

Dr. W. J. LEYDEN  
KANTOOR.

# THE PERIL IN NATAL

BY

GEBUZA.

LONDON:

T. FISHER, UNWIN,  
ADELPHI TERRACE.

1906.

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PRICE THREEPENCE NET.

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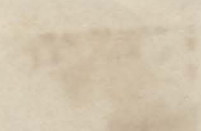
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GENERAL





## CHAPTER I.

## PRELIMINARY.

THE grant of Responsible Government to Natal has not exonerated the Imperial Authorities from their duty to protect the King's Native subjects in that part of South Africa. But it would seem that the Colony's new Constitution renders somewhat obscure the steps which may be taken in that behalf. This much, however, is clear, viz., that the Crown has reserved the right of veto expressly in the case of legislative measures which unequally affect the European and Non-European races in the Colony.

*Limits of  
Imperial  
Government's  
Power of  
protecting  
Natives.*

And from this fact it might be inferred, not unnaturally, on the side of the Natives, that when the Natal Government proceeds to ignore statutory provisions which expressly protect the tribes, as unquestionably it did upon the occasion of the peremptory collection of poll-tax at the beginning of the present year, such conduct would not be passed over in silence by the Colonial Office.

It seems clear, again, that any active employment of British troops against the Natives, on behalf of the

Colonists, would give the paramount Power the right of intervening in the subsequent settlement of affairs.

But the stationing of a British force in the Colony, in order to reassure the European inhabitants, while Colonial troops conduct "testing" expeditions against amazed, but absolutely non-resisting, tribes, accompanied by the destruction, confiscation, and looting of much of their property, does not, it is claimed by most Colonists, involve any alteration in the relations between the two "states." And it is maintained, further, that nothing ought to be done by this country merely under a sense that thereby impending bloodshed may be averted. The complete doctrine is that the parent state must assume that its offspring can do no wrong to the Native population under its charge, and must be prepared to supply troops for the support of the local government whenever it gets into a scrape. With a British Governor on the spot, we are to rest assured that the possibility of serious unconstitutional action on the part of the Colony is a negligible quantity; and in any case the local Courts of Justice (*a*) are open to aggrieved subjects, with, moreover, a bare possibility before them that an appeal therefrom will be allowed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

We may perhaps assume, from the nature of the case, that occasions demanding the exercise of the right of veto will be infrequent, and it may, of course, also be suggested that the claim to our protection, of the King's suffrage-lacking Native subjects, is not likely to be treated with uniform sympathy by varying British Cabinets; so that the complaisance of one Colonial Secretary may conceivably tolerate the coming into existence of mischief-working measures which his

(*a*) See reference to such Courts in judgment of Privy Council, on Petition for leave to Appeal from proceedings of Natal Court Martial, of 2 April, 1906.

successor will desire in vain to see removed from the Statute Book (a).

But those who feel misgivings about Natal's fitness properly to govern her dark-skinned people, would do well carefully to consider the history of their experiences while under the full ægis of Downing Street. The policy inaugurated during the present year notwithstanding, it is thought that the record of Crown Colony administration of their affairs does not furnish very forcible grounds for presuming that an enlargement of the above-defined irreducible minimum of the Great Chief's power, would further safeguard in practice the position of the Natives. At any rate, statesmen here and in South Africa cannot afford at this juncture to forget the lessons of the past. Yet its most significant facts are apparently buried away in Blue-Books, and ignored, while the real difficulties of "the Native question" are obscured by the introduction of false issues on both sides.

*Lessons of Crown  
Colony  
Government  
discouraging.*

On the one hand, for instance, the moral character of the Colonists is assailed, although there is no evidence to show that the "saving remnant" in the Natal European community, "the quiet inarticulate people who believe in probity and honour," are not at least as numerous, in proportion to the population, as they are in this country. Indeed, if the tone of the Colony's newspapers upon the subject of the Natives may be appealed to on this point the relative magnitude of that element would almost appear to be greater in Natal than in the Mother Country.

*Tone of Natal  
Public opinion.*

It is no doubt true that degrading sentiments

(a) As, for example, a law introducing the "Convict Lease" system, *i.e.*, the compulsory assignation of prisoners as servants to individuals; with regard to which system a

Conservative Secretary of State in 1874, expressed his "entire disapproval," adding, "I cannot hesitate to condemn the practice."  
—C. 1,121, p. 90.



expressed by those "of the baser sort" on the spot, about their Black fellow-subjects, have proportionately the more potent influence in a small Colony. But one may often turn with relief to the editorials of the Natal Press from the lucubrations of English journalists under the head of the "Black Peril" (a).

It is an ominous fact that speakers and writers on this side of the globe should continue in these days to harp upon the notion that the outlying districts of Natal are as dangerous as the Sioux-infested backwoods of Fennimore Cooper's novels, or as evil spots in England. The simple truth is that the journals of Natal may be searched in vain, from the date of its occupation, for any instance of Native attacks upon life or property other than individual breaches of the law, such as occur in all communities. A half-century's statistics of Native crimes against Europeans in the Colony would prove to be in striking contrast with the view usually presented of this matter in England.

*Actual experience  
of Colonists  
disregarded.*

When this subject is debated the usual criterion is that of arithmetic (10 Blacks to 1 White), coupled with assumptions as to the necessary tendencies of all savages. No appeal to history is suggested, and for a good reason. The actual experience of the Natal Colonist is uniformly fatal to that theory of peril to the Whites, which has proved in the past to be a source of deadly peril to the Blacks. Attention will be drawn, very briefly, in the following pages, to certain events in the history of the Natives of Natal which throw light upon the difficulties of their position.

(a) Some of the sentiments of our youths, as expressed in accounts of doings at "the front," may not be very nice reading; but such a passage as the following:—"That was a fine bit of work the N.M.R. did last week, getting rid of 60 niggers," which was communicated recently by a proud parent here to a Midland journal, would not be passed by the editor of a Natal newspaper.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE PERIL OF THE BLACKS FROM WHITE PANICS.

AMONG the European inhabitants of such a Colony as Natal, a large number of persons, having a very superficial acquaintance with the Natives themselves, and none at all with their language, view them with all the misgivings of ignorance. *Panicky-Whites.* *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* It has never been difficult to arouse a panic in the minds of that section of the community; but recent comments in the Natal Press bear witness to the contempt with which such alarms are regarded by the more experienced Colonists.

However, a panic is a panic, whether it produces a run upon a bank, a rush from a theatre, or a "going into laager," and one can only appeal to the governing classes to assert the claims of reason in this matter. As the late Lord Blachford said, in condemning Frere's policy:—"We might be told to obey our 'instincts of self-preservation.' No doubt the instinct of self-preservation was one of the most necessary of our instincts, but it was also one of those which we had in common with the lowest brute—one of those which we were most frequently called on to keep in order. It

*Lord Blachford  
on instincts of  
self-preservation.*



was in obedience to the instinct of self-preservation that a coward ran away in battle. . . . a nervous woman jumped out of a carriage, and one man in a fright fired at another, who he thought meant to do him an injury, though he had not yet shown any sign of an intention of doing so. . . . A reasonable determination to do that which our safety requires, so far as it is consistent with our duty to others, is the duty and interest of every man. To evade an appeal to the claims of reason and justice, by a clamorous allegation of our animal instinct, is to abdicate our privileges as men and revert to brutality" (a).

*Penalties inflicted  
on Natives by  
Panics.*

The penalties attending the recent panics in various parts of Natal were, in the case of the Europeans, limited to indirect pecuniary losses, deserted property and premises having been scrupulously respected by the Natives upon all occasions. But panic on the part of the White man, accompanied by martial movements and every sort of menace, at once engendered panic among the kraals, with ultimate results of a very different kind.

*Misikofeli's case.*

Thus a rumour got about among the men of Misikofeli's tribe that the person of their chief was in danger. They caught up their assegais and assembled at their induna's signal; but, upon finding that the rumour was groundless, "they immediately returned to their respective homes." "There was nothing whatever in the evidence," says a censored report, "to show that they intended to resist Col. McKenzie's force." For this behaviour a court-martial, presided over by that officer, sentenced seven men to death and thirty to various lesser sentences. The death sentences were subsequently commuted by the Governor, imprisonment with hard labour for ten years in one case, and for seven in six others being substituted, much to the dissatisfaction of panic-struck Colonists.

(a) "History of Zulu War," Miss Frances E. Colenso,  
2nd Edition, p. 196.

The paralysing effect of an atmosphere of panic upon the minds of persons in a judicial position is, again, very forcibly illustrated by the following case:— Paul, the brother of Chief Gobizembe, “is serving his six months’ sentence,” says another censored report, “but the lashes have not been administered, he being considered too old and feeble” (a). *Paul's case.*

The offence for which this old man was convicted, was, “setting the civil authority at defiance.” The case may be described as one of conniving at “passive resistance” on the part of members of his tribe in connection with a demand for payment of poll-tax, in flat disregard of a statutory provision which purported to protect the Natives; but of course the point which is so shocking about it is the sheer barbarity of pronouncing such a sentence upon an aged man.

A correspondent, whose letter appeared in the *Times of Natal*, on the 28th of May last, and who thanks that journal for its “bold stand” on the subject of a recent Native Pass Ordinance, says:— *The “cat” and rebellion.*

“If one thing more than another has contributed to this Native rebellion it is the ‘cat.’ I do not deny there are cases where a flogging would be justified, but for having no pass simply is absurdly wicked. A Native *Kolwa* [‘convert’] asked me a few days ago why white men do not get the cat. Are there not plenty of bad Whites?”

Paul, be it remembered, was not a young man, convicted of some crime of violence. The “salutary example” proposed to be offered in the King’s name to “restless” tribes, was that of torture inflicted upon the person of a venerable old man and a Chief’s brother, found guilty of an offence as above described, at the end of his otherwise blameless life. *Outrage to feelings of Zulus*

(a) The *Natal Witness*, 24 March, 1906.





Those who have a real knowledge of that high-spirited race, the Zulus, can easily imagine the effect upon their minds of the news that such an outrage might possibly await any one of them, irrespective of age or of the honour in which he might be held.

It must be remembered that the veil of Martial Law has concealed, so far, nearly the whole of these proceedings from the knowledge of the Natal public. But the light let in by the little reference which slips out, thanks no doubt to the presence of a gaol physician as guardian angel, is painfully suggestive of a policy which to the Zulus must have all the appearance of a mad design to force them into the position of "rebels," by compelling them to defend in despair all that our common humanity holds most dear.

If the European in Natal, basing his conclusions merely upon *a priori* ideas of what an untried "horde of savages" may be expected to do to a numerically insignificant body of "settlers," and, disregarding the uniform experience of his own particular Colony, is justified in raising alarmist cries about the "Black Peril," what may be conceded to the Native? On his side a very convincing experience is accumulating, not indeed of ill-usage at the hands of the Colonists generally, but of a "White Peril" engendered by a combination between bureaucracy and panic, and not a little influenced by colour prejudice, the existence of which in our Colonial Empire, however inexplicable in the eyes of a minority of us, it would be absurd to deny.

The Native tribes, with no means of defence against the maxim gun, and the very latest type of repeating-rifle (*a*), but assegais or knobkerries, supplemented in Zululand by a few more or less antiquated firearms (*b*),

(*a*) See a recent telegram as found in the Inkandhla attributes to the satisfactory effect of the latest life-destroying invention. the insignificance of the results produced by their use to their

(*b*) A description of the guns type and condition.

Natives need  
protection from  
White scare-  
makers.



might well be excused if they lost their heads at the spectacle of fugitive White folk, and the consequent appearance of the Government's irresistible "mowing" machines (a).

Whatever other reasonable claims "Ethiopianism" may be able to advance, it may at least justly demand a suppression of White scare-makers, not less stern than that which has been employed to silence the silly chatter of town Natives.

Before the period of martial tyranny set in, Natal was for two or three years disturbed by "rumours of Native unrest." Governmental reports bear witness to what the responsible officials, after investigation, thought of these rumours. There is no evidence that pains and penalties have been visited upon a single White miscreant for the sedulous propaganda of the present year. To the Native community the promoters of panics among the Europeans must appear in the light of the most dangerous conceivable enemies of society. What confidence can the Natives be invited to place in rulers who, for silly utterances, inflict the lash upon a multitude of irresponsible Black youths, but let White firebrands go scot free?

We shall be told, no doubt, that as the Government are "in possession of evidence that the tribes have been conspiring to rise, etc., etc.," such considerations may be disregarded. To this we can reply, in a popular phrase:—"We know that 'evidence'; it comes from"—persons who must be most gravely, most terribly, compromised, should it not be found to stand the test of strict judicial investigation. Until such a test shall have been applied, and with real impartiality, the circumstances of the case compel us to regard the present story of a Native conspiracy as being very much on the footing of "Dr. Titus Oates his plot."

*Presumption  
against  
Government.  
Theory of plot to  
rise.*

(a) If one may use a variant of a well-known phrase.

It must be remembered that we possess an inexhaustible store of examples to show the facility with which "conviction" is produced in non-judicial minds.

As long ago as the 30th September, 1878, for example, Sir B. Frere wrote:—"An attempt of Native tribes to combine to resist the White man and drive him back, has been long foreseen. *There can be no doubt* that this design is now in process of attempted execution" (a).

If ever a conclusion was stultified, this was so by the events of the very next year; and from that time to the present, the behaviour of the tribes of Natal and Zululand has uniformly strengthened the presumptions against the value of such vaticinations.

(a) Parl. Papers, G. 2,220, p. 278.

## CHAPTER III.

## HISTORY OF EARLIER PANICS IN NATAL.

ONLY three earlier panics have occurred in Natal Panic of 1861. during the whole course of its history, viz., the scares of 1861, 1873 and 1879. Of these, the first arose from fear of an invasion by the Zulus. Sir T. Shepstone wrote of this panic that it "was a serious alarm which turned out to have no real foundation, though it cost the Colony a considerable sum of money" (a). He adds, "With this exception those benefits—viz., quiet to Zululand and relief of all anxiety in Natal—have continued to this day" (b); while Sir H. Bulwer, writing of the intercourse between Natal and Zululand, says:—"This intercourse is in the nature of things frequent and intimate, and has been so ever since the establishment of Natal as a British Colony 30 years ago; and it has been effectual in maintaining peace and goodwill between

(a) The present writer has a vivid recollection of being roused out of sleep, as a small boy, at midnight, to be told that "Cetshwayo was coming," and to be taken over the hills by ox-

waggon to Pietermaritzburg, whither a neighbouring Dutch farmer had fled earlier in the night.

(b) Blue-Book, 1,137 of 1874, p. 6.



this Government and the Zulus" (a). And so also, four years later, wrote Dean Green, of Maritzburg: "They," the Zulus, "never went to war with us, nor we with them. They have never been accused of stealing a sheep, or an ox, or a horse, from the Natal side" (b).

*Isandhlwana.*

To take next, the scare which came third in point of time, the panic after the news of Isandhlwana may briefly be noted. This scare passed away as the weeks went by, and the Zulus continued to respect our 100 miles and more of border, in obedience to their ruler's orders that no offensive measures were to be taken against the English outside the Zulu frontier (c).

*Langalibalele.*

The second of the three panics, however, that of 1873, demands a longer notice.

In his despatch to Lieut.-Governor Pine, of 3rd December, 1874, Lord Carnarvon sums up the conclusions at which he had arrived with respect to the difficulties that had arisen between the Government of Natal and the tribes of Langalibalele and Putini. These tribes, the one numbering 10,000 people and the other 5,000, had been dispersed and destroyed by that Government. The former tribe had been outlawed, its Chief transported for life, and one of his sons for five years, while six other sons and 189 men had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for terms of 2, 3, 5, 7 or 20 years. More than 200, including many old men, women and children, who had fled for refuge to caves and bushes, had been killed (d). Two thousand women and children had been captured, and

(a) 25th November, 1875. Blue-Book, 1,748, p. 15.

(b) *Guardian*, 10th December, 1879.

(c) The writer has before him now a printed page of instructions, which were issued to the inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg,

with reference to the six laagers, into which we were to retreat "with all speed," upon the firing of a fourth gun from Fort Napier.

(d) Native levies having been employed as auxiliaries to the Government forces.

were offered at one time by the Government as servants, for three years, on certain conditions, to "farmers and others," though this project was afterwards abandoned, and in some cases their friends in the Colony had recovered them by paying for them 10s. a head.

The lands of both tribes had been confiscated; their cattle, goats, &c., and all their property of every kind had been seized by the Government, or looted by the Government force, cattle and horses to the value of £20,000 having been seized in Putini's tribe alone. And on 31st December, 1874, and 1st January, 1875, the Military, Volunteers, and Native Levies were employed in burning down some thousands of huts belonging to the two tribes, with all the property which could not be carried off—*e.g.*, large stores of grain—over an extent of country as large as the County of Middlesex.

The reason alleged for all these proceedings was a charge of "treason" and "rebellion" brought against Langalibalele, and a charge of "complicity in such rebellion" brought against the adjoining tribe of Putini (*a*).

Lord Carnarvon gave the following summary of the facts of this case, as they appear from the proceedings of the Court which inquired into the charges against the Chief:—

*Summary of facts  
by Lord  
Carnarvon.*

Langalibalele and his tribe were refugees from Zululand in the year 1849. They were received by the Government of Natal, and were allowed to live in the Colony upon condition that they occupied a portion of the base of the Drakensberg, and discharged certain duties necessary for the protection of the County of Weenen.

These duties were to close and guard the mountain passes against the inroads of bushmen.

(*a*) *Vide* Bishop Colenso's defence of the Chief, published as Blue-Book C-1,141, of 1875.



For some time previous to the spring of 1873 there had been disputes between Mr. Macfarlane, the Resident Magistrate, and Langalibalele (*a*), and in April of that year a messenger was sent to summon the Chief to appear at Pietermaritzburg, to answer for his conduct before the Colonial Government. On his failure to appear when twice summoned, a third message was sent to him by the Secretary for Native Affairs, dated October 4th, 1873, in which he was required, in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor as Supreme Chief, to appear at Pietermaritzburg within fourteen days after the receipt of the message and to answer for his conduct.

Langalibalele refused to appear in answer to this summons, pleading fear and illness; and it was also alleged that he treated the messenger sent to him with gross indignity.

The Lieutenant-Governor in Council, finding that the Chief did not appear, determined to send a force to invest the country occupied by the tribe. A portion of this force, on arriving at the Bushman's River Pass, found a number of the tribe in the act of driving their cattle across the border, under the command of one of Langalibalele's chief men. After a parley, orders were given to the force to retire; and while they were in the act of retiring they were fired upon, and, most unhappily, five of them were killed, three Europeans and two Natives.

Langalibalele, who at the time was in advance with another portion of the tribe, was afterwards taken and was put upon his trial before a Court composed of the

(*a*) Lord Carnarvon adds:— character, and on subjects of  
 “ Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary for minor importance.’ Only two  
 for Native Affairs, says, with instances are touched upon by  
 respect to the disputes between Mr. Macfarlane, both of which  
 the Chief and the Magistrate, appear to me to have been  
 that they were mostly of ‘a minor explained.”



Lieutenant-Governor, sitting as Supreme Chief, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and certain Magistrates, Native Chiefs and Indunas. He was tried under what was stated to be Native Law, though the procedure adopted was, in some degree, modelled upon the forms of an English Court. He was without the assistance of counsel to speak or cross-examine witnesses on his behalf. He was found guilty of certain charges in the indictment against him, and was sentenced to banishment or transportation for life to such place as the Supreme Chief or Lieutenant-Governor might appoint, and this sentence having been confirmed upon appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, was carried into effect by the prisoner being conveyed to Robben Island, within the limits of the Cape Colony, for confinement therein, the Cape Legislature having passed an Act for the purpose of enabling this course to be taken.

Langalibalele's tribe, the Amahlubi, were broken up and dispersed, their lands were taken away, and many of them, including sons of Langalibalele, were condemned to various terms of imprisonment [all with hard labour] (a).

Lord Carnarvon, who not only had had before him for some months the full reports of the Colonial Government, but also had had the advantage of the presence in England, as spokesman of that Government, of Mr. T. Shepstone, found, "after weighing all the circumstances of the case with the most anxious care," that the material offence actually established against Langalibalele amounted to this:—"That having been thrice

(a) *See* Defence, p. 188. "Among the convicts were a number of feeble old grey-heads, whose guilt was merely that they 'did agree and conspire to withdraw into fastnesses or other places of concealment,' from the approach of the terrible Govern-  
ment force; or that they 'did wrongfully and illegally, and with rebellious intent, remove or assist to remove, the cattle of the tribe.'" There was not much "hard labour" to be got out of these.

“ summoned before the Government, he at first neglected,  
 “ then refused, to come, and finally, having so disobeyed  
 “ the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, he endeavoured  
 “ to fly from the jurisdiction of the Colonial Government  
 “ with his tribe and cattle.”

Lord Carnarvon added—

“ For this, which he knew to be a serious crime  
 “ according to all the traditions and usages of his people,  
 “ he has justly deserved punishment; but the sentence  
 “ passed upon him punishes him for treason, sedition  
 “ and rebellion, and is, in my judgment, far too severe,  
 “ and I have felt it my duty to advise the Queen that it  
 “ should be mitigated.”

With regard to the treatment of the Putini tribe, little more is necessary than to cite, from the “ Introduction ” which is prefixed to the Official Records of the Trials of the Chief, his sons, and members of his tribe, the following passage :—

“ The tribe has been hardly dealt with ; its dispersal  
 “ was a grave blunder . . . we may hope the Govern-  
 “ ment will be brave enough to retrace a step apparently  
 “ unwarranted, which has occasioned great loss and  
 “ hardships to innocent members of the tribe, and, as a  
 “ restitution is possible, do what it can to remedy a State  
 “ blunder, which could only have been committed *during*  
 “ *a time of panic. Natives have a keen sense of justice,*  
 “ and we hope their expectations in this case will be  
 “ justified by the action of the Government ” (a).

This view was that taken also by Lord Carnarvon, who wrote to Governor Pine of this tribe :—“ Their losses cannot, I fear, now be entirely replaced or repaired, but as far as reparation can be made without lowering the influence, or endangering the authority, of the local Government, it must be done.”

(a) The publishers of this “ Introduction ” stated at the time to an enquirer, that their MS. had been submitted to, and approved by the Secretary for Native Affairs.

*Admission of  
 blunder in case of  
 Putini Tribe.*



Such being the results of an investigation so full and painful, by a Minister of State anxious to give every legitimate weight to the circumstances of the Natal Executive, what are we to conclude from the fact that in May, 1874, seventy, or 'nearly all,' of the Christian Ministers and Missionaries of Natal, supported Sir B. Pine, with a memorial in which they made the following statement:—"That being well acquainted with the "rebellion of Langalibalele, and the campaign which "followed, we feel and affirm that the action of the "Natal Government was throughout humane, lenient, "just and urgently necessary" ?

*Seventy  
Ministers'  
Memorial.*

In the Defence, to which reference has been made, Bishop Colenso wrote (a) with regard to this memorial, "They merely stated their own belief. . . and, with "the information they possessed, it was very natural that "they should do so," adding:—

"The inhabitants of Durban also, and those of Alexandra County were very unanimous in expressing "their belief in the humanity of the measures taken by "the Government against the two tribes, and their "indignation against those who thought differently. "And there is no doubt that their sentiments were "shared at the time by 'Colonists of all grades and "professions.' Yet the number of those who thought "otherwise—though their voice was almost hushed amidst "the storm—was not inconsiderable then, and has been "since steadily increasing". . . "It is well-known," further wrote the Bishop (b), "that the 'eating up' of "Putini's tribe was regarded at the time as just and "righteous by three out of four of the Colonial "journals. . . And this view was shared by the "great majority of the Colonists, *e.g.*, by those who "signed the Durban Memorial to the Secretary of State, "which expressly claims credit for the Colonists for

*Other Memorials.*



“ having carried on wholly at their own cost ‘ the expedi-  
 “ tions against the rebel tribes,’ following in this the lead  
 “ of the Legislative Council, which had voted its  
 “ thanks to the different officials, etc., who had  
 “ taken part in ‘ punishing the rebellious tribes of  
 “ Langalibalele and Putini’ . . . And thus it  
 “ appears that the editors of the three journals, with  
 “ the great majority of the Colonists and the members  
 “ of the Legislature, not to speak of the seventy  
 “ ‘ ministers of all denominations,’ who have committed  
 “ themselves to the same view, have been altogether  
 “ mistaken in this matter, not being, of course,  
 “ acquainted sufficiently with the facts of the case.  
 “ This suggests, however, the possibility that, when the  
 “ facts are rightly known, it will be seen that the  
 “ treatment of Langalibalele’s tribe has also been ‘ a  
 “ State blunder, committed during a time of panic,’  
 “ through the effect produced by Mahoiza’s [the  
 “ Government messenger’s] lying, followed immediately  
 “ by the affair at the Pass. Putini’s tribe, says the  
 “ writer [of the introduction cited above], had not  
 “ ‘ committed any overt act’ of rebellion, nor ‘ offered  
 “ any active resistance to the Government forces.’ Nor  
 “ had the Ama Hlubi, within the borders of the Colony ;  
 “ for it is absurd to speak of shots fired from caves and  
 “ bushes by a few miserable fugitives defending their  
 “ women and children, as ‘ active resistance’ on the  
 “ part of the tribe.”

*Rebels respect  
 persons of  
 Europeans.*

It should be noted that, with the exception of the fatal tragedy at the Pass—the work of excited and unruly young men, provoked, it was alleged, by the conduct of our allies, the Basutos, in stabbing the tribe’s cattle—the respect shown by the Natives, from first to last throughout this *Aufbruch*, for the persons and property of Europeans, was very striking, the three Carbineers being the only Europeans who lost their lives

during the expedition. When our Native levies came to attack fugitives in their hiding places, these had little scruple in firing. But White men, it was stated by several, might pass close by some place of concealment, and no attempt would be made to injure them.

Lord Carnarvon, at the end of his despatch, says:—  
 “I am glad to be able to conclude my observations on this very painful subject by expressing the Queen’s appreciation of the general kindness and justice with which the Natives of Natal have, for many years, been treated by the white population. The large and increasing numbers of the Kaffirs within the Colony is of itself a refutation of any general charge of unkindly treatment; and nothing can be more undeserved than any allegation that the European Colonists have been in the habit of acting with cruelty or oppression.”

*General kindness  
and justice of  
Natalians.*

The more, however, we repose confidence in the humane disposition, in general, of our own kith and kin, in their difficult and responsible positions abroad, the more forcible (a) is the warning which is conveyed by the effects of panic as disclosed in the story of the Hlubi and Putini Tribes.

(a) The writer of an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, of the 5th inst., will agree with this.

## CHAPTER IV.

## NATIVE FEARS FOR THE FUTURE.

THOSE of our readers who are familiar with the story, will recognise that no fuller account of the Langalibalele affair has been attempted in the last chapter than was required for its purpose. But the following passage, extracted from the defence which was laid before the Secretary of State on behalf of the Chief, may be given here, as conveying forcibly, a practical lesson for the present emergency in Natal.

*Bishop Colenso's  
warning.*

In commenting upon a "trial" which even Earl Grey, in his defence of Pine's action, did not scruple to call "a farce," Bishop Colenso wrote (a):—"And how many chiefs throughout the Colony have felt that their position is henceforth utterly insecure—that when a man can be tried and condemned in such a way as this, their own bitter hour may come, if difficulties at any time should arise between themselves and the Magistrate or the Secretary for Native Affairs—and that, if Langalibalele has been the victim now of false

(a) Page 190.



“representations of Indunas and hasty judgments, no  
 “one of them is safe? I believe that such thoughts as  
 “these are very rife among the Natives. And because  
 “I know that such a state of feeling—however it may  
 “be smothered and suppressed for a time,—is most  
 “dangerous to the future peace of the Colony, as well  
 “as from a simple desire to see mistakes corrected and  
 “justice done in the present instance, I feel bound to lay  
 “the facts, as plainly as I can, before my fellow-  
 “countrymen here and in England.”

In controversies about the South African Native question, there emerges, with striking clearness, one point at least of general agreement between experts. The Native “has a very keen sense of justice.” In official writings of old there is no lack of recognition of this truth: it was advanced, as we have seen, as an agreement for restitution in the case of the Putini tribe; and it is a commonly accepted tenet among men “on the spot” at this moment.

*Natives' "keen  
 "sense of justice."*

For more than half a century this keen sense of justice has been fostered under a judicial system which, as regards both its principles and its administration, will compare favourably with that of any other similarly-circumstanced British Settlement.

And now, all of a sudden, the ground slips away from under the Natives' feet. There is no war raging in the land, yet the “due course of law” is abandoned, and white men jeer at an appeal to the first principles of justice.

What pathos there is, to some of us at least, in the following incidents which occurred in March last:—

After the bombardment by Leuchars of a chief's kraal in the Mapumulo district, and the “punishment” of “the whole tribe,” for the alleged insubordinate demeanour earlier in the year of some of their young men, “the induna Tshevuza,” we are told, “created

some amusement by asking for a receipt for the stock captured belonging to his people. Col. Leuchars curtly replied, 'no receipt would be issued.'

Again, when the bombardment took place, the chief indunas, coming forward, ventured to ask the meaning of this ruthless act, and were told:—"It is the voice of the Supreme Chief."

*Governor of Natal  
and Native  
editor.*

Nor was the actual voice of the representative of our great King more reassuring, when subsequently addressed to Dube, the editor of a native newspaper, the "Star of Natal." His publication had been denounced in the European Press of the Colony as "a dangerous organ," "as seditious and treasonable as it could possibly be," and one that "should most certainly be suppressed under Martial Law,"—this outburst having been aroused by an innocent article bearing a heading which, through a blunder in translation, was read as an inflammatory appeal to the Natives. While the word "rise" in English does duty both for "rise from slumber," and rise in rebellion," in Zulu "*Vuka*" is used for the former signification and "*Vukela*" for the latter; and the mistake made in the translation of Dube's heading was precisely as if the line "Arise my Soul," should be rendered "Revolt my Soul." What the editor said, both in heading and in article, was, "Native folk, awake"—awake, that is, from your ignorance, and learn.

Judging from the three or four copies of this Native paper that the present writer has read, it would appear to be edited with a "trembling" care which places it quite beyond the risk of any legitimate interference with it on the part of the authorities; and a Court-Martial would, it is thought, discover that it was a description of evidence rather awkward to found upon.

However, His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum was otherwise advised, and accordingly requested an inter-



view with the Editor at Government House. A report of the dialogue which there ensued is printed in Dube's journal of the 25th May last, and can hardly be supposed to be worded otherwise than with scrupulous accuracy. The following extract from it will suffice for our purpose:—

“The Governor wanted to know in what respect  
“have the authorities showed injustice to the Natives.”

“Mr. Dube said that they had taken away the  
“cattle of loyal Natives, who were not even present at  
“their homes when this disturbance took place.

“The Governor asked if Mr. Dube did not know  
“that, according to Bantu custom, if a section of  
“the tribe offended the Government they were all  
“punished ?

“Mr. Dube said that he knew that, but did not  
expect it from the English Government.”

This is setting back the hands of the clock with a vengeance. Not a word more seems to have passed on the subject. The Governor did not, it will be observed, rest his case upon Martial Law, and the plea of necessity. His Excellency took his stand upon “Native Law,” a system which, it was admitted by Mr. T. Shepstone in the Langalibalele case, was, “as a matter of course, to be here administered according to the first principles of justice and equity,” and which could not nowadays be relied upon before the Courts of Justice in the Colony as justifying the despotic proceedings in question.

Between the Yahoos, of whom a fair share are dumped upon the shores of Natal, and the respectable members of our kind, the Native may be excused for making a wide distinction. Otherwise questions of “equality” of race never trouble the average tribesman's thoughts. To him an *Umlungu* is an *Umlungu*, and the latter has only himself to thank for it if he does not



command the Black man's respect. One sort of "equality," however, Natives of all sorts must be expected ever to demand, and that is equal protection by the Courts of Justice in respect of those primary legal rights which are common to all British subjects irrespective of colour or sex.

## CHAPTER V.

## AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

MR. HARDRESS O'GRADY, late of the Natal Education Department, writing to the *Daily News* recently, says: "On my honour, I can state . . . that a carefully-laid plan of a comprehensive rising existed; that Mveli was one of the leaders; that Dinuzulu had promised help, and that only the precipitate action of Mveli's young bloods in murdering Inspector Hunt before the preparations were complete saved Natal from a massacre last February." Mr. O'Grady's statement cannot be regarded, *per se*, as being more conclusive of the issue involved to-day than was the seventy ministers' declaration, in 1874, of the matters about which they were so positive. But, the allegations made by him, except as to Dinuzulu, are precisely those of the Natal Ministry.

That Ministry have promised an enquiry into the Natives' grievances. Is not the greatest of these to be seen in the fact that the tribes have been condemned already, in effect, without trial, on a charge of conspiring to rebel?

Surely it must be regarded as being before all things requisite, in the interests of all concerned, that the cessation of Martial Law should be followed, as soon as possible, by an impartial investigation of the gravest of all charges under which a Native population can lie. Obviously such an enquiry, to satisfy the demands of commonsense, must be conducted before persons of high judicial training, such as the Chief Justice of Natal and the President of the Native High Court.

Officials who have acted throughout under a sense of public duty, and according to the best of their judgment, need have no misgivings about facing the ordeal of such an inquisition; and if the proceedings were open, with full representation by counsel on all sides, whatever the finding of the tribunal, a new era of public confidence might be expected to be the result, such as no other line of procedure can for a moment be supposed likely to establish.

On reading the accounts of how the desperate valour of the more warlike tribes on the Zulu border had been aroused, few Englishmen could fail to extend the fullest sympathy to the lads of our race who had been summoned out to do their duty. But when a conflict is raging in which "men, white or black, find themselves "in circumstances which inflame their passions and, for "the moment, destroy their self-command, and almost "obliterate the sense of moral responsibility" (a), the obvious duty of civilised persons, for whom it cannot be pleaded that they are carried away by the mania of the battlefield, is to abstain from words which may help to fan the evil conflagration. Yet so little is this elementary rule observed, that here in a Christian country, zealous for the spread of religion, a journal of position and influence can actually bring itself to recommend with emphasis the employment against the Zulus of "the methods of Joshua."

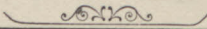
(a) Mr. T. Shepstone.



Moreover, we must remember that not less allowance than that which is claimed in the case of British combatants, must be made for the frenzy of Zulus who, with red ruin spreading over their peaceful homes, are driven to face the deadly Rexer, and to see their own kith and kin slaughtered by hundreds. Anything, indeed, may be expected of men acting under the influence of such frenzy, more especially if it be intensified by a hopeless sense of injustice, a horrible conviction of undeserved injury.

Whatever the Zulu side of this amazing history may prove to be, we can admit, at any rate, without laying ourselves open to the charge of "pro Zuluism," that the rebels have yet to tell their own story.

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