

Reprt of Acting Secretary for Native Affairs on report of the Zulu Boundary Commission.

I have read the reports of the Commission and regret to find that the gentlemen forming it, report so unfavourably regarding certain of the appointed Chiefs in the Zulu Country. Several of these men were appointed by HE the HC on my recommendation and those I did recommend I considered fully fit and able to undertake the duties accepted by them, and do not see any reason for changing my views on that point. They are all of them men who had held responsible positions under both 'Panda' and 'Cetywayo' and some even under Dingaan;— they are men of influence and all of them still of sufficient intellectual capacity to govern well under a firm and judicious resident. Taking them as a whole they are as fit as any to be found in the country to carry out satisfactorily the duties entrusted to them.

I am surprised at the opinion expressed by the Commission, these gentlemen can have had very little insight into the Zulu Character, and it is hardly possible that during the very short time they were with these men as they traversed the country they could form any true estimate of their capabilities or deficiencies in intellect. 9/1/80

Report of ASNA on report of ZBC / Has read report especially those parts which refer to the character of the Zulu Chiefs aptd to govern the 13 districts / "...nearly if not all these appointments were made on my recommendation, and I shall proceed to state my reasons as far as I can for having placed the names of these men before the HC for the approval of HE.

/Hamu is the son of Mpande who took the wife of his deceased brother Nzibe to raise up an heir to his brothers and is by native law Mpande's nephew, Cet's cousin and a son of Nzibel. Hamu inherited the estates and position of his father which / "was that of Chief councillor of the Country, though not Prime Minister, very state measures being by right submitted to Uhamu before it could be formally discussed by the council of great indunas. Uhamu could not therefore lay any claim to the Zulu Kingship legally, so long as the son of his brother of Cetywayo lived. / The position held by Uhamu was not only the highest in the Country, next the King, \* but one requiring considerable influence and tact to retain under such a government as that of the Zulu - he has always belonged to the moderate or peace party. I had therefore no hesitation whatever in naming Uhamu as one fitted to hold the position assigned him, and have no doubt now as to his qualifications for it. Umgojana son of Somapunga and grandson to Zwile Chief of the once powerful Ndebele tribe that occupied a portion of the present Zulu Country, is in the prime of life is not wanting in intelligence or energy, and ~~xxx~~ possesses from his position as representative of the Ndebele people a certain amount of influence all these qualities combined fit him in my opinion for the position to which he has been appointed by the British Government."

/Zibebhu, cousin to Cet, young energetic influential, held a high position under Cet, and governed a large district and a member of the peace party. With these qualifications I considered him fully fitted to the position. Somkele son of a man of rank among the Umtetwa has been headman of a district under both Mpande and Cetshwayo / "he has always shown ability to govern and though not personally known to me is I am fully satisfied, possessed of the necessary qualifications to govern the district allotted him,



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The 13 chiefs cont 2

which is in fact the same that he was in charge of under the Zulu Government - Somkele may be proud and haughty, but it must be remembered that Somkeli and his people were not harassed by our Troops, nor has he been in the habit of meeting any white men other than hunters and traders, whom he treated as suited his humour or policy. He might therefore attempt to do the same with the commissioners [his messengers tried to keep the commissioners from visiting him.

Umfanwenhelea hereditary chief of the Zungu tribe which before conquest by Umsaka occupied the Ulundi valley. He is about 50 years old with rank under Mande and Cet / "he has never that I can gather taken any active part in Zulu politics, being representative of a tribe once independent, such men are never encouraged to take part in the state affairs of the Country. " / He seemed fit and intelligent enough and with a white r4s would be a useful man Mgitshwa, young quiet unassuming although he is intelligent and possesses influence over the section of Zululand to which he belongs and will govern effectually and well.

Mandela has held the position of governor of the district since Dingane's time, and considered able intelligent and influential.

His with his high position entitled him to consideration and he was made an appointed chief. Like Umekale has had nothing to do with white officials which will explain his conduct to the Commission. He has hardly suffered during the war,

~~Gaozi~~ Gaozi. A man of influence and position under Dingane and the other kings and under Cet was chief of one of the largest districts. Moderate member of the peace party. High living has incapacitated him from moving, but this does not militate against him / "at all the orders or decisions



to be carried out are always effected by subordinates which is the custom among them.

Dunn I have known since a child, he is straightforward and open and known to the HC

Hlubi, previously resident in Weene country, is young small intelligent of good character, distinguished themselves in the 79 war and must be recommended. Faku has always been chief of a district and although suffering from gout has the qualifications to govern the district and capable of undertaking the tasks assigned to him by the H C.

Seketwayo, now elderly and his appearance is off putting has birth, position and intelligence and will continue to govern the district he has been chief of for many years under the Kings.

Thsingwayo is now old but still active, was general in the Zulu army and is well known and esteemed by the Zulus and qualifies for his position.

All these men held responsible positions under Pande and Cet and some under Dingane, have influence and are of sufficient intellectual capacity to govern well under a firm and judicious resident. The Commsrs, in the country for so short a time could not judge them well. / 9/1/80