

it, since he did not think it could be prevented.²¹⁵ It was an ironic coincidence that he became more reconciled to annexation as Harriette grew more and more disenchanted with Natal and unenthusiastic about - though never vehemently opposed to - the incorporation of Zululand in Natal. In July 1897 H.E. Colenso wrote that she 'did not altogether enjoy' Clarke's attitude.²¹⁶

Although Clarke's views were moulded by considerations of sound policy, it is plain too that he did not find his own position in Zululand satisfying, and that disillusionment grew after January 1895 when the return of the Exiles was aborted. Clarke was very aware of the difference in the patterns of social cohesion and past experiences in Basutoland and Zululand,²¹⁷ but there was another important difference. When Clarke took over Basutoland, its status as a crown territory was assured and unchallenged by any ambitions from a neighbouring colony, for the Cape had thankfully abandoned its responsibility for the government of Basutoland. By contrast, Natalians assumed that the crown colony rule in Zululand would be only temporary. They were consequently hostile to policies that were opposed to Natal's long term interests. Clarke was happier in his Basutoland post and, it seems, expected to return to it.²¹⁸

His increasing impatience at the impasse in Zulu affairs since 1895 shaped his advice: he counselled the Colonial Office to agree to annexation and to yield to Natal over the conditions of annexation, while warning the Natalians of dangers ahead. In his interview at the Colonial Office Clarke recommended that the annexation to Natal should be expedited because he thought that the uncertainty about the future was a blight on the administration of Zululand.²¹⁹ He convinced the Colonial Office of the need for great care, especially when land was delimited to make provision for white purchase and settlement in the 'unreserved' area, but he was also willing to meet Natal's wishes by halving the period during which white settlement would be delayed. It was cut from ten

215. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram conveying views of Natal government on repatriation, 20 Jan.1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 25 Jan.1897.

216. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 July 1897.

217. *Ibid.*, M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 20 Dec.1897.

218. Lagden Papers: M. Clarke to G. Lagden, 22 No.1893, 6 Jan., 3 Mar. and 23 Nov.1894, 22 June 1897.

219. See fn.215.

years (proposed in 1894) to five years (suggested in the minute of 17 May 1897).²²⁰ Although adamant that a wise policy would recognise Dinuzulu's 'central position' - a view which he thought Escombe shared - Clarke recommended that the Colonial Office agree to the deletion of the word 'confidant' from the description of Dinuzulu's position. He claimed that the omission of the word from the English translation would not affect the gist of the Zulu version.²²¹ Clarke was not a Zulu linguist.²²² Paradoxically, though Clarke mistrusted Natal and wanted Dinuzulu's position to be safeguarded, yet he probably damaged Harriette's hopes for Dinuzulu when he agreed with those in the Colonial Office who prophesied that Natal would treat Dinuzulu 'like a nigger' and that the young Zulu leader would not be able to maintain the poise and skills in civilized behaviour that he had acquired in St Helena. The prophecy was disquieting: if, as such pessimism suggested, Dinuzulu was inevitably doomed, there was little point in defending an anachronistic definition of his role.²²³

Instead the Colonial Office toyed with the idea of allowing Dinuzulu to visit Britain and even gave some thought to locating him permanently in Britain, but both ideas were dropped.²²⁴ Clearly, while the Colonial Office wanted to honour the assurances that Ripon had given to Dinuzulu, there was no driving conviction behind that wish. What mattered was the desire to avoid criticism,²²⁵ not a robust confidence that the Ripon-Clarke proposals for Dinuzulu could work in the changed circumstances created by the incorporation of Zululand with Natal.

Reassuring the Colonial Office that the Zulus would be indifferent to the actual transfer of authority, Clarke insisted that the land delimitation would be crucial, even perilous. He

220. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 20 Jan.1897. Minute by J.W. Just, 25 Jan. and 17 Feb.1897.

221. C.O.179/199/12787: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, confidential, 21 May 1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 15 and 16 June 1897.

222. N.A., Col.Coll: M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 22 June 1897.

223. C.O.179/198/4985: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 8 Mar.1897. Minute by F. Graham, 10 Mar.1897; C.O.179/198/8503: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 23 Apr.1897. Minute by F. Graham, 29 Apr.1897. Lagden Papers: M. Clarke to G. Lagden, 2 Jan.1894.

224. C.O.179/198/8503: Letter of Revd Barraclough to C.O., 17 Feb.1897. Minute by F. Graham, 29 Apr.1897.

225. *Ibid.*, Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 23 Apr.1897, query by Chamberlain, 29 Apr.1897. with reply by E. Wingfield, 3 May 1897. C.O.179/199/10043: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 11 Aug.1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 13 May 1897. C.O.179/199/12801: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., 14 June 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 15 June 1897.

did not, however, think that even a five-year delay was 'sacred', nor did he attach much importance to a joint imperial-colonial commission, whatever its value for British public opinion. He suggested instead that the Secretary of State explicitly insist on power to veto delimitation decisions. Although the Colonial Office retained the idea of a joint imperial-colonial commission, what is interesting is that Clarke was prepared to accept immediate agreement at the price of possible future dispute.²²⁶

It was after Clarke's interview at the Colonial Office and partly as a result of his counsel, that Chamberlain at length accepted as inevitable a tandem policy linking the repatriation of the chiefs with the incorporation of Zululand. This marked a shift in the attitude of the Secretary of State to which Clarke clearly contributed. Previously Chamberlain had hoped to keep separate the two issues of annexation and repatriation. As recently as his conversations with Sir John Robinson, the Secretary of State was vigorous in his insistence that repatriation was an imperial issue and strong, too, in his attempt to persuade Robinson not to insist on coupling with this the incorporation of Zululand with Natal.²²⁷ But Natal was not to be persuaded. Even before Robinson resigned as Premier, the Natal ministry had reiterated its 1895 position: the chiefs should return under the government to which they would subsequently be responsible, *i.e.* annexation to Natal should precede repatriation.²²⁸ Escombe, who succeeded Robinson as Premier, did not have his predecessor's hesitations about annexation.²²⁹ It was clear, therefore, that whatever the rights and wrongs of the constitutional position, the goodwill of Natal would have to be secured before the chiefs were repatriated. The Colonial Office therefore turned to the task of working out an agreement with Natal about the conditions of annexation and the question of repatriation. It nevertheless insisted that the chiefs were to return, and to return soon.

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226. C.O.179/199/12787: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, confidential, 21 May 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 16 June 1897. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 20 Jan.1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 17 Feb.1897, on Conditions of the Incorporation of Zululand with Natal.
227. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 20 Jan.1897. Minute by Chamberlain, 5 Feb.1897.
228. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 20 Jan.1897. C.O.179/197/3226: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 12 Feb.1897.
229. Chamberlain Papers, J.C.10/7/16: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, private, 5 Feb.1896. C.O.179/197/3226: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 12 Feb.1897. Minute by Selborne, 13 Feb.1897.

Clarke's advice softened whatever inclination there was on the part of the Colonial Office to take a strong line with Natal. It is ironic that this happened during the months when Harriette, disillusioned with Natal, looked to the Colonial Office to be firm in its defence of the interests of the Exiles and the Zulu people and - except for an occasional twinge of doubt - was confident that Clarke's advice to the Colonial Office would be in the interests of those she championed. As Clarke saw the position, however, the options for the Colonial Office were limited: it could and should (and it did) warn Natal against policies that were dangerous (for example, the uncontrolled and premature appropriation of the land in Zululand) but it should not prevent or delay the incorporation, nor insist on really explicit and effective safeguards for the position of the Exiles, if that insistence jeopardised settlement.²³⁰ Harriette sometimes appropriated Sir Marshal as a supporter, but he did not really endorse her views, even though their personal relations were remarkably cordial. Significantly, he avoided calling at St Helena to see the Exiles.²³¹

What mattered in 1897 were the terms of the agreement between the Colonial Office and Natal. If annexation was to be carried, the Natal legislature and the Natal electorate - due to elect a new legislature in September - would have to be convinced that there was more to gain than to fear from the incorporation of Zululand with Natal.

There were reasons for delay in Natal (where anti-Indian agitation reached crisis point in January²³² and where the premiership changed hands) and in Britain (where the committee of enquiry into the Jameson Raid began its deliberations).²³³ It was not until May that discussion about the conditions on which Zululand was to be annexed crystallised into parliamentary agreement. There was a tug of wills and some subtle word play over the publication of the conditions, which were eventually published in the form of a Governor's minute of 17 May.²³⁴ Chamberlain tried to insist that the terms could be

230. C.O.179/197/1481: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 20 Jan.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 25 Jan. and 17 Feb.1897. C.O.179/198/8503: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 23 Apr.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 27 Apr.1897 and F. Graham, 29 Apr.1897. C.O.179/199/12787: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, confidential, 21 May 1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 16 and 16 June, and F. Graham, 16 June 1897.

231. C.O.179/199/1414: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 29 June 1897. Minute by F. Graham, 6 July 1897.

232. E.H. Brookes & C. de B. Webb, *A History of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), pp.183-84.

233. Rotberg, *The Founder*, p.548.

234. C.8782, p.14, no.24: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., transmitting copy of Minute to ministers, 21 May 1897; p.13, no.21: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 11 May 1897 and no.22: C.O. to Hely-

published only if Natal accepted that there should be no further bargaining, except on points of detail that he could readily accept. The exception was, however, loosely defined, and the Natalians were determined that there should certainly be further discussion between Escombe and Chamberlain on the crucial questions of land delimitation and the future status of Dinuzulu. They carried their point.²³⁵

When called upon to give advice on both these questions, Clarke prepared the way for further concession: he saw no 'sacred significance' in the five-year period, and his views about the dropping of the term 'confidant' were already on record.²³⁶ Chamberlain was therefore willing to hold out to Escombe some hope of whites obtaining some land²³⁷ prior to the expiry of the five-year term, and he tried to meet Escombe's wishes in regard to the description of Dinuzulu's position and role.²³⁸ Clarke emphasised that delimitation must be done very carefully. He was opposed to any plan - he thought Escombe suggested one - involving the physical expulsion of natives living on the land allocated to whites. They should be allowed to stay to provide labour for the whites to whom the land was allocated.²³⁹

Since Harriette set so much store on the question of Dinuzulu's future position and urged his claims so tirelessly and earnestly, the Colonial Office deliberations on this topic in some measure reflect her concern. There was much anxious and tortuous thought in the Colonial Office about how to describe Dinuzulu's future role as officials sought in one formulation to serve two different ends: to justify both the argument that the Colonial Office might have to advance (*viz.* - that it had maintained Ripon's promises to Dinuzulu), and the contention that the Natal ministry would offer its apprehensive and acquisitive white electorate (*viz.* - that Dinuzulu was returning simply as an *induna* and the chief of a district).²⁴⁰ Apparent agreement was possible, but only if there was ambiguity, or,

Hutchinson, telegram, 15 May 1897.

235. *Ibid.*, C.O.179/199/10043: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 11 May 1897. Minute by Chamberlain, 14 May 1897.

236. See above, p.384 and fn.221.

237. C.O.179/199/12801: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 14 June 1897. Minute by Chamberlain, 24 June (not easily decipherable on microfilm).

238. C.O.179/199/12787: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, confidential, 21 May 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 15 and 16 June 1897.

239. *Ibid.*, Minute by H.W. Just, 16 June 1897.

240. For expressions of Natal views, see *Natal Witness*, 7 and 8 Dec.1897 for reports of discussions in the Natal legislature. For the failure to accord him any special recognition, see *Zululand. Land*

perhaps, duplicity. Clarke condoned removing the word 'confidant' from the English version of the description of Dinuzulu's future role and denied that this in itself altered the 1895 conditions, but he was not optimistic about the future for Dinuzulu after repatriation.²⁴¹ Escombe, in London for the Jubilee and for consultations, was willing to concede that Dinuzulu might be used as a representative adviser, but he balked at 'confidant' and did not now wish to be seen as associated with Harriette Colenso in the advocacy of a 'central position' for Dinuzulu.²⁴² He, in effect, reneged on his 1889/1890 position. Then he had wanted to impress British humanitarian opinion. In 1897 he was thinking of the Natal electorate who were to go to the polls in September. With Harriette Colenso watchful, the Colonial Office dared not be too explicit or too public in its departure from Ripon's intentions. In due time Sterndale, the Governor of St Helena, was instructed to inform Dinuzulu of his return and the future role assigned to him.²⁴³ In addition, Sterndale was secretly directed not to draw attention to the omission of the word 'confidant'. The secret directive was, of course, omitted from the parliamentary Blue Book about the repatriation that was issued in 1898.²⁴⁴ When Sterndale read out the conditions of Dinuzulu's return, Harriette was present at the invitation of the Governor, who hoped thus to avoid any allegations that the interpreter, Daniels, had mistranslated the conditions.²⁴⁵ Some months later Harriette was with Dinuzulu and the Exiles in the saloon of the *Umbilo* off Durban when S.O. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary of Native Affairs for Natal, handed to Dinuzulu an English and a Zulu version of the conditions of his return. Having perused the Zulu text, Dinuzulu commented that they were the same as those read to him in St Helena.²⁴⁶ The version of this statement published in the Blue Book of 1898 includes neither 'confidant' nor 'adviser' in the description of Dinuzulu's intended role.²⁴⁷ Interestingly Harriette appears to have made no comment on any omission, and her silence is puzzling.

Delimitation Commission (1902-1904), p.283. Dinuzulu is described only as Chief of the uSuthu.

241. See above, p.384 and fn.223.

242. C.O.179/199/12787: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., confidential, telegram, 21 May 1897. Minutes by H.A. Just, 15 and 16 June 1897. Escombe Papers, Box 2, Jacket E, Folder D: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 24 July 1897.

243. C.8782, p.19, no.32: Secretary of State to Sterndale, 29 Oct.1897.

244. C.O.247/150: R.A. Sterndale to C.O., 23 Nov.1897.

245. C.8782, p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897.

246. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. C.8782, p.38, no.53: Prime Minister of Natal (Binns) to Governor, 7 Jan.1898; p.40, no.56: report by S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.

247. *Ibid.*

In 1895 she was scathing about the quality of the Zulu used in the statement of conditions handed to Dinuzulu before the aborted return,²⁴⁸ yet in 1897 she seems not to have noticed what was dropped from the English - and the Zulu - statements. Since her concern and hope were always that Dinuzulu's capacity to act well should be given the maximum scope, it is possible that she may have chosen deliberately not to notice differences between the 1895 and the 1897 statements. But, it is more likely that, since the omission was carefully obscured in a redrafted Zulu text later in 1897,²⁴⁹ she saw no reason for concern, especially as the key phrase 'induna to the Government' could be interpreted to include the role of 'confidential adviser'.²⁵⁰ In fact, there is no clear indication that Harriette was ever in a position to subject all four of the official documents of 1895 and 1897, in Zulu and in English, to simultaneous critical scrutiny.²⁵¹ She was later to argue that the conditions of Dinuzulu's return in 1897 were the same as those which had been designed in 1895 and she blamed the subsequent Natal governments for failing to heed and honour the role which it had been intended that Dinuzulu should play.²⁵² In 1898 she hoped that Dinuzulu would in the future gain wider recognition and influence than the government was willing to concede. That was precisely what Natal politicians and officials feared.²⁵³

Where Clarke did help the uSuthu case was in his advice about Zibhebhu. Hely-Hutchinson, whose wish to visit Zululand (where he would have to make some pronouncements about future policy) precipitated anxious deliberation and decision-making in the Colonial Office, proposed to tell Zibhebhu that he would be repatriated to the

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248. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 1 Mar.1895, enclosing copy of the extract from the Secretary of State's despatch of 6 Dec.1894.
249. See below, p.405.
250. H.E. Colenso, *Memorandum Communicated by Miss Colenso to her Brother Mr F.E. Colenso* (n.d., n.p., probably London, 1908).
251. It is clear that Dinuzulu entrusted the 1895 Zulu version to Harriette. On this point, see N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 1 Mar.1895, and H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs, Natal and the Colonial Office*. She, no doubt, saw the 1897 version on board the *Umbilo*, but it is not clear that she retained this document which may have been kept by Dinuzulu. In 1907 he produced the two official statements, 1895 and 1897, in his interview with the then Governor of Natal.
252. H.E. Colenso, *Memorandum Communicated by Miss Colenso*. cf. K.C.A.L., *H.E. Colenso's Book of Newspaper Cuttings*. Extract from *Times of Natal*, July 1908: S.O. Samuelson on the deliberate omission of the word 'confidant'.
253. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, 5 Jan.1898; cf. R. Edgecombe, 'The Influence of the Aborigines Protection Society on British Policy Towards Black African and Cape Coloured Affairs in South Africa, 1886-1910' (Ph.D., Cambridge University, 1976). p.218.

Ndwandwe district (from the Eshowe district where he had been located for the last decade) simultaneously with the uSuthu chiefs. Clarke counselled against this, and Hely-Hutchinson was instructed to tell Zibhebhu only that his claims would be considered. The memory of vehement criticism of policy in regard to Zibhebhu explains the action of the Colonial Office in making decisions concerning him. Reconciliation with Zibhebhu would be a matter for Dinuzulu and his advisers to handle. In fact Zibhebhu did return to the Ndwandwe in 1898.²⁵⁴

Both Colenso sisters always showed cordial - if not absolute - confidence in Sir Marshal Clarke, and he was always courteous to them. He recognised Harriette's desire to keep on good terms with him, and that there was good sense in his not antagonising so 'clever a partisan' as Harriette.²⁵⁵ Before he left Zululand on leave he exchanged letters with both Colenso sisters and received copies of Harriette's May 1895 pamphlet.²⁵⁶ Harriette wrote to him in some dismay when she realised that there had been misunderstanding, secrecy, and perhaps deception in January 1895,²⁵⁷ and he replied acknowledging his surprise that she had been the advocate of annexation to Natal - a course which would sever his connection with Zululand - and reminding her that it was a point of honour with imperial servants not to divulge confidential information.²⁵⁸ Agnes had corresponded with him about sending Magema to St Helena, where he replaced the unhappy Mubi Nondenisa.²⁵⁹ Letters were exchanged about Mbulawu kalangalibalele who went to oSuthu, the home of Dinuzulu's mother, okaMsweli, to teach the children.²⁶⁰

There were some points of friction. Clarke thought Harriette foolish to have sent her telegram of January 1895, even though he might have warned her not to do so. It did not, in fact, have a crucial impact on the course of events.²⁶¹ He cautioned the Colensos that a representative of the Church of the Province of South Africa was already giving

254. N.A., Col.Coll: M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 28 Dec.1897.

255. Lagden Papers: M. Clarke to G. Lagden, 22 Nov.1893.

256. N.A., Col.Coll: M. Clarke to A.M. Colenso, 8 July (1895, int.ev.).

257. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to M. Clarke, May 1895.

258. See above, pp.319-20 and 327-28.

259. N.A., Col.Coll: M. Clarke to A.M. Colenso, 29 Mar.1896.

260. *Ibid.*, M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 2 Oct. and 22 Nov.1894.

261. *Ibid.*, 12 Jan.1895, and H.E. Colenso's annotations, which suggest that it might have been possible for him to see her before she embarked at Durban.

religious instruction at oSuthu.²⁶² He rebuked Magera sharply for complaining about interference with his letters²⁶³ and he was severe in his disapproval of communications between Dinuzulu and the abaQulusi²⁶⁴ who had been placed under the control of the South African Republic. Clarke's point of view was always that of an imperial servant in whose career Zululand was an episode: he could not be as committed to the welfare of the Zulu people and the interests of the Zulu royal house as Harriette Colenso was. What is more, he helped make decisions that exasperated her. He was, for example, involved in the Colonial Office decisions about the timing of the announcement of the return of the chiefs.²⁶⁵ This was so arranged as to ensure that Harriette obtained no prior information and could not comment on the official announcement simultaneously with its being made. While he admired Harriette's capacity to go on fighting - a quality he thought she shared with General Gordon - he himself evidently regarded Dinuzulu as a lost cause.²⁶⁶

In 1897, however, when Harriette was in London, distressed at her interview with Sir John Robinson, Sir Marshal was a reassuring presence for her. They corresponded and met, and Harriette, although she did not always enjoy his attitude, certainly endorsed the high esteem in which Clarke was held. The A.P.S. honoured Clarke (and Sir Harry Johnston) at a breakfast on 10 February 1897, and Harriette quoted Clarke's comments on the administration of 'native peoples'; while Clarke could not avoid knowing that, in Harriette's view, Ripon's undertaking to Dinuzulu involved a national and binding commitment on the British government.²⁶⁷ Harriette translated for him Dinuzulu's letter to the Governor of Natal and asked him for information and help in arranging a visit to England for the Exiles.²⁶⁸ There were social occasions in which they shared; a visit to Mrs Lyell, a dinner with the Frank Colensos, and the remarkable evening when Harriette, on her birthday, was invited into the Strand rooms of Mr and Mrs Charles Diamond (the

262. *Ibid.*, 23 Nov.1894. cf. Mbulawu to H.E. Colenso, 22 July 1898.

263. *Ibid.*, M. Clarke to Magera M. Fuze, 9 Nov.1896.

264. *Ibid.*, M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 20 Oct.1895.

265. C.O.179/199/14104: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 29 June 1897. Minute by F. Graham, 6 July 1897.

266. N.A., Col.Coll: M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 23 July 1897.

267. *Ibid.*, Extracts from Sir Marshal Clarke's speech at the breakfast; M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 11 Mar.1897.

268. *Ibid.*, M. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 5 Jan., 22 and 27 June 1897; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 25 June 1897.

Irish Catholic newspaper owner) for tea and talk with Sir Marshal and Mr Michael Davitt, the Irish Nationalist leader, and then to a restaurant supper with the Diamonds and Davitt.²⁶⁹ Sir Marshal returned to Zululand at the end of June but he would not, as Harriette hoped, stay on as Resident Commissioner under Natal.

While Sir Marshal was in the United Kingdom, Harriette tackled him on the question of a visit to England for which the Exiles repeatedly asked.²⁷⁰ By this time his earlier hostility softened into approval, if only to compensate the Zulu chiefs for the much longer delay in repatriation than he had once anticipated. Hely-Hutchinson, also changed his opinion, but some of the old obstacles lived on. The Colonial Office was still opposed, despite the plea from Canon Barraclough, Dinuzulu's tutor on St Helena, who wished to bring his Zulu pupil with him to England when he came home on leave. The request was put forward by, and through, R.L. Antrobus, currently on the Colonial Office staff, after having served as Acting Governor of St Helena when the Exiles arrived.²⁷¹ His sympathy for Dinuzulu was genuine, but the plea was ineffective.²⁷² What really mattered was the hostility of Natal, and that was unchanged. Escombe's *prim* repetition in 1897 of the view he had expressed to Agnes in 1895 that the decision about a visit to England was a matter for the Colonial Office, rather than Natal, was constitutionally proper but morally a tepid evasion of concern.²⁷³

Although doubtful about Escombe's attitude, Harriette was eager to see him and 'keep an eye and an ear on him' in London. She wrote to him very courteously - and very quickly.²⁷⁴ Her earlier confidence in Escombe began to fade from the end of 1895 when Chamberlain warned her that, as far as the Colonial Office records showed, Natal had always coupled annexation to repatriation as a necessary, not simply a preferred, linking. Harriette was dismayed and immediately remonstrated with Escombe because she had previously understood that he did not insist on prior annexation as an absolutely

269. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 18 June and 3 July 1897. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

270. Antrobus Papers: Knutsford to Antrobus, 1 Mar.1892; Dinuzulu to Antrobus, 13 July 1894, 12 July 1895 and 25 Nov.1897.

271. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

272. Antrobus Papers: E.G. Antrobus to Mr Frewer, 16 June 1960.

273. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 July 1897.

274. *Ibid.*, 11 June, 9 and 30 July 1897.

necessary pre-condition.²⁷⁵ A year later, at the end of 1896, her confidence in Escombe paled even more when Robinson claimed that Escombe shared in the Natal ministry's unanimous rejection of Ripon's intentions in regard to Dinuzulu's future status. As Agnes had her own reasons for disappointment, the sisters compared deepening suspicions with dismay. They had been confident of Escombe when he became Attorney-General in October 1893,²⁷⁶ but they were very doubtful of him in 1897. Their letters discussed his attitude. Harriette told Agnes not to confide 'any more Zulu secrets' to him²⁷⁷ and wrote in February to Sydney Buxton of her dismay at Escombe's attitude.²⁷⁸ When Sir John Robinson resigned Harriette thought this 'a relief' and 'good news' and she conceded that 'it would not make things worse' to have Escombe as Prime Minister, but she was also afraid that Escombe might find that he was even more hampered by his colleagues 'and it is the whole spirit of the Natal Ministry to the Zulus that is wrong.'²⁷⁹ Admittedly, the old habit of trust and dependence died hard, and Escombe was still the best hope the Colensos had. On 9 July Harriette speculated to Agnes that there might be worse fates for Zululand than annexation to Natal, for at least under Natal there would be no Contagious Diseases Acts and no Glen Grey Act.²⁸⁰ Agnes in the early months of 1897 was happy enough to run a confidential errand for the new Natal prime minister to buy him a copy of *Trooper Peter Halket* so that she could read it herself before handing it over to the eminent - and discreet - purchaser.²⁸¹ Careful not to undermine the Zulu Exiles' confidence in Escombe - especially as they had their own reservations - Harriette pointed out to them how Robinson's resignation meant the removal of the key promoter of the policy of breaking up the Zulu people. Evidently, however confused and despairing she might feel, Harriette was determined to hope for the best.²⁸²

But, whatever she said to others, Harriette made it quite plain to Escombe that she was

275. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to Escombe, 6 Dec.1895, i.e. the day of her interview with Chamberlain.

276. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 Jan.1896.

277. *Ibid.*, 1, 7, 20 and 27 Jan.1897; A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, 27 Feb.1897.

278. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to S. Buxton, 13 Feb.1897.

279. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 19 Feb.1897; K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.118: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 2 Mar.1897; Dd.125: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 29 July 1897.

280. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 July 1897.

281. *Ibid.*, A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, 10 Apr.1897.

282. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 13 Aug.1897, enclosing her message to 'our dear friends, the Zulu Chiefs at St Helena'.

bitterly disappointed in his current views about Dinuzulu's future position. Escombe, in replying to Harriette's letter to Sir John Robinson that was forwarded to him, commented that if the Natal legislature decided on the annexation of Zululand then

'the responsibility for governing Zululand will rest with the Natal ministry and in that case it will not be possible for Dinuzulu to hold a position inconsistent with ministerial responsibility.'²⁸³

He added that many members of the legislature were hesitant about annexing Zululand, a sentence which encouraged Harriette to hope sometimes that, perhaps, the incorporation of Zululand into Natal might not, after all, come about. When challenged by Escombe, however, she was not prepared to be dogmatic in her disapproval of annexation, for she saw no alternative.²⁸⁴ Where she never wavered was in her belief that it was crucial that Dinuzulu should be officially recognised as the holder of a 'central position' in Zululand. She hoped to persuade Escombe of the wisdom of this view, for he had once shared it and she had quoted his words in describing it. Escombe was, however, now opposed to any special - or central - position for Dinuzulu.²⁸⁵

Almost as soon as Escombe arrived in London, Harriette wrote to him and called at the Hotel Cecil, but the colonial premiers were whirled into all the Jubilee excitement of crowded engagements and commitments. Escombe, feeling 'like a cork in surf', postponed seeing her until after Jubilee day.²⁸⁶ For this meeting Harriette evidently returned from Haslemere where she had taken her niece, Angel, to avoid the crush of 'Jubilities'.²⁸⁷ It was probably more than accidental that Escombe delayed seeing Harriette until after his meeting with the Secretary of State on 18 June when they discussed one of the issues on which Natal wanted further concessions - white settlement of Zululand - and he persuaded Chamberlain to postpone the return of Dinuzulu for a few months.²⁸⁸ Escombe called on the Colensos on the afternoon of Jubilee day, but Harriette had her first interview with

283. *Ibid.*, H. Escombe to H.E. Colenso, 26 Mar.1897.

284. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 July 1897.

285. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to H. Escombe, 9 July 1897; to S. Buxton, 13 Feb.1897. H.E. Colenso, *Present Position*, pp.29-31. C.O.179/202/2728: H. Escombe to C.O., 3 Feb.1897, enclosing correspondence of H.E. Colenso and J. Robinson. Minute by H.W. Just, 17 Feb.1897; C.O.179/202/15970: H. Escombe to C.O., 21 July 1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 24 July 1897 and F. Graham, 28 July 1897.

286. N.A., Col.Coll: Escombe to H.E. Colenso, 17 June 1897.

287. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 18 June 1897.

288. C.O.179/199/1280: Minute by H.F. Wilson, n.d. Minute by Chamberlain, 24 June 1897.

him only on 3 July.²⁸⁹

Before Escombe left Natal in May 1897 he and his colleagues had won from the Colonial Office a statement of the revised conditions under which the British government would be willing to allow the annexation of Zululand to Natal, and this was made public in the form of the Governor's Minute of 17 May. In the discussion about what should be publicised the Colonial Office was, as ever, fearful of hostile criticism. H.W. Just mentioned Harriette by name. If certain telegrams were published, he warned, then 'Miss Colenso will raise the fiery cross' as she stirred public outcry.²⁹⁰ To avoid further contention, whether public or not, Chamberlain hoped that Natal would not haggle further. He authorised publication of the Governor's Minute on the condition that only 'points of detail' which he could readily accept would be discussed further; but the Colonial Office was manoeuvred into agreeing that land delimitation and Dinuzulu's future status would be discussed between the Natal Premier and the Secretary of State during Escombe's visit to London for the Jubilee. These were hardly 'points of detail'. In addition, the Natal ministry so worded its acceptance of the conditions for incorporation as to imply very strongly that it expected the Secretary of State 'readily [to] accept' what Natal requested on these matters.²⁹¹

In London Escombe tackled contentious questions in stages. They were the timing of the repatriation of the Exiles, the question of land delimitation and the issue of Dinuzulu's future position. Agreement about the question of timing was easy enough. Chamberlain accepted a further delay of a few months to enable Natal to hold its election in September 1897, summon a special sitting of the Natal parliament and enact the annexation of Zululand to Natal. In their interview in June Chamberlain conceded, too, that some early grants of land might be sanctioned within the five year moratorium which the Colonial Office had stipulated.²⁹² By prior arrangement, Harry Escombe submitted a letter on this point on 8 July. He asked Chamberlain to agree that he would 'consider favourably'

289. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 25 June and 3 July 1897.

290. C.O.179/199/10043: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, telegram, 11 May 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 13 May 1897.

291. C.8782, p.14, no.24: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 21 May 1897, with enclosure, Governor's Minute to ministers, 17 May 1897.

292. C.O.179/199/12801: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 14 June 1897. Minute by Chamberlain, 24 June 1897.

requests for the opening up of particular areas, and cited as his reasons the need to attract capital for mining and to promote sugar cultivation.²⁹³

The Colonial Office yielded again and again on the land issue. In a letter of 17 July Chamberlain agreed that specific areas of land might be opened to white settlement within the proposed five year moratorium but stipulated that this would require the agreement of the joint imperial and colonial land delimitation commission that was projected.²⁹⁴ Later he waived that stipulation, leaving this part of the land question solely within the discretion of the Secretary of State.²⁹⁵

The Colonial Office letter of 17 July 1897 invited Escombe's views on the future status of Dinuzulu. The Natal Premier was informed of Mr Chamberlain's willingness to replace the word 'confidant' with the word 'adviser' - or to drop both words, if this were the preferred course. At the same time the Colonial Office wanted to be assured that there would be no material alteration in the conditions that had been formulated by Ripon.²⁹⁶ It seems that there were those in the Colonial Office who wanted both to satisfy Escombe and appease Harriette, or at least blunt any criticism that she and her associates might make. Colonial Office comments on the idea of a 'central position' for Dinuzulu had been quite favourable in earlier months, when permanent officials thought this was a point on which Harriette, Escombe, and Sir Marshal Clarke were all agreed.²⁹⁷ But, forced to see how widely divergent were the views of Escombe and Harriette, the Colonial Office in effect abandoned Harriette and the uSuthu and engaged in ingenious word play, self-delusion, and self-exculpation. Escombe distanced himself from Harriette,²⁹⁸ and it is quite clear that he had decided that Dinuzulu should be no more than a well-paid puppet or 'do-nothing' leader with control only over his immediate following. Escombe wrote that Dinuzulu should be 'an *induna*' - the indefinite article and the small 'i' are significant - and that he should receive an allowance 'so long as he behaved himself as an *induna* and the chief of a district ought to do'.²⁹⁹ It is not surprising that the Colonial Office

293. C.O.179/202/14884: H. Escombe to C.O., 8 July 1897.

294. *Ibid.*, Chamberlain to H. Escombe, 17 July 1897.

295. C.O.179/202/15970: Chamberlain to H. Escombe, confidential, 30 July 1897.

296. C.O.179/202/14884: Chamberlain to H. Escombe, 17 July 1897.

297. C.O.179/202/2728: H.E. Colenso to Chamberlain, 3 Feb.1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 17 Feb.1897.

298. Escombe Collection, Box 2, Jacket E, Folder D: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 24 July 1897.

299. C.O.179/202/15970: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 21 July 1897.

omitted this letter from the Blue Book that was presented in February 1898.³⁰⁰ In his comments on it H.W. Just noted that Escombe intended to give Dinuzulu only limited status but thought it possible to construe Ripon's word in a sense that could justify Escombe's interpretation. He observed, too, that Escombe had not mentioned the house for Dinuzulu at Eshowe which, he suggested (twisting Harriette's phrase into a merely geographic meaning), would give Dinuzulu his 'central position'.³⁰¹ Escombe had written privately to Chamberlain on the question:

'I am rather under suspicion of being too friendly to the exiles - once my clients. Miss Colenso, on the other hand, thinks I am wrong in not promising to Dinuzulu what she calls a "central position" meaning powers over other chiefs ... Miss Colenso will see, on reflection, that her wishes cannot be met except at great risk to the maintenance of order.'

It was a clever comment: by implying that Harriette could be persuaded to change her mind he invited Chamberlain to ignore her representations on Dinuzulu's behalf, and he exploited the Colonial Office fears of disturbance which would certainly cause adverse criticism in Britain.³⁰² In fact, neither Escombe nor Harriette could persuade the other to a different view of what was wise policy, and a clear, unequivocal renunciation of Ripon's conditions was not extorted from the Colonial Office.³⁰³

It is interesting that the Colonial Office dealt with Escombe's letter after the debate on Stanhope's motion criticising the report of the parliamentary committee of enquiry into the Jameson Raid. Chamberlain was clearly apprehensive about the debate because he knew that there were many - including some among his own party - who were critical of the proceedings of the committee, both because it had failed to press for the missing telegrams and because it had not addressed the second part of its task, namely, the investigation into the record of the B.S.A. (Chartered) Company north of the Limpopo. He knew, too, that, if the criticism of Rhodes was not restrained, his own career would probably be destroyed by the publication of compromising telegrams. It was a time to appease humanitarian sentiment and to avoid provoking indignation. This perception of what was

300. C.8782: presented in 1898.

301. C.O.179/202/15970: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 21 July 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 24 July 1897.

302. Escombe Collection, Box 2, Jacket E, Folder D: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 24 July 1897.

303. C.O.179/202/15970: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 21 July 1897. Minute by H.W. Just, 24 July 1897.

expedient,³⁰⁴ in terms of parliamentary processes and possibilities, seems to have affected Chamberlain's action in regard to the Exiles. Humanitarian critics were pleased that the chiefs were to return before the end of the year. When Chamberlain announced this in the House of Commons on 19 July, he enjoyed a few moments of parliamentary congratulation and humanitarian approval.³⁰⁵ He welcomed publicity that brought congratulation. What he wished to keep away from public scrutiny was the difficulty he experienced in reaching an agreement with Natal about the future status of Dinuzulu and about the terms of annexation. With Harriette still insisting that Ripon's promises must be fulfilled (and that repatriation in itself was not enough),³⁰⁶ it would be folly to provide grounds for a humanitarian charge of bad faith.

In taking up the question of Dinuzulu's future status the Colonial Office moved cautiously. When Graham put the issue bluntly - Dinuzulu might well accuse them of breach of faith because of the withdrawal of the word 'confidant' but they could not oppose Natal - Chamberlain paused. He asked how the word had been introduced into the discussion, and Graham explained its circuitous origin. It had appeared in the translation into English of a Zulu statement (drawn up in Zululand) to express the gist of Ripon's intentions, as set out in his despatch of 6 December 1894. Graham argued that Chamberlain was not bound by the *ipsissima verba* of Ripon and suggested, in effect, that they fudge the deletion: Escombe did not intend to publish *in extenso* and it would be enough to allow the deletion while explaining the Colonial Office attitude confidentially to Escombe. In the event the Colonial Office sent Escombe relevant extracts from previous correspondence which embodied the recommendations of Sir Marshal Clarke, and Graham explained to Escombe why these had been sent. Although the Colonial Office had agreed to the omission of the words 'confidant' and 'adviser', it nevertheless favoured the views of Sir Marshal Clarke and wished Escombe to know what these views were. Colonial Office consciences may have been salved or calloused, but they did not want public attention drawn to the discussion about Dinuzulu's future role.³⁰⁷

304. For general discussion of the parliamentary pressures in July 1897, see Butler, *The Liberal Party and the Jameson Raid*, Chapter 7.

305. *British Hansard*, 4th Series, vol.51, cols 499-505: 19 July 1897.

306. C.O.179/202/2728: H.E. Colenso to C.O., 3 Feb.1897.

307. C.O.179/202/15970: H. Escombe to Chamberlain, 21 July 1897. Minute by F. Graham, 28 July 1897, with extracts from despatches of Sir Michael Clarke to Ripon, 18 Jan.1894 and from minute of Sir Marshal Clarke to Governor, 5 May 1894. *cf.* H.E. Colenso *Zululand. The Exiled Chiefs, Natal and the Colonial Office*, p.17, for her translation into English of what she regarded

Of these exchanges Harriette knew only what Escombe told her, but that was enough to leave her bitterly disappointed, and she did not mince her words to him. A few days after their first talk in London, Harriette remonstrated with Escombe that he did not intend to consult the Zulu leaders and asked him to acknowledge that his plan was a bitter disappointment to the Zulus and to herself:

‘... this plan is a bitter, and cruel disappointment to the National party, including me; ... [and] after the pledges of January 1895 it is as much a mockery as it is undeserved by the Zulus after their long and patient waiting ... your plan must start without any measure of gratitude on their part ...’³⁰⁸

She signed herself ‘affectionately but very sorrowfully’. On 30 July Escombe called to see her to say goodbye. He told her that the British government insisted that Dinuzulu should have the title of *induna* and a house at Eshowe. Harriette responded vigorously that, to the uSuthu, Eshowe was ‘the death place’. She left it to Escombe to reply that Dinuzulu could live where he liked. While accepting that Escombe had done the best that he could for the Exiles, Harriette was sure that the Zulus would feel that they had been betrayed and their views would be hers - ‘I must go with the Zulus,’ she said.³⁰⁹

By the time Escombe left, both he and Harriette knew that the Colonial Office had decided to repatriate the Zulu Exiles before the end of the year. Chamberlain was now committed to this by his statement in the House of Commons. Though pleased that the Exiles were to return, Harriette was annoyed at the way repatriation was announced. She felt that the St Helena party would be puzzled at receiving simultaneously the official announcement of their return and a letter she had written earlier stating that there was nothing to tell them. They might fear another episode of false hopes comparable to January 1895 - another *Umkusi*.³¹⁰ Chamberlain chose deliberately to hold back the announcement of ‘repatriation before the end of the year’ until after the St Helena mail had closed in order to pre-empt any timeous communication from Harriette to the party of Exiles.³¹¹ Sir Marshal Clarke explained that the timing of the announcement in the Commons and the communication to the Exiles had been determined by Hely-Hutchinson’s planned visit to

as the poor Zulu of the 1895 version.

308. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to H. Escombe, 9 July 1897.

309. *Ibid.*, 30 July 1897.

310. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 23 July 1897.

311. C.O.179/199/14104: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 29 June 1897. Minute by F. Graham, 6 July 1897.

Zululand. What he announced in Zululand must be made known simultaneously to the House of Commons and as speedily as possible to the St Helena Exiles.³¹² In wanting to pre-empt unofficial communication, the Colonial Office had snubbed Harriette.

Yet, ironically, Joseph Chamberlain's letter to the Exiles acknowledged that the Colonial Office had in the past expected Harriette to be an intermediary between themselves and the Exiles. In refusing the Exiles' eager and repeated request to be allowed to visit Britain, Joseph Chamberlain slid away from blame for the long delay in answering them by remarking that they would have been prepared for his adverse decision by the refusal he had conveyed to Harriette Colenso in November 1896.³¹³

The next mail to St Helena left only in mid-August, and Harriette had some weeks in which to consider her communications to the uSuthu representatives at Bishopstowe and the St Helena Exiles. She forwarded a letter to Mjwaphuna kaMalungwase, at Bishopstowe, on 30 July and dated her letter to Dinuzulu, Ndabuko and Shingana 13 August 1897.³¹⁴ When she wrote her St Helena letter³¹⁵ she thought in biblical language, used idiomatic expressions beloved of the Zulu, and gave her letter the solemnity of a semi-religious communication, in which lament, repentance, comfort, exhortation and prophecy blend together. She regretted that 'through the length of their journey' the 'wagon had broken down' but she offered comfort in Dinuzulu's appointment as *induna* and in her hope - unfounded, as it proved - that the Zulus would be able to buy land in the area of Zululand that was 'unreserved' *i.e.* opened for white purchase and occupation. Exhortation mingled with implied reproach when she reminded them that no one other than themselves could make them 'nobodies'. Prophecy sustained her conviction - which she maintained even in London where the problems of the world were discussed - that 'the Zulu people may yet arise, indeed it should rise, to be admired and to be great.'

In her letter of 13 August 1897 Harriette explained to the Exiles that she was delaying her

312. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 23 July 1897; C.O.179/199/11447: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 28 May 1897. Minute by F. Graham, 31 May 1897.

313. C.O.179/199/14104: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 29 June 1897; C.O. to Sterndale, 16 July 1897.

314. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to Mjwaphuna and the headmen at Bishopstowe, 30 July 1897; to Dinuzulu, Ndabuko and Shingana, 'our dear friends at St Helena', 13 Aug.1897.

315. *Ibid.*, 13 Aug.1897.

own return because there was still, she thought, a slight chance of arranging for them to visit Britain - there might still be 'a hole' through which they might creep.³¹⁶ Previous discussions with Sir Marshal and with Escombe on this topic had been disappointing, but Harriette would not allow the question to rest there.

Clearly there was more at stake than simply gratifying the Exiles. The much-desired visit to Britain would imply the kind of recognition and support for Dinuzulu which would sustain him in the special -or 'central' - position to which she hoped he would return. Probably the Exiles were encouraged to hope to come to Britain by the precedent, even though it was not a happy one, of Cetshwayo's visit, as well as the visits to Britain of other black rulers and/or their representatives. Others beside Harriette wanted to help them achieve this visit,³¹⁷ but Chamberlain in 1897 was adamant and opposed. He would send the Zulus back to Zululand, but he would not allow them to visit Britain. There were difficulties about such a visit, and these seemed magnified by recent past experience. A visit would be difficult to arrange and manage and could give rise to recriminations. What probably mattered more was that in 1897 Chamberlain wished to woo white colonial opinion in the empire as a whole, and in South Africa especially, and he would not flout white colonial opinion on an issue such as this: white opinion in Natal was not favourable.

In 1897 Harriette, although she thought the plan 'a frantic notion', was willing to try a round-about route. Knowing that one of the women she met, a Mdme Janotha, had in previous years arranged for some Zulu baskets to be delivered to the Queen, Harriette hoped that another contact, a Mrs Laura Richards,³¹⁸ an acquaintance of the Duchess of Teck, would interest the Queen in meeting Dinuzulu.³¹⁹ The result was a fiasco. Mrs Laura Richards wrote to the Queen a fulsome and flamboyant letter of adulatory supplication in which she recommended Dinuzulu (for being concerned about the cut of his clothes) and pleaded that the Queen should guide Dinuzulu (*i.e.* 'thou shalt be as a ribbon of shine on paths along which the black foot never trod'). Not surprisingly, the letter, together with copies of letters from Dinuzulu which Harriette had supplied and a

316. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 July 1897; to Zulu Exiles, 13 Aug. 1897 and see below, p.402.

317. Antrobus Papers: H.W. Just to Ripon, 25 Aug. 1892, forwarding appeal made to Antrobus by Dinuzulu.

318. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 July 1897.

319. *Ibid.*, Laura Richards to H.E. Colenso, date obscure, except for 1893.

postscript optimistically providing Harriette's London address, bounced from the Queen's secretary to the Colonial Office where overworked officials, having looked at the bundle, commented that 'the lady does not seem quite sane', and put it aside.³²⁰ The Queen's secretary told Mrs Richards that her request had been referred to the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office was unsympathetic. Laura Richards was indignant that the initiative had failed. She denounced the officials of the Colonial Office. They were 'stupid blethering penny whistle things' who could not appreciate Harriette's 'sublime watchfulness'.³²¹ Clearly there was nothing else Harriette could do in Britain. Since Harriette was expecting the Exiles to return to Natal in October, as Escombe had publicly (and, perhaps, disingenuously) suggested, it was time for her to head for St Helena. She abandoned an earlier idea of being in Natal for the September elections,³²² perhaps because she shared Escombe's confidence that he would be returned to office. She probably recognised that, if Dinuzulu visited England at all, it could be only to take a holiday in the following summer.³²³

Her representations to the Colonial Office, direct and indirect, had not been without their place in the story of how decisions were made, and her arguments continued to have some effect even after her departure to St Helena. In October 1897 when the Colonial Office was negotiating with Escombe's successor, Henry Binns, it did not have Harriette Colenso at its doors, or even in touch with those who crossed its threshold, but her campaign in Britain was very recent and it had varied effects on Colonial Office thinking.

One effect of Dinuzulu's impending return was that in October, Binns and the Colonial Office took stock of the July negotiations with Escombe. Fleetinglly, the Colonial Office tried to re-invigorate the idea (never entirely extinguished) of maintaining the intentions and arrangements of Ripon, that is, of repatriation, independently of annexation. This cut little ice with Binns. He was much less enthusiastic than Escombe about the annexation

320. C.O.427/28/16653: Mrs L. Richards to C.O., 27 July 1897 enclosing letter from H.E. Colenso to L. Richards, dated 17 May 1897, with which Harriette enclosed various letters from Dinuzulu, including those addressed to the Queen. Minutes by H.W. Just, 5 Aug.1897 and F. Graham, 8 Sept.1897.

321. N.A., Col.Coll: L. Richards to H.E. Colenso, 1 Sept.1897 enclosing letter of A. Bigge to L. Richards, 30 July 1897.

322. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 11 June 1897; cf. H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 July 1897.

323. H.R. Fox Bourne, letter in *Westminster Gazette*, reported in *Natal Witness*, 11 Oct.1897.

of Zululand and needed even more re-assurance. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office gave him short shrift when he tried even at this late stage to postpone the return of the Exiles beyond the end of 1897.³²⁴ Binns secured additional guarantees about the presence of imperial troops at Eshowe.³²⁵ In addition he insisted that the term 'confidant' must be entirely withdrawn from the Zulu document that was to be entrusted to Dinuzulu. It was not enough simply to omit the word in the English translation. Binns' view on Dinuzulu's future position reawakened the real, if unacknowledged, dilemma of the Colonial Office: that of simultaneously placating Natal ministers and keeping the promise made to Dinuzulu in January 1895. Officials were, however, resilient. On the one hand they did not object to introducing into the conditions a sentence which explicitly required of Dinuzulu that he must understand that he did not return to Zululand as paramount chief and was obliged to obey officials. It was agreed, too, that the Zulu version to be handed to Dinuzulu in Durban should be re-drafted to omit any word that might convey the sense of 'confidant'.³²⁶ On the other hand, the Colonial Office added, without consultation with Natal or any prompting from a friend of Dinuzulu, the stipulation that the annual income of £500 promised to Dinuzulu would not be withdrawn from him without the consent of the Secretary of State. The Colonial Office could not foresee the vehement controversy that was to rage over this stipulation in the future, but it had some sense of its own dignity, if not qualms of conscience.³²⁷ E. Wingfield minuted the Office's reluctance to leave Dinuzulu entirely to the mercy of Natal,³²⁸ and Chamberlain insisted, to the last, that he had been guided by the advice of Sir Marshal Clarke.³²⁹ There was a further episode of dissimulation over how these conditions were to be made known to

324. C.O.179/200/21829: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, telegram, confidential, 8 Oct.1897. Minute by Chamberlain, 9 Oct.1897.

325. C.O.179/200/21609: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram, 5 Oct.1897. Minute by H.W. Just, Oct.1897. C.O.427/28/19043: War Office to C.O., 30 Aug.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 5 Sept., F. Graham, 8 Sept., and Selborne, 10 Sept.1897; C.O.427/28/24682: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., 18 Nov.1897. Minutes, especially by Chamberlain, 19 Nov.1897; C.O.427/28/26054: Fawcett (War Office) to H.W. Just, private, 24 Nov.1897.

326. C.O.179/200/23239: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 27 Oct.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just and E. Wingfield, 29 Oct.1897 and note of Chamberlain's approval. The tricky word in Zulu was *sifuba*. Just looked it up in Colenso's dictionary, to discover that it meant 'breast' or 'bosom'. He wrote on 29 Oct., 'The word "confidant" is Sifuba in the Zulu version. I find that Bishop Colenso's Zulu dictionary gives the meaning of "Fuba" as "breast, bosom, conscience, the main body of an army". "Iso" is a substantive prefix signifying an agent "Sifuba" therefore means "keeper of the conscience" and might apparently mean "general in chief".'

327. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.272-73.

328. See fn.326.

329. Confidential Print Africa South, No.535, no.93, p.72: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, 29 Oct.1897.

Dinuzulu.

Late in October it was clear that Binns and his ministers, having failed to win postponement of repatriation, would, in fact, proceed with the annexation of Zululand despite his reluctance.³³⁰ It was necessary to inform the Exiles of the arrangements that had been made. In St Helena the Governor, R.A. Sterndale, received a parcel of Blue Books and three communications. A private letter explained that the Blue Books were sent to equip Sterndale to deal with any controversy that might arise. The Colonial Office adopted this course after rejecting a suggestion that Blue Books should be sent to Dinuzulu. London officials, perhaps mindful of Harriette Colenso's presence in St Helena, felt that this would 'invite volumes of useless controversy'.³³¹

The confidential despatch was a more important document. This replied to a communication from the Exiles. On hearing of their imminent repatriation and the impending annexation of Zululand to Natal, the Exiles addressed 'four words' to the Colonial Office. Their letter, dated 4 September, was written before Harriette reached the Island, although Magera probably had a very important role in its composition. The Exiles lamented loss of land in the past and were fearful of the future. They pointed to the plight of the abaQulusi, who were harassed by the Boers on the land that now belonged to the South African Republic. They drew attention to the loss of the sites of the royal graves where, they had heard, there had been burning. They feared further loss of land and petitioned against the division of Zululand into farms. They disliked the idea of annexation to Natal: they hoped that they would still be able to live under Britain, or at least continue to appeal to the British government.³³²

The Colonial Office response, sent in the confidential despatch to Sterndale, was a poor document. It was bland in assuring the Exiles that the interests of the Zulu would be considered. It warned that there could be no change in regard to the abaQulusi who were under the government of the South African Republic. It revived the hackneyed argument

330. C.O.179/201/27701: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., confidential, 4 Dec.1897, and to H.W. Just, private letter, 10 Dec.1897.

331. C.O.247/150/20822, no.72: Sterndale to C.O., 4 Sept.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 8 Oct.1897 and F. Graham, 21 Oct.1897.

332. C.8782, p.16, no.27: Sterndale to C.O., forwarding communication from the Exiles, 4 Sept.1897.

of British officials that the uSuthu were themselves responsible for the plight of the abaQulusi, because it was they who had made the bargain with the Boers of 1884, from the full effect of which British intervention had saved them. There would, however, be enquiries about the royal graves.³³³ This matter was eventually referred to the High Commissioner for him to determine whether there was any point in making representations to the South African Republic.³³⁴

Perhaps because the problems of Zululand and Natal had proved so intractable, there was now strong animosity towards the uSuthu and Harriette Colenso in the Colonial Office. F. Graham's minute was eloquent:

'The Usutu (sic) as a party deserve no consideration whatever: with the help of the Colenso family they have done their best to destroy Zululand.'³³⁵

The Blue Book of 1898 included both the 'four words' of the Exiles and the Colonial Office response. It did not include the secret despatch sent to Sterndale which enjoined him to be careful not to use the word 'confidant' in his explanations to the Exiles and not to draw attention to its omission. Only when the Exiles arrived in Natal would Dinuzulu receive a Zulu statement of the conditions.³³⁶ In Zululand a careful reformulation into Zulu was made by Saunders, and it was this version which Dinuzulu read through on board the *Umbilo*.³³⁷ The strategy of caution and dissimulation seems to have worked, for there does not appear to have been any immediate controversy over discrepancies in wording between the 1895 and 1897 versions. It was how they were treated, not any semantic controversy, which showed the repatriates that it was the limited Natal interpretation of Dinuzulu's role that was to dominate. On their arrival they were met by Samuelson, the Under-Secretary of Native Affairs. Escombe, though Agnes hoped to see him, was not there. The uSuthu chiefs were not allowed to visit Pietermaritzburg, or even

333. C.8782, p.19, no.32: C.O. to Sterndale, 29 Oct.1897.

334. C.O.427/28/943: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., 24 Dec., enclosing report of B. Colenbrander of 2 Dec.1897, and C.O. to High Commissioner, 23 June 1898 enclosing correspondence about the burial places.

335. See fn.331.

336. C.O.179/200/23239: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., telegram 27 Oct.1897. C.O. to Sterndale, secret, 29 Oct.1897 discussing the omission of the word 'confidant'. cf. C.8782, p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897. Sterndale assured Chamberlain that he had adhered strictly to the text.

337. Z.G.H. 779/2723/1897: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, 29 Oct.1897. Minute by M. Clarke to Saunders, 29 Nov.1897, and copy of Zulu version. C.8782, p.40, enclosure 1 in no.56: Report of the Under-Secretary for State for Native Affairs, 11 Jan.1898.

shop in Durban. Only a brief conversation with Sir Marshal Clarke, in the compartment of the train that carried them from the Point through Durban station to where they would land in Zululand, was a reminder of what might have been.³³⁸ Dinuzulu was welcome in Zululand where young men rallied to him, but he was regarded with suspicion in Natal.³³⁹ In the next year, when Dinuzulu wished to visit Natal, he was fobbed off, although a brief visit occurred in 1899.³⁴⁰ Dinuzulu had been restored to an impossible position in an impoverished land. Rinderpest was sweeping through Zululand 'like a prairie fire'.³⁴¹

Harriette and the British Parliament

Since lobbying MPs could help secure favourable decisions from the Colonial Office Harriette did not ignore the British parliament during her second visit. For the two-and-a-half years of her first visit Harriette had looked to the opposition party (the Liberal party until mid-1892) for support, but the Colensos were never happy about enmeshing the Zulu cause with party politics, and certainly Harriette did not want to have only the backing of the opposition party during her second visit. What she wanted was to help ensure that the Colonial Office (both under Ripon and under Chamberlain) would live up to its best intentions, which included justice for the Exiles.

For the first few months of 1895 the Liberals were still in power. Buxton had told her that there would be strong backbench opposition to the annexation of Zululand to Natal and Harriette set herself to counter this.³⁴² She was, in 1895, committed to the annexation of Zululand to Natal because she had been misled into believing that this was the way to bring the Exiles home safely and in the best possible circumstances. She did not confine her attention to Liberal party supporters. She was perfectly happy to engage a Conservative MP, like Arnold-Forster, in eager conversation over Zululand, although,

338. *Ibid.*, pp.39-42.

339. C.O.179/203/5070: Hely-Hutchinson to C.O., confidential, Feb.1895, sending copy of correspondence with Prime Minister. Hely-Hutchinson had declined to issue an order prohibiting young men from rallying to Dinuzulu. Minute by H.W. Just, 10 Mar.1898.

340. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 1898. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: Miss Finlason to S.J. Colenso, 23 Jan.1899 and H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, 27 Jan.1899.

341. C.O.427/28/26481: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to C.O., 14 Dec.1897, enclosing C. Johnson (Rorke's Drift C.P.S.A. missionary) to Mr Tucker, 12 Nov.1897.

342. See above, p.361.

avowed imperialist as he was, he was hardly likely to support Harriette.³⁴³ Harriette found some old friends no longer able or willing to help. Alfred Webb was discouraged by the failure of Home Rule and was not elected in 1895.³⁴⁴ Picton, who was no longer an MP, felt he could do no more and was broken in health.³⁴⁵ James Bryce evidently did not approve of the annexation of Zululand to Natal. Harriette was in touch with his mother, sister, and wife and saw Bryce and his wife off, when they left on their South African visit. She found them friendly but not supportive.³⁴⁶ In Pietermaritzburg Agnes met them at Government House, but they did not seek her out, while Bryce's book, *Impressions of South Africa*,³⁴⁷ showed little concern for what mattered to the Colensos. Charles Schwaan, whose wife was prominent later as a sympathiser and financial supporter of Harriette, suggested that Harriette approach Labouchere, but there is no evidence that Harriette did this.³⁴⁸ Through her friends, the Brownes, she was however in touch with James Stansfeld and with Robert Spence Watson³⁴⁹ (the latter the familiar of MPs though not an MP himself) and trusted they would speak to Buxton and Ripon. She hoped for much from John Morley. He had supported the Colenso fund in the 1860s and spoken out against anti-uSuthu officials in 1888. Active support was, however, another matter. In 1888 he told Frank that he was too busy and, in 1893, merely acknowledged a pamphlet which Harriette sent him. Harriette 'wished she knew Mrs Morley', but it is doubtful whether this would have galvanised him into active support, as opposed to sympathy. Harriette met him only later in her stay.³⁵⁰ Harriette kept in touch with Buxton after the change of government and his loss of office. He advised her to approach Chamberlain and encouraged her by observing that Chamberlain, even if his own views on Zulu affairs had changed, would find that he was bound by the declaration that Ripon had made. Harriette realised that Buxton was not as free to criticise the Chartered Company as he might have been, but he kept a watch over her fortunes and was

343. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, May 1895.

344. *Ibid.*, A. Webb to H.E. Colenso, 17 Jan., 14 Mar. and 25 Apr. 1897.

345. *Ibid.*, S. Hill to H.E. Colenso, 9 Mar. 1896.

346. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to Mrs Bryce, 3 May 1895; M. Bryce to H.E. Colenso, 14, 22 and 29 May 1895; Mrs Bryce to A.M. Colenso, 9 Nov. 1895.

347. See bibliography.

348. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 May 1895.

349. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to H. Escombe, 21 June 1895.

350. *Ibid.*, R.H.L., Fr.Col. Colenso Papers: *The Bishop of Natal. List of Subscribers' Names* (1865). J. Morley to F.E. Colenso, 2 Oct. 1888; H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, 21 Sept. 1893; N.A., Col.Coll: J.H. Pease to H.E. Colenso, 29 May 1893; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 31 May 1895. *The Times*, letter of J. Morley, 24 July 1888. Guy, *The Heretic*, p.150.

pleased for her sake when the repatriation of the chiefs was announced in July 1897. Harriette responded to his congratulations cautiously by pointing out that the conditions of repatriation were not yet known.³⁵¹

In the elections of 1895 Harriette did a little work in the Liberal interest. She spoke at an election meeting of D. Naoraji, the Indian MP in Central Finsbury, who was unsuccessful in 1895, and spent an afternoon canvassing in the constituency in which she lived.³⁵² A resounding Liberal victory would have pleased her, but she was not dismayed by the Conservative triumph. She trusted Chamberlain, welcomed the breaking of a backbench stranglehold on government, and counted up the 'Zulu MPs' in the parliament. She rejoiced particularly at those who were members or supporters of the ruling party, like L.H. Courtney, whom she consulted frequently, and Captain Bethell.³⁵³ Harriette told Dinuzulu of Courtney's support and sent a photograph of Courtney in court-dress. Dinuzulu wrote to Mrs Courtney 'thanking' her for a gift and 'lamenting' his long exile and the refusal to permit him 'to see the Queen'.³⁵⁴

When Chamberlain took over the Colonial Office, Harriette 'by no means despaired of him' but his delay in repatriating the chiefs gradually strained the confidence which she had once felt in him.³⁵⁵ As far as she could, Harriette tried to work with MPs who were critical of him.

In 1896 Harriette was in touch with two radical MPs: Thomas Bayley (vice-president of the A.P.S. in 1900) who put questions in the House about the suppression of the disturbances north of the Limpopo, asked her opinion on the Ndebele and told her:

'The Empire will fall to pieces if we let the London stock-jobbing companies rule vast portions of Her Majesty's dominions and if we are too weak to

351. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 15 Nov.1895 and 14 Aug.1896; S. Buxton to H.E. Colenso, 27 July, 15, 16, 22, and 27 Aug., 14 Nov.1895, and 8 Feb.(no year given), 20 Jan.(1897?), July (1897, int.ev.).

352. *Ibid.*, (Old Ref: Box 143): H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, fragment, n.d.

353. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to H. Escombe, 21 June 1895; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 May 1895, Mar.1897, 7 May and 16 July 1897.

354. C.O.247/143/5268: H.E. Colenso to Dinuzulu, otherwise Mamonga kaThlwana of the Zulu People, 29 Mar.1893; N.A., Col.Coll: K. Courtney to H.E. Colenso, 22 Oct.1896. Courtney Papers, Vol.VI, Item 42, ff.93-96: Dinuzulu to K. Courtney, 5 Oct.1895: The English and Zulu versions are both autographed and signed.

355. See above, p.113. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 5 July 1895. For her waning confidence in Chamberlain, see *ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to Revd A. Spears, 8 Sept.1897.

punish them for their wicked and brutal acts.³⁵⁶

He supported those who demanded investigation into the treatment of the 'native races' by the Company and clearly regretted that he had not been appointed to the committee of enquiry. Probably the most notable representative of the 'Nonconformist conscience' on the South African Committee was John Ellis, the leading Quaker MP.³⁵⁷ He sought Harriette's help, and they were in touch with each other about the reports of the Company's activities north of the Limpopo. When he was worried about the second part of the duties of the South African Committee - the investigation into the activities of the Company - he asked her help in securing reliable witnesses. She did her best to draw on her Zulu experience in order to help him. She pursued newspaper reports and hearsay accounts, suggested her old associate W.Y. Campbell as a possible witness, explained why it was difficult to obtain evidence, thought Sir Marshal Clarke's views might be helpful, and recalled the way the Zulu defence team had tackled the task of exploring and exploding charges against the uSuthu as an example that could be followed for the Ndebele. But Harriette did not know the Ndebele story as she knew the Zulu, and she could not give Ellis what he wanted. Discouraged in October 1896, he again exhorted her to follow up information that might be important, but he seemed finally to have given up, and he declined to be drawn into other issues.³⁵⁸ The correspondence with Ellis, thin as it is, suggests that one reason why the second part of the enquiry was dropped was the difficulty of producing hard evidence before the South African Committee, and that the difficulty was not a financial one. Witnesses did not come forward, and were not secured. On 12 October 1896 Ellis wrote that he had been occupied following up newspaper reports and telegrams:

'[but] I have been up to the present extremely disappointed (in one sense) to find how they melt away like snow in the sunshine under preliminary investigation.'

In March 1897 he wrote in confident terms of the chances of a close enquiry with a scrutiny of the Company coming later but, as more and more evidence proved to be

356. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to T. Bayley, 12 June 1896; T. Bayley to H.E. Colenso, 25 June and 4 Aug.1896. Butler, *The Liberal Party*, p.195.

357. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

358. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to J. Ellis, 3 and 23 Sept., 4, 16 and 18 Oct.1896, and 1 Apr.1897; J. Ellis to H.E. Colenso, 12 Oct.1896, 5, 11 and 31 Mar.1897, and 11 Apr.1897; H.E. Colenso to F. Blaine, 25 Oct.1896 and to W.Y. Campbell, 4 Mar.1897.

hearsay, he remarked on 8 May: 'It is disappointing to find how much talk there is of a loose & [sic] vague nature which will not stand the test of close examination'.

Ellis, as one of the members of the South African Committee, participated in the whitewash of Chamberlain and the non-investigation of the Company, but, in his case at least, this was not simply the sacrifice of principle to patriotism in the heady atmosphere of the Jubilee year: one reason for it was the difficulty of securing enough evidence that was backed by corroboration and could withstand scrutiny.³⁵⁹

At the end of June 1897, on her birthday, Harriette made the acquaintance of Michael Davitt, the Irish Nationalist MP. She had already met Mr Charles Diamond, the Irish Nationalist Catholic newspaper proprietor, who was vehemently opposed to English dominance in Ireland.³⁶⁰ That opposition made him, simultaneously, sympathetic to humanitarian criticisms of British imperialist policies, even while he defended the proceedings of Leopold's Congo Free State. Mr and Mrs Charles Diamond invited Sir Marshal Clarke and Harriette to their rooms in the Strand to meet Michael Davitt. The Irish Nationalist MP and Harriette won each other's respect. They talked on - through strawberries and cream, and through dinner³⁶¹ - and Davitt was willing to help Harriette's cause, though he warned that someone as suspect as himself might not be the best advocate for the Zulus. He met her later at the House of Commons at her request and was as good as his word in speaking to Chamberlain about the Zulu questions. He stressed Harriette's points about the delimitation of land and about the status of Dinuzulu by insisting that promises had been made. He may have strengthened Chamberlain's reluctance to capitulate to Escombe, but he did not avert the capitulation. It was a strange birthday meeting that gathered together two one-armed Irishmen, one (Sir Marshal) the servant of British imperialism, the other (Michael Davitt) its virulent opponent, together with a Roman Catholic newspaper proprietor (Mr Diamond) and the daughter of a Protestant missionary bishop brought up in an outpost of empire. What mattered was that it made Michael Davitt the advocate of the Zulus at a time when, with the debate on the report of the South African Committee looming, Chamberlain wished to appease rather

359. *Ibid.*, J. Ellis to H.E. Colenso, 12 Oct. 1896, 5 and 11 Mar., 8 May 1897.

360. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

361. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 July 1897.

than provoke criticism. Davitt assured Harriette that she would find Chamberlain's decisions paralleled her wishes and that Chamberlain held Clarke in high esteem. Harriette sent Davitt her pamphlets but she did not win any permanent sympathy for the Zulus from him.³⁶² Resigning from the British parliament in 1899, Davitt was a vehement pro-Boer but the book he wrote - *The Boer Fight for Freedom*³⁶³ - shows no awareness of the plight of the black man in South Africa.

Harriette's parliamentary impact is interesting and somewhat paradoxical. It is perfectly plain that she found support only from those at the periphery of power, but it is also very clear that the possibility of parliamentary criticism mattered when Colonial Office decisions were made.

Harriette had arrived in England in 1895, as she had left it in 1893, in a flurry of preparing material for publication. She needed the printed word, whether as pamphlet, reprint, off-print, extract or report, in all the various facets of her campaigning: when she called at the Colonial Office or sent in her letters; when she frequented the House of Commons to meet MPs, or wrote to them; in her newspaper contacts and when she addressed the various audiences who came to hear her. In addition to her own pamphlets she sought out press or publishing contacts and wrote letters to newspapers. She welcomed interviews, reports of her meetings, and what chance there was of publication in periodicals. She issued fewer pamphlets than in her first visit, and these were different in themes and emphasis.³⁶⁴ There were no more attacks on Zibhebhu and Osborn nor prolix discussions of the crises of 1888-1889 or the origins of the Mandlakazi-uSuthu hostility. Presumably she considered these topics adequately covered by previous pamphlets and no longer crucial, because what she claimed as the 'pardon' of January 1895 vindicated the uSuthu Exiles.³⁶⁵ Her themes in the years 1895-1897 were, initially, to urge the annexation of Zululand to Natal as a means to the speedy repatriation of the Exiles, then to insist continually on how crucial it was to give Dinuzulu effective recognition and standing on his return, and thirdly to plead persistently that the Exiles -

362. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to M. Davitt, 5 July 1897; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 July 1897; M. Davitt to H.E. Colenso, 3, 6 and 13 July 1897.

363. M. Davitt, *The Boer Fight for Freedom* (New York, 1902).

364. For full list of publications and full titles see bibliography.

365. H.E. Colenso, *Zulu Affairs*, p.1 (or p.3) H.E. Colenso to J. Robinson, 16 Oct. 1896.

all of them - should be allowed to visit Britain.

During her stay there were changes in her own attitude and in the focus of her attention. When she published her correspondence with Sir John Robinson early in 1897 her purpose was to explain why she had withdrawn her support for the annexation of Zululand to Natal and her disillusionment with the Natal ministry. She had also to recognise that humanitarian interest among the British public was now directed to more recent issues. All her pamphlets were about Zulu issues, but other publications and printed accounts of her views show her willing to discuss wider issues than the Zulu, including the confrontations north of the Limpopo and the ethical issues raised by the 'Scramble for Africa'. While Harriette sought to circulate her views as widely as possible, the British press did not give her as much attention as she would have liked and, understandably, she shared with the Cronwright-Schreiners and others the view that 'a ring had been formed against us', at least in the London press.³⁶⁶ In accepting and reflecting this view, Harriette contributed to the current of opinion on the role of the press in relation to capitalist interests and state power which J.A. Hobson later explored and disseminated.³⁶⁷

Harriette had a small circular ready by 8 May 1895 for circulation to 'Zulu MPs' at the House of Commons.³⁶⁸ Entitled *The Zulu Question in 1895* it presented crisp tabulated argument in favour of the annexation of Zululand to Natal, the visit to Britain of the exiled chiefs, and prompt action to effect all three of her aims: annexation to Natal, the visit to Britain, and the repatriation of the chiefs. She urged annexation on the grounds that it would promote good feeling between Natal colonists and 'their native fellow subjects', persuade the colonists to acquiesce in the return of the chiefs, and thus ensure that there would not be a repetition of the 'ghastly mockery' of the restoration of Cetshwayo. She believed that Sir Marshal Clarke would be at his post in Zululand to superintend both the process of annexation and the repatriation of the chiefs. The visit to England was desirable to compensate the chiefs, for the false start they had experienced and give time for the necessary arrangements for the annexation to be effected. Delay, she urged, would jeopardise good feeling because it would provoke resentment among the whites and

366. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.98: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 13 July 1896.

367. J.A. Hobson, *The Psychology of Jingoism* (London, 1901).

368. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 May 1895.

wilder the Zulus. She tugged an alarm bell with the statement that delay might mean the death of one of the chiefs, whose health had been impaired by the five year exile. She concluded:

'WHAT IS NEEDED IS
That the new Crown Colony of Zululand be joined to the Responsible Colony of Natal *without delay* and that the exiles' prayer to be allowed to visit England be acceded to *at once* because this is the only way - and it is a perfectly dignified way - out of the present deadlock.'

Because she did not think that this was in danger, Harriette made no allusion to the question of the position which Dinuzulu was to hold after repatriation.

Within a few days - by 11 May - Harriette had ready a much longer pamphlet which showed how reassured she felt on the question of Dinuzulu's position once repatriated. She labelled it 'Strictly confidential' and entitled it *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs, Natal and the Colonial Office*. The first part was a narrative of events since her return to South Africa in 1893. It included discussion of the aborted repatriation of January 1895 and of the circumstances that led her to telegraph to the A.P.S. in favour of the prior incorporation of Zululand with Natal. In the second part she drew attention to the two issues for which she was currently contending: the incorporation of Zululand with Natal and a visit to Britain for the exiled Zulu chiefs. She headed the sub-section on the annexation of Zululand to Natal with the rhetorical question 'Shall Colonists and Zulus be encouraged to be antagonistic or on good terms?' In the last section of the pamphlet Harriette allowed the Exiles to speak for themselves by publishing letters from them in which they pleaded for a visit to Britain.

In this pamphlet Harriette argued strongly in favour of the incorporation of Zululand with Natal. She described Escombe as the staunch advocate of the uSuthu, asserted that 'new' Natal *i.e.* post Responsible government Natal would be well disposed to the Zulu people, and was confident that Sir Marshal Clarke would continue as Resident Commissioner after the incorporation of Zululand. She was informed that Natal wanted Clarke to stay and believed that he could be persuaded to make whatever sacrifice might be involved. This would ensure that promising trends in policy he had inaugurated would be durable and would benefit both the people of Zululand and the natives of Natal. She hoped there would be advantage for the Natal natives when the same laws were applied to Zululand and

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While Harriette was eager to persuade others to her point of view, she saw much that was promising in the current situation. One important source of hope for Harriette in 1895 was the communication which Dinuzulu received about his future status in January 1895. Dinuzulu was handed this before the arrangements for return were cancelled and Harriette, although she criticised the 'broken' Zulu of the document, recognised in it a very significant 'promise' that, she insisted, should not be abrogated. As other hopes darkened, so Harriette subsequently attached more and more importance to this pledge made by the Imperial government.

Harriette included in her pamphlet a literal translation into jerky English of the poor Zulu of the document Dinuzulu showed her. She persuaded the sceptical Zulu Exiles that this document originated with those who were well intentioned towards them and should not be despised. Dinuzulu then put the document into her hands for safekeeping. Harriette's translation of the Zulu description of Dinuzulu's intended future status runs thus:

'Through his Indunaship and his confidant-of-the-Supreme-Authority-ship, Dinuzulu is able to be made to work in the affairs of black people, which [affairs] shall be brought and laid before him who manages for the Governor in Zululand, like those affairs of strife [as to] inheritances, and other affairs which are proper [require] that there be discovered evidence and an answer [?explanation] by a person who is not concerned in those affairs, together with other works which may be wanted by him who manages for the Governor from him [Dinuzulu].'³⁶⁹

Harriette saw in this a promise to Dinuzulu of close association with the Resident Commissioner. What the exiled chiefs saw in other parts of the document was the threat that Dinuzulu would be at the mercy of all officials in Zululand, while the intimation that he would be housed in a place appointed by the Governor made them think of Cetshwayo's humiliation at Eshowe, after he had been expelled from the Ndwandwe.³⁷⁰ The fears of the chiefs were exaggerated, and Harriette was able to reassure them, but it must be acknowledged that there was more perception in the instinctive foreboding of the exiled

369. H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs*, p.18.

370. cf. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 July 1897.

chiefs than Harriette was then prepared to acknowledge.³⁷¹

Besides stressing the promise made to Dinuzulu in this document Harriette enlarged on points made in her leaflet. For example, she added to her section dealing with the visit of the chiefs to England a reference to the financial condition of Zululand. She argued that the colony was well able to afford the cost of a visit to Britain for the chiefs.³⁷² Harriette had this pamphlet and leaflet with her when she interviewed Buxton and Ripon in May 1895. Later she sent a copy, to Chamberlain.³⁷³ In the meanwhile Sir Marshal Clarke received a copy and, so Escombe suggested, showed it to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, who 'did not like it.'³⁷⁴

The next pamphlet came quickly. It was dated 12 June 1895 and headed simply *Zulu Letters from St Helena*. Agnes happily sent Escombe her copy of the printed version.³⁷⁵ The 'Zulu letters' were from the chiefs in exile and Mubi Nondenisa, the Bishopstowe man whom Harriette had left in St Helena when she decided to proceed to Britain in March 1895. Harriette added her own comments which, in retrospect, are ironic reading. While the letters showed how suspicious and hostile the Exiles were towards Natal, Harriette had to justify her own advocacy of the incorporation of Zululand into Natal. Mubi Nondenisa wrote giving a summary of what the chiefs had heard about their own non-return and showing how pleased they were to be 'managed from England', because they were suspicious of what might befall them at the hands of Natal. It is not surprising that Escombe in Natal was disquieted by her pamphlets,³⁷⁶ but Harriette - always resourceful in argument - urged that the chiefs misapprehended the position. Their mistaken view showed how harmful it was to leave them at St Helena at the mercy of stray reports. What they did not understand, so Harriette argued, was that the misfortunes of the past originated from London because they belonged to a time when both Natal and Zululand were under Colonial Office rule. Even Sir Marshal Clarke's presence in Zululand, beneficial as it was, did not in itself guarantee a permanent change for the

371. Compare this with her later views in H.E. Colenso, *Zulu Affairs*.

372. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 Aug.1895; H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs*, p.25.

373. See above, p.369. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 Aug.1895.

374. *Ibid.*, A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, 11 July 1895.

375. *Ibid.*

376. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 Aug.1895.

better. She urged that the hopeful trends she discerned in 'New Natal', indicated by the electoral support Escombe had received in the past, despite his actions and views in regard to the Zulus, should be encouraged by expediting both the annexation to Zululand and the return of the chiefs to Zululand. The concluding paragraphs stressed the pardon of the chiefs and urged the visit to England, even if this meant that they would have to return to St Helena for a spell, pending arrangements for annexation and return. With the English mid-summer approaching, she wanted the arrangements to be made speedily and hoped that the visit - however quiet in some ways - would include an audience with the Queen.

Harriette wrote:

'Their visit to England need cost little trouble, and comparatively little money. It would not be for show, but (saving the one supreme event) quiet and educational. In town, the Museums and the Zoo, Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, the Inner Circle, and a trip under the Thames bridges, would meet their wants; and after that the English cows and corn might occupy them in the country till the weather drives them away from England.'³⁷⁷

Harriette was hopeful of Chamberlain, and by the end of June 1895, she had available a leaflet which quoted from *Hansard* the sentiments in support of the uSuthu which Chamberlain had expressed in 1888.³⁷⁸ She certainly sent a copy of the leaflet to Alice Werner, now in Britain, and obviously hoped that, whatever the scepticism about Chamberlain's political consistency, the leaflet would make it more difficult for him to renege on his former attitude.³⁷⁹

Her more substantial pamphlet of August 1895 was devoted to the question of a visit to Britain for the Exiles and was issued at a time when Chamberlain had indicated that he would not make immediate decisions on the Zulu questions. Fairfield told Harriette of the objections to a visit when she called at the Colonial Office, and he was disconcerted when she used his arguments in her pamphlet because he considered this a breach of confidentiality. He commented, 'It shows what an untrustworthy woman she is.'³⁸⁰ In her *Memorandum in Reply to Objections against a Visit of the Zulu Exiles to England*

377. H.E. Colenso, *Zulu Letters from St Helena*, p.4.

378. H.E. Colenso, *Mr Chamberlain on the Zulu Question in 1888*. Harriette had this available even before it was certain that Chamberlain was to go to the Colonial Office.

379. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.91: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 26 June 1895.

380. C.O.427/22/14682: H.E. Colenso to C.O., 20 Aug.1895. She sent in the pamphlet in a letter in which she requested an interview. Minutes by G.V. Fiddes, 22 Aug.1895 and Fairfield, 30 Aug.1895.

dated 27 (sic) August 1895 Harriette set out the objections in tabulated form, with her answer to each alongside. Eager to accomplish her aims, Harriette was still fully confident in the good intentions of Natal. She claimed that there was no further need for agitation because the chiefs were already vindicated by the declaration of 1895: they had been pardoned and promised a speedy return with a 'specified official position for Dinuzulu'. She would help keep the visit low key by herself asking the A.P.S. not to hold a breakfast in honour of the Zulus. To the argument that the Natal colonists would object to such a visit she replied that the Exiles had already been exposed to civilising influences, while the Natal ministry would be well advised not to oppose such a visit. Already there was a spreading belief among the Zulu chiefs and people that Natal was hostile to their interests, and a visit to England for the Exiles, arranged with the goodwill of Natal, would allay these suspicions. To counter the suggestion that they might 'get into all sorts of mischief' while in Britain Harriette urged that the Zulu Exiles were of a higher class than the Swazi or Ndebele who had already come to Britain - more on the level of Khama who was then on his way - and that she would be in England to ensure that they were not 'cruelly led astray'. To the objection of expense Harriette replied that money spent on the visit would be money well spent, that Zululand funds could well afford it, and that she would herself contribute to the cost. To strengthen the case for a visit Harriette included a letter from Dinuzulu. He lamented that the Zulus were still kept at St Helena, remarked in effect that no good overlord promised a benefit and then snatched it away, thanked her for her gifts - a likeness of Sir Marshal Clarke, and a globe of the earth, to show them the way - complained of the health of the children, and observed:

'The one thing [therefore] that we are longing for is to see the Queen our Sovereign, and to see the Ministers of State, and to see those who are our friends.'³⁸¹

Harriette ended by criticising Daniels, the assistant guardian who had recently been sent to St Helena to help the new white guardian, Mr Madden, who did not know Zulu. Harriette was contemptuous of Daniels as a bad influence. She stated that she could not vouch for his behaviour in Britain, if the visit were arranged, and protested that the Chiefs were 'subject to the annoyance of his company at St Helena'.³⁸²

381. H.E. Colenso, *Memorandum in Reply*, letter from Dinuzulu, 11 July 1895.

382. *Ibid.*, penultimate paragraph.

Where Harriette erred most conspicuously in this pamphlet was in her hope that Natal would see the advantages to be gained from a visit to Britain for the Exiles. Both Sir John Robinson and Escombe were opposed to such a visit, although Escombe shuffled off responsibility by observing that it was a Colonial Office matter.³⁸³ Harriette was wrong, too, in supposing that the Khama visit would be a fortunate precedent for the Zulu Exiles. The reception which Khama and his companions received made the Colonial Office even more reluctant to sanction and experience a visit from the Zulu Exiles. This was evident a few months later. Fairfield noted, 'A second Kaffir visit to Windsor so soon after the Khama boom would seriously alienate colonial feeling.'³⁸⁴

There was little point in Harriette's issuing any more Zulu pamphlets until either the situation changed, or her perception of it altered. That happened at the end of 1896 when she saw Sir John Robinson and realised how different were the views of the unanimous Natal ministry from her own about the future role and status of Dinuzulu. Her response was a pamphlet. Entitled *Zulu Affairs: Correspondence between Sir John Robinson K.C.M.G. (Premier of Natal) and H.E. Colenso*, it was printed by A. Bonner (the son-in-law of Charles Bradlaugh). The pamphlet contained her correspondence with Sir John, dating from October 1896 to January 1897. Harriette urged on Sir John that continued delay in the repatriation of the chiefs was injurious to the good relations of white and black in Natal and she was clear that whatever objection there was to the return of the chiefs stemmed from Natal. She wanted to know what the objection was. There were only two letters from Sir John Robinson to include, one arranging to see her, the other declining to be drawn into discussion with her of matters to be settled by the Natal ministry and the Colonial Office, but Harriette's own remarks reveal the gist of what Sir John had to say. He asked her to preach patience; told her only that he intended to submit proposals to the ministry on his return without intimating what these proposals would be; agreed that promises must be kept and opinion respected; conceded that Dinuzulu had made a favourable impression on him at St Helena; but he was very positive that the Natal ministry, including Escombe, was opposed to the proposals of Lord Ripon about the future role of Dinuzulu, because they would put Dinuzulu in a position of 'supreme authority'. Harriette protested that she must know on what grounds she was to preach patience;

383. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 July 1897.

384. C.O.427/22/21092: H.E. Colenso to C.O. Minute by Fairfield, 27 Nov.1895.

regretted that there was much that Sir John did not tell her; deplored the Natal attitude to Dinuzulu, which, she maintained, cancelled the support that she had given Natal in regard to the annexation of Zululand; and thought that the Natal ministry misrepresented Ripon's intentions when they implied that he had intended a position of 'supreme authority' for Dinuzulu. She warned Sir John that the decisions of the Natal ministry in regard to Dinuzulu would be discussed in 'every kraal and kitchen' in the colony. She urged, in effect, that a policy of denial and division was wicked and dangerous, and argued vigorously in favour of a policy of cohesion and conciliation. She insisted that what Ripon had promised was not 'supreme authority' but '... under a close shepherding of the supreme authority - a central position with regard to native affairs in Zululand.'³⁸⁵

She concluded her letter of 3 December with the comment:

'The attitude which you disclose completely nullifies my small support of the Natal ministry in this matter, by sweeping away the very ground on which it was given. I desire to bring this point very plainly to your notice and to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, while you are still in England.'³⁸⁶

Her letter of 29 January was devoted to the argument in favour of the official recognition of Dinuzulu as the holder of a central position in Zululand. In an effort to prevent the Natal ministry from adopting an attitude to Dinuzulu which, she thought, would mean grave injury to the future of Natal, she included with that letter her earlier discussion on the nature of the uSuthu party. Her purpose was to contradict some of the views expressed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in his often-quoted letter in the *Natal Mercury* of 29 January 1892.³⁸⁷ Shepstone had challenged the contentions of F.W. Reitz who urged that the tribal system should be abolished and locations broken up.³⁸⁸ In the course of his remarks Shepstone defended hereditary chieftainship, but insisted that the Zulu, once a military despotism, were already fissured and fragmented. Harriette approved of

385. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: F.E. Colenso to Sophic Colenso ('Fifi'), 6 Dec.1896; H.E. Colenso, *Zulu Affairs*, p.8.

386. *Ibid.*, p.9.

387. T. Shepstone, *The Native Question, Answer to President Reitz*, reprinted from *Natal Mercury*, 29 Jan.1892; *Natal Mercury*, 'Sir Theophilus Shepstone and his local critics', 1 Apr.1892.

388. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. Reitz had published an article on 'The Native Question' in the *Cape Illustrated Magazine*, Nov.1891.

Shepstone's views of hereditary chieftainship but rejected his perception of the Zulu polity. She had often quoted Shepstone's comments about the impossibility of abolishing hereditary chieftainship,³⁸⁹ because she saw in them support for her own arguments in regard to Dinuzulu. But she was totally opposed to the Shepstonian view of the Zulu polity. In her discussion of the uSuthu she insisted on the innate cohesion of the Zulu nation, with which she identified the uSuthu party.³⁹⁰ She applauded the way Sir Marshal Clarke had worked with tribal sentiment in immediately previous years, and pleaded that this should not be thwarted afresh. For the Natal government to attempt to deny Dinuzulu official recognition of the position which the Zulu people naturally accorded him would be, in her view, bad faith and bad policy. It would be an injury to Natal 'difficult to overestimate'. In that she was a true, but not a persuasive, prophet.

Harriette's letters and papers show that she did not rely only on her own pamphlets to disseminate Colenso views in print. She spent time arranging for the printing, or re-printing, of her father's works in Zulu. This was a matter on which there had been contention with P. Davis in Pietermaritzburg and about which she corresponded with J.M. Dent in Britain. Attention was given to the re-publishing of the *Zulu Prayer Book* and the *New Testament* in Zulu. Harriette did the proof-reading of the Prayer Book and was able to send copies to St Helena and to Natal.³⁹¹ She was also concerned about the *Address to Candidates for Confirmation* which she had already issued in English. She consulted with Dinuzulu and the Exiles about the translation when she was in St Helena and sent Agnes instructions about having it printed and bound in Natal. She intended, she joked, 'to catechise her diocese' on her return.³⁹² Attention was given, too, to composing and publishing Zulu hymn tunes.³⁹³

To forward her political aims Harriette called at newspaper offices, welcomed interviews with the Press, wrote letters, and even sought publishers for the works of others which she approved. She tried - and failed - to get Jorissen's *Memoirs* (translated by F.W. Reitz) published in England, but the views of the State Attorney of the South African Republic

389. H.E. Colenso, *Present Position*, pp.16-17.

390. H.E. Colenso, *Zulu Affairs*, pp.14-20, esp.18-19.

391. N.A., Col.Coll: P. Davis to H.E. Colenso, 23 July 1896, 12 Aug.1897 and 21 Jan.1898; J.M. Dent to H.E. Colenso, 31 Aug.1896; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 7 Aug.1896.

392. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 1 Mar.1895, completed on 11 Mar.1895 and 28 Feb.1896.

393. *Ibid.*, 7 Aug.1897.

were too republican even for T. Fisher Unwin.³⁹⁴ Her efforts to find a publisher for an anti-imperialist poem were spurned by all the journals, even though she enrolled the assistance of Walter Crane, prominent as an artist as well as a socialist.³⁹⁵ She did not receive as much attention from the major newspapers as she would have liked. When she called at the offices of the *Daily News* to see P.W. Clayden, a member of the editorial staff and an old supporter of the Colensos, she found him 'genial', but the newspaper gave her little attention.³⁹⁶ It did, however, publish a letter from her on the Ndebele issue on 3 December 1896.³⁹⁷ Harriette once called the *Daily Chronicle* 'that naughty radical paper'. As far as Harriette knew, it was the only London paper to publish the lecture she gave at the South Place Institute in January 1896 in the middle of the hubbub over the Jameson Raid. At the end of that year, in December, it published an account of a lecture she delivered at Bow. A little earlier on 10 November it published a challenging letter from Harriette on 'Armenia-Matabeleland'. In that letter she exhorted her readers to face the issue of British atrocities in the area north of the Limpopo before directing their indignation against the Turks over massacres of Armenians.³⁹⁸ There were, however, limits. Harriette did not approve of the way the *Daily Chronicle* reported on the actions of the Chartered Company, while a member of the staff of the newspaper explained to Harriette that a letter dealing with a matter already in another newspaper was not likely to be published, and that whether or not material she sent was used depended on the newsworthiness of the topic.³⁹⁹ On 24 July 1897, after Chamberlain announced the repatriation of the Exiles, the paper published an account of an interview with Harriette under the heading 'Exiled Zulu Chiefs'.⁴⁰⁰ Harriette appreciated the support of the half-penny radical newspaper the *Star*. It published, for example, the vehement letter she wrote in 1897 when Gordon Sprigg, the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, offered a battleship to Britain. How, Harriette demanded, was that to be paid for? Was it to be by

394. *Ibid.*, J.M. Dent to H.E. Colenso, 22 July 1897; Jorissen to H.E. Colenso, 12 May and 28 May 1897; T. Fisher Unwin to H.E. Colenso, 27 July and 6 August 1897.

395. N.A., Col.Coll: Mrs King to H.E. Colenso, 2 Dec.1897; W. Crane to H.E. Colenso, 3 Feb. and 18 Mar.1897, with W.L. Courtney (Editor, *Fortnightly Review*) to W. Crane, 17 Mar.1897.

396. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 and 7 June, 1895.

397. *Daily News*, letter from H.E. Colenso, headed 'Miss Colenso on the Armenian Relief Fund', 3 Dec.1896.

398. *Daily Chronicle*, H.E. Colenso, 'Armenia and Matabeleland', Tuesday 10 Nov.1896; N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 24 Jan. and 20 Feb.1896; E.M. Moir to H.E. Colenso, 6 Dec.1896.

399. *Ibid.*, E.E. Metivier to H.E. Colenso, 10 Nov.1896; H.J. Precce to H.E. Colenso, 11 Nov.1896; J. Milne to H.E. Colenso, 13 May and 8 June 1896, 20 and 23 July, and 31 Aug.1897.

400. *Daily Chronicle*, 'The Exiled Zulu Chiefs, a Story of St Helena', 24 July 1897.

higher taxes on food, or the confiscation of land in Bechuanaland, for which the 'rebellion' provided the excuse?⁴⁰¹ The *Star* carried her ideas to a readership which included some who would regard themselves as members of the working class, for the distinguished radical editors won wide circulation for their young newspaper that pioneered the new journalism.⁴⁰²

Though less radical than *The Star*, the *Speaker*, acknowledged as a vehicle of advanced liberalism, was not unsympathetic. Alice Werner, Harriette's friend, had some success in this weekly journal and, in what she wrote and published, disseminated knowledge about Harriette and about the campaign. Harriette was grateful for the support and for the way it published a note which she wrote.⁴⁰³

The paper *South Africa*, which was also a new venture and published in London, catered for the interests of expatriate South Africans and of people with investment interests in South Africa. It was more grudging in attention to Harriette during her second visit than it had been in her first. A call at the offices of this publication and an interview with 'news-suckers' in the absence of the editor, Mr Mathers, an old associate, produced a paragraph which received some attention from the *Natal Mercury* and rather more from the *Natal Witness*, whose editor at the time, Longlands, was probably more sympathetic than was Sir John Robinson and the *Natal Mercury*,⁴⁰⁴ although the *Witness* declined to publish the text of an address by Miss Colenso.⁴⁰⁵ For the rest, the paper confined itself to one or two notices, a report of her lecture at Toynbee Hall, and to commenting on the impact Harriette had on the mainstream newspapers, e.g. the interview published in the *Daily Chronicle* in July and her letter to the *Star* inveighing against the donation of a battleship.⁴⁰⁶ After she had left in November, it apparently published a photograph, taken over from the *Sketch*, of Harriette and the Exiles. Frank thought the photograph

401. The letter was republished in *South Africa*, 31 July 1897.

402. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 and 17 July 1897; A. Havighurst, *H.W. Massingham: Radical Journalist* (London, 1974). pp.18-22.

403. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 24 Jan. and 3 Apr.1896, and 14 Aug.1897. Alice Werner to H.E. Colenso, 25 Mar., 8 Aug 1895 and 10 July (no year given). Alice Werner seldom dated her letters in full. See bibliography for specific articles.

404. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 24 May 1895. W.C.L., John Robinson Letterbook: John Robinson to W. Peace, 19 Oct.1895.

405. *Ibid.*, Editor, *Natal Witness*, to K. Giles, 25 June 1896.

406. *South Africa*, 1 Feb., 23 May and 30 May 1896; 6 Mar., 19 June, 24 and 31 July 1897.

'made a mess' of his sister.⁴⁰⁷

Mr Boon, a friend of Frank, tried to obtain newspaper attention for Harriette. He thought of arranging a meeting of Harriette and Frank with H.W. Massingham, editor in turn of the *Star* and the *Daily Chronicle*. It is not clear whether that interview ever took place, and Boon was in general disappointed at finding that 'a ring had been formed' in the London press.⁴⁰⁸ Harriette appropriated that idea, but took comfort in the existence of the provincial press.⁴⁰⁹ Provincial support was, however, hardly overwhelming. Local papers might announce a lecture, report it after her visit, or engage in some controversy after her appearance in the city. *The Herald*, for example, welcomed her appearance at Richmond in 1896.⁴¹⁰ Her lecture at Horsham in February 1897 secured a good paragraph in the *Sussex Daily News*.⁴¹¹ After she had lectured at Birmingham, the conservative - and vigorous - *Birmingham Gazette* 'howled' over her remarks. On 2 June it published her reply.⁴¹² This was a hard hitting defence of the Ndebele. While she deplored the murders of Europeans, she insisted that not all Ndebele were murderers. She observed sharply that it was absurd to allege that the Ndebele had begun the disturbance in a time of peace and contentment. Drought and locusts had afflicted them shortly after the devastation they had endured from the invasion of their country. This was followed by the confiscation of 45 per cent of their cattle by the B.S.A. Company and then by the recent scourge of rinderpest. The fault for the events in the area we know as Zimbabwe lay with those who had aggravated the distress and driven the Ndebele desperate. The *Manchester Guardian* gave her some support. She was pleased, for example, that a report in the issue of November 18 showed that she was 'still pegging away' and Edgecombe cites a leader of 22 December 1897.⁴¹³ Harriette wrote to the editor of the *Liverpool Post* to protest at the heading that had been given to a talk

407. N.A., Col.Coll: A. Werner to H.E. Colenso, Nov.1897; F.E. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, Nov.1897. The relevant issue of *South Africa* is missing from the S.A.P.L. and from the Cory Library microfilm. See illustration, p.xxvi.

408. *Ibid.*, F.E. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, 24 June 1896.

409. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.98: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 13 July 1896.

410. N.A., Col.Coll: Newspaper cutting, *The Herald*, dated in ink, 14 Mar.1896. Folded into letter of H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 19 Mar.1896.

411. *Sussex Daily News*, Miss Colenso at Horsham, Friday 12 Feb.1897.

412. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 29 May 1896; J. Street to H.E. Colenso, 29 June 1896. *Birmingham Gazette*, H.E. Colenso to Editor, 2 June 1896. Miss Colenso and the Matabele (photocopy supplied by City of Birmingham Public Library).

413. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 20 Nov.1896. Edgecombe, 'Aborigines Protection Society', p.236, fn.4.

delivered in Liverpool.⁴¹⁴

In the main it was the small papers and journals (not the larger ones) that supported Harriette. These are interesting because they belong to a wide spectrum of political attitudes. *Great Thoughts or the Christian Graphic* published an interview with Harriette. True, it disappointed her: much Zulu material was omitted and her corrections to the proof were ignored. But, at least it appeared, together with a photograph of her which Frank had taken, the best thing about it, Harriette thought.⁴¹⁵ The *Social Democrat*,⁴¹⁶ the organ of the Social Democratic Federation and *Justice*,⁴¹⁷ the journal of H.M. Hyndman, pioneer of socialism by gradualism, both gave her some attention which at least indicated that they were sympathetic to her criticisms of imperialism. Then there was the *Humanitarian*, a journal financed by the extremely colourful, if not bizarre, Victoria Woodhull. When this interview appeared, it focused on the position of women and the issue of polygamy.⁴¹⁸

Despite some friction between Harriette and Fox Bourne, the secretary of the A.P.S., the *Aborigines Friend*, the publication of that society, maintained a degree of interest in Zulu affairs and accorded the Exiles and Harriette some space in its pages, as part of an annual report and in the record of a speech by Harriette at an annual general meeting.⁴¹⁹ A.P.S. support was, it seems, a little jaded. One of Harriette's new supporters was H.G. Chancellor, the founder and owner of a short-lived progressive newspaper, the *Islington Londoner*, which published in instalments the full text of her address to the Highgate Hill Unitarian Church, under the heading 'British Rights and Duties in Africa'.⁴²⁰

414. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to Editor, *Liverpool Gazette*, (draft), 25 Mar.1897.

415. *Ibid.*, W.H. Golding to H.E. Colenso, 18 July (1896, int.ev.); H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 July 1896. See K.C.A.L., *Zulu Pamphlets*, for unidentified account of the interview, and Cory Library microfilm.

416. N.A., Col.Coll: Quelch, editor and leading socialist, to H.E. Colenso, 18 Feb. and 8 Mar.1897; Hill to H.E. Colenso, 15 Mar.1897; *The Social Democrat*, no.3, H.E. Colenso, 'Famine Making in Matabeleland', March 1897.

417. *Justice*, International News, 6 Feb.1897 (microfilm in Cory Library).

418. *The Humanitarian*, vol.X, no.3, S.A. Tooley, 'Social Customs of the Zulus, a Talk with Miss Colenso'. For the proprietor Woodhull, see Appendix 2, Biographical notes. S. Tooley, the reporter who interviewed Harriette subsequently achieved success as an author of books showing she had feminist, imperial, and religious interests.

419. *Aborigines Friend*, p.482, July 1895; pp.45-47, July 1896; p.243, 'Natal and Zululand', July 1897; pp.336-42, 'Changes in Zululand', March 1898.

420. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. *The Islington Londoner*, 15, 22 and 29 May, 5 and 12 June, 1896.

Many of Harriette's correspondents regretted the little attention given to her even by the local press. Cunninghame Graham, for example, thought her Edinburgh meeting had been boycotted entirely by the press.⁴²¹ In inviting her to Kew, S.E. O'Dell, an old acquaintance, observed that the audience was likely to be small, and the *Richmond Times* gave them short paragraphs.⁴²² Mrs Rollo Russell regretted that the *Islington Londoner* was so little-known a paper.⁴²³

Harriette learned not to expect much support from the great organs, and certainly not from the imperialist press. As indicated, an occasional letter or notice was the most that appeared, although these might well attract wide support as did her letter to the *Daily Chronicle* of 10 November 1896. With Flora Shaw, the prominent woman journalist of *The Times*, Harriette was quite out of sympathy.⁴²⁴

The impressive periodicals of the late Victorian age were also unsympathetic.⁴²⁵ In the main, published articles on South Africa addressed issues relating to Boer-British relations or the record of the Chartered Company. Support from the left-wing monthly journal, *The Reformer*, came late. Backed by Charles Bradlaugh's daughter, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, and her husband, this was issued at the price of 3d and aimed at 'progressive and liberal thinkers and workers'. It was a radical channel through which Harriette's ideas could flow into anti-imperialist currents.⁴²⁶

Probably the most substantial of Harriette's publications was the article that appeared in the *Asiatic and Quarterly Review* in the middle of 1897.⁴²⁷ This was on 'The Problem of Races in Africa'. It followed an article similarly entitled that had been published in April 1896 by Colonel Elsdale, an old acquaintance of Harriette. Dealing with the question of the white man's future in Africa, Elsdale prophesied survival in the more favourable

421. N.A., Col.Coll: R.B. Cunninghame Graham to H.E. Colenso, 18 Mar.1897.

422. *Ibid.*, S.E. O'Dell to H.E. Colenso, 3 July 1895.

423. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 27 May (1896, int.ev.).

424. See above, p.197.

425. N.A., Col.Coll: P. Bunting to H.E. Colenso, 29 June 1897.

426. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Zulu Documents: *The Reformer*, 'British Troubles in South Africa', 15 Sept., 15 Oct. and 15 Nov.1897; N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso, *British Troubles in South Africa*, reprinted from *The Reformer*, a journal for liberal and progressive thinkers and workers.

427. H.E. Colenso, 'The Problem of Races in Africa', *Asiatic and Imperial Quarterly Review*, July 1897.

part of Africa, provided that the white man followed a wise policy that avoided domination. Referring to the ideas of the eminent social philosophers of his day, Benjamin Kidd and Karl Pearson,⁴²⁸ Elsdale claimed that he was not as optimistic about the future of the white man as Kidd, who thought that the white man could continue to dominate Africa and rule it from European capitals, but he was not as pessimistic as Pearson, who foresaw the exclusion of the white man from control in Africa. Harriette's ideas did not correspond entirely with those of Elsdale. For example, he postulated the development of a vast Anglo-Dutch-Bantu dominion south of the Zambezi presided over by Cecil Rhodes as Governor-General. She thought the likelihood of such a state too distant to be taken seriously, and she certainly could not envisage Cecil John Rhodes as the Governor-General of such a dominion. Her own estimate of the powers and the potential of the black races was more favourable than that of Elsdale. They were more energetic and advanced in political organisation than Elsdale was prepared to concede. In addition, Elsdale underrated both the strength of tribal cohesion and its potential for good. Regretting that Elsdale had not made use of the Cape government commission on native (sic) laws and customs of 1883, Harriette endorsed the view that the Africans had not developed a form of representative government, but she maintained, nevertheless, that their laws embodied a national will. No chief would presume to alter the laws without taking counsel with his councillors, or referring the matter to his people. A chief so placed was important and it was, in her view, essential to retain not only the chiefs of lesser groups but the hereditary chiefs of the larger units. She argued that the Zulu people had already achieved an impressive degree of social cohesion and consolidation, and that the great national chiefs were not 'stumbling blocks' but 'stepping stones' to civilization. It was thus that she saw Dinuzulu who, though given only spasmodic help with his education, had shown that he could quickly absorb civilization. He had a claim on British justice and had learned to formulate it for himself.

Harriette had no reservations in endorsing the view of Elsdale that, if the whites were to survive in Africa, they must learn to act with the greatest possible justice to others. She recognised the interdependence of black and white in Africa and urged that it was crucial for whites not to deny or thwart the black advance in civilization. She quoted the warning of Sir Marshal Clarke that if we did not raise the African, 'he' would lower 'us'.

428. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

Her article ended on an ominous note, for she did not exclude the possibility of a general race war in South Africa. She concluded somewhat regretfully:

'This paper may seem hardly fitted for a season of Jubilee, but the best hope for peace lies in disclosing the real state of things. I should be no loyal subject of her, whom all of us in Africa, natives as well as Dutch and English, regard as our Mother, and the Fountain of Justice, if, on such an occasion, I spoke of peace - where there is not peace.'⁴²⁹

Her articles in *The Reformer* were published after Harriette had left Britain. They appeared under the title *British Troubles in South Africa*. She insisted that rights and duties were interlinked and she posed the question of Britain's role in Africa:

'We are trustees for humanity - it is our sole title to be a power in Africa - and for humanity we hold in trust the honor [sic] of the British nation. Are we fulfilling that trust?'

Some men - Dr Moffat and Marshal Clarke - deserved praise and some actions - the emancipation of slaves - were creditable, but elsewhere the record was dark. Harriette gave much attention to the case against the Chartered Company. She quoted an interview which Colenbrander gave to a newspaper to point to the way starvation was improving the labour supply. She pointed to the glaring moral anomalies in the Company's record: they indicted Lobengula for being bloodthirsty but were willing to increase his bloodthirstiness by granting him rifles. The Ndebele had trusted in the Queen's protection but had been shockingly treated. She was highly sceptical of the Company's account of the origins of the war of 1893 and indignant over the maltreatment of Ndebele envoys. In discussing the origins of the confrontation of 1896 Harriette's view was clearly that the policy of the Company had forced into rebellion thousands of Africans who were willing to remain friendly. In discussing the way the Company prosecuted the war her outrage at actions of brutality was intense. Racial superiority, if it existed, should be demonstrated in superior control not the indulgence of brutality. She was contemptuous of Rhodes' role as peacemaker. Appalled at the British record in the area, Harriette quoted with approval John Morley's call to conscience and respect for the moral law.

The paragraph that ended Harriette's public appeal in Britain was this:

'As for Africa, somewhere, afar off, there is no doubt a great future for that great continent. And since the native African is very patient, he may hope

429. See fn.427.

to share that future, for patience generally means strength; it is the weak nature that wastes itself in hurry and fretting. But what share in that future can we venture to hope for if we do not mend our ways?’

It was at once a profound and simple, as well as sombre, question.⁴³⁰

Harriette Colenso's Lectures and Talks

While Harriette was in Britain she spoke on Zulu issues and on related matters of current controversy in drawing rooms and at dinner tables and she reached a wider audience from Unitarian pulpits, humanitarian platforms, and socialist rostrums. Her audiences differed somewhat from those she had addressed during her first visit. Although she addressed a women's meeting in Essex in July 1896 and the Norwood and Strathams Women's Liberal Associations in November 1896,⁴³¹ she was not as involved as she had been with the Women's Liberal Federation and its local associations, to whom she recommended others rather than speak herself.⁴³² The Unitarian interest in her campaign was as strong as it had been in her first visit. It was stimulated by the Unitarian connections of the Rollo Russells. The Unitarian minister, Mr Street, introduced Harriette to the socialist leader, Dr Hyndman, and his daughter, and Harriette certainly found new audiences amongst socialist and labour groups.⁴³³ At one of the latter the usual segregation of the sexes was abandoned and the 'ladies' were admitted to hear her, while the men 'as a rule' stopped their smoking.⁴³⁴ There was one occasion she was cheated of an audience through local politics. This happened at Salop in Yorkshire, where Mr la Touche, a friend of her father whom she visited,⁴³⁵ would have liked to have arranged for her to speak. Unfortunately, an earlier rumpus over the use of the schoolroom was still rumbling and the plans were abandoned.⁴³⁶

The news of Jameson's abortive raid into the Transvaal put London into a ferment and set Harriette's thoughts into a whirl. Recognising that these were 'days of the most tremendous news from Johannesburg' Harriette declared nevertheless that she did not know

430. See fn.426. For Colenbrander, see Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

431. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 and 10 July 1896; Mrs Tooley to H.E. Colenso, 12 Dec.1896.

432. See above, p.229.

433. N.A., Col.Coll: H. Hyndman to H.E. Colenso, 11 Aug.1896.

434. *Ibid.*, A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, 7 May 1897.

435. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 18 Mar.1896.

436. *Ibid.*, Honey to La Touche, 10 Dec.1896.

whether to laugh or cry at the news of the invasion of the Transvaal by the Chartered Company. Having returned to London after a visit to Sir George Cox, Harriette summarised her views and perplexity to her sister:

'I got back safely from Scrayingham the day before yesterday & [sic] am very busy. I had promised a lantern Sunday afternoon address to the South Place Institute, and now this crisis makes it more important & [sic] I must not create a disturbance, but I cannot ignore the business, nor can I say that I regret Jameson's defeat, nor that I think the German Emperor unfriendly to us. The fact that the Germans of the Rand had appealed to him made it necessary that he shd [sic] say something. The Uitlander party here seize frantically on anything to divert public attention from the conspiracy, but I don't think they can succeed eventually.'⁴³⁷

On 19 January, with ink barely dry on the paper, Harriette delivered her lecture on the burning issues of the day in a crowded lecture room seating 200, where, she was told, she was the best draw of the season at the South Place Institute. Her audience pleased her. She was particularly gratified that they greeted the pictures of Sobantu and Cetshwayo with a will.⁴³⁸ But her lecture did not create a wider stir. An enquiry from Mr Andrew Reid about the publication of the lecture in a projected book on *Our Country's Peril and Remedy* seems to have been a dead end.⁴³⁹ This lecture - or perhaps the earlier one - was not published until later when it - or a re-worked version - appeared under the title *Zululand by Miss Colenso* as one of the articles (originally lectures given to the South Place Ethical Society) published in the book called *British Africa*.⁴⁴⁰

When John Westlake addressed a small meeting of the Women's Unionist Society, Harriette Colenso was there to back up his reference to the restoration of the Transvaal in the 1880s as 'magnanimous' and to notice that Flora Shaw, the imperialist *Times* correspondent, 'did not like it at all.'⁴⁴¹ Harriette had her own lecture to give again in mid-February, and by 20 February 1896 had given three. She commented that the Misses Bartle Frere, daughters of Sir Bartle, who had been expected, did not turn up for one of them.⁴⁴² She attended talks given by others, for example, Mr Maydon at the

437. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 2 and 16 Jan.1896.

438. *Ibid.*, 24 Jan.1896.

439. *Ibid.*, A. Reid to H.E. Colenso, 21 Jan.1896. No such book is listed in the British Library Catalogue of printed books.

440. See bibliography.

441. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 8 Feb.1896.

442. *Ibid.*, 20 Feb.1896.

Colonial Institute and Bishop Gaul on Mashonaland. She approved of Mr Maydon's views of the Zulu.⁴⁴³ Quite plainly Harriette was not following the patriotic drum. She thought Britain 'wrong all round' in regard to America, Armenia, and Ashanti.⁴⁴⁴

Harriette's essential message with its emphasis on how crucial the moral dimension should be in British policy did not alter, but she had to widen her scope to give attention to subjects that were current news. This meant searching for information. The Colensos were well versed in the art of reading between the lines of official reports and newspaper versions and of using the statements of opponents to tell against those who made them. Harriette - and Alice Werner - did this in regard to the events in what was known as 'Charterland'.⁴⁴⁵ Harriette also sought information from individual shareholders in the B.S.A. Company⁴⁴⁶ and from the A.P.S.⁴⁴⁷ Given greater drive by requests from humanitarian critics of the B.S.A Company, Harriette approached both F.R. Statham⁴⁴⁸ and W.Y. Campbell,⁴⁴⁹ former associates who visited Britain while she was there. Both, separately, attended her lectures and pleased Harriette by their praise, but neither gave her sincere support. Campbell was now a prominent member of the financial and *Uitlander* community on the Rand. Statham, busy with his own writings, was now so closely identified with the pro-Boer cause as to be in the pay of the South African Republic. He stressed the importance of 'cordial relations' between the white sections of the population.⁴⁵⁰ Neither could offer her much in regard to the 'Chartered horror'. Always tenacious in following whatever lead offered, Harriette communicated with Sarah Heckford, the intrepid if eccentric lady traveller and trader, about reports of flogging of women in Bulawayo.⁴⁵¹ She was in touch, too, with Mrs A.V. Kinloch who, with her husband, showed concern over conditions in Kimberley compounds.⁴⁵²

443. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 28 Feb.1896.

444. *Ibid.*, 2 Jan.1896.

445. *Ibid.*, A. Werner to H.E. Colenso, 2 Apr.(1897, int.ev.).

446. *Ibid.*, J. King to H.E. Colenso, 14 May, 3 Nov. and 2 Dec.1896.

447. *Ibid.*, W.A. Jones to H.E. Colenso, 28 Jan. and 6 Aug.1896.

448. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 5 Feb.1897.

449. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to W.Y. Campbell, 4 Mar.1897.

450. *Ibid.*, F.R. Statham to H.E. Colenso, 17 Oct.1895, 10 and 13 Nov.1896, 5, 9 and 16 Jan.1897 and 12 Aug.1897. For Campbell, see Edgecombe 'Aborigines Protection Society', p.174, fn.1.

451. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: S. Heckford to H.E. Colenso, 20 Oct.1896.

452. *Ibid.*, F. Mayo to H.E. Colenso, 14 Nov.1896. Mrs Kinloch became treasurer of the African Association on its formation in 1897.

Following the outbreak of the Ndebele confrontations with the Company in April and the later Shona turmoil, humanitarian attacks on the Company increased. Harriette observed that her own lectures were 'getting more Matabele'. She was aware of the analogies between the Ndebele and Zulu experience, as her letters to the Colonial Office and her public utterances show.⁴⁵³ She tackled broader themes like 'British Rights and Duties in South Africa' and the 'Scramble for Africa' as she appealed to audiences whose attention was caught more readily by immediate crises than by the plight of a small party of Exiles left stranded at St Helena as a consequence of a distant repercussion of the Anglo-Zulu War.⁴⁵⁴

Throughout her stay, meetings of the A.P.S. provided Harriette with an occasional platform. This was the case despite the bristling hostility between Fox Bourne and herself. Fox Bourne certainly felt no enthusiasm for annexation of Zululand to Natal, while Harriette sometimes thought the A.P.S. 'quite dead' and 'no use at all', and was sometimes irritated at being sidelined. Even in 1897 she and Fox Bourne were 'sulking' at each other.⁴⁵⁵ Nevertheless, a good measure of cordiality survived, and Harriette spoke at A.P.S. meetings and attended some of its functions. She was in time for the Society meeting in May 1895⁴⁵⁶ and she spoke briefly at the annual general meeting of May 1896.⁴⁵⁷ She was invited to the function held in March 1897 when the A.P.S. honoured Sir Marshal Clarke and Harry Johnston.⁴⁵⁸ On 7 April 1897 she attended a large meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel where she met John Morley and was impressed by his speech, which she quoted subsequently.⁴⁵⁹ She was drawn into the efforts of the Society to expand its activities into the provinces. Invited initially to Newcastle and Manchester, she attended the meeting at Manchester on 5 May 1897 where she was announced as one of the speakers at a meeting to be held in the Lord Mayor's parlour of the Town Hall. The purpose was to call attention to the wrongful acts being

453. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 8, 14 and 29 May 1896.

454. *Ibid.*, 19 Mar.1896. See above, p.425, for the titles of her articles in *Islington Londoner* and *The Reformer*.

455. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 July 1896 and (11?) Mar.1897.

456. *Aborigines Friend*, July 1895, H.E. Colenso seconded a motion at the annual general meeting of May 1895.

457. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 29 May 1896.

458. *Aborigines Friend*, 1897. *South Africa*, Our Notebook, report of A.P.S. annual general meeting, 17 Apr.1897.

459. N.A., Col.Coll: W. Thompson to H.E. Colenso, 9 Apr.1897; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 Apr.1897.

perpetrated in Africa and wherever European control was extended. The Belgian Congo and the area of Chartered Company operations were both mentioned as areas of wrongdoing in the circular which Fox Bourne issued.⁴⁶⁰

Lecturing kept her busy, reminded people of her existence, and brought her into contact with a number of interesting individuals. She had two lectures at least to give in February, one of them illustrated.⁴⁶¹ At one of her lectures in March she was supported by Dr Paul Moor a 'negro gentleman of the Church of England, that is, the American brand from Liberia'. In his remarks he suggested that he might find himself in trouble for having anything to do with her, given the suspicion of heresy.⁴⁶² In March she was evidently expecting to attend - and perhaps speak at - a missionary meeting.⁴⁶³ Her old acquaintance, Mr Stackpool E. O'Dell, whom she had met in connection with the Pioneer Reform Club previously, now invited her to Kew.⁴⁶⁴ Her subsequent lecture at Richmond was announced in *The Herald*.⁴⁶⁵ For this Harriette was the guest of Lady Russell and her family. She spoke in the Presbyterian Hall on Thursday 26 March. Her subject was 'The Transvaal Troubles from a Zulu Point of View', and the chairman of her meeting was Mr Rollo Russell, the son of Lord John Russell and the Dowager Lady Frances Russell.⁴⁶⁶ Harriette spoke subsequently at a drawing room meeting at the Hyde Park home of Mrs Rollo Russell.⁴⁶⁷

Visits to the Rollo Russells who lived for the most part in Haslemere, Surrey, were frequent. One of them came in June 1897 when Harriette took her young niece Angela, the daughter of Robert and Emily, away from London at the time of the Jubilee procession.⁴⁶⁸ Agnes at Bishopstowe simultaneously declined an invitation to Government House. With the Exiles still at St Helena, thwarted in their wish to visit

460. *Ibid.*, H.R. Fox Bourne to H.E. Colenso, 20 and 27 Apr.1897; Circular issued by Fox Bourne, 27 Apr.1897.

461. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to Revd Packard, 18 Feb.1896.

462. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 6 Mar.1896.

463. *Ibid.*, J.H. Watson to H.E. Colenso, 17 Mar.1896.

464. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 18 Mar.1896.

465. See above p.423.

466. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 2 Apr.1896; printed notice of lecture: *The Transvaal Trouble from a Zulu Point of View*, by Miss Colenso in Presbyterian Hall, the Quadrant, Richmond, Thursday 26 Mar.1896.

467. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 Apr.1896.

468. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 14 June (1897, int.ev.); H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 18 June 1897.

England and not yet repatriated, the Colensos and their friends felt that 'our House' had not been invited. Colenso comments on the Jubilee were often sharp. They deplored the taint of financial self-interest involved in the plans of loyal subjects. They noted, with some irony it seems, that Escombe was in the last carriage of the procession of colonial premiers, for precedence was determined by the size of the white population. Frank deliberately refused to watch the procession because the Rhodesian Horse were to take part in it. Harriette's two sisters-in-law evidently watched the procession from the windows of Frank's office.⁴⁶⁹ In St Helena, however, the Exiles, while lamenting their absence from London, participated fully in the celebrations of the Jubilee.⁴⁷⁰

The Rollo Russells clearly admired Harriette and did what they could to help her efforts. Teasingly Mrs Rollo Russell wrote, 'We both so much enjoyed our little talk with you on Saturday and wish with all our hearts that you were queen of South Africa!'⁴⁷¹ Admiring friends, they told her, intended to have Bishop Colenso's 'Sermon on Rain' translated into German.⁴⁷² They discussed Harriette with the Barnetts of Toynbee Hall, where Harriette was invited to dine and lecture, and the Russells asked her to join them in attending an exhibition that was held there.⁴⁷³ They encouraged their friends, many of them Unitarian ministers, to invite her to speak, and a number of invitations followed.⁴⁷⁴ She was invited to speak at Oxford because Mr E. Carpenter, prompted by Rollo Russell, suggested her name to Miss Maitland of Somerville.⁴⁷⁵

There were other invitations as well. In April 1896 the association for 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoons'⁴⁷⁶ claimed her attention at the Lighthouse of the United Methodist Free Church at Walthamstow. In addition she was invited to speak at the general meeting of a small society that existed for the elimination of race prejudice in May.⁴⁷⁷ She was in Birmingham later that month for a meeting which caused the *Birmingham Gazette* to

469. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 23 Apr. and 18 June 1897.

470. Interview with H.E. Colenso, *Daily Chronicle*, 24 July 1897. Z.G.H.777/494/897: Dinuzulu to Ntsizambi, c.July 1897.

471. N.A., Col.Coll: Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 2 Apr.1896.

472. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 23 Oct.1897.

473. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 17 May and 14 June (1897?).

474. *Ibid.*, 18 May (1896?) and 18 Aug.1896.

475. *Ibid.*, Miss Maitland to H.E. Colenso, 30 Jan. and 5 Feb.(1896?).

476. *Ibid.*, H.E. Sharpe to H.E. Colenso, 8 Apr.1896.

477. Probably the society for the eradication of race prejudice founded by Miss C. Impey, see Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: S. Marks to H.E. Colenso, 3 Mar.1896.

'howl'.⁴⁷⁸ There was a 'nice lecture' at Haslemere, from where she had to rush to give a lecture at Southend, which she had almost forgotten. She found a most attentive audience.⁴⁷⁹

When she was invited once more to lecture at Highgate Hill by the Unitarian minister, the Revd A. Spears, Harriette chose as her topic 'British Rights and Duties in South Africa'. Her lecture attracted the attention of the local press and it was published in full, in instalments, by the *Islington Londoner*. The immediate report published by that newspaper is worth quoting:

'On Sunday night the Highgate Hill Unitarian Church was well filled with an audience largely composed of visitors whom the name of Miss Colenso, the daughter of the famous heterodox Bishop of Natal, had drawn there to listen to a discourse on South African affairs. Many of our daily contemporaries have discounted Miss Colenso's opinions on the grounds that she is an enthusiast inclined to extreme views. But however extreme may be her views, the address on Sunday night was full of that calm moderation which to an enthusiast would be utterly impossible unless the views enunciated were based on impregnable fact and invincible justice.

In a quiet voice, which was heard in every corner of the church, and with a sense of power which disdained the use of declamation and rhetoric, Miss Colenso read out a terrible indictment of British policy in South Africa.'

The report concluded:

'The address was listened to with the closest attention, and great interest was manifest.'⁴⁸⁰

The *Islington Londoner* was 'a little known paper', and Harriette found, when she approached the editors of major reviews with her text, that they were not interested in material that had already been used as a lecture and published.⁴⁸¹

In July 1896 she lectured to the Women's Liberal Association in Essex and had two further meetings scheduled for 26 July.⁴⁸² On her return from Scotland where she visited her nephew, Eric, at his school at Glendalmond, Perth - and held forth to the

478. *Birmingham Gazette*, 2 June 1896.

479. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 May 1896.

480. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll: *Islington Londoner*, dated in ink, 15 May 1896.

481. N.A., Col.Coll: T. Fisher Unwin to H.E. Colenso, 23 May 1896.

482. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 July 1896.

schoolmasters -⁴⁸³ a pulpit was secured for her at Norwood.⁴⁸⁴ Then came an invitation to Guildford, where the minister was an unfortunate young clergyman, who having found himself curate to an agnostic Church of England clergyman, 'gave up everything' to join the Unitarians.⁴⁸⁵ But Harriette postponed Guildford because she preferred to support Alice Werner who was due to give her first lecture at the South Place Ethical Society on 25 October 1896.⁴⁸⁶ On an evening early in November 1896 Harriette was at Brixton as the guest of the Unitarian Debating Society, and she planned to return for a meeting of the W.S.A (Women's Suffragette Association).⁴⁸⁷ She was invited, too, to the Hindhead Congregational Church.⁴⁸⁸ Having lectured on the last Sunday in November to the Bow and Bromley branch of the Social Democratic Federation at Bow,⁴⁸⁹ she was asked 'to favour with a public meeting' the Westbourne Park Sunday afternoon conference in December. Frank was gratified by her success in Dr Clifford's impressive chapel.⁴⁹⁰ 'Large assemblage - all very cordial', he told his wife. She delivered lectures in Manchester in December 1896, which gained some press coverage.⁴⁹¹ She would have discoursed on her favourite topics in conversation at the 'At Home' given by Mr Peace the Colonial Agent on 3 December 1896.⁴⁹²

In the new year she was as busy as ever. Early in February she summarised her activities for Agnes:

'I've had rather a hard-worked week. On Sat. to Leeds for a very good lecture, but bad weather - heavy snow. Back the same evening for a Sunday lecture for the Social Democratic Federation in the Strand, Mrs Aveling in the chair, very hearty & [sic] has led to an invitation to do it again at the Battersea branch, on Sunday week. Then I had to reduce my lecture to get in the slides & [sic] give it at Ealing last night, wedged in between an appointment at the House of Commons, and one this morning with Sir Marshal Clarke.'⁴⁹³

483. *Ibid.*, 16 and 30 July 1896.

484. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 18 Aug.(1896?).

485. *Ibid.*, Oct.1896.

486. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 Oct.1896; S.J. Gregg to H.E. Colenso, 23 Nov.1896.

487. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 6 Nov.1896.

488. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 2 Nov.1896.

489. *Ibid.*, E.E. Metivier to H.E. Colenso, 10 Nov.1896; E. Moir to H.E. Colenso, 6 Dec.1896; J.P. Weale to H.E. Colenso, 23 Nov.1896; H. Gazett to H.E. Colenso, 25 Nov.1896.

490. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Colenso Papers: F.E. Colenso to S.J. Colenso, 6 Dec.1896. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

491. N.A., Col.Coll: D. Olivier to H.E. Colenso, 7 and 8 Dec.1896.

492. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 4 Dec.1896.

493. *Ibid.*, 5 Feb.1897.

She was invited to Bowden where a friend of Robert taught at Bowden College.⁴⁹⁴ Then there was her address to the Free Christian Church at Horsham in February 1897. The report of the meeting in the *Sussex Daily News* shows Harriette loyally re-iterating familiar Colenso contentions. She insisted on the moral dimension: England must have a duty in South Africa. While she claimed for the European a place in the future of Africa, she insisted that this must be on the basis of share and share alike: 'The crowded nations of Europe had treasures to exchange for (Africa's) broad acres, her gold and her diamonds' but if the rights of Africans were ignored 'a law above human law' would enforce them. The 'natives' of Africa showed no signs of dying out. They outnumbered the Europeans and in the recent troubles in Johannesburg they had almost brought the gold mines to a halt by taking flight. She then surveyed past history by re-iterating the Colenso interpretations of events: the Zulu War had been fought on false pretences; the forbearance of Cetshwayo had saved Natal from invasion after Isandlwana; her father's efforts to end the war had been spurned. She reminded readers that the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 had been an example of wrong-doing which Britain had subsequently acknowledged as such. She ended with an attack on the Chartered Company. To entrust the responsibility of government to a Chartered Company was a more recent wrong. It had resulted in 'the affair at Johannesburg' and the 'bloodstained possession of Matabeleland'. She received a hearty vote of thanks.⁴⁹⁵

Early in March 1897 she was 'off to Oxford & [sic] Edinburgh'.⁴⁹⁶ Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner suggested a lecture in Scotland in January 1897, but it seems to have been R.B. Cunninghame Graham who was especially interested in this, although he did not himself attend the lecture, being out of town at the time. What he did suggest was that Harriette Colenso and Olive Schreiner should share a public platform. That, he was sure, would be a success, and might even pay.⁴⁹⁷ Harriette reported to Agnes:

'I have got through my Oxford & (sic) Edinburgh lectures very satisfactorily & now have to open a debate at Morley College tomorrow ... and next week Liverpool & Bowden ... you can tell Moses [Sibisi - catechist at St Mary's] that at Oxford I stood by the very place where Latimer & Ridley bishops

494. *Ibid.*, Headmaster of Bowden College to H.E. Colenso, 1 and 23 Feb.1897.

495. *Sussex Daily News*, 'Miss Colenso at Horsham', Friday 12 Feb.1897.

496. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 4 Mar.1897.

497. *Ibid.*, H.B. Bonner to H.E. Colenso, 13 Jan.1897 and R.B. Cunninghame Graham to H.E. Colenso, 27 Feb. and 18 Mar.1897.

were burned to death.⁴⁹⁸

She had many more lectures to accept, but her friends were not able to arrange for her to lecture at Cambridge.⁴⁹⁹ On 11 April 1897 she addressed a meeting of the Wigan branch of the Social Democratic Federation, where she presented two copies of her father's *Life*. She lectured in Liverpool on 21 April.⁵⁰⁰ Earlier in April she had taken part in a small debate where Fox Bourne and her friend, Miss Browne, shared a platform in a debate against Mr Fort, an imperialist writer, who was thought to have written a vindication of Lord Loch, whose private secretary, Harriette believed, he had been.⁵⁰¹ On 2 April she was due to give a lecture similar to the one she had already given at Bowden.⁵⁰² There are indications of an important engagement at the Essex Church on 30 April.⁵⁰³ In these weeks she twice addressed the United Tobacco Workers' Club and Institute at Whitechapel. On 7 May she told Agnes:

'... on Monday (I) gave a lantern lecture to the United Tobacco Workers with wh (sic) the boys were real pleased & (sic) ladies attended for the first time in the history of the club. On Tuesday I went to Wokingham near Reading for another lecture ... to Manchester the next day in time for the enclosed meeting. This is a poor account!'⁵⁰⁴

Later that month Harriette visited Birmingham,⁵⁰⁵ where she may well have met George Cadbury, the eminent Quaker industrialist and philanthropist. In June 1897 she went to Weymouth at the invitation of Miss Heather Gaskell, a niece of the novelist, and found a morning congregation for her father's confirmation address and an evening group of 45-50 to whom she spoke about the Ndebele and Shona and the demoralisation of the white man.⁵⁰⁶ She went to Eastbourne, where she took a morning and evening service for a Unitarian congregation and read one of her father's later sermons at the morning service. In the evening she lectured on the events that afflicted the Ndebele and

498. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, Mar.1897.

499. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 7 and 14 Feb.1897.

500. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 16 Apr.1897; F.E. Cooke to H.E. Colenso, Apr.1897; J. Hill, secretary of the Wigan branch of the Social Democratic Federation, 8 Mar.1897 and later letter, n.d.

501. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 2 Apr.1897.

502. *Ibid.*

503. *Ibid.*, Mrs Rollo Russell to H.E. Colenso, 21 Mar.(1897, int.ev.).

504. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 9 Apr. and 7 May.

505. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Colenso Papers: F.E. Colenso to S.J. Colenso, 21 Apr.1897. N.A., Col.Coll: J.H. Whithouse (of the Ruskin Society) to H.E. Colenso, 29 July 1897.

506. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 3 June 1897; Revd E. Bennett and C. Gaskell to H.E. Colenso, 29 Apr., 10 and 17 May 1897.

Shona.⁵⁰⁷ Harriette was also invited to address a meeting of the Women's International Progressive Union in Mowbray House on 16 June 1897, but she had reservations about accepting. The Society evidently enjoyed the patronage of W.T. Stead, and his pro-Rhodes views were anathema to Harriette.⁵⁰⁸

One of the interesting personalities with whom Harriette had dealings was H. Salt, the founder and honorary secretary of the Humanitarian League.⁵⁰⁹ He had resigned as an Eton schoolmaster to become a self-avowed 'faddist' and - it seems - an unwitting pioneer of today's Green Peace Movement. He invited Harriette to speak at a meeting to be held in Trafalgar Square to protest against Spanish atrocities. It is not clear whether she did; but it is unlikely. Harriette scorned the British outcries against the injustices perpetrated by others, when there was so much guilt, as she believed, on British hands. She made this attitude plain when she discussed the outcry against the Armenian massacres.

A lecture at Toynbee Hall later in June was the last of Harriette's engagements of the season. It was a fitting end to her public speaking in Britain which shows the paradox of her appeal to public opinion. In her lecture on 'England's Trouble with the Natives (sic) of South Africa' Harriette denounced the Chartered Company and forced labour.⁵¹⁰ Her impact on her audience, at Toynbee Hall as elsewhere, may well have been negligible. From the British perspective Harriette, to many, was a peripheral figure, and the Zulu people distant and unimportant. She was only one of a number of lecturers at Toynbee Hall, and her name was not included in the selective list of lecturers inserted into the biography of Canon Barnett, the warden, to illustrate the range of topics brought to the attention of Toynbee Hall audiences.⁵¹¹ For all that, however, Toynbee Hall in its context stood for the kind of values which Harriette tried to promote in hers: in the realm of ideas, a confidence in the ultimate reconciliation of faith and reason which justified a wide and wise tolerance and, among people (classes in Whitechapel, races in Natal), a recognition of mutual interdependence and potential for mutual improvement.

507. *Ibid.*, E. Bukett to H.E. Colenso, several letters of May 1897; H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 7 May 1897.

508. *Ibid.*, Mdlle A. Vieglé to H.E. Colenso, 18 May 1897.

509. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. *The Times*, obituary notice, H. Salt, 20 Apr. 1939. N.A., Col.Coll: H. Salt to H.E. Colenso, 14 (possibly 17) May 1897. See above, p.421.

510. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 11 June 1897; *South Africa*, 19 June 1897.

511. See bibliography.

Harriette received other invitations to speak but, once she realised that the chiefs were to return, that a visit to England for the Exiles was denied, and that she could do no more to safeguard Dinuzulu's position, she arranged to leave Britain in September 1897.⁵¹² She would wait with the Exiles at St Helena for further decision.

To her supporters in Britain it seemed that she had been successful. Jane Unwin-Cobden enthused, 'I have been so delighted to read the good news - And now by Christmas you will have the Chiefs back in Zululand again - how glad you must feel!'

Harriette was more sombre. While friends congratulated her,⁵¹³ Harriette knew the hurt of failure, foreboding, and betrayal. During her stay in Britain she had come to regret, more and more bitterly, her earlier advocacy of the incorporation of Zululand into Natal and to realise, more and more clearly, that the fault lay less with the Governor of Natal and the Colonial Office men (whom she had blamed at first) but more with the Natal ministers (who had misled her) and with herself, because she had allowed herself to be misled. By the time she left Britain, Harriette, exaggerating the goodwill of the Colonial Office, wished that Natal would reject the annexation proposal. Her main hope for the future, however, lay in the resilience and potential of the Zulu people. Harriette and Agnes, disappointed in *abelungu* (white people) thought of themselves more and more as *tina Zulu* (we Zulu) and identified with the fortunes of those they served.

512. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 13 Aug.1897.

513. *Ibid.*, J. Cobden-Unwin to H.E. Colenso, Tuesday (July 1897, int.ev.); cf. Mrs Whatman to H.E. Colenso, Wednesday (July 1897, int.ev.): 'Dear, Have you seen this in the *Morning Post*? It is delightful to think you have made Chamberlain one mind with you.'

CHAPTER NINE

Homeward Bound

Though invitations to speak were still arriving, Harriette sailed from England to St Helena early in September 1897,¹ before the publication in *The Reformer* of her article 'British Troubles in Africa' which appeared in monthly instalments.² Her sister and friends - some of whom sent her money - hoped she would not travel second class, but Harriette found the economy a successful experiment.³ While pleased that the return of the *abaNtwana* had been definitely announced,⁴ Harriette knew that there was still reason for anxiety, and the attitudes of British sympathisers did not entirely mesh with her own feelings. The *Daily Chronicle* published an account of an interview with her in July. Harriette recognised that this was kindly meant, but she did not approve of its content,⁵ and sympathisers who congratulated Harriette on the return of the chiefs were more jubilant than Harriette herself.⁶

Harriette was heartened by what she found at St Helena. As her vessel approached the Island, Dinuzulu and Daniels rowed out to meet her, and Dinuzulu was entertained to luncheon by a 'big Dutchman', a fellow passenger of Harriette. On the Island the Exiles were now living in two households: Dinuzulu at Francis Plain and Ndabuko and Shingana in Maldivia, a house nearer to Jamestown. Harriette spent some time in each establishment. The uncles' treatment of her at Maldivia was 'perfectly lovely', while Dinuzulu moved out of his own bedroom at Francis Plain to accommodate her, an action of which Harriette - after all, a Victorian lady - approved, 'My position towards him being that of a paternal aunt the arrangement is strictly proper.'⁷

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1. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 20 Aug. and 20 Sept.1897 (on the back of a letter from K.M. Lyell to H.E. Colenso, 8 Sept.1897).
 2. H.E. Colenso, 'British Troubles in South Africa', *The Reformer*. Sept., Oct. and Nov.1897.
 3. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 20 Aug. and 3 Sept.1897; M.E. Kensett to H.E. Colenso, 17 Aug.1897; K.M. Lyell to H.E. Colenso, 8 Sept.1897; (Old Ref: Box 196): J. Cobden-Unwin to H.E. Colenso, Tues (July or Aug.1897?); (Old Ref: Box 147): A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, n.d (c.July 1897, int.ev.).
 4. British *Hansard*, 4th series, vol.51, cols 499-505, 19 July 1897.
 5. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to S. Buxton, 28 July 1897.
 6. *Ibid.*, E. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, 29 July 1897; J. Cobden-Unwin to H.E. Colenso, Tuesday (July or Aug.1897?).
 7. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 17 Oct.1897.

Sunday services alternated between the households: Paul Mthimkhulu conducted the services at Francis Plain with Magama playing the hymn tunes on the American organ that Dinuzulu had imported into St Helena, and Harriette herself conducted the services at Maldivia.⁸ There were social engagements. Harriette and Dinuzulu attended a small colonial ball, with Harriette appreciating both the 'intense satisfaction' that her dress - 'the long-tailed black one' - gave to the 'Zulu section of the family' and Dinuzulu's discretion in leaving when she did, after supper.⁹ The wedding of Governor Sterndale's daughter was a social occasion for all the Islanders, for the recently appointed Governor was himself a St Helena man.¹⁰ Harriette, having given a book as a wedding present, happily scrambled up to Plantation House, some distance from Jamestown for the occasion.¹¹

What pleased Harriette particularly was the harmony among the *abaNtwana* and the attitude of Dinuzulu. He was, she said, 'as ... good as ever',¹² interested in the improvement of his people but anxious too that the habits - even the clothes - he had acquired through his contact with civilisation should not be a barrier between him and his people.¹³ Harriette obviously thought him well qualified to be the leader destined to bring his people into a better future. She praised his willingness to make friends with Zibhebhu.¹⁴ Harriette was a little put out by Dinuzulu's friendship with Canon Barraclough, the Anglican clergyman on St Helena who had been teaching Dinuzulu.¹⁵ Earlier she had suspected Barraclough's influence, blaming him for a report that Dinuzulu wished to marry St Helena wives. Now she was irritated by his expressed disapproval of her father's teachings.¹⁶

There were doubts as well as delights. The *abaNtwana* at this stage trusted Escombe rather more than Harriette did, but they had misgivings about Natal. Discussing the events of January 1895, Ndabuko commented that Escombe had been beguiled when he asked her

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, 10 Nov.1897.

10. *Ibid.*, Mrs Sterndale to H.E. Colenso, 19 May 1897.

11. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 17 Oct.1897.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to M. Clarke, 12 Nov.1897.

14. *Ibid.*

15. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

16. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 2 Jan.1896; Revd Barraclough to H.E. Colenso, 4 Oct.1897.

to support the annexation of Zululand to Natal as a move which would strengthen Escombe's parliamentary friends, and the Exiles thought Natal's rejection of Escombe as Prime Minister - the result of the September 1897 elections in Natal - a sign of colonial hostility to themselves. 'How Natal does hate us,' they said.¹⁷

When Harriette arrived at St Helena the Exiles had already seen newspaper reports of Chamberlain's announcement of their return, and responded to it. In his despatch of 16 July Chamberlain stated that he intended to arrange their return to Zululand before the end of the year, but that they would not be allowed to visit England.¹⁸ The Zulu reply to the Secretary of State of early September, written probably with the help of Magera, told him they were 'very sorry' that their request to visit Britain had been disappointed, and expressed their anxieties about the future in putting forward 'four words' or observations. They feared the further loss of land that would be distributed into farms. They hoped that they would continue to have access to the government of Britain to counteract the decisions of Natal with which they were dissatisfied. They complained again about the loss of land to the Boers. They raised once again the old complaints about the grave sites in the emaKhosini district.¹⁹

Though Harriette did not write this letter, and was not in London when it arrived, her vigorous championship of the *abaNtwana* ensured that their views would be given some sort of hearing, if only to ensure that the official reply was one that could be published in a Blue Book without damaging the reputation of the Secretary of State or the Colonial Office.²⁰ Minutes in the Colonial Office show officials busy justifying past decisions and anxious to avoid complications. Old interpretations of past events and false expectations of the future were conjured up against the uSuthu pleas. Officials re-circulated the former idea that the uSuthu had only themselves to blame for the loss of land to the Boers, but they blocked any further discussion over such past issues. A suggestion that Dinuzulu be

17. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to M. Clarke, 12 Nov.1897.

18. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 10 Nov.1897; C.8782, p.16, no.26: Chamberlain to R.A. Sterndale, 16 July 1897.

19. C.8782, p.17, enclosure in no.27: Dinuzulu, Ndabuko and Shingana to Chamberlain, 4 Sept.1897. For emaKhosini district see C. de B. Webb & J. Wright, J.B. (eds) *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring People*. 4 vols. (Pietermaritzburg, 1976-1986), vol.3, p.108. C.5143 between pp.10-11, map of the emaKhosini region, 1887. See above, pp.87-88.

20. C.8782 was published in March 1898. See above, p.405.

sent Blue Books was scotched.

British officials adopted as their own what was evidently one Zulu view of the past: the Zulu were a conquered people, it was for the British to decide their future, and even the appearance of consulting with the Zulu people was unnecessary. F. Graham summed up the prevailing attitude of hostility to the uSuthu and to the Colensos:

'I am sorry for Dinuzulu who was a mere child and a tool in the hands of his uncles & [sic] other bad advisers both at the time of the Boer incursion and when he rebelled: but he must suffer with the rest. The uSuthu as a party deserve no consideration whatever.'

He went on to blame the uSuthu and the Colensos for the ruin of Zululand: the uSuthu for their pretensions; the Colensos for the way they had supported these pretensions.²¹

The official reply to the uSuthu requests about land and control in Zululand was brief and inadequate: they could 'rest assured' that in the arrangements which were being made with the Natal government 'due provision would be made for the protection of the interests of the Zulu people.'²² Only the question of the emaKhosini grave sites received further attention. The Colonial Office instructed local officials that enquiries were to be made.

While others decided policy, Harriette had personality problems to deal with at St Helena. First there was Magama Magwaza Fuze himself. He had broken his leg the previous year in a severe fall and was hospitalised briefly. Fuze claimed he fell on his way to Rupert's Valley when Dinuzulu sent him to Miss Burchell (Dinuzulu's music teacher) to enquire for letters from Harriette who, suspecting official interference with letters, sometimes wrote *via* Miss Burchell. Though R.A. Sterndale gave Magama the benefit of the doubt, others - including Grey-Wilson and Dinuzulu - intimated that Magama had been out on a nocturnal escapade, womanising and drinking. Believing this, Harriette had already decided that - if the *abaNtwana* were to visit Britain - Magama would not do as interpreter. Now she found that he was again in trouble with a St Helena woman, and this called for her attention.²³ To Harriette the official guardians, Madden and Daniels, were

21. C.O.427/150/20822, no.92: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 4 Sept.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just, 8 Oct.1897 and F. Graham, 21 Oct.1897. See above, p.404.

22. C.8782, p.19, no.32: Chamberlain to Sterndale, 29 Oct.1897, enclosing reply to the Exiles.

23. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to Dinuzulu (in Zulu), 2 Oct.1896; to A.M. Colenso, 9 Apr., 16 July and 10 Nov.1897. C.O.247/148/26241; Grey-Wilson to Chamberlain, 8 Jan.1897, enclosing letter, Dinuzulu to H.E. Colenso, 6 Dec.1896. Z.G.H.778/568/1897; R.A. Sterndale to Hely-

'pestilent'. Previously, Daniels and Mubi, the Bishopstowe man Harriette left at St Helena for a few months in 1895, had come to blows which left Mubi injured and Daniels nursing a bitten hand.²⁴ Now Madden and Dinuzulu were involved in a verbal exchange into which Sterndale was drawn. The Governor insisted that, if Dinuzulu's words had been correctly translated, he would be unable to receive Dinuzulu until he had withdrawn them and apologised.²⁵ Then there was a vigorous and vehement row between Ndabuko and his former friend, Father Daine, the Roman Catholic priest whose services Ndabuko attended. The Ndabuko-Daine *contretemps* was over a gun - 'of all things' - as Harriette commented. Ndabuko's version of the row was that, having left a gun in Daine's keeping, he found that the priest would not, or could not, either return the actual gun or pay him full value for it. Harriette was at her wits' end: she offered to buy a book from Daine to give him the money he needed to pay Ndabuko, but found that she had to 'pull Ndabuko through' a court action on the subject.²⁶ 'Oh dear, what a family it is', she had confided to Agnes earlier when, in England, she had contemplated from a distance the problems presented by the Exiles and their associates.²⁷

Debts incurred by the *abaNtwana* and their party on the Island were a separate problem. Father Daine alleged that Dinuzulu owed him money.²⁸ Indeed, the Zulus seem to have bought freely on St Helena. Dinuzulu was willing to pledge his income for four months to clear the debts, but Sterndale scaled down the amount owed by refusing to accept claims for the supply of liquor, for which no vouchers could be produced.²⁹ In December 1897 Hely-Hutchinson issued a proclamation to protect Dinuzulu by prohibiting the seizure of the grants to chiefs for the recovery of debts.³⁰

Hutchinson, 17 Aug.1897. M.M. Fuze, *The Black People and Whence They Came: a Zulu View*. Translated by H.C. Lugg, edited by A.T. Cope (Pietermaritzburg, 1979), pp.135-36.

24. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 24 Jan., 14 Feb and 17 Oct.1897. C.O.247/148/3182, no.8: Grey-Wilson to Chamberlain, 3 (sic, 23?) Jan.1896, enclosing letter, Dinuzulu to H.E. Colenso, 20 Jan.1896. Fuze, *The Black People*, p.133 and pp.182-83.
25. N.A., Col.Coll: R.A. Sterndale to H.E. Colenso, 23 Oct.1897.
26. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 25 June and 12 Dec.1897; H.E. Colenso: Memorandum on the Ndabuko/Father Daine Controversy, n.d; H.E. Colenso to Father Daine, letters, various dates.
27. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 14 Feb.1896.
28. C.O.247/150: Dinuzulu to Governor, Zululand, 6 Aug.1897.
29. Z.G.H.779/6/98: Hely-Hutchinson to Sterndale, 28 Sept.1897, and Sterndale to Hely-Hutchinson, 20 Dec.1897, with invoices.
30. C.O.427/28/600: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 17 Dec.1897.

After the date of departure from St Helena was finally settled, Harriette was busy helping the Exiles pack up all the possessions they had accumulated over a decade and prepare for their departure. Sterndale told Dinuzulu of the conditions of his repatriation and described the position that was intended for him after his return. Drawing on an Indian saying, Sterndale used a colourful and foreboding metaphor to illustrate his warning. 'If you want to live in the water don't quarrel with the alligator', he admonished Dinuzulu and the Exiles. They repeated the phrase several times. Harriette, at Sterndale's invitation, was present at the interview.³¹ She was on good terms with Sterndale. They had met while in England, on one occasion at Waterloo station when the Sterndales were about to depart. There had been other meetings. Sterndale had given her news of the Exiles. He had told her of Dinuzulu's carpentry and his own daughter's wedding, and invited her to lunch.³² Now at St Helena, with the Exiles on the point of departure, he was grateful to her for moderating the demands of the Exiles, who would abandon no possessions - not even empty shoe boxes or packing cases.³³ Sterndale assured her that the Exiles left many friends behind them when they embarked from St Helena.³⁴ Some of these were reluctant to stay. When a St Helena woman wanted to accompany Dinuzulu to Zululand, Harriette, obviously aware of all the complications to which this might lead, intervened vigorously, although what she had to say evidently did not deter Dinuzulu from inviting two St Helena women to Zululand later.³⁵ There are present day inhabitants of St Helena who trace their descent from Dinuzulu and the Exiles.³⁶

Harriette and the unfortunate Magera travelled with the *abaNtwana* and their dependents when they left St Helena.³⁷ Harriette feared that unsympathetic Natal politicians - the 'Hulett faction' as she called them (because J.L. Hulett, M.L.A., sugar-planter and now

31. C.8782, p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897.

32. N.A., Col.Coll: Sterndale to H.E. Colenso, 28 Nov.1895, 22 Jan., 11 Aug. and 7 Oct.1896, 13 Apr.1897.

33. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 2 Dec.1897; C.8782 p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897.

34. N.A., Col.Coll: Sterndale to A.M. Colenso, 31 Mar.1898.

35. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to M. Johnstone, 17 Oct.1897; to F. Roderick, Jan.1898; Sterndale to H.E. Colenso, 31 Mar.1898.

36. Personal information from the late Daphne Gifford, Ph.D, formerly assistant keeper at the P.R.O. P. Engblom in SABC Radio SAFM interview in *Women's World*, Oct.1996: P. Engblom, 'St Helena' in *House and Leisure*, Oct.1996.

37. Fuze, *The Black People*, p.137.

Secretary for Native Affairs, was hostile to the uSuthu)³⁸ - might prevent her doing this, but she had an ally in Governor Sterndale. He pointed out that, if Harriette were denied permission to travel with the *abaNtwana*, she would simply go ahead of the party and be in Durban to greet them.³⁹ Officials in the Colonial Office did not welcome the circumstance that the chiefs would appear to be returning 'under Miss Colenso's auspices' but, since it could not be prevented, they thought Natal should treat the matter with indifference and telegraphed to Pietermaritzburg that Miss Colenso was accompanying the returning Exiles.⁴⁰

In the meanwhile Natal prepared to receive them. Zululand was at length annexed. Escombe collaborated with the government in drafting and enacting the necessary legislation.⁴¹ There was prior consultation with the imperial government to obviate subsequent disallowance,⁴² and in the meanwhile the British government attended to the legal formalities necessary to ensure that, when Natal took over Zululand, it would assume responsibility for the government of Tongaland as well.⁴³ Joseph Chamberlain and the Colonial Office were tidying up the map of south-east Africa at a time when Natal was much less vulnerable to the animosity of the South African Republic and - having been disappointed in the economic gains she had once sought from the Republic - more willing to think in terms of an economic future involving closer ties with the Cape province.⁴⁴

The terms of the Act for the Annexation of Zululand (Act No.37 of 1897) were a tribute to the skill and tenacity of the Natal politicians in securing the maximum possible

38. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 17 Oct.1897.

39. C.8782, p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897.

40. C.O.247/150/26806: Sterndale to Chamberlain, secret, 23 Nov.1897. Minutes by H.W. Just and F. Graham, 15 Dec.1897.

41. C.8782, p.18, no.30: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 23 Oct.1897.

42. *Ibid.*, p.21, no.37: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 8 Oct.1897.

43. *Ibid.*, p.29, no.47: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 26 Nov.1897, with enclosure, Proclamation, Zululand No.10 1897, published 23 Nov.1897; pp.30-32, no.49: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 30 Dec.1897, with enclosure Natal Government Gazette (Extraordinary), Government Notices No.10 1897, 24 Dec.1897, Letters Patent 30 Nov.1897, and Zululand No.XIV, 1897 Proclamation, 24 Dec.1897.

44. The shift in Natal's attitude prior to the South African War is described in *i.a.* R. Ovendale, 'Natal, the Transvaal and the Origins of the Second Anglo-Boer War'. Paper presented at the Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand, University of Natal, July 1985.

advantage for the whites of Natal⁴⁵ in the arrangements that were made. Whites already residing in Zululand, who had earlier petitioned against incorporation with Natal, were at least assured of being enfranchised and thus represented in the Natal parliament.⁴⁶ Little was done in the provisions of the Act to safeguard the interests of the black people of Zululand. Though there had been reference in the course of the negotiations to the need to stipulate a time period during which the Zulus should not be deprived of any of their land, no such stipulation appeared in the final form of the Act. All that was stipulated was that land should not be demarcated for white settlement without the consent of the Secretary of State.⁴⁷ The agreement that there should be a joint imperial and colonial (but not Zulu)⁴⁸ delimitation commission was an arrangement between the Natal government and the Colonial Office.⁴⁹ How effective a restraint it would be for Natal to have to obtain the consent of the Secretary of State would depend on the circumstances of the time, and it is possible that Natal might have tried to obtain land in Zululand for white settlement even earlier than it did, had it not been for the intrusion of the South African War.⁵⁰

The Act assumed that the delimitation of land in Zululand, when it happened, would be in accordance with the recommendations of the envisaged joint imperial and colonial commission. The recommendations of that commission were tough for the Zulu people.⁵¹ They might have been even tougher, but for the imperial factor. When Joseph Chamberlain visited Natal in 1903, he was startled to find that there were those who wanted an even more stringent loss of land to be imposed on the Zulu people.⁵²

Chamberlain's determination to delay no longer⁵³ the much postponed repatriation of

45. C.8782, pp.35-37, enclosure in no.52: Act for the Annexation to the Colony of Natal of the Territory of Zululand.

46. *Ibid.*, p.36, clause 5.

47. *Ibid.*, p.12, no.19: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, telegram, 4 May 1897; p.37: clause 18 of Act No.37 of 1897.

48. C.O.427/28/23958: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, submitting views of Bishop of Zululand, confidential, 17 Oct.1897. Minute by H.W. Just (19?) Dec.1897.

49. C.8782, p.12, no.19: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, 4 May 1897.

50. Chamberlain Papers, J.C.7/10/72: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 21 Jan.1899.

51. C.T. Binns, *Dinuzulu, the Death of the House of Shaka* (London, 1968), p.172; S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion, the 1906-08 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford, 1970), pp.121 and 127.

52. Natal Legislative Assembly Debates, vol.33, p.574, 30 June 1903.

53. C.8782, p.6, no.7: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, telegram, 27 May 1896; p.8, no.10: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, 26 Aug.1896; p.10, no.14: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, telegram, 20 Jan.1897; p.12, no.20: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, telegram, 15 May 1897;

the *abaNtwana* obliged the new Natal government taking office after the September elections to proceed quickly with the holding of a special session of parliament and the passing of an Annexation Act.⁵⁴ This was imperative if it wished to prevent the Exiles being returned under imperial auspices to a British crown colony, rather than under the supervision of Natal to a province of the colony. The Act Natal passed (Act No 37 of 1897) did nothing to specify a position for Dinuzulu. This, so Escombe told Harriette, was something on which the imperial government insisted, and it depended on the document stating the conditions describing Dinuzulu's position that was drawn up by the Imperial government.⁵⁵ Natal was expected to honour undertakings given and arrangements made by the Imperial authorities. Two undertakings were tangible and straightforward. Dinuzulu was to receive an income of £500 *per annum* which, as Harriette noted from the 1897 document, could not be withdrawn without the consent of the Secretary of State,⁵⁶ and he was to have the use of the house that had been built for him at Eshowe.⁵⁷ This Harriette found to be quite charming, though she regretted its being sited at Eshowe which was 'the death place' for the Zulus, as she claimed.⁵⁸ But the most important condition was the most elusive.

What was pivotal, as Harriette had always seen,⁵⁹ was the question of the *indunaship*, for this would determine Dinuzulu's relations with the white authorities of Zululand. Harriette was right in her insistence that no-one - other than themselves - could make the *abaNtwana* 'nobodies'⁶⁰ but, given the fact of white sovereignty, only the goodwill of the white authorities could enable Dinuzulu to function as an effective intermediary. When the letter dealing with the conditions of Dinuzulu's return was first drafted in 1894, a real,

p.16, no.26: Chamberlain to Hely-Hutchinson, telegram, 20 Oct.1897.

54. *Ibid.*, p.18, no.30: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, telegram, 23 Oct.1897.

55. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 July 1897; C.8782, pp.35-37, enclosure in no.52, Act to Provide for the Annexation to the Colony of Natal of the Territory of Zululand. For discussion of the versions and translations of the 'Conditions' see above, pp.332-33, 395-99, 403-04.

56. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to W.P. Schreiner, memorandum on the interviews of 20 and 21 May, and 24 Dec.1907.

57. C.8782, pp.19 and 20, no.23: Chamberlain to Sterndale and statement of conditions describing the position which Dinuzulu will hold on return. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Colenso Papers: H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, 5 (possibly 8) Jan.1898.

58. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 30 July 1897.

59. See, for example, H.E. Colenso, *The Present Position among the Zulus with Some Suggestions for the Future* (London, 1893).

60. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to Zulu Exiles, 13 Aug.1897.

if cautious, goodwill existed;⁶¹ but circumstances had changed. It was one thing to be government *induna* - and 'Confidant' - in the crown colony of Zululand where Sir Marshal Clarke, as the imperial Resident Commissioner, was attempting to fuse together native jurisdiction and British sovereignty;⁶² where the great erosion of wealth through drought, locusts and rinderpest had not occurred;⁶³ and where further white ownership of land was barred.⁶⁴ It was quite a different thing to be simply government *induna*⁶⁵ in a Zululand annexed to Natal, where rinderpest was ravaging the faint signs of recovery that had been evident in 1896,⁶⁶ and where the whites' land-grabbing spirit was already evident.⁶⁷

As a result of the negotiations between Britain and the Natal government, the words 'confidant' and 'adviser' do not appear in the 1897 statement of the conditions governing Dinuzulu's future position. It is questionable whether or not Harriette ever noticed their absence, although she did appreciate that the income of Dinuzulu was, in the 1897 version, given additional protection in that it could not be withdrawn without the consent of the Secretary of State. In her letters to the headmen at Bishopstowe and the Exiles in July and August 1897 she had pointed to the *indunaship* as one of the two circumstances that were encouraging features in the situation. The other, so she believed in the middle of 1897, would be the opportunity of the Zulu people themselves to buy land in the areas that were to be opened for white settlement.⁶⁸ Obviously Harriette was writing in faith and in unavoidable ignorance: the official version of the 1897 conditions of Dinuzulu's return had not been formulated, let alone made known; the Act for the Annexation of Zululand to Natal had not been passed; and Harriette could not foresee the future. She was,

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61. Africa South 471, pp.40-41, no.56: Hely-Hutchinson to Ripon, 6 Dec.1894, with enclosures; C.8782, pp.1-4, no.1: Ripon to Hely-Hutchinson, 4 Apr.1895.
 62. D.R. Edgecombe, 'Sir Marshall (sic) Clarke and the Abortive Attempt to "Basutolandise" Zululand, 1893-1897', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, vol.1, 1978.
 63. References to drought, locusts, dearth, and rinderpest abound in the primary sources. See, for example, N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, Jan.1898. Secondary sources include Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.129-30, and studies relating to Natal by Ramdhani and Ballard.
 64. For a conflicting emphasis, see Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p.109, but note that Clarke's recommended conditions for land alienation assumed incorporation into Natal.
 65. C.8782, p.20, enclosure in no.33: conditions describing the position which Dinuzulu will hold on his return.
 66. C.O.427/28/25020: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 7 Oct.1897; C.O.427/28/26841: S.P.G. to C.O., 14 Dec.1897 with enclosure C. Johnson to Tucker, 12 Nov.1897.
 67. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 23 July and 10 Nov.1897. C.O.427/28/26841: S.P.G. to C.O., 14 Dec.1897, enclosing C. Johnson to Tucker, 12 Nov.1897.
 68. See above, p.400.

nevertheless, certainly aware that the return of the Exiles was taking place in 1897-1898 in circumstances very different from those which she had believed might obtain in 1895. All the Colenso experience of the past emphasised how crucial was the goodwill of Natal. In the hope that this would bring about a better spirit toward the black people of Natal, Harriette had supported the Responsible government initiative, despite her misgivings about the power of the Supreme Chief.⁶⁹ Early in 1895 she had been persuaded to urge the prior annexation of Zululand to Natal in the expectation that this would not only accelerate the return of the chiefs from St Helena but also ensure Natal goodwill towards them.⁷⁰ By 1897 she realised that her optimism about the Natal attitude had been seriously misplaced.⁷¹ While always resilient in her determination to be hopeful, Harriette could not but have sensed that the office of 'government *induna*', so apparently promising in 1895,⁷² was, in the circumstances of 1897, more likely to bring blame to its holder than benefit to the Zulu people.

There was nothing generous about the circumstances of Dinuzulu's arrival at Durban. If he did have any ideas of 'parading'⁷³ through the streets of Durban, these - together with his desire to visit Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal - were quickly quashed. Special arrangement brought the *Umbilo* alongside the wharf too early for there to be spectators, and a special train took the party from the harbour through Durban station where Sir Marshal Clarke - now the ex-Resident Commissioner of Zululand - was waiting for a brief interview with the Exiles. Thereafter, they proceeded to Tongaat, then the terminus of the railway line, from where most of the party went on to Eshowe, some by ox-wagon.⁷⁴ To the chagrin and - perhaps - amusement of the officials the Misses Colenso were very much in evidence when the St Helena party arrived in Durban, and Harriette remained with the *abaNtwana* in Zululand for some weeks, returning to Bishopstowe only in April 1898.⁷⁵

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- 69. C.O.179/181/21209: H.E. Colenso to Knutsford, 29 Oct.1891. Harriette stressed that the alleged absolutism of the supreme chief was not sanctioned by 'native' law.
 - 70. *Ibid.*, see above, Chapter Seven.
 - 71. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, letters of 1897, *passim*.
 - 72. H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs and the Colonial Office 1893-1896*. (London, 1896), pp.18-19.
 - 73. K.C.A.L.: O. Siedle, *Dinuzulu's Return from Exile* (typescript).
 - 74. C.8782, pp.39-42, enclosure 1 in no.56: Report of S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.
 - 75. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, letters, Jan. to Apr.1898. K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.126: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 3 Sept.1898.

S.O. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, did his best to keep the arrival low-key. He went down to Durban from Pietermaritzburg a day early; he arranged the timing of docking, disembarkation, and entraining; he hired tents and bought blankets; and he arranged for three wagons to meet the party at Eshowe. Then he travelled out to the *Umbilo* on board the tug *Lion* the evening before the vessel from St Helena was due to dock.⁷⁶ But he found that he could not eliminate the Misses Colenso.

Agnes Colenso took a Zulu party with her to Durban to welcome her sister, the *abaNtwana* and Magera Magwaza Fuze who returned with the others. Her companions included Mjwaphuna, the uSuthu headman who had been stationed at Bishopstowe as a confidential emissary, and Mubi Nondenisa who had stayed at St Helena where he taught the uncles.⁷⁷ When Samuelson boarded the tug *Lion* to take him out to the *Umbilo* he found Agnes Colenso and the Zulu party already there. When he met Dinuzulu and his uncles in the saloon of the *Umbilo* he found the Misses Colenso present, watching as Dinuzulu - now literate - read through the Zulu version of the conditions describing his future position, and listening when Samuelson, at Dinuzulu's request, read through the conditions slowly to his uncles.⁷⁸ Agnes and the Zulus spent that night on board the *Umbilo*⁷⁹ while Samuelson went ashore. It was Harriette who told Samuelson that the three wagons he had hired were inadequate, for the Zulus had - by sight measurement - 40 tons of baggage; and it was Harriette who remonstrated that the continued presence of Madden and Daniels was unacceptable: it implied that the *abaNtwana* were still prisoners. When, early the following morning, the party - having disembarked at the wharf at Durban Point - climbed into the special train that awaited them, the Colenso sisters travelled in the same carriage as the *abaNtwana* and they were therefore present at the brief meeting of Dinuzulu with Sir Marshal Clarke at Durban station and during S.O. Samuelson's conversation with them at Phoenix.⁸⁰ After obtaining permission by telegraph,⁸¹ Harriette accompanied the *abaNtwana* into Zululand; in the meantime

76. C.8782, pp.39-42, enclosure 1 in no.56: report of S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.

77. K.C.A.L.: O. Siedle, Dinuzulu (typescript). K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.126: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 3 Sept.1898.

78. C.8782, pp.39-42, enclosure 1 in no.56: report of S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.

79. K.C.A.L.: O. Siedle, Dinuzulu (typescript). K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd: H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 3 Sept.1898.

80. C.8782, pp.39-42, enclosure 1 in no.56: report of S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.

81. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, letters, Jan. to Apr.1898; A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, from Tongaat, Saturday (Jan.1898, int.ev.).

Agnes assisted the two attendants who had returned with Samuelson to take care of the animals left behind in Durban. She comforted the harassed station master at Tongaat and tried to locate Harriette's misplaced baggage.⁸² Samuelson's exasperation seems to show in his emphatic list of the baggage accompanying the *abaNtwana* - six donkeys, ten dogs, some rabbits, fowl pens, a canary and a monkey belonging to Dinuzulu - and in his invoking 'native ideas of etiquette and of deference of women to men' when he asked his subordinate to arrange for the *abaNtwana* to take their meals separately.⁸³ Harriette would eat with the women and children, not with the men. The *Times of Natal* denigrated Harriette's presence when it reported her asking permission to accompany the party - in charge of the children. The mocking pun on the Zulu word '*abaNtwana*' meaning both Princes and children, may have been intentional.⁸⁴

Dinuzulu stayed only six weeks at Eshowe⁸⁵ and, even while based there, made a preliminary visit to Osuthu.⁸⁶ He enjoyed riding about the area, visiting a variety of white people, including Bishop Carter.⁸⁷ Harriette tarried at Eshowe; Magera developed malaria,⁸⁸ and Ndabuko was ill and required nursing.⁸⁹ In due time, Harriette went with them on to oSuthu. She insisted that she had promised to see the Exiles home, and home was the Ndwandwe area, not Eshowe. Saunders could not prevent her.⁹⁰ Keeping one promise would mean that Harriette could keep another: that of visiting okaMsweli, the mother of Dinuzulu, with whom messages had been exchanged during the years of exile.⁹¹ Sharing a tent with okaMsweli at one point, Harriette camped with the returning Exiles⁹² *en route* but she also received the hospitality of Saunders in his home⁹³ and of the Gibsons at Nongoma⁹⁴ in theirs. She was in touch too with the Mansels, whose

82. *Ibid.*, A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, several letters, n.d. but from internal evidence clearly written early in 1898 while Harriette was in Zululand. C.8782, pp.39-42, enclosure in no.56: Report of S.O. Samuelson, 11 Jan.1898.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Times of Natal*, 6 Jan.1898.

85. N.A., Col.Coll: Deposition of Dinuzulu in 1908.

86. *Ibid.*, H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 14 Feb.1898.

87. *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. and 14 Feb.1898.

88. *Ibid.*, 15 Jan.1898.

89. *Ibid.*, 11 Feb.1898.

90. *Ibid.*, Deposition of Dinuzulu, 1908; H.E. Colenso to Sir Charles Saunders, 14 Feb.1898.

91. H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs*, p.4; Fuze, *The Black People*, pp.132-33.

92. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 7 Jan.1898. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

93. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 15 Jan.1898.

94. *Ibid.*, 12 Mar.1898. 'Nongoma' superseded 'Ndwandwe' (and the earlier 'Ivuna') as the name of the seat of the magistracy in the Ndwandwe district.

horse threw her when she was attempting to ride 'side-saddle'⁹⁵ without the proper saddle. Mansel, Commandant of the Zulu Police, was lamenting the imminent disbandment of the force he had created - the *Nongqai* - as one of the consequences of incorporation.⁹⁶

Harriette described the ravages of rinderpest:

'All the way up from the Tugela we did not see a single head of cattle except the inspanned in wagons, till the day we reached Eshowe ... there we passed a white trader's small herd & [sic] another clump of 4 or 5.'⁹⁷

There were four key and inter-related problems confronting Dinuzulu on his return: whether or not he would regain and maintain the support of his people; whether or not the uSuthu-Mandlakazi feud would be healed; how he would cope with the abaQulusi who, although living in the South African Republic, regarded him with esteem and probably expected leadership;⁹⁸ and what would be his relations with the white authorities. They were impossible of comprehensive solution; and this was where Dinuzulu's tragedy lay.

When Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu's father, returned from Cape Town in 1883, interpretations of his reception by the Zulu people varied.⁹⁹ This, too, was Dinuzulu's experience. Hostile reports claimed that the *abaNtwana* were divided and the Zulu people unenthusiastic.¹⁰⁰ Harriette Colenso denied these allegations: the Exiles were united¹⁰¹ and Dinuzulu received messages from far and near. They were content to move slowly.¹⁰² One observer, Mr Knight, the resident magistrate at Nkandla, disapprovingly noticed continued uSuthu solidarity which, he alleged, had humiliated Sir Marshal Clarke.¹⁰³ In his annual report on the Ndwandwe district in 1898, J.Y. Gibson, the resident magistrate, stated that Dinuzulu had been accepted without fuss and

95. *Ibid.*, 25 Jan.(1898, int.ev.).

96. Carter Papers: Bishop Carter to 'Algy' (Algernon Wenlock), 2 Mar.1898.

97. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 15 Jan.1898.

98. See above, pp.51, 56-57. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso, *Memorandum on the Official Notes of Interview* 1907.

99. F. Ellen Colenso, *The Ruin of Zululand, an Account of British Doings in Zululand since the Invasion of 1879*, 2 vols. (London, 1884-85), vol.2, pp.302-03; J.J. Guy, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom* (London, 1979), pp.177-78.

100. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 12 Feb.1898.

101. *Ibid.*, 12 Nov.1897.

102. *Ibid.*, 12 Feb.1898; K.C.A.L., Col.Coll. Dd.126; H.E. Colenso to A. Werner, 3 Sept.1898.

103. Carbutt Papers: J. Knight to 'My dear Bess', 10 Sept.1897.

the people had shown no sign of wishing to change the existing order.¹⁰⁴ Earlier, on the related subject of the incorporation of Zululand into Natal, Hely-Hutchinson observed an absence of 'any particular enthusiasm' on the part of the Zulus: the uSuthu spokesmen, Mgamule and Mankulumana, merely remarked that they had always regarded Natal and Zululand as one country.¹⁰⁵ Given all that the Zulus had recently experienced and were still suffering, as a result of natural disaster and as a consequence of white rule, Zulu enthusiasm was hardly to be expected, and scepticism about the future was more likely. It is worth comment, however, that one observer, Friend Addison, believed that the younger generation of Zulu people were determinedly uSuthu in loyalty.¹⁰⁶

Reconciliation with Zibhebhu was not easy.¹⁰⁷ Rumours that the Natal authorities would seek to prevent the reconciliation - a rumoured intention of which Sir Marshal was ignorant - and suspicions that division might be deliberately fostered added to the difficulties. Harriette feared a coerced return of Zibhebhu which might re-enact the events of 1887. Natal officials certainly suspected her. Harriette did not attend a conference which Charles Saunders, Sir Marshal's successor, held with the uSuthu leaders. During it they told him that they wished to consult with their *umuzi* (their adherents at oSuthu) before meeting with Zibhebhu. They were non-committal at the meeting with Zibhebhu attended by C.R. Saunders, J. Liege Hulett, and H.E. Colenso.¹⁰⁸ In fact, the Mandlakazi leader returned from the Eshowe district to the Ndwandwe area in 1898. In reporting his return J.Y. Gibson, the resident magistrate, noted that Zibhebhu's fears, which might be overcome in time, made him spurn Dinuzulu's attempts to arrange 'a formal and ceremonious reconciliation'.¹⁰⁹ Though one author claims a full reconciliation, it seems evident that uSuthu-Mandlakazi relations remained uneasy and past

104. N.A., Col.Coll: Report of Resident Magistrate for Ndwandwe, J.Y. Gibson, 3 Jan.1899.

105. C.8782, p.28, no.45: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 19 Nov.1897.

106. N.A., Col.Coll: Report on the Mahlabathini district for 1898, C.A. Wheelwright, 24 Jan.1899. *Zululand. Land Delimitation Commission (1902-1904). Reports of the Joint Imperial and Colonial Commissioners* (Pietermaritzburg, 1905), pp.275-77, letter of Friend Addison. C. Ballard, 'A Year of Scarcity', *South African Historical Journal*, 15 (1983); Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.129-30.

107. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 7 Jan.1898.

108. *Ibid.*, 25 Jan. and 26 Feb.1898. Colonial Secretary's Office, Confidential Files, vol.2567: J.Liege Hulett, memorandum on visit to Zululand, 5 Feb.1890.

109. N.A., Col.Coll: Report of the Resident Magistrate of Ndwandwe for 1898, J.Y. Gibson, 3 Jan.1899.

grievances were remembered.¹¹⁰

The problem of the abaQulusi dated from October 1886, when the partition Havelock negotiated placed some of them under the New Republic, which subsequently merged with the South African Republic.¹¹¹ British attitudes to the abaQulusi-Dinuzulu relationship varied. When Dinuzulu was at St Helena, the British authorities disapproved strongly of signs of continued abaQulusi loyalty to him, and they were more agitated by communications Dinuzulu received from the abaQulusi than by any other messages and letters sent to him.¹¹² In 1897, with repatriation imminent, the abaQulusi were turbulent. They were harassed by the arbitrary application of a Republican squatters' law, but barred from entry into British Zululand - where part of the abaQulusi were located - by the application against them of the rinderpest regulations. Republican authorities suspended enforcement of the squatters' law.¹¹³ British officials anticipated the danger that Dinuzulu might re-open the question of partition, and he was warned not to do so.¹¹⁴ Possibly Boer fears that he would be a focus for the disaffected abaQulusi in their territory account for the alleged republican animus against Dinuzulu that alarmed Harriette in 1898.¹¹⁵ But during the South African War it was the abaQulusi who featured prominently in the attack on the Boers at Holkrantz, and British army officers were evidently willing to exploit Dinuzulu's standing among the abaQulusi and their animosity towards the Boers.¹¹⁶ When the South African War ended, attitudes seem to have changed again, and Dinuzulu found that he was prohibited from visiting the

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110. K.C.A.L., Dinuzulu Letterbook: Memorandum on claims for compensation for seizure of women by Zibhebhu, minute of Natal Government, 12 Apr.1900. Compare Binns, *Dinuzulu*, p.163 where Binns claims a full reconciliation, and A.W. Lee, *Once Dark Country* (London, 1949), p.98 who dates reconciliation to the visit of Prince of Wales to Zululand and the participation of both Bokwe kaZibhebhu and Solomon kaDinuzulu. Cope notes that, on the occasion of this visit in 1925, Solomon kaDinuzulu was flanked by members of all tribal groups, including Mandlakazi. See N. Cope, 'The Zulu Petit-Bourgeoisie and Zulu Nationalism in the 1920s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol.16, no.3, September 1990.
 111. See above, pp.51, 56-57 and 69.
 112. C.8782, p.19, no.32: Chamberlain to Sterndale, 29 Oct.1897.
 113. C.O.427/27/18526: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, confidential, 21 July 1897. Minute by G.V. Fiddes, 26 Aug.1897; C.O.427/27/19434: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, confidential, 7 Aug.1897. Minute by G.V. Fiddes, 9 Sept.1897; C.O.427/27/20545: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 27 Aug.1897 enclosing correspondence of J.Y. Gibson with the Vryheid landdrost.
 114. C.8782, p.19, no.32: Chamberlain to Sterndale, 29 Oct.1897.
 115. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to A.M. Colenso, 29 Jan. and 11 Feb.1898.
 116. P. Warwick, *Black People and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Johannesburg, 1983), pp.90-95.

abaQulusi.¹¹⁷ A little later the annexation to Natal of the Vryheid district (the former New Republic) in 1903 removed some of the anomalies in the situation, but it did not improve Dinuzulu's power to help the abaQulusi, because Natal did not allow him that kind of function. It was, however, one of the paradoxes of the early 20th century that Africans were legally entitled to buy land in the Vryheid region of Natal but not in those parts of the province of Zululand which, after delimitation, were opened to white occupation.¹¹⁸

For Dinuzulu a crucial factor in future developments was the attitude of the white government. Marshal Clarke might have encouraged him to make use of the house provided for him at Eshowe, but Dinuzulu found little reason to stay there and established his home at oSuthu in the Ndwandwe district with a European-style homestead available for visitors.¹¹⁹ He had arrived from St Helena eager to see the government, but his visit to Pietermaritzburg and interview with Hely-Hutchinson were delayed until January 1899.¹²⁰ Escombe was the Natal politician the *abaNtwana* trusted most, but Escombe did not greet them on their arrival, and an informal tea party meeting at the Escombe's Durban home did not take place until 1899.¹²¹ Dinuzulu's request for an increased allowance was turned down by the authorities.¹²² He found that the courts would not hear cases about the cattle lost in the past conflicts.¹²³ His freedom of movement was restricted when he was denied visits to the abaQulusi, or visits to the doctor, as he complained, and he was again barred from visiting Britain.¹²⁴

All the indications are that there was a big gap between what Dinuzulu expected on return and what the Natal government was prepared to grant. His appointment as government *induna*, made initially in 1895, was not cancelled in 1897,¹²⁵ but Natal's interpretation of that role was one which demanded unconditional loyalty while not conceding trust.

117. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p.114.

118. Cope, 'Zulu Petit-Bourgeoisie'.

119. Fuze, *Black People*, p.137.

120. Chamberlain Papers, J.C.7/10/102: Hely-Hutchinson to Chamberlain, 21 Jan.1899. N.A., Col.Coll: W. Clarke to H.E. Colenso, letters of 1898.

121. N.A., Col.Coll: H. Escombe to H.E. Colenso, 23 May 1898 and 21 Jan.1899.

122. *Ibid.*, J.L. Hulett and J.Y. Gibson to Dinuzulu, copy, 10 May 1899.

123. See above, fn.110.

124. Shepstone Papers, Box 12, 1379/12/126: Prisoner (Dinuzulu) to H.E. Colenso, 27 Oct.1902 and 4 June 1903.

125. See above, pp.396-99 and 403-05.

What white Natal stressed was that Dinuzulu was returning as the chief of the uSuthu; whether or not he was regarded as an adviser to the government would depend on his good behaviour.¹²⁶

When Dinuzulu returned in 1897, contemporary white opinion in Natal was ready to believe that he had been 'spoiled' in St Helena. Here, it was thought, he had been encouraged to develop ideas above his station and to indulge in activities that were either foppish or frankly sensual. It is probable that there was some truth in these charges, but it is also clear that they were greatly exaggerated.¹²⁷

There are abundant indications of contemporary white attitudes that both reflected and reinforced prejudice against Dinuzulu. Madden, the last of the guardians, seems to have made no secret of his views that Dinuzulu had been 'spoiled' at St Helena.¹²⁸ Sir Charles Mitchell's close and careful scrutiny of expenditure shows how he thought they should be treated.¹²⁹ If Natal acquiesced in increased expenditure later, this was because, having achieved so much at Ripon's expense in insisting that annexation must precede return, they could hardly gainsay his salving his conscience by keeping the Exiles 'as happy as possible'¹³⁰ in St Helena. Sir John Robinson's account of his personal meeting with Dinuzulu reeks of contemporary prejudice against the young Zulu man who was regarded as a 'king' by many in St Helena and whose influence the white authorities in Natal both feared and wished to ignore.¹³¹ The old story that Dinuzulu was not the true heir of Cetshwayo kept recurring, and its persistence says something about the attitudes of whites.¹³² Already there were charges of over-indulgence in liquor, to which Harriette reacted by pointing to the poor example of the guardians and insisting that, whatever might be true of Shingana's over-indulgence, it was not also true of 'the

126. *Natal Witness*, 9 Jan.1898.

127. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*. p.110 and fn.4.

128. M. Young, *Memoirs of Amelia de Henningsen*. Graham's Town Series, No.10 (Cape Town, 1989).

129. C.O.247/148/9003, no.26: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 8 Apr.1896. Minute by R.L. Antrobus, 20 May.1896.

130. *Ibid.*, Minute by H.W. Just, 17 (or 19?) May 1896.

131. Z.G.H.772/1037/1896: John Robinson, memorandum on interview with Dinuzulu, typed carbon copy, marked private and confidential.

132. N.A., Col.Coll: Ndabuko, Nyosana and Shingana to H.E. Colenso, 1 Oct.1896; H.E. Colenso to 'Beloved Royal Princes in St Helena', 23 Dec.1896; unidentified newspaper extract, dated 29 Dec.1897, quoting from the *African Review*.

Lad' *i.e.* Dinuzulu.¹³³ Even the sympathetic Sterndale commented that Dinuzulu owned a more varied assortment of suits than the Governor.¹³⁴ Dinuzulu's interest in music evoked mocking or indulgent comment from some.¹³⁵ The questions of his attitude to Christianity, whether or not he opposed it and his own possible conversion (was it or was it not genuine?), became the subject of an intriguing, if sour, controversy.¹³⁶ That the Exiles should have asked for, and received, money from Zululand was doubly denounced: it implied defiance of the white authorities who were now the tax-collecting authorities in Zululand, and it seemed to betoken an indifference to the plight of the Zulu people amid the disasters of the late 1890s, the immensity of which the distant Exiles could not adequately realise, though reports of cattle losses reached them.¹³⁷

Even in exile Dinuzulu had a hostile audience in some quarters, and the prejudice against him did not disappear when he returned to Natal. In Magera Magwaza Fuze's retrospective view, he was a man of peace, but he was not left in peace:

'... Incidents in the life of Dinuzulu, his troubles and unfortunate experiences began to indicate that he would never grow [into a king] [editor's parenthesis], and that the fabrications and lies about him, and the resentment and weariness of him by the people of his own country, would bring his body to the grave. And yet he was a man of peace, this son of the Zulu king, not wanting to quarrel with anyone, no matter what sort of race.'¹³⁸

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- 133. C.O.247/148/7440: Governor to Chamberlain, 19 Mar.1896, enclosing Dinuzulu to H.E. Colenso, 17 Mar.1896. N.A., Col.Coll: A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, recounting conversation with S.O. Samuelson (Jan.1898, int.ev.).
 - 134. C.8782, p.28, no.46: Sterndale to Chamberlain, 23 Nov.1897.
 - 135. K.C.A.L., Dinuzulu File 13680, no.7: C.J. Walter to M. Rabson, re Dinuzulu, n.d. (c.Feb.1953, int.ev.). O. Blakeston, *The Isle of St Helena* (London, 1957), p.148.
 - 136. C.O.247/148/7440, no.19: Governor to Chamberlain, 19 Mar.1896, enclosing Dinuzulu to Bishop Carter. *Inkanyiso*, 19 June 1896. See above, p.306.
 - 137. Z.G.H. 774/273/1897: Dinuzulu to okaMsweli, 6 Apr.1897; Z.G.H. 777/386/1897: Hely-Hutchinson to C. Saunders, minutes on letters from the Exiles forwarded from St Helena. Z.G.H. 777/471/1897: J.Y. Gibson to Dinuzulu, 14 July 1897; Z.G.H. 777/494/1897: Governor, St Helena to Governor of Zululand, 31 July 1897, enclosing Dinuzulu to A.M. Colenso, 2 July 1897 and Dinuzulu to okaMsweli, 30 July 1897.
 - 138. Fuze, *The Black People*, p.139.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The Pattern and the Paradox of Protest

In the decade 1887 to 1897 Harriette Colenso with the help of other members of the Colenso family - especially her sister Agnes - pursued two main aims. One was to protect the Zulu people from the 'breaking-up' process to which imperial policy and economic pressure subjected them. The other was to ensure the survival of the Church of England in Natal. The Colensos believed that restoring Dinuzulu to a central and leading position in Zululand would re-integrate the Zulu people¹ and that preserving the Church of England in Natal would perpetuate at least some of the principles for which Bishop Colenso had fought. This study has emphasised the Colenso concern for Zululand, but the Church controversy has not been ignored. There are parallels between the Zulu and the ecclesiastical contentions and Harriette regarded them both as part of that commitment to truth she had inherited from her father.²

The Colenso actions in pursuit of these goals raise two obvious and related questions: why were their efforts so strenuous and resilient, and why were they not successful. The characteristics of the Colensos themselves and of the position they held in society, the contexts in which they operated, and the nature of the task they undertook all contribute to answering these questions. During the decade there was a constant interplay of personality and context in relation to problems that raised wide issues. Fortunes varied during the decade, and there is a rhythm (of disappointment, hope, and then disappointment again) to be discerned and explained. In the affairs of both Church and State the years 1892-1893 seemed to promise some success. When Bishop Baynes arrived in Natal in 1893 he found that there was more vigour - and more hostility - in the Church of England than he had anticipated.³ Simultaneously, with the Liberals in office in Britain and Sir Marshal Clarke in Zululand, Zulu prospects seemed brighter.⁴ Yet, in the long

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1. H.E. Colenso, *The Present Position among the Zulus with Some Suggestions for the Future* (London, 1893), pp.29-30.
 2. See above Chapter Six. H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs, Natal and the Colonial Office* (London, 1895), p.8.
 3. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. See above, Chapter Six.
 4. *Ibid.*, Chapter Five.

run, what doomed both the Zulu and the ecclesiastical hopes of the Colensos was the grant of Responsible government to Natal in 1893. In 1897 legislation of the parliament of the colony of Natal effected the annexation of Zululand - without providing adequately for the future position of Dinuzulu.⁵ Later, in 1910, one of the last legislative acts of the colony of Natal was to transfer property of the Church of England to the Church of the Province of South Africa. This resulted in the eviction of the Misses Colenso from Bishopstowe.⁶

At the level of qualities of character what mattered most was the strong individual resources of personality and the abundant family support on which Harriette Colenso could draw. 'Zeal', 'ardour', 'dedication', 'determination' - in fact, the whole panoply of eager synonyms - are all deserved and appropriate. Loyalty to Bishop Colenso characterised his wife and children even after his death, but it was especially intense in Harriette and Agnes. In them allegiance to their father's memory amounted to an almost unquestioning and total commitment. Bonded by strong sisterly affection, they were so determined to continue their campaigning that success or failure was irrelevant to their dedication. But, paradoxically, the Colenso qualities, richly as they deserve admiration, call for criticism as well. Attitudes and values that made them so resolute and determined, helped also to trap them into error, inconsistency, and muddle. Having the confidence of crusaders in the righteousness of their cause, they were sometimes too quick to condemn opponents, as they were sometimes too slow to suspect supporters. In the 1880s they could not see the Zulu problem from the perspective of Havelock or Osborn, whose first concern was the vindication of British authority,⁷ and in the 1890s Harriette trusted Escombe too long because she did not allow timeously for the influence of his political ambitions.⁸

With regard to social position what matters is the standing of Harriette Colenso. After her father's death she moved naturally into the dominant role, largely because she had the ability and the experience to do so. Of her two brothers, Frank gave her more help than

5. Zululand Annexation Act: Act No.37, 1897 (Natal); E.H. Brookes & C. de B. Webb, *A History of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), p.188.

6. Natal Government Gazette, 10 Feb.1910, Natal Act No.9 (1910); P. Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (London, 1963), p.220. B.M. Nicholls, 'The Smashing of Bishopstowe'. Paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, Pretoria, 1991.

7. See above, Chapters Three and Four. Harriette's disputes with Havelock in 1888 did not preclude courteous and even cordial dealings after the trials.

8. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, letters of 17, 24 and 26 Mar.1889.

Robert, but both were struggling professional men with young families. When she was in England, Harriette took over from Frank the kind of work he had done previously for his father and for her. Harriette, the eldest of the Colenso children, was pre-eminently the Bishop's daughter. She was a single woman who turned fifty in 1897. While such circumstances opened some doors for Harriette, they also limited opportunities, curtailed esteem, and probably denied her more influential audiences than those that did gather to hear her. All the Colenso children grew up in an intellectual household and had some schooling in England, but none of the Colenso daughters had comparable opportunities for higher education to those the Colenso sons enjoyed.⁹ While this narrowed Harriette's range of interest and awareness, her sex in itself debarred her from the professions of lawyer, politician, or priest. Harriette had normally to try to find a man who would take up the causes that mattered to her: a lawyer to plead in court, a politician to speak in parliament, wield influence or exercise power, a priest or minister to baptise, give communion, or conduct weddings¹⁰ - or even a committed layman who would work zealously to prevent the absorption of the Church of England into the Church of the Province of South Africa. What Harriette could do was to try to persuade others to accept her views as their own and to act in accordance with them. She could seek personal interviews, write letters, issue pamphlets, speak in public and, even, baptise and give communion.¹¹

When Harriette decided go on to public platforms to plead the cause of the Zulus, she was doing for the Zulus what Annie Besant did for the cause of Indian nationalists and what Gertrude Bell did for the Arabs.¹² In Britain, but not - until much later - in Natal,¹³ she received frequent and fascinating invitations to speak in public, but her audiences were unlikely to have immediate impact on policy. During her first visit Women's Liberal

9. See above, Chapter One; K.C.A.L.: A. Werner, 'Recollections of Harriette E. Colenso' (typescript).

10. Women were not admitted to the legal profession until the 1920s. There were no parliamentary votes for women in Britain until 1918 (and then only for women over 30), and in Natal (as part of the Union of South Africa) European women were not enfranchised until 1930. It is only very recently that women have been ordained in the Church of England in Britain and the Church of the Province of South Africa.

11. N.A., Col.Coll. (Old Ref: Box 145): H.E. Colenso to Luard, n.d.; cf. (Old Ref: Box 147): A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso 'Her birthday', i.e. 3 June (1897?).

12. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.

13. Colenso, H.E. *The Principles of Native Government in Natal: an Address given by Miss Colenso [to] the Pietermaritzburg Parliamentary Debating Society*, 14 Apr.1908. Reprinted from the *Natal Witness* and the *Times of Natal*.

Associations featured prominently, and there were many invitations into Unitarian pulpits during both her visits. Unitarians,¹⁴ it seems, had no animosity towards Colenso, and humanitarians also applauded his efforts. The Aborigines Protection Society gave Harriette access to platforms and to the pages of the *Aborigines Friend*, although there was also tension between Harriette and the secretary of the Society during the 1890s.¹⁵ To others the Colensos were somewhat suspect. Though a missionary, Harriette could not look to a missionary society for support; for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had broken with Colenso.¹⁶ What contacts Harriette had with clergymen of the Church of England in England resulted almost exclusively from family friendships or the introduction of friends: Canon Wilberforce was a friend of Frances Ellen Colenso,¹⁷ while Canon and Mrs Barnett of Toynbee hall became sympathetic acquaintances after Harriette was introduced to them by her friends the Rollo Russells.¹⁸

Whether or not Harriette's single state was an advantage or disadvantage for her is not easily determined. Lacking immediate family responsibilities - Agnes was there to cherish their mother until Mrs Colenso's death early in 1894 - Harriette could devote herself to the Zulus and the Church of England. But spinsterhood, although perhaps tolerable in a devoted daughter, is hardly a social advantage, and the mocking gibes, for which there is evidence later, may have occurred earlier too.¹⁹ Certainly Harriette did not have, perhaps she did not need, the kind of support that Cronwright-Schreiner gave the more turbulent Olive Schreiner after their marriage in 1894.²⁰

The Contexts

What encouraged the Colensos was the fact that both in Britain and in Natal it was possible to gain some support. In Britain, however, the attitudes which created such

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14. See above, especially Chapter Five. N.A., Col.Coll: A.M. Colenso to K. Giles, 26 Jan.1892. Mr Wicksteed had been the first to offer a pulpit.
 15. See above pp.190-92.
 16. G.W. Cox, *The Life of John William Colenso*, 2 vols. (London, 1888), vol.2, p.17; J.W. Colenso to G.W. Cox, 16 Feb.1866.
 17. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. N.A., Col.Coll: H.E. Colenso to S.F. Colenso, 27 May 1891; R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: Fr.El. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, 6 Jan.1887.
 18. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes.
 19. There is an oral tradition in Pietermaritzburg to this day that Miss Colenso was 'in love with Dinuzulu'. At least one crude postcard, depicting Miss Colenso on her knees before a picture of Dinuzulu, was part of the Natal Archives Collection when I first used it.
 20. D.S.A.B., vol.1, 'S. Cronwright'.

sympathy were too weak to resist other imperatives, while in Natal they were distorted by political calculation and crumbled quickly.²¹ The Colenso efforts were crucially undermined by the dominant trends both in Britain and in Natal which were hostile to humanitarian causes.

In Britain it was possible to make such an appeal as that of Harriette for the Zulus because certain groups with deeply ingrained and warmly cherished values responded to the plea. Some of these values were well established with a long history behind them. These included the anti-slavery tradition, the liberal theme of sympathy for oppressed nationalities, and the old *laissez-faire* attitude of hostility to official intervention. Some attitudes were newer. Socialist criticism was calling into question the moral basis of overseas dominion, and sometimes this moved into support for a humanitarian cause. In fact, those who responded to humanitarian appeals were an interesting and important cross-section of 'Home' society who kept alive campaigns against injustice in Africa, Britain itself, and elsewhere. They encouraged Harriette in the face of repeated delays and disappointments, and her dealings with them are the crux of her campaign. Probably because she moved so much in anti-imperialist circles, Harriette sometimes overestimated the vigour of opposition to current trends and was too easily heartened by the illusion of likely success. That certainly seems to have been the case in 1893.²²

Colenso hopes were among those that rose when in 1892 the Liberals came to power in Britain. With Ripon as Secretary of State and Buxton as his Parliamentary Under-Secretary, the Colonial Office began to move in the direction that the Colensos approved. Unfortunately for the Colensos, however, the Liberals' majority at Westminster was small, their tenure of office brief, and their record therefore disappointing. Ripon abandoned the intended repatriation of the Zulu Exiles at the beginning of 1895 because the government's position was too insecure to withstand, on the one hand, the opposition of Natal to repatriation and, on the other, the opposition of Liberal backbenchers to the proposed annexation of Zululand to Natal. The decision to abandon the proposed repatriation, into which Harriette was unwittingly inveigled, was a turning point in the history of Zululand,

21. See above, Chapters Five and Eight for the British campaign; Chapter Seven for the successful intrusion of Natal.

22. See above, especially Chapter Five.

no less decisive for the fact that Harriette did not herself recognise it as such.²³

She was not greatly dismayed when Joseph Chamberlain took office as Secretary of State. She recognised, correctly, that he was well-disposed to the Exiles, but she underrated his sense of the expedient, his stress on imperial consolidation and broad goals in South Africa.²⁴ He could not deal with the future of Zululand insulated from other concerns. He yielded more and more to the constant pressure of white Natal, because white colonial support was an essential buttress to imperial paramountcy in South Africa, and this had an important place in his broad imperial vision. That Chamberlain should have acted thus accorded with the relative strength of humanitarian principles and imperialist ambitions in Britain in the late nineteenth century.

During this decade sharper international competition and frequent fears of a faltering economy continued to thrust Britain further into more forceful expansion overseas, and enthusiasm for overseas dominion increased. This was the imperialist mood. Many who felt it were convinced that to extend British rule was a way to ensure right dealing towards subject people: they assumed that an essential compatibility between British rule and justice gave moral justification to the *Pax Britannica*. To them it was clear that the imperial record should be applauded not impugned. Where, however, instances of wrongdoing associated with British rule could not be denied, imperialists tended to minimise their significance. They dismissed them as small matters that could be righted, or individual lapses that would be remedied. Sometimes they argued - as they did in respect of the uSuthu²⁵ - that those who suffered deserved their fate, or they reached the point of contending that such episodes - however regrettable - were the inevitable consequences of an inexorable process.²⁶ Emphasising national self-congratulation, imperialists were impatient of the kind of national self-criticism and soul-searching to be found in the pages of the *Aborigines Friend*, in humanitarian criticisms of the actions of the Chartered Company north of the Limpopo, or in Harriette's arguments on behalf of the Zulu people. It was one thing to recognise with Kipling in the *Recessional*, that imperial splendour was

23. See above, Chapter Seven.

24. See above, Chapter Eight.

25. See above, Chapter Three for discussions of the annexation of Zululand.

26. Joseph Chamberlain 'You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs' in a speech to the Colonial Institute, March 1897, quoted in H.R. Fox Bourne, *Black and White Rights in Africa*, reprinted from *The Imperial and Asiatic Review*, 1898.

destined to fade.²⁷ It was quite another to recognise that the glory of the imperial record was seriously dimmed by wrongdoing. Hostile to humanitarian denunciations, imperialists responded better to appeals to Britain's potential for good and to requests for her protection, but even such approaches - as the Tswana and the Ndebele found - did not guarantee full success or avert disaster.²⁸ Where there was a clash between the two, the obligation to safeguard or promote larger British interests superseded the moral obligation to deal righteously with the weaker indigenous people subjected to British rule. Many important decisions were, in fact, uneasy compromises between Britain's larger interests and what the subject people claimed.

The swelling of imperialist sentiment in Britain coincided with the increased assertiveness of the white colonists of Natal and their political leaders. They too, in the aftermath of the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, were experiencing a phase of intensified competitiveness with neighbours. As economic prospects brightened, and the hopes of individuals and states soared, so political leaders anxiously deliberated how best to obtain the greatest possible advantage for the colony. The Natal government responded to local pressure for the building of railways, and negotiated with the South African Republic for railway and customs advantages. The demand for Responsible government strengthened, because this promised more leverage in negotiating with other states and more freedom in raising railway loans. Responsible government was introduced in 1893.²⁹ Thereafter, the Natal ministry governed in the interests of the white electorate it represented. Decisions taken in the wake of Responsible government certainly did not augur well for the black population already within the borders of Natal, or for the population of those bordering territories which the Natalians wished to absorb, when the circumstances were favourable. When Natal held back, as she did for a time over the incorporation of Zululand, this was because Natalians doubted their capacity to control and coerce the Zulu people, not because they were well disposed to the idea of a Zululand protected from the white man's economic ambitions and evolving, with the support of a sympathetic imperial

27. *Recessional* 1897. Its publication coincided with the Diamond Jubilee.

28. See above, p.371 for the Khama visit and p.423 for comments bearing on the fate of the Ndebele.

29. For full discussion of the Responsible government, issue see Lambert, J. 'Sir John Robinson and Responsible Government, 1865-1897' (M.A., University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1975). For brief comment, see Brookes and Webb, *History of Natal*, pp.165, 174-80, and 188.

government, under its own leadership and at its own pace.³⁰

In Natal and Zululand there seems to have been little Christian or missionary sympathy for the uSuthu other than that which the Colensos offered. The legacy of Frere's depiction of the Zulu War as a war for civilisation against barbarism and of the missionary condemnations of Cetshwayo etched itself deeply into later attitudes.³¹ What sympathy there was for the uSuthu rested, not on disinterested grounds, but on conscious or unconscious calculations of self-interest. It suited Natal's interests to criticise imperial policy in regard to Zululand in the late 1880s, and this created the alignment of Colensos, Natal politicians and uSuthu. But this was only a temporary phenomenon. After 1893 the hostility of the Natal government towards the uSuthu and their head became more and more emphatic.³²

Harry Escombe was a leading Natal politician. He was Attorney-General in 1893 and Prime Minister for some months in 1897. His changing role in regard to the uSuthu, from ostensible friend to hidden enemy, reflects the way Natal's view of the uSuthu altered as her prospects changed. Harriette Colenso's association with Harry Escombe during the decade is one of its greatest ironies. It sheds light on the weakness of her position - her need for allies - and it calls into question the soundness of her political judgment. She trusted the 'new' Natal which she hoped would emerge after the inauguration of Responsible government, and this is an example of poor political judgment, however understandable it may be in terms of her disillusionment with past policies in Natal and in Zululand. It was one thing to see that the constitutional change and the incorporation of Zululand into Natal were inevitable; but it was another to welcome these changes as potentially beneficial to the black people of Natal and Zululand, which is what Harriette, at least temporarily, did.³³

30. See above, Chapter Seven.

31. J.J. Guy, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom* (London, 1979), p.48.

32. See above, Chapter Eight, pp.378-79 for John Robinson's interview with Dinuzulu. Brookes and Webb, *Natal*, pp.187 and 188.

33. See above, Chapter Eight, p.143; R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso, letters of 17, 24 and 26 Mar.1889.

The Nature of the Problem

The essential task of the Colensos in the decade 1887 to 1897 was to accomplish the goals which Bishop Colenso had set - for himself and for them. This was not easy. The strength and weakness of the Colenso personalities and position on the one hand, and the dominant trends in the contexts in which they worked on the other explain many of their difficulties. There are, however, three points which require further emphasis. Each underlines, in a different way, the nature of the Colenso problem. One relates to religious matters; the second to the constitutional tensions within the 'Westminster system' - or British form of government - in the age of imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century; and the third to the undeniable economic trends of the time.

The Colensos, and especially Harriette, had two inherited commitments: the ecclesiastical commitment as well as the uSuthu or Zulu cause. Intermittently during the decade Harriette concentrated first on the one, then on the other; but the important point is that she was never prepared to abandon either cause completely. At a stage when Zulu affairs seemed relatively favourable and quiescent - between the first and the second of her visits to Britain during the decade - Harriette concentrated on church matters. The chapter on the ecclesiastical controversy at the appropriate chronological point in the thesis illuminates important features of the church wrangles and of the Colenso commitment as a whole. These were: the constant need to give time and intellectual effort to church matters; the similarities between the Zulu and the ecclesiastical contention; and the irony that, while both causes claimed attention, neither contributed to the strength of the other.

A bishop to succeed Colenso was essential to the survival of the Church of England in Natal. Harriette Colenso tried to influence the Church of England men when they selected a bishop-elect and to support them when they sought consecration for the man of their choice. But early efforts were unavailing. The arrival of Bishop Baynes in Natal in 1893 opened an interesting and intense phase of the church controversy. He was selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be bishop of both the Church of the Province of South Africa and of the Church of England. Reconciliation between the two churches seemed possible, but Harriette saw in Baynes a threat to the survival of the Church of England in Natal and she stiffened the resistance of Church of England congregations against him. She insisted upon the inconsistency and incompatibility of his dual obligations. This increased Baynes'

difficulties, and it certainly protracted the church controversy.³⁴

An important similarity between the ecclesiastical question and the Zulu issue is the role of individual leadership in both. Harriette expected that an acceptable bishop would do for the Church of England what Dinuzulu would do for the Zulus on his restoration - become a focus of cohesion and a guarantee of future vitality. It is true, too, that each cause alienated potential support from the other. Earlier, Colenso's political stance cost him ecclesiastical support in the colony and, later, the political actions of the Misses Colenso, coupled with Harriette's exhaustion after the second trial of Dinuzulu, contributed to the eventual *denouement* of the 1910 legislation which, *inter alia*, ousted them from Bishopstowe.³⁵ On the other hand, it is likely that Dinuzulu and the uSuthu might have fared better if Harriette had been able to work amicably with Bishop Carter, the Church of the Province of South Africa Bishop of Zululand, who was a genuine friend of Dinuzulu. Her animosity to Canon Barraclough, who tutored Dinuzulu at St Helena, was certainly no advantage either. Because the Colensos championed two unpopular causes simultaneously, each became more unpopular, and this invited defeat.³⁶

There was an even more insistent invitation to defeat in the way Harriette's championship of the Zulu people exposed the fundamental constitutional dilemma of Britain as an imperial power. While the form of government in Britain was becoming more and more democratic, Britain sanctioned despotic forms of government abroad. This was a dichotomy which the Colensos deplored, but it was in fact inescapable for as long as Britain accepted the imperial commitments that expansion involved. Only if Britain avoided or abandoned an imperial role, could the constitutional anomaly be resolved; but imperial 'avoidance' by transferring power to white colonists virtually abandoned the unenfranchised black people to white settler domination.

Like Bishop Colenso in regard to Langalibalele, so his family in regard to the Zulu people after annexation were determined that the benefits of British constitutional principles

34. See above, Chapter Six. H.E. Colenso, *A Reply Made on Behalf of the Church of England in Natal to Bishop Baynes' Explanation of March 17, 1894* (Pietermaritzburg, 1894).

35. S. Marks, 'Harriette Colenso and the Zulus', *Journal of African History* vol.4, 3 (1963) and B.M. Nicholls, 'The Smashing of Bishopstowe'.

36. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes. cf. Marks, 'Harriette Colenso and the Zulus'.

should be available to all who were brought under the sovereign authority of Britain, whether indigenous inhabitants or settlers. For the Colensos, the essential constitutional principle was their firm belief that the Zulu people were as entitled as any British subjects to protection from arbitrary government. To them it was clear that all constitutional means should be used to secure this end: litigation, public discussion, and parliamentary lobbying. The strongest guarantee against arbitrary government that they envisaged in their own day was government in consultation with the hereditary representative of the Zulu people, Dinuzulu, the dynastic head of the Zulu people. Enfranchisement for the African people in Natal lay in the future.³⁷

But the Colenso view of how Zululand should be governed had strong opponents. Local imperial officials in Zululand disliked it. The restraints of the rule of law and of the threat of public scrutiny of their actions were particularly irksome when they tried to maintain authority and order in the highly volatile situation of Zululand just after the 1887 annexation. Later, when the incorporation of Zululand into Natal came closer, it was the Natalians who resented the Colenso views, for the colonists assumed that the first priority was to ensure maximum advantage for Natal (*i.e.* its white population) from the incorporation of Zululand. Both the local imperial officials and the Natal government made use of the concept of the power of the Supreme Chief as the means of justifying claims to sweeping power over the indigenous inhabitants, thus using a legally sanctioned fiction to undermine the rule of law.³⁸

At a time when patriotic Victorians boasted that the extension of British rule meant the extension of freedom and justice, it was an anomaly that the Governor could, as Supreme Chief, exercise authority that could not easily be bridled.³⁹ As despatches and letters reached London, so the Colonial Office had to decide whether to support its representative in the exercise of sweeping powers or to accept the criticisms that were made of him.

37. *The South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905* (Lagden Commission), vol.3, Evidence of Harriette Colenso, p.413, paragraphs 23987-91, 2 May 1904.

38. For a relatively mild statement of the Colenso rejection of the concept of 'The Supreme Chief', see H.E. Colenso & A. Werner, *White and Black in Natal* (London, 1892). It was repeated in *i.a.* *Principles of Native Government*, 1908; see also F.E. and H.E. Colenso, *The Reign of Unlaw in Natal, being Miss Colenso's Second Address in Pietermaritzburg*, September 1908.

39. For comment on these points see, D. Kidd, *Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism. An Introduction to the Study of the Native Problem* (London, 1908), p.42 and pp.64-65.

When the Colonial Office transferred responsibility to Natal, it alleviated some of the strains of its dilemma, but this worsened the plight of the indigenous people, who were placed under the authority of a white government answerable only to the white electorate of the colony. Subsequently, despite the shadows of control retained by the Imperial government when Responsible government was granted and when Zululand was annexed to Natal, it was the Natal government that controlled events, and this meant that criticisms made or endorsed in Britain would have even less effect than previously.⁴⁰

Yet to concede Responsible government and to allow the expansion of colonial boundaries was part of the accepted pattern of development in the British empire. Somewhat paradoxically, the Colensos were probably wise to accept the inevitability of both developments, although wrong in hoping, as they did initially, that the Zulus would benefit from the changes. In fact, the Colensos achieved more in the early years of the decade, admittedly after some disappointments. British criticisms could cut deeper when Zululand was a crown colony and the prospect of Natal control was remote. It helped, too, that at this point the issue in contention was the rival claims of the uSuthu and the Mandlakazi.⁴¹ Later, the situation turned against the Colensos when incorporation into Natal was imminent, and the question at issue was how compatible would be the interests of Natal with the survival of the Zulu people in the new circumstances.⁴²

Underlying the constitutional questions of the time were the economic trends in southern Africa. Here, too, the important point is a simple one. Economic conditions and pressures did not favour the kind of future for Zululand that the Colensos hoped could be achieved. A Zululand that could be guided carefully and slowly into the new experiences of 'civilisation' presupposed a Zululand somewhat insulated from the competitive economic thrusts at work in South Africa and retaining a measure of economic self-sufficiency.⁴³ Such conditions did not obtain. They had been undermined for decades as Zululand felt

40. L. Swart, 'The Work of Harriette Emily Colenso in Relationship to Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo Culminating in the Treason Trial of 1908-1909' (M.A., University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1967), gives an overview of Harriette's experiences as the champion of Dinuzulu in the later period. See, too, S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion, the 1906-08 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford, 1970).

41. See above, Chapter Five.

42. See above, Chapters Seven and Eight.

43. N.A., Col.Coll. (Old Ref: Box 149): A.M. Colenso to H.E. Colenso, n.d. (Nov.1888? in.ev.): comments on the impossibility of keeping the old Zulu society unaffected by white intrusion.

the economic impact of the presence of white neighbours and the discovery of gold exacerbated the pressure of whites on the resources of Zululand, both human and natural. While the Colensos were arguing the issues of political morality and constitutional propriety, the economic repercussions of the white man's presence were helping to make their goals unrealisable. By the time Dinuzulu returned, the natural disasters of the 1890s had further impoverished the Zulus, and this in turn invited increased white pressures. When the Colensos referred to economic conditions, they tried to strengthen the arguments in favour of greater consideration for the exiled leaders and for the Zulus. Since those who had power wished to exploit the economic resources of Zululand rather than protect the Zulu people, such arguments carried little weight.⁴⁴

During the decade the overall purpose and the basic difficulties of the Colensos remained the same. But their immediate tasks changed and the rhythm of success and failure varied.

In 1887 and 1888 their initial task was to make the annexation of Zululand as compatible with uSuthu interests as possible and to avert further confrontation, suffering, and alienation. The tactic was to appeal to the officials in Natal, especially the Governor, Sir Arthur Havelock, while maintaining in England a criticism of past decisions and official actions. The Colenso record was failure, and the rhythm one of disappointment. They did not achieve any revision of the terms of the partition agreement of October 1886, and they did not prevent the officials from sanctioning the return of Zibhebhu and the Mandlakazi to the Ndwandwe district. The result was the clash between the uSuthu loyalists and Zibhebhu at Ivuna and the subsequent confrontations between British forces and the uSuthu at Ceza and at Hlophekhulu. The reasons for this were, at the local level, the decision of Havelock that it was better to risk Colenso criticism and humanitarian outcry than the collapse of authority in Zululand. Consequently he failed to assess correctly the vehemence of factional fighting in Zululand and the difficulty of controlling military operations of pacification. At the metropolitan level, the attention that Colenso criticisms achieved was not enough to ensure a pro-uSuthu policy in Zululand, where old attitudes among local officials died hard.⁴⁵

44. J. Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1995), Chapter 9.

45. See above, Chapters Two and Three.

In 1888 and 1889 the most pressing task was to defend before the courts (especially the Court of Special Commissioners at Eshowe) the uSuthu leaders and followers who were arraigned. Here the record is one of some success alleviating the monotony of failure. Successes include encouragement to the uSuthu leaders to surrender (which made possible - and necessary - the whole procedure of judicial defence); securing the services of defence counsel, especially Harry Escombe; the Privy Council decision which interrupted the proceedings of the Special Court; Knutsford's undertaking that he would review the sentences imposed by the Special Court; and amassing evidence that could be used to motivate further pleas for a full scale imperial investigation of conditions in Zululand. But failure was heavy: the prisoners were condemned; a subsequent appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council failed; Knutsford largely shirked his undertaking to revise the sentences; and he would not yield to the continuing pleas for a full scale enquiry that might vindicate the uSuthu. Reasons for the Colenso record of minor successes in major failure are that the Colonial Office, though aware of criticism and the need to answer it, was well protected by the confident parliamentary position of the Conservative government and guided by the convention that subordinate officials should be supported against critics, whether local politicians or humanitarians - colonial and British. It parried rather than yielded to criticism. In addition, staging a trial at least gave the appearance that the rule of law had been maintained, a point underlined by the failure of the applications to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, especially in July 1889. It was decided in 1889 that the three key uSuthu leaders, Dinuzulu, Shingana and Ndabuko should be exiled to St Helena and it was claimed that this was an alleviation of their sentences.⁴⁶

In the years 1890 to 1893 the most significant feature of the Colenso activity is that Harriette, accompanied by her mother and her sister Agnes, was in England. She was herself in direct contact with the Colonial Office and the humanitarian lobby and intent on exploiting to the full whatever opportunities the structure of government provided for representations on behalf of the uSuthu. The record is interesting. A stalemate situation obtained while the Conservative government was in office, but there was some success even then. Harriette thwarted the attempt of local officials to arrange another return of Zibhebhu to the Ndwandwe, which would have dimmed uSuthu prospects. When the Liberals came to office, uSuthu prospects and Harriette's hopes brightened. This uneven

46. See above, Chapter Four.

record of stalemate yielding signs of success rested on the interplay of circumstances which included the way Zulu issues were even further removed from the forefront of public attention; the reluctance of the Colonial Office to incur a further wave of humanitarian indignation which would certainly follow if yet another Mandlakazi restoration provoked confrontation; Harriette's success in creating an alert public opinion and a small parliamentary lobby that was willing to use the information she gave them to embarrass the government; the way Zululand was regarded as a purely British and imperial responsibility, because Natal, preoccupied by the Responsible government issue, had advanced no recent claim; and, of course, the change of government in Britain in the middle of 1892. With a new Governor in Natal and Zululand in the person of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson who succeeded Sir Charles Mitchell, and Sir Marshal Clarke superseding Osborn in Eshowe, Harriette returned to Natal reassured about the future.

In the years 1893 and 1894 Harriette's main attention was given to the church issue. After her visit to Sir Marshal Clarke in Zululand at the end of 1893, Harriette assumed that the earlier momentum was carrying Zulu affairs to a favourable outcome, and clemency to minor prisoners confirmed her hopes.⁴⁷

Church affairs seemed more critical and she was not troubled about Responsible government. For a time she trusted Natal politicians in Zulu affairs.⁴⁸ A long habit of animosity to appointed imperial officials lulled suspicion of what Natal governments might do to the black population of Natal, and of what they might intend in regard to Zululand. Preoccupied, and hopeful, she lacked the political acumen necessary to foresee the way things would work out when a Responsibly governed Natal asserted its claims to be consulted over Zulu policy while it awaited the incorporation of Zululand.⁴⁹ In regard to ecclesiastical affairs, the record, for these years, and for the decade, is that, while the Colensos failed to guarantee the continued survival of the Church of England that was linked to their father's attitudes, they prolonged its life and protracted the process of its extinction. They compelled the Church of the Province of South Africa to adopt measures

47. B.M. Nicholls, 'Introduction' to H.E. Colenso, *Cases of Six Usutus*, Reprint in the Colin Webb Series (Pietermaritzburg, 1996).

48. H.E. Colenso, *Zululand, the Exiled Chiefs and the Colonial Office 1893-1896. Strictly Confidential* (London, 1895).

49. See above, Chapter Seven.

which are still a reproach in its history. It was impossible for the Colensos to do other than engage in the ecclesiastical controversies, but they paid a price. This included the constant drain on their energies, the intermittent interruption of their concentration on the larger matter of Zululand, and the difficulty of working in harmony with others, like Bishop Carter of Zululand, who recognised the dilemmas of Dinuzulu.⁵⁰

The episode of the arranged but aborted repatriation of the Zulu chiefs from St Helena in January 1895 merits emphasis. Here, success was jostled aside by the intervention of Natal. The Colonial Office could not prevent this and dared not defy the Natal government. It is a perplexing episode for the historian to explain, and it was a perplexity to Harriette in retrospect. Certainly it was the prelude to great disappointment, although Harriette, too confident in her expectations and too confiding in her attitude to Escombe, took time to realise this. Reasons for this episode lie in the politics, as opposed to the constitutional principles and proprieties, of imperial management when a colony with Responsible government was involved. A well-disposed British government, embarrassed by the possession of only a small and potentially rebellious parliamentary majority at Westminster, could not act decisively. Because it dared not risk either the defiance of white Natal or the defection of its own backbench supporters, it was reduced to powerlessness, and the Zulu Exiles remained at St Helena. When Harriette was persuaded into sending her telegram advocating the annexation of Zululand to Natal prior to the repatriation of the Exiles, she became the victim of a political astuteness quite outside her range. She was not responsible for the cancellation of the proposed return, but she could be made to appear to be so and, what is more, the seeming alliance between the Natal ministry and herself for a time precluded her criticism of Natal, until she realised how great was the gap between its ambitions and her hopes for the Zulus. This was a cheap victory for Natal's first Responsible ministry, but it was a successful ploy.⁵¹

In the last phase of Colenso activity during this decade Harriette was in England, Agnes at Bishopstowe, and the Exiles at St Helena. 1895, 1896 and 1897 were very busy years for the Colenso sisters, and they were crucial for South Africa and for Zululand. Harriette's hopes - though persistent, resilient, and determined - were, in the end,

50. See Appendix 2, Biographical notes and above, Chapter Six.

51. See above, Chapter Seven.

disappointed. Her activity - though brave and valiant in itself and interesting in regard to the people whom she met and with whom she worked - failed to achieve what she wanted. She returned with the Exiles to arrive in Zululand in January 1898, but she had attained only a semblance of success. Inescapably, and however reluctantly, she was disillusioned with Natal and with Escombe, but she refused to despair. The terms of the Act by which Zululand was annexed to Natal reflected her failure because they doomed the Zulus and Dinuzulu to the kind of future she had tried to avert. The record is thus one of false hopes and real disappointment. It hinges on the dispersal and the ineffectiveness of the humanitarian lobby in the Jubilee period, the oscillation in the attitude of the Natalians between hesitation and determination in regard to Zululand, and the hardening in the priorities of the Colonial Office. In combination, these factors stripped the return of the Exiles of the hopefulness and promise Harriette had wanted to secure for the uSuthu and for the Zulus, and did this at a time when natural disasters increased the impoverishment of the people.⁵²

The Colenso efforts during the decade ended in failure, but not despair. Exploring why the efforts were made, and why they failed, reveals much about the pressures and the priorities that wove together the pattern of South African history in a decade when, with white domination established over the sub-continent, British policy eventually concentrated on its claim to paramountcy. When the Exiles returned, the South African War was less than two years in the future.

It is revealing of Colenso attitudes and endeavours that, for all the disappointment of 1898, Harriette remained defiantly hopeful. As she intimated to her brother, Frank, Dinuzulu might yet win through merit the 'central position' even the 'paramount' role - which officials declined to concede. In Zululand, C.R. Saunders, Resident Commissioner in succession to Sir Marshal Clarke, recognised the existence of these hopes and informed his superiors in Natal.⁵³ A decade after the release of the Exiles, Dinuzulu was again under arrest, and Harriette, older and more lonely, took up the task of his defence. This,

52. See above Chapters Eight and Nine. For a contemporary comment on rinderpest, see Anon. 'Rinderpest in South Africa', *Cape Illustrated Magazine*, vol.8, 1, Sept.1897.

53. R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers: H.E. Colenso to F.E. Colenso (from the *Umbilo* in Durban harbour), 5 (possibly 8) Jan.1898. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.111-12.

however, is a later story, already told by Lionel Swart.⁵⁴ Working then with W.P. Schreiner, Harriette recalled her experiences with Harry Escombe twenty years previously.⁵⁵

Harriette and her siblings deplored the dominant trends of her own day. She could not stop them. To most of their white contemporaries Frank in England (for all his professional standing) and Agnes and Harriette in Natal (where they were much more vulnerable to criticism) were eccentric, if not worse. To some, however, even among their own contemporaries, the voices of protest of Harriette and Agnes were those of women whose vision was longer and clearer, and whose sympathies wider and deeper, than the conventional wisdom of their day allowed. Decades later, there were others who shared the Colenso vision of a harmonious and just society in South Africa and who saw in the release of a political prisoner from another island the *sine qua non* for 'a brighter future'. With some using methods comparable to those of Harriette Colenso, they campaigned successfully. The release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, amid much jubilation, opened rich possibilities. Whether or not the 'brighter future' will be achieved is the challenge, and the responsibility, of those who now wield power in our country.

54. See bibliography and note on sources.

55. Schreiner Papers, no.1282: H.E. Colenso to W.P. Schreiner, enclosing extracts from correspondence of H. Escombe, sent by H.E. Colenso to W.P. Schreiner in 1908.

APPENDIX 1

THE COLENZO FAMILY

Genealogical Table

Detailed dates of birth and death (where available)

Close English family

Zulu names

Brief biographies of

John William Colenso

Sarah Frances Colenso

Harriette Emily Colenso

Frances Ellen Colenso

Robert John Colenso

Francis Ernest Colenso

Agnes Mary Colenso

Gencalogical Table

Robert (1745-1814) married Elizabeth Williams

Robert was the landlord of the King's Head, Penzancc, 1778-1808

His issue were

John William Colenso - married Mary Anne Blackmore (d.1829)

Anthony - captain of the *Endeavour*

William - married Frances Flamack

Samuel May (1780-1864) - married Mary Veale Thomas

The issue of John William Colenso and Mary Anne Blackmore were

John William (1814-1883) first Bishop of Natal - married Sarah Frances Bunyon (1816-1893)

Sophia Colenso (b.1815)

Thomas Blackmore Colenso (1823-1849)

Emily Frances Colenso (d.1879) - married Revd N. Kendall

The issue of John William Colenso and Sarah Frances Colenso were

Harriette Emily (Harrie or Hal) (1847-1932)

Frances Ellen (Fanny, Nell, Nellie or Nelly) (1849-1887)

Robert John (Robin) (1850-1926) - married (1880) Emily (Emil) Ann Kerr (1857-?)

Francis Ernest (Frank) (1852-1910) - married Sophie Frankland (d-post 1936)

Agnes Mary (1855-1932)

The issue of Robert John and Emily Colenso were

John Eric (b.1880-post World War II), colonel in the Gurkha Rifles - married Mollee(?), evidently no legal issue

Angela Margaret (1891-?) - married (1916) John Walter Francis Thelwall (1884-1934) senior diplomat, British embassy, Berlin - two children; daughter Wendy, son Philip (d.1930)

The issue of Francis Ernest and Sophie Colenso were

Esmond (1882 died in infancy)

Eothen (1883-1972) - married Cameron-Taylor (d.1915)

Irma (1885-c1965) - married A.A. Crovo

Sylvia (1887-c1960?) - married Bertram Lloyd

Nigel (1889-c1913) - killed while employed in Russia when a firearm was accidently discharged in a conveyance

The Colenso family tree provided above is based on that compiled in 1981 by Mrs S. Spencer for the Colenso Centenary celebrated in 1983. This was made available to me by the Archivist of the Natal Diocesan Archives. Mrs Spencer acknowledged the assistance of Mr Peter Colenso and of the writer of this thesis. Mr Peter Colenso, a descendant of Samuel May Colenso, was a resident of Durban in 1981. One or two additions and alterations have been made. These come from information originally provided by Mr A.A. Crovo and from research undertaken for this thesis which includes information from the Norfolk Record Office.

Detailed birth and death dates of the South African Colensos

John William Colenso	24 January 1814 - 20 June 1883
Sarah Frances Colenso (née Bunyon)	3 June 1816 - 23 December 1893
Harriette Emily Colenso	30 June 1847 - 2 June 1932
Frances Ellen Colenso	30 May 1849 - 28 April 1887
Robert John Colenso	9 October 1850-1926
Francis Ernest Colenso	9 April 1852 - 30 June 1910
Agnes Mary Colenso	29 September 1855 - 23 July 1932

Close English relations

Charles John Bunyon, only brother and youngest sibling of Sarah Frances, husband of 'Aunt Eliza' and, apparently, father of two daughters: Constance, who appears not to have married, and Frances (Francie) who married a Russell.

Harriette, sister of Sarah Frances Bunyon, married Frank McDougall, a clergyman, who became Bishop of Borneo. She died in 1886.

Ellen Maria Bunyon, who was an invalid lady in later life, appears not to have married. She died in 1882.

Zulu names given to members of the Colenso family

John William Colenso	<i>Sobantu</i> (father of the people) <i>Sokululeka</i> (father of light) <i>Ndhlodhlo yas ekuKanyeni</i> was the phrase applied to Colenso by one of James Stuart's informants. With a literal meaning of 'viper of ekuKhanyeni' the phrase conveys the sense that Colenso was an important person.
Sarah Frances Colenso	<i>Inkosikazi</i> (title of respect for a senior woman)
Harriette Emily Colenso	<i>Dhlwedhlwe</i> , alternatively <i>Dlwedlwe</i> (the staff or walking stick of her father) <i>Inkosazana</i> (title of respect) <i>Matatoba</i> (according to Harriette herself, this meant 'she who goes slowly') <i>Inkanizi</i> (the little light)
Frances Ellen Colenso	No reference to a Zulu name has been found
Robert John Colenso	<i>Mnyaiza</i> , alternatively <i>Mnyayiza</i> . It is an interesting coincidence that this was also the name of Ndabuko kaMpande's son and heir.
Francis Ernest Colenso	<i>Gebuza</i> or <i>Gebhuza</i> (he who asks questions). An appropriate name for a lawyer; it was applied too to Henrique Shepstone.
Agnes Mary Colenso	<i>Sineke</i> (she who helps)
John Eric Colenso	As a little boy in Africa, he was known as <i>Nondela</i> .

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

COLENZO, John William (1814-1883)

First Bishop of Natal and a dedicated and eminent controversialist in the ecclesiastical and theological disputes of his day, he was also a trenchant critic of official policies in Natal and Zululand. A Cornishman by birth, his young years were darkened by his father's financial disaster and the early death of his mother. Securing admission to St John's College, Cambridge, he distinguished himself in his mathematical studies. He married in 1846. He wrote and published school text books and was a school master at Harrow as well as the incumbent of St Mary's Forncett before accepting the responsibilities of Bishop of Natal in response to the appeal of Robert Gray. He welcomed the missionary opportunities this opened. Leaving his wife and young children in England, he made a brief visit to Natal and published *Ten weeks in Natal* as an appeal for funds. His family and missionary party arrived in Natal in 1855 and, after about a year in Pietermaritzburg itself, took up residence on the Bishopstowe-ekuKhanyeni estates. He visited Zululand shortly after his arrival in Natal. The contemporary intellectual climate was one of scientific discovery, religious enquiry, and debate over social responsibility. With a highly critical mind and a prolific pen, Colenso shirked neither work nor controversy. To communicate with his potential or actual converts, he became a Zulu linguist. He compiled a Zulu dictionary and worked assiduously at the translation of works into Zulu. To promote his mission work he publicised his own views on polygamy then a hotly debated issue. These fell far short of the customary condemnation. To enlighten the faithful and remove encrustations of error, he turned his attention to portions of the Scripture and found that his works, especially the *Commentary on the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans*, and the earliest volumes of his seven-volume study, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, stirred vehement controversy. His subordinate, Dean Green in Pietermaritzburg, and Bishop Gray in Cape Town were both alarmed at what they regarded as his heresy and took steps to dislodge him. But despite a 'trial' at Cape Town (where Colenso did not appear) and the sentence of deprivation and the excommunication which Gray pronounced against him, Colenso could not be dislodged, or silenced. A series of complicated judgments in Natal, in the Cape and in London (which may not be entirely consistent with one another) resulted in a situation where Colenso retained the title of Bishop of Natal, the income of the Diocese from the Colonial Bishops' Fund, and the control of the property of the Church of England in Natal as its trustee. The implacable hostility of Dean Green and the presence in Natal from 1869 of William Kenneth Macrorie as Bishop of 'Maritzburg undermined Colenso's position. Ecclesiastical controversy continued throughout Colenso's life. This was compounded by his championship of Langalibalele and his people (the victims of white Natal's land hunger and panic), his denunciation of Shepstonism as arbitrary and unjust, his outrage at the policy of Sir Bartle Frere in Zululand, and his abhorrence of the subsequent British policy in Zululand, notably the exile of Cetshwayo, and then the mockingly inadequate restoration of the Zulu king. Colenso remonstrated with officials and circulated the sheets of the *Zulu Digest* (printed at Bishopstowe) to English friends, especially the secretary of the A.P.S. For his family, Colenso's legacy was one of inspiration to effort and dedication to controversy.

COLENZO, Sarah Frances (1816-1893)

Her grandfather, Thomas Bignold, was a banker of Norwich who opened a branch of the Norwich Union in London in 1814 which he placed in the charge of his son-in-law, Robert John Bunyon. Robert John Bunyon was the father of Sarah Frances and her siblings Harriette, Ellen and Charles. The family was impoverished when Robert John Bunyon died because he lost money in a Welsh coal mining venture. His children were, however, provided with a good education. Charles, who prospered later, went to Harrow and to Cambridge. Sarah Frances and

her sisters went to a Young Ladies' Academy in Cheltenham. Sarah Frances had a life-long friendship with Miss Bell of Winnington Hall which may have begun in their youth. Brought up in a pious evangelical atmosphere, Sarah Frances showed a perhaps somewhat precocious interest in the theological debates current in her youth. Married to John William Colenso in 1846, she was subsequently a devoted wife, sharing his fortunes and supporting his efforts as a tutor at Harrow, as rector of St Mary's Forncett, and later as Bishop of Natal. While Bishopstowe was being built, she ran a school in Pietermaritzburg. Her blood relatives did not approve of Colenso's controversial publications and theological stance. He was, however, received by her uncle Sir Samuel Bignold when he visited Norwich in 1874, while Charles Bunyon was a friend and supporter in other matters, despite his theological disapproval. Sarah Frances' attitude to her brother was ambivalent. She welcomed his help but was irked by his pomposity and resented his disapproval. Sarah Frances' letters to the Colenso friends in England, Sir Charles and Lady Lyell and Colonel Henry and Mrs Lyell, explained the perplexities that afflicted her husband in Natal and the actions he found it necessary to take. Mrs Lyell, a keen botanist, encouraged Sarah Frances' hobby of painting the flowers of Natal and maintained an affection for the Colenso family that extended to the younger generation. Sarah Frances' wide range of awareness and intellectual zest are reflected in her letters. Her support and admiration for her husband was profound, and she was fully committed to assisting him in the conflicts into which he was drawn. After Bishop Colenso's death his widow seems to have transferred to Harriette the devotion she had felt for her husband and she accepted her daughter's lead. Though her sons were in England, she remained firm in supporting the resolution of Harriette and Agnes to make Natal their home and to continue 'His' work. This carried her through the privations of her later years when, after the destruction of Bishopstowe, a farm cottage became their Natal home. She rejoiced when Harriette was praised. She accompanied Harriette and Agnes to England for the years 1890-1893 but did not long survive their return to Pietermaritzburg. She died in December 1893.

COLENZO, Harriette Emily (1847-1932)

Born in Forncett in 1847 Harriette travelled with her mother, father, sister Frances Ellen, and the two boys to Natal in the *Jane Maurice* in 1855. She probably attended the school in Pietermaritzburg which her mother ran for a year before moving to Bishopstowe and, apart from the years at Winnington Hall an advanced school for young ladies in Cheshire, England, she was - to her own subsequent pride - educated by her parents. Especially after her brothers left for England to study and qualify, Harriette was closely associated with her father, studying with him and accompanying him on his diocesan visitations, as well as participating in the affairs of the household. Her political work with her father began over the Langalibalele affair, and her role aroused the ire of colonists. She was, for example, accused of misrepresentation in regard to a petition from Christian black people in the 1870s. Subsequently she worked with her father over Zulu issues, copying and writing for him. She, like her father, was blamed for fomenting discontent in the Reserve (southern Zululand, from 1884-1887), and her first public appearance was to testify in the law suit which John Shepstone instituted against P. Davis. On her father's death the main task of continuing his work fell upon her, and she assumed the direction of the Colenso affairs in South Africa. This included church affairs and current political matters as well as the work to ensure that the record of the past was accurately depicted in the *Life of Bishop Colenso* and in other Colenso writings. She continued the production of the *Zulu Digest* for several months; then, after an interruption during which she secured her own printing press, resumed the issuing of printed sheets. Always she needed the support of men who held the official and public positions, to which she could not, as a woman, aspire: clerical office, legal positions and political roles. She used all the resources available to her to be informed of

developments in Zululand and to influence policy. Her activities in the decade 1887-1897 are examined in detail in the thesis, but there were still decades of activity ahead of her thereafter. The defence of Dinuzulu 1908-1909 and the struggle to avert the loss of Church of England property were only the two most prominent episodes in a life of continued effort and sacrifice. She used all her powers to avert injustice and to secure all that could be secured for the Church of England followers, especially the black congregations who remained outside the Church of the Province of South Africa. She and her sister, Agnes, lived on the income from what remained of their personal inheritance and, presumably, the produce, but not the rents (which went to the Curators) of the Bishopstowe lands. Friends in England purchased an annuity for Harriette and, after their expulsion from Bishopstowe, each sister received a pension of £150 p.a. which was provided for in the Church Property Act. During their last years the capital resources of the Colenso sisters were increased by the sale of Berea lands which were deemed to be part of Colenso's private estate. There is evidence that Harriette, who moved with her sister to Sweetwaters, endured a difficult old age with all the frustrations of failing physical powers.

COLENSO, Frances Ellen (1849-1887)

The literary and artistic member of the family, Frances Ellen is remembered now mainly for her hopeless and tragic love for Anthony William Durnford. A Royal Engineer, separated from his wife, Durnford was blamed by colonists for the disaster at the Bushman's River pass in 1873 and lost his life at Isandlwana. He became the scapegoat for that British disaster. As a young girl, Frances Ellen seems to have been more responsive than her sisters to the atmosphere at Winnington Hall and the teaching and influence of John Ruskin. A school fellow, Dora Livesey, later Dora Lees, was a lifelong friend. Frances Ellen wrote at least three novelettes. As a young woman she seems to have experienced a very warm friendship with a young officer Louis Frederick Knollys before Durnford came to Natal. Yearning for artistic achievement, she displayed drawings and paintings in local exhibitions. When Bishop Colenso was drawn into political controversy, she turned to writing articles and books of a political character. *My Chief and I* published under the pseudonym of Atherton Wylde, was her tribute to Anthony William Durnford written after the Langalibalele affair but not published until after Durnford's death. Her main books were the *History of the Zulu War* and the *Ruin of Zululand* 2 vols. She had the support and help of Lt Colonel Edward Durnford, brother of Anthony William, in writing the *History*, and she co-operated with Durnford in the production of *A Soldier's Life and Work in South-East Africa: a Memoir of A.W. Durnford*. Frank in England and Harriette in Natal helped in the production of the unwieldy two volumes of the *Ruin of Zululand*. The Colenso-Shepstone controversy shadowed the friendship of Frances Ellen and Helen Shepstone, the wife of Offy who, Frances Ellen believed, had removed papers from the body of Durnford on the Isandlwana battlefield. During the Anglo-Zulu war Frances Ellen and Helen nursed a sick and dying young soldier. Having herself contracted consumption, Frances Ellen spent her last years in a valiant fight for health, as well as the struggle to vindicate the reputation of Durnford and to play her part in the Colenso controversies. She visited England in 1880-1881 where Frank was settled at Norwich. She returned to Natal to regain her health, but the disasters that followed; the death of Bishop Colenso, the destruction of Bishopstowe, and the chaos in Zululand hardly promoted her recovery. She spent much time at the home of her brother Robert in Durban. Once the *Ruin of Zululand* was completed, Frances Ellen spent even more of her energy on attempting to vindicate Durnford. After an army enquiry vindicated Offy Shepstone, Frances Ellen returned to England in 1886 to seek there the vindication of Durnford denied her in Natal. She spent the last few months of her life at the Royal National Hospital at Ventnor on the Isle of Wight, resolutely articulate, but pitifully doomed. Early in April 1887 her family was told that her death was inevitable and imminent. The hospital would not continue to treat a 'hopeless'

case and she died in lodgings at Ventnor.

COLENZO, Robert John (1850-1926)

Like his younger brother Frank, Robert enjoyed a colonial upbringing of outdoor activity, fishing, shooting, and riding, while his studies were directed by his father and by the Revd Gray in Pietermaritzburg. His colonial youth was interrupted when the family was in England in the early 1860s and ended when the Colenso sons went to England for further education and professional training. As boys he and Frank imitated their father in taking services at Bishopstowe, but both sons turned away from the Church as a profession. Both boys shared the Colenso love of music. Thoughts that Robert might turn coffee-farmer in Natal were abandoned in favour of a professional training in England, where both sons were guided by Benjamin Jowett. Robert qualified as a doctor. His qualifications were subsequently given as M.A., B.M. Oxon, M.R.C.S. Eng, M.A. Capetown. After working in a hospital in England he returned to South Africa with his bride, Emily Ann Kerr, and set up a practice in Durban. He lived at Palmhurst in Beach Grove (possibly the site of the present Royal Hotel) and then in Stamford Hill. He was in close touch with Bishopstowe. He reported on political events in Durban. He was present at his father's death and acted with Harriette in sending messengers to Zululand with this news. In 1886 he entertained Ndaduko and Shingana when they visited Natal. His practice in Durban does not seem to have flourished and, amid the excitement over gold, he was attracted to the Rand. His wife and son, later only his son, lived at Bishopstowe for part of the very unfortunate years he spent on the Rand. The Bishopstowe family heard disquieting reports about him from Johannesburg and received requests for money which they met only in part. To them the Zulu commitment came first. By 1891 Robert and his family were in England where he, apparently with the help of the Bunyons, set up a London practice which appears to have been successful. His English home in Cromwell Road was open to his mother and sisters during their visit, 1890-1893, and to Harriette again 1895-1897. He visited his sisters in Natal in the 1920s. Never as committed to the Colenso causes as his brother Frank and somewhat critical of the Frank Colensos, he was on occasion himself in touch with the A.P.S. and was consulted by Alice Werner on Zulu affairs after Frank's death.

COLENZO, Francis Ernest (1852-1910)

Like his brother Robert, he spent much of his childhood in Natal and at one point hoped to settle there after he qualified in Britain. Frank became a member of St John's College, Cambridge, his father's old college. He qualified as a lawyer. The Colenso network of intellectual and scientific friends may account for his meeting Sophie Frankland, whom he later married. The daughter of Sir Edward Frankland, Sophie was a beautiful, very loving, but somewhat wilful woman. Frank returned to Natal and opened up a legal practice in Church Street, Pietermaritzburg. In partnership with Dr W. Smith he sought appointment as the diplomatic agent of Cetshwayo, a venture which incurred the wrath of the local officials. He was in Natal in the early part of the Anglo-Zulu war but, when Sophie made it plain that she would not marry him if that meant settling in Natal, he returned to Britain. He was accompanied by Frances Ellen. In England he turned to actuarial work and found a post first in Norwich, where family connections were strong, and then in London. His early actuarial career was not unchequered, but the influence of his maternal uncle Charles (Bunyon) helped him. His support for the Colenso family and their ventures was unstinting. He published articles in his own name and was indispensable to Frances Ellen in the production of her *Ruin of Zululand* (1884-1888). He gathered in material for Cox's *Life of Bishop Colenso* and consulted closely with Cox about this work. He was assisted in this by Frances Ellen when she was in Britain. The work was also scrutinised at Bishopstowe. In 1888-1889 Frank was zealous in lobbying for the uSuthu cause. By 1890, when the Bishopstowe women arrived in England, he and Sophie were living with their

four children in their home in Cavendish Road West, St John's Wood, London. They moved from there to Elangeni, Amersham, only in the early twentieth century. When Harriette returned to Natal, Frank resumed his role as the main Colenso representative in Britain. His efforts to halt the injustices associated with the 'Bambatha rebellion' and the subsequent trials were strenuous and sustained, and halted only by his death from pernicious anaemia in 1910. His financial circumstances were much improved in 1899 when, on the death of her father, Sir Edward Frankland, Sophie found that she had inherited substantially. Frank visited his sisters during the Anglo-Boer war. During this stay he took recordings on wax cylinders of the voices of Zulu friends, but these are now lost.

COLENZO, Agnes Mary (1855-1932)

As devoted to the Colenso causes as either of her sisters, Agnes was much less in the public eye. Like her sisters she spent time at Winnington Hall in the 1860s. She visited England again in the 1870s. Keeping house, teaching successive generations of children in the mission school, and ministering to the sick seem to have absorbed most of her energies. In England in the 1890s she cared for her mother while Harriette lobbied and lectured. Without Agnes' devoted love Harriette would not have been able to tackle the tasks of ecclesiastical and political commitment. Too concerned for others to take much heed of herself, Agnes - 'Miss Agonies' - was not entirely comfortable when white friends visited or stayed at Bishopstowe. She preferred to spend time with Harriette and/or the black people of the mission. When Harriette was away, Agnes assumed the public role of her sister. This happened in November 1888 when Dinuzulu arrived at Bishopstowe after Harriette had left for Eshowe, and during the period of Harriette's second visit to England in this decade. Agnes between 1895-1897 was host to Alice Werner, chief challenger to Bishop Baynes, and prisoner's friend or litigant's adviser in court cases. Available material show no conflict between the sisters other than that implied when Agnes' was concerned for her sister's health, and in the last years of their long lives, when she grieved at the impatience of old age that on one occasion, at least, afflicted Harriette. The Colenso sisters survived eviction from Bishopstowe for more than twenty years. After a few years spent in the house at Boshoff Street, formerly owned by Katie Giles and inherited by her niece, they lived in a home at Sweetwaters. From here they could look across to Table Mountain, as their father had done from his study in the old Bishopstowe home.

APPENDIX 2

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ADDISON, Richard Hallowes (Dick) (1857-1921)

Son of Dr W.H. Addison, an 1849 settler in Natal, 'Dick' was educated at Hermannsburg and then in Pietermaritzburg. He entered the Natal civil service. He served with the Stanger Mounted Rifles during the Zulu War and subsequently became an officer in the Reserved Territory Carbineers when that force was organised in Zululand. He was Acting Commander for some months in 1886 and in charge of the escort when, at the end of 1886, Osborn headed the Zululand Demarcation Commission. On the recommendation of Osborn, Addison was appointed to the extremely troubled district of the Ndwandwe, where he felt himself justified in exceeding his authority in ordering floggings. The defence in the trials at Eshowe accused him of shooting at a Zulu youth in the course of evicting uSuthu. Addison did not deny the flogging charges, but did not acknowledge the validity of the shooting charge. Questions about his conduct were asked in the British House of Commons, and he was formally censured by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was also transferred from the Ndwandwe district to that of Nqutu, where there were neither Mandlakazi nor uSuthu. In 1899 he was appointed magistrate at Escourt. He served as political adviser to the field forces during the 'Bambatha rebellion', co-operating with his former Commanding Officer, George Mansel, and his former colleague, C.R. Saunders, who commended his services. After Dinuzulu's surrender in December 1907 Addison was appointed to be temporary chief of the uSuthu. Later he was appointed one of the four Native Commissioners who were part of the reform scheme of Sir F.R. Moor. In 1913 he became Chief Native Commissioner for Natal and Zululand. He retired in 1916 and died in 1921.

ALDEN, Sir Percy (1865-1944)

An Oxford man, he was warden of the Mansfield House University Settlement from 1891-1901. He had a role in local government before becoming a long-serving MP, as a Liberal (radical) 1906-1918 and as a Labour MP 1923-1924. He spoke out against the South African Land Act (1913) in the House of Commons in 1914. He was knighted in 1933.

ANTROBUS, Sir Reginald Lawrence (1853-1942)

Son of a clergyman he was educated at Oxford and became a clerk in the Colonial Office in 1877 after the first competitive examination. He was private secretary to a number of Secretaries of State, *i.e.* Kimberley, Stanley, and Granville. He was Acting Governor of St Helena 1889-1890 and therefore involved in the arrangements for the exile of the *abaNtwana*. His first wife died in 1890. Antrobus subsequently moved up the ladder of the Colonial Office administration becoming Assistant Under-Secretary of the Colonies and then Senior Crown Agent for the Colonies. He was awarded a C.B. in 1898 for work in regard to West African boundary disputes with France. He became a K.C.M.G. in 1911. His second wife was created D.B.E. for her services to the Overseas Nursing Association. She is reputed to have 'spied' on Colonial Office material for Mary Kingsley. Antrobus was a prominent Anglican layman who published works on family history and on church affairs. His papers in the Rhodes House Library show that he was well disposed to Dinuzulu, whom he believed to have been badly treated.

ARNOLD-FORSTER, H.O. (1855-1909)

Nephew of Matthew Arnold and adopted son of W.E. Forster, his uncle by marriage, whom he assisted in Ireland and in regard to the Imperial Federation League. In the political re-alignments of 1886 he became a Liberal Unionist and was MP for West Belfast from 1892-1906 and subsequently for Croydon. He was interested in imperial efficiency. His attention to H.E. Colenso in the House of Commons in 1895 was probably only tactical, as the Liberal government was then very insecure. He was subsequently secretary for the Admiralty and was Secretary of State for War from 1903.

ASQUITH, Herbert Henry (1852-1928)

A Balliol man, he practised as a lawyer and served as a junior counsel in the Parnell Commission.

He was Home Secretary 1892-1895, and became a member of the Liberal Imperialist group of Liberal politicians. He was Prime Minister from 1908-1916 and was later created Earl of Oxford and Asquith.

AYERST, William, Revd (1830-1904)

In 1891 he was chosen as Bishop-Elect by the Church Council of the Church of England in Natal; but, like 'Sir' George Cox before him, Ayerst was refused consecration. A Cambridge man he held a number of clerical posts in England before serving overseas as military chaplain for twenty years. He was military chaplain in Bengal and with the British forces in the Afghan campaign. On his return to England he was appointed to the Hebrew College in London before founding Ayerst Hall (or Hostel) in Cambridge 1882-1897. The Hall received no subsidy and evidently appealed to 'low' or 'broad' rather than 'high' Church sympathisers. He visited Natal shortly before his death. He published works on *Christianity of Language*, *Pentateuch its Own Witness*, and *The See of Natal*.

BADEN-POWELL, Sir George Smyth (1847-1898)

Brother of Robert, educated at Marlborough and Oxford, he was Conservative MP for Kirkdale, Liverpool, from 1885. He was political assistant commissioner to Sir Charles Warren in Bechuanaland, 1884-1885. He was appointed to a number of commissions dealing with colonial issues and published on scientific, financial and colonial issues. According to Jeal (see bibliography) he helped publicise his brother's exploits.

BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1857-1941)

Son of Professor Baden-Powell who contributed to *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 and, with his MP brother, George, known personally to the Colensos, he had a questionable role in the pacification of Zululand in 1888 whither he accompanied his uncle, Sir Henry Smyth, the Commander-in-Chief. Baden Powell was in charge of intelligence operations at Ceza where he was involved in skirmishes and claimed to have secured 'Dinuzulu's necklace', the wooden beads of which were used to reward scouts at Gilwell. There is a suggestion in the Colenso Correspondence that he fell foul of the authorities in 1896 north of the Limpopo. In fact, he conducted an execution of doubtful legality. He won contemporary fame as the defender of Mafekeng during the South African War and is remembered now mainly for his foundation of the Boy Scout Movement. His military service took him to India, to Ashanti (1895), to Matabeleland (now Zimbabwe), and again to India. After the relief of Mafekeng he organised the South African Constabulary. Returning to England, he established a cavalry school and had command over the Territorials in Northumbria. He wrote *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. He accumulated honours and was made baron in 1922.

BAINES, Frederick Samuel, Revd (1858-1939)

Successor to A.H. Baynes, whom he accompanied to Natal, F.S. Baines was the Church of the Province of South Africa Bishop of Natal from 1901-1928. During A.H. Baynes' only partially successful attempts to effect reconciliation and union between the Church of England and the Church of the Province of South Africa congregations, F.S. Baines held a number of clerical posts. He was Church of the Province of South Africa Bishop at the time of the enactment of the Church Properties Act which transferred to the Church of the Province much of the property previously vested in the Church of England. In his speeches on this matter Baines recalled the vigorous opposition that Harriette had offered to his predecessor and to himself.

BAKER, F.H., Revd (fl. 1880?)

He was appointed incumbent of St Paul's at St Helena in 1884 and for a short time had a post in connection with the management of the Exiles. He was from South Africa; he was ordained deacon in 1881 at Grahamstown, and priest in 1882 at 'Maritzburg, but for the Grahamstown diocese. Before going to St Helena he had been curate at Sandflats and Alicedale in the Cape Colony.

BALE, Henry (1854-1910)

Colonial-born, he was a Natal lawyer and politician. He was admitted as attorney in 1875 and advocate in 1881. From 1890-1893 he was a nominated member of the Natal Legislative Council and represented Pietermaritzburg City in the Natal legislative assembly from 1897-1900. He

became a Q.C. in 1897 and was awarded a K.C.M.G. in 1901. He served Natal as Attorney-General (1897-1901), later Minister of Education (1897-1899) and as Chief Justice (1901-1910). As Chief Justice he was sometimes the officer administering the government.

BARNETT, Samuel Augustus, Revd (1844-1913)

He was the first warden of Toynbee Hall, where Harriette found an audience. An Oxford man, he shared in the social idealism of men like the young Alfred Milner who sought to bridge the gap between classes in Britain. He was Rector of St Jude's, Whitechapel, Canon at Bristol, and then Canon and Sub-Dean at Westminster. Concerned to improve the quality of life of the disadvantaged of his society, he founded the Whitechapel Art Gallery, promoted the Education Reform League and addressed problems of housing.

BARNETT, Henriette Octavia Weston (1851-1936)

Wife and, for many years, the widow of Samuel Barnett, she shared his ideals and directed her work into concern for children and the promotion of better living conditions. She was co-founder of the Children's Country Holidays Fund, the Pupil Teachers' Association, and settlement projects. She was awarded the D.B.E. in 1920. She wrote a biography of her husband.

BARRACLOUGH, Edwin Arnold, Revd (fl.1890)

He was the vicar of St Paul's, St Helena, in 1893 and became a Canon there in 1895. A Jesus College, Cambridge, man, he was ordained deacon in 1881 and priest in 1882. He held a number of clerical posts in England including that of curate at All Saints' in Cambridge before he went to St Helena. While on the Island he was tutor and friend to Dinuzulu. He was subsequently at St Peter's Church, Colombo (1900-1902), and then returned to England, where he held a number of clerical appointments. From 1907 he was curate at Thorganby, Yorkshire.

BAYNES, Arthur Hamilton (1854-1942)

Anglican Bishop whose claim to be 'Bishop of Natal' was contested by Church of England adherents in Natal. He was educated at Oxford and was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, E.W. Benson (1888-1892). When both the Church of England and the Church of the Province of South Africa in Natal requested Benson to select a man who would minister to both as bishop, Benson selected Baynes for this work. The work of conciliation was more difficult than Baynes anticipated. He was criticised by Dean Green from within the Church of the Province of South Africa, while the Colenso sisters stiffened resistance among Church of England people to the loss of their identity and, as they saw the situation, to the possible loss of their freedom from episcopal despotism within the Church. They would not accept the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa which specifically rejected the claims to authority of the Privy Council. Baynes found he could not win the acceptance of the Church Council of the Church of England, while the Church of the Province was determined to retain the 'Third Proviso'. The scheme to set up a board of appeal for the whole Anglican communion failed to secure universal acceptance. Nevertheless Baynes was able to achieve agreements with individual congregations of the Church of England, although his mission of reconciliation was only partly successful. He resigned in 1901. He returned to England where he served the Church at Nottingham and in Birmingham, where he became an assistant bishop and a provost of the cathedral. He wrote *My Diocese During the War* (London, 1900); *South Africa* (London, 1908) and *Two Centuries of Church Life* (London, 1915).

BAYLEY, Thomas (1846-1906)

A radical MP with whom Harriette corresponded, he served as a town and county councillor in Nottingham. He failed to gain election to the Commons in 1885 when he opposed a Conservative at Barkston Ash in Yorkshire, West Riding, and failed again in 1886 when he stood as a Gladstonian Liberal against a Liberal Unionist in the Chesterfield division of Derby. He ousted the Liberal Unionist in 1892 in the same constituency, was re-elected in 1895, and again in 1900 when his majority had increased substantially. He asked awkward questions in the House of Commons on the Jameson Raid - for example, about the postponement of the suggested enquiry into the 'native' policy of the Company until the following year; on the role of army officers in the Jameson Raid; and in regard to Rhodes's desire in 1899 to raise a loan for railway development to the north. He was a member of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection

Society in 1900.

BELL, Gertrude (1868-1923)

Educated at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford where she earned a first class pass in History in 1888, she journeyed and explored in Asia Minor and Arabia. She held official posts, e.g. at the Arab intelligence bureau in 1915, because of her expertise. She died in Baghdad in 1923.

BETHELL, George Richard (1849-1919)

A captain in the Royal Navy he was attached to Sir Charles Warren's expedition to Bechuanaland. He was presumably a brother of the C. Bethell who was counsellor and secretary to Montshiwa, whose cousin he married. C. Bethell was killed when rival chiefs and filibusters clashed for control in the region where the shortlived republics of Stellaland and Goshen emerged. There was bitter controversy between the British government and the Boers over his death. G.R. Bethell was Conservative MP for Holderness Division, Yorkshire.

BHEJANA kaNomageje (fl. c.1870)

Belonging to the Tswana regiment he was chief of the Cebekhulu people, a senior *induna* at the important emaNgweni *ikhanda* where pro-uSuthu sentiment was strong, and an *isinceku* of Cetshwayo, about whose personal life he reputedly knew a great deal. He was entrusted with important commissions by Cetshwayo. Fuze accused him of having killed a young wife of Mpande whose son Cetshwayo feared as a possible rival in the succession. At the Blood River meeting in October 1877 he gave offence to Theophilus Shepstone. Later he was used by Cetshwayo to summon the army that fought at Isandlwana. In 1884 he had a prominent role in the expulsion of Sokwetshatha from the lower Mfolozi district. He was one of the leading uSuthu who resented strongly the restoration of Sokwetshatha in 1888. Shortly after Sokwetshatha's return Arthur Shepstone, the magistrate at the lower Mfolozi, led an attack on Bhejana and Somopho, who were captured, convicted of contempt of court by Shepstone, and sentenced to three months' hard labour. After the major confrontations of 1888 he and Somopho eluded capture until 1890. In 1900 he and other prominent uSuthu, some of whom had been convicted at the Court of Special Commissioners for Zululand, were listed by an informant of Stuart as chiefs of the abaSemangweni.

BINNS, Sir Henry (1837-1899)

Of Quaker stock, he emigrated to Natal as a child and became prominent as a sugar-planter and politician. He was Prime Minister of Natal when the Exiles returned, after Escombe was ousted in the elections of 1897. He had previously served the colony, as a nominated member of the old legislative council, in promoting a rail link with the Free State and in negotiations over the repatriation of Indians. He died in 1899 at a time when, although Natal had joined the customs union with the Cape and the Orange Free State, Binns hoped to maintain friendly relations with the South African Republic.

BLAINE, Sir Charles Frederick (fl. c.1890)

The son of a Natal doctor he was a prominent Cape business man (a partner in Blaine and Co.) and resident in Port Elizabeth. He was knighted in 1889. Harriette corresponded with him, without much success, in a search for firm evidence of atrocities against the Ndebele.

BONNER, Hypatia Bradlaugh (fl. c.1900)

Daughter of Charles Bradlaugh (*q.v.*) she sustained and championed her father's ideals. With her husband A. Bonner she published *The Reformer* in which Harriette's articles on 'British Troubles in South Africa' appeared in 1897.

BOURNE, H.R. Fox (1837-1909)

Historian, journalist, secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society (1889-1909). He was born in Jamaica where his father was an anti-slaver. Coming to London in 1848, he studied at London University. His early books were concerned with the overseas enterprise of English merchants. He was for a time a clerk in the War Office and then burnt his fingers as proprietor of the *Examiner*. He was subsequently editor of the *Weekly Despatch*, but resigned in 1887 because he disapproved of Gladstone's policy of Home Rule for Ireland. In that year he published a two-volume history, *English Newspapers*. As secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society he denounced atrocities and misgovernment vigorously. While there was sometimes tension between

Fox Bourne and his associates (for example, Harriette Colenso, Charles Hancock and E.D. Morel), his record is one of sustained, often pioneering, condemnation of abuses. He wrote *The Other Side of the Emir Pasha Relief Expedition* in 1891 and anticipated Morel's Congo Reform Movement in his own denunciations of what was happening in the Congo in the 1890s.

BRADLAUGH, Charles (1833-1891)

Free thinker, republican, and atheist, Charles Bradlaugh vigorously challenged the political, religious, and social conventions of his day. From 1862 he was proprietor of the *National Reformer*. In the 1880s his refusal (until 1886) to take the oath of allegiance on election as MP for Northampton challenged political convention, aroused vehement opposition, and made him the focus of attention. In 1888 the Affirmation Act vindicated his initial stance. He was MP for Northampton until his death in 1891. He disputed religious authority. One of his early publications was an 1861 pamphlet in which he challenged the authority of the Bible. He was an avowed atheist. He collaborated with Annie Besant in challenging the laws which forbade the advocacy of birth control. A radical, and definitely not a socialist, he sympathised strongly with the aspirations of early Indian nationalists, and became known as MP for India. He raised the issue of the uSuthu Exiles in 1890. His death deprived the Colensos of a fearless ally. His daughter, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, had towards her father a similar loyalty and commitment to that which Harriette felt towards Bishop Colenso.

BROOKS, Thomas Warwick (? -1876)

Natal's first Superintendent of Education and friend of Bishop Colenso. A 'high minded and honourable gentleman' he introduced Anthony William Durnford to the Colensos. He committed suicide in April 1876. Katie Giles, life-long friend of the Colensos, was his sister-in-law.

BROWNE, Annie Leigh (1851-1936)

A woman of wealth and talent, she provided a network of contacts for Harriette in England. She was well placed to do this because she was prominent in the work to ensure the election of women to local government. She was a key figure in the foundation of the Women's Local Government Association. She was its secretary and used her resources of money, time, and education to promote its ends. She lobbied MPs for their support for bills for the enfranchisement of women and could advise Harriette on the techniques of lobbying. Annie Leigh Browne eschewed the limelight for herself, but was totally dedicated to her work. She preferred to work through more charismatic women.

BRYCE, James (1838-1922)

Distinguished scholar, historian and jurist, he was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford from 1870-93, and a Liberal MP for Tower Hamlets (1880-1885) and for South Aberdeen (1885-1906). He travelled widely: to the United States, to India, to Russia and, in 1895, to South Africa. He became an authority on the nineteenth century 'eastern question' and championed the cause of Armenian nationalism. He wrote widely on a number of topics, i.e. the *Holy Roman Empire* a prize essay which brought him early fame, *The American Commonwealth*, *Impressions of South Africa* and, late in life, *Modern Democracies*. He was member of Gladstone's last cabinet and helped draft the abortive Irish Home Rule Bill. He was subsequently British Ambassador at Washington. Harriette was in touch with him and with his women relatives (mother, sister and wife), whose identities it is not easy to distinguish from the correspondence. Agnes met him at a formal function in Pietermaritzburg in 1895. He may not have achieved much for the Colensos but he was later to express views of strong criticism of prevailing attitudes among the whites of Natal.

BUBI, kaNondenisa (±1845-post 1913)

See under Mubi.

BULWER, Sir Henry (1836-1914)

Lieutenant-Governor of Natal 1875-1880, and Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for Zululand 1882-1885. He was in frequent dispute with Bishop Colenso, primarily because Bulwer advocated the extension of British sovereignty over Zululand at a time when Bishop Colenso, as a sequel to his denunciation of the Anglo-Zulu War, was demanding the restoration of Cetshwayo.

BUNYON, Charles (? -1892)

He was the younger brother of Sarah Frances, in whose Cambridge rooms she met her future husband, John William Colenso. A prominent insurance man and staunch evangelical he published the *Memoirs of T.F. McDougall, Sometime Bishop of Labuan and of Harriette his Wife* (London, ? 1889) and a book on fire insurance. He disliked Colenso's theological views but supported his campaign for Langalibalele. He differed from the Colensos over Zululand because he was the advocate of British annexation. He gave the Colenso children help and support when they were in England, but the relationship was often strained because he did not approve of their wholehearted political campaigning. His family seems to have carried the expenses of Colenso publications. He was involved in litigation towards the end of his life, which may have jeopardised his wealth and reputation. During the period of this study he and his wife and daughters lived in London at Queens Gate Terrace, then at 37 Phillimore Gardens.

BURGESS, George (d.1929)

The view that George Burgess was a pseudonym for H.E. Colenso is incorrect. A reporter for the *Natal Advertiser*, Burgess, was shorthand writer for the defence team at Eshowe, 1888-1889. Harriette Colenso studied his notes carefully. His letter on floggings in Zululand stirred much public controversy. He may have been the author of the unpublished article 'British Zululand: the Recent Political Trends in Zululand' (copy in D.A.L.). His subsequent career is difficult to trace; but there are later letters from George Burgess to Harriette. A George Burgess was secretary to the Durban Chamber of Commerce in the early 1900s and was honorary secretary of the Reform Association of Durban in 1907. In 1911 a George Burgess corresponded with W.P. Schreiner over criminal cases tried at the Durban magistrate's court, and was in touch with a body called the Durban Native Affairs Reform Committee. In 1920 a George Burgess discussed the taxation of land values with J.X. Merriman.

BURNE-JONES, Georgiana (fl. 1880-1920)

Wife of the artist Sir Edward Burne-Jones (who was knighted in 1894 and died in 1898), Georgiana was the aunt of Rudyard Kipling and a close friend of Frances Ellen Colenso. The warm affection Frances Ellen felt for Georgiana Burne-Jones may have stemmed from their love of art and from the friendship of the Burne-Jones with Ruskin. This drew them into an interest in Winnington Hall, the progressive and enterprising school where Ruskin taught and where the Colenso children were pupils in the 1860s, under the care of the headmistress Miss Bell, a friend of Mrs Colenso. In 1887 Georgiana was one of the friends to whom Frances Ellen believed she could turn in her illness. After Frances Ellen's death Mrs Colenso hoped that Georgiana would be able to elicit from Ruskin some poignant remembrance of her deceased daughter. Georgiana published a biographical study of her husband. She recorded, and evidently endorsed his views on imperialism, for example, the Jameson Raid, and these were akin to those of Harriette Colenso. William Morris, the socialist-artist, was a friend of the Burne-Jones and this may have helped draw Harriette on to the periphery of socialist activity in Britain in the 1890s. On Harriette's behalf and in the interests of the Zulus, Georgiana approached her nephew Rudyard, but drew only the response that he hoped to visit South Africa.

BURT Thomas (1837-1922)

A prominent trade unionist who had himself worked in the pits, Burt was Liberal MP for Morpeth 1874-1918. He was secretary to the Board of Trade during the years 1892-1895. He appears in the Colenso story as the friend of Bradlaugh, with whom the Colensos had dealings.

BUTLER, Josephine (1828-1906)

Remembered mainly as the secretary (1869-1885) to the Ladies National Association for Repeal of Contagious Diseases Act, she supported early moves for women's education, established homes for working girls and campaigned against the white slave trade. She published *i.a.* memoirs of her father (John Guy) and her husband (George Butler).

BUXTON, Sydney Charles (1853-1934)

Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies 1892-1895 and the second Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. He was the grandson of Sir Thomas Buxton, anti-slavery leader, while his mother was the daughter of Sir Henry Holland (Lord Knutsford) whom Ripon succeeded as

Secretary for State for the Colonies in 1892. He was educated at Cambridge. After successes and failures in elections in other constituencies he was elected Liberal member for the Poplar division of Tower Hamlets in 1886 and held that seat until 1914. Before 1892 he had shown himself to be a man anxious to ease disputes; for example, he helped to end the London dock strike of 1889. His first wife died shortly after he became Parliamentary Under-Secretary in 1892. He was a loyal and well-meaning subordinate to Ripon. He twice showed that he was eager to defend the reputation of a department with which he was associated: in the enquiry into the Jameson Raid, where he was one of the Liberal members of the parliamentary committee and in regard to the enquiry into the loss of the *Titanic*, when he was President of the Board of Trade. He was Governor-General of the Union of South Africa during the rebellion of 1914 and throughout the First World War, during which a son was killed in action. He became a warm friend of Louis Botha and a great advocate of the conciliation of the white races. Subsequently he was appointed chairman of the committee to investigate the granting of Responsible government to Southern Rhodesia. Later he was president of the African Society 1921-33. He was the author of a number of books dealing with British and imperial questions as well as 'South Africa and its Native Problem' in the *Journal of the African Society*, April, 1921 and a *Life of General Botha* (1924).

CAINE, W.S. (d.1903)

A member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee, he was evidently a man of liberal sympathies and fluctuating fortunes in parliamentary elections. He rejoined the Gladstonian Liberals after a temporary defection and was MP for Bradford East, 1892-1895.

CAMPBELL, William Young (1854-1899)

Lawyer and business man. Born in Edinburgh he came to Natal as a boy of twelve and was attached to the Duff family at Umhlanga. After visiting England in 1877, he returned to Natal to become editor of the *Natal Mercantile Advertiser* and to train as a lawyer. He was partner in the firm of Campbell and Dumat for a time. A Zulu linguist he drafted the code of native law of 1878. After his role as friend of Cetshwayo, critic of imperial policy in Zululand and, briefly, as a somewhat flamboyant defence lawyer in the Zulu trials of 1888, he made his main base the South African Republic. He helped to found the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines and was one of its first vice-presidents. He travelled to Europe in the interests of the mining industry in 1890. He helped to found the Transvaal National Union. In 1893 he was General Manager of the South African Trust and Finance Company and advocated the extension of the republican rule over Swaziland. He was interested in the mining and commercial opportunities north of the Limpopo. Although he maintained a semblance of friendship with Harriette when they were both in England, he seriously undermined her representations to the Colonial Office. In 1897 he had a key role in the organisation of the celebrations of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee on the Witwatersrand. He died in Lisbon in April 1899. His publications include *With Cetshwayo in the Inkandla and the Present State of the Zulu Question being the Special Correspondence of W.Y. Campbell to the Natal Mercantile Advertiser and Reprinted Therefrom* (1883) and *The South African Goldfields* (1894).

CARDEW, Colonel Sir Frederick (1839-1921)

Sandhurst-trained, he saw service on the north-west frontier of India before holding an appointment at Aldershot. He served in the Anglo-Zulu war and in the first South African War. After a short spell of service in China he was appointed Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve (Mhlathuze to Thukela), stationed at Rorke's Drift. In the turmoil of the early 1880s he appealed to the Acting Governor for British intervention. He reported the death of Dabulamanzi when the Zulu *inkosi*, brother of Cetshwayo, was murdered in the Reserve while *en route* to Cardew. In 1891 he was acting Resident Commissioner for Zululand while Osborn was on leave. He was subsequently appointed to Sierra Leone where he was confronted by a rebellion that followed measures to stamp out slavery and to impose a hut tax. He was awarded a C.M.G. in 1894 and a K.C.M.G. in 1897.

CARRINGTON, Major General Sir Frederick (1844-1913)

He was very actively involved in military campaigning in South Africa: he commanded the Frontier Light Horse in the War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-78; he served in the Sekhukhune campaign

in November 1879; he commanded the colonial forces in the Basutoland War; he was in Bechuanaland 1884-85; he had a role in the operations in Zululand, 1888; he was general officer commanding in the Ndebele campaign of 1896; and he commanded the Rhodesian Forces during the South African War.

CARLISLE, Rosalind (Howard) Lady Carlisle (1845-1921)

Active in support of temperance, the enfranchisement of women (although she later deplored the militancy of the suffragettes) and advanced radicalism, she was pro-Boer during the South African War. During Harriette's campaigns in Britain, Lady Carlisle was a vigorous supporter of the Women's Liberal Federation, of which she became president in 1892. Lady Carlisle wished to ensure that the Women's Liberal Federation committed itself to women's franchise, an issue over which Mrs Gladstone resigned the presidency in 1892. The Carlisles were drawn into the same wider intellectual and artistic circle as the Burne-Jones, and the religious atmosphere of the family was Unitarian. Harriette wrote to Lady Carlisle in November 1891 and made use of the platforms provided by the Women's Liberal Associations.

CARTER, William Marlborough (1850-1941)

Educated at Eton and Oxford, he was ordained priest in 1875. After a few years in parishes he worked at the Eton Mission in Hackney from 1880-1889 and again from 1890-1891. This was work which demanded and expressed commitment to the social ideals of Anglo-Catholicism. He was consecrated Bishop of Zululand in September 1891 in St Paul's Cathedral, London, by Archbishop Benson with an impressive array of other bishops in attendance. His diocese stretched beyond the formal borders of the colony of Zululand. His letters to his friend, Algernon Wenlock, show how lonely he was in Zululand. A friend of Sir Marshal Clarke, he made Eshowe the centre of his diocese and he criticised the annexation of Zululand to Natal. He was consecrated Bishop of Pretoria in 1902 and succeeded William West-Jones as Archbishop of Cape Town in 1908. He supported W.P. Schreiner's protest against the terms of the South Africa Act. He hoped, but failed, to secure full unity between the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Church of England. He retired as Archbishop in 1929.

CAVENDISH, Lady Frederick (1841-1925)

The second daughter of the fourth Lord Lyttelton, she was a member of a large and distinguished family and was the niece of W.E. Gladstone, whose wife was her mother's sister. In 1882 her husband was murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, shortly after being appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. A woman of kindness and humour and a dedicated church woman, she made her London home at Carlton Terrace the centre of good works. One of her concerns was the education of women. She visited South Africa in 1890 and interested herself in Harriette's campaign. She appears to have had some influence in Liberal government circles. She supported the Women's Local Government Association until 1900.

CHAMBERLAIN, Joseph (1836-1914)

Secretary of State for the Colonies 1895-1903. From a Unitarian background, he won success and prosperity in the family business, Nettlefold's screw manufacturers, in Birmingham where, as mayor, he pioneered municipal socialism. As chairman of the National Education League of 1870 he gave drive to the campaign for free, compulsory, and non-sectarian primary education. In 1876 he was elected Liberal MP for Birmingham. When W.E. Gladstone announced his commitment to Home Rule for Ireland, Chamberlain broke with the Liberal party, becoming one of the Liberal Unionists who, despite attempts at reconciliation with the Gladstonian Liberals, were drawn closer to the Conservatives with whom they fused. Already critical of previous policy in South Africa (where his ideal appears to have been a forceful, just, and acceptable use of imperial authority), he surprised contemporaries by accepting the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies in 1895, in which position he hoped to achieve imperial federation. In South Africa Cecil Rhodes was already firmly entrenched and ambitious, and relations with Rhodes were not easy for Joseph Chamberlain. He knew ahead of time of the Jameson plans and, given the obstinate independence of the S.A.R., did not thwart the schemes. His role in the subsequent enquiry is at best highly questionable. There is much discussion of what measure of responsibility for the second South African War should be ascribed to Chamberlain, but again, at the very least, he failed to prevent

it, and he became the object of much criticism of British policy and practices in the course of the war. He visited South Africa early in 1903. He resigned from the cabinet later in the year to campaign for tariff reform as a means of strengthening the Empire and Britain. From 1906 he was seriously incapacitated and did not again hold office. He wished to draw together the imperial links but recognised the importance of white colonial opinion if he was to do this.

CHANCELLOR, Henry George (1863-1945)

A businessman who controlled the family firm until 1910 he was well known in progressive and liberal circles in London. Between 1896-99 he published a progressive paper *The Islington Londoner*. Between 1910 and 1918 he was a MP for a Shoreditch constituency. He is described as a 'gentle, but resolute enthusiast' dedicated *i.a.* to the temperance and peace-movement.

CHESSON, F.W. (1833-1888)

Journalist and humanitarian. He was secretary of the Peace Conference Committee at Manchester in 1853. 1855-66 he served as assistant secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society with Dr Hodgkin. He was secretary of the A.P.S. from 1866 to 1888 with a short interval (1872-1874) when he was ill. Sub-editor of the *Morning Star*, he was a correspondent of the *Daily News*. He formed the Jamaica Committee against Eyre after the episode of the Jamaican massacres. He championed the cause of the Christian people of eastern Europe. Directing his attention to southern Africa, he wrote pamphlets on the *War in Zululand*, *The Basuto War*, *The Dutch Republic* and *The Native Policy of the Dutch in the Transvaal*. He established the South African Committee in 1883 and was its secretary. A firm friend of Sir Charles Dilke, he was a man of wide compassion and great earnestness.

CLARKE, G.B. Dr (1846-1930)

As MP for Caithness he visited Swaziland and Zululand in 1887. He was one of the politicians with whom Frank Colenso was in touch and was a member of the Zulu Defence Committee, but his motivation in criticising imperial policy was pro-Boer sentiment, rather than genuine concern for the Zulu. In August 1883 he advocated a return to the policy of the Sand River Convention in his article 'Our Boer Policy' in the *Fortnightly Review*. He was secretary to the Transvaal Independence Committee and was reported to have recommended to Mbandzeni, the Swazi king, that he place himself under the authority of the South African Republic. Some years later he appears to have been instrumental in obtaining documents relating to the Jameson Raid for Dr Leyds of the South African Republic.

CLARKE, Sir Marshal James (Kwezi) (1841-1909)

Resident commissioner of Basutoland 1884-93, of Zululand 1893-1897 and of Southern Rhodesia 1898-1905. Born in Ireland of a clergyman father, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and trained at Woolwich. He received a commission in the Royal Artillery. During his army service he lost his left arm in India, allegedly when, armed with only a carving knife, he wrestled with a tiger. While in Natal he was with Theophilus Shepstone at the mock coronation of Cetshwayo on 1873, served in the Langalibalele campaign, and was resident magistrate of Pietermaritzburg in 1873. He served in the Transvaal where he was *aide de camp* to Shepstone and Special Commissioner at Lydenburg. He fought against the Pedi. In December 1880 he was forced to surrender to the Boers at Potchefstroom. He served in Egypt in 1882. He left the army to serve as Resident Commissioner in Basutoland when direct imperial control was reasserted in 1884, and was highly esteemed as a 'native' administrator who worked with and through the indigenous chiefs. Ripon appointed him to Zululand in 1893 and intended to follow Clarke's recommendations. Clarke did not wish to serve under Natal when Zululand was annexed to Natal in 1897 and accepted the post of imperial commissioner in Rhodesia, where he was expected to be the 'eyes and ears' of the Imperial government. He retired in 1905 and died four years later in Ireland.

CLAYDEN, P.W. (1827-1902)

A former Unitarian minister, he became very prominent as a journalist and was on the staff of the *Daily News* for almost three decades. He became night editor in 1887 and retired in 1896. He was a convinced Gladstonian Liberal who, in his book *England under Beaconsfield*, denounced the aggressiveness of Disraeli and, on his defeat, welcomed the prospect of honesty in finance,

concern for welfare in domestic policy, and a foreign policy that rested on truth and justice. Perhaps partly because the *Daily News* had, in the previous decade, become suspicious of Natal news sent by Statham (then associated with the Colensos), he was not greatly helpful to Harriette in the 1890s. After his retirement he concentrated his attentions on the Armenian question. His published works include *Scientific Man and Religious Friends* (1874), *England under Lord Beaconsfield* (1880); *Samuel Sharpe, Egyptologist and, Translator of the Bible* (1883).

CLIFFORD, John (1836-1923)

Prominent and influential Baptist minister whose Westbourne Park chapel was one of the most notable places of worship in London, he was a man of broad sympathies who favoured liberal theological views. He was a prominent pro-Boer during the South African War.

COBDEN-UNWIN, Jane (1851-1949)

Daughter of the British politician and free trader who led the Anti-Corn Law League in the 1840s, she and the publisher T. Fisher Unwin married late in life to enjoy a long, companionable, if childless, marriage of shared values. Her nephew, Stanley Unwin, remembered her as a woman of strong political convictions. After the enactment of the County Councils Act of 1888 she, with a number of others, agreed to test the eligibility of women for election as county councillors. She was elected for Bow and Bromley in January 1889. George Lansbury organised her campaign and sought to establish full rights of membership for the elected women. The association to secure election of women as county councillors became, by 1893, the Women's Local Government Society with Annie Leigh Browne as secretary. In 1893 Jane Cobden-Unwin was a member of the executive of the Women's Liberal Federation. A printed version of one of her speeches is in the Colenso Collection, and she may have shared a platform with Harriette Colenso. She was a member of the Aborigines Protection Society committee in 1900. Like Harriette, Jane Cobden-Unwin upheld her father's values. In Jane Cobden-Unwin's case these were free trade, anti-imperialism, and international peace. She edited a book entitled *The Hungry Forties* to recall the poor conditions that prevailed prior to the repeal of the Corn Laws.

COLENBRANDER, Johannes Wilhelm (1857-1918)

Hunter, adventurer, fluent Zulu linguist and pioneer. He served in the Anglo-Zulu war and was then closely associated with John Dunn and Zibhebhu whose 'white man' he became. He profited as trader and gun-runner until the uSuthu triumph at Tshaneni. He moved on, first to Swaziland, and then north of the Limpopo. He won Lobengula's confidence and accompanied the Ndebele envoys to England in 1889. He accepted an appointment under the British South Africa Company and was engaged subsequently in perhaps disingenuous diplomacy with the Ndebele, while building up his business interests. He returned to South Africa in 1900. He organised a force of scouts in the South African War. During the suppression of alleged rebels in 1906 he commanded the Stanger and District Scouts. He followed a restless and colourful life-style, experiencing adventure but finding no wealth. He was drowned accidentally in 1918 during the shooting of a film on the Anglo-Zulu War in which he had the role of Lord Chelmsford.

COLLEY, The Venerable Thomas Colley (c.1850 to ? post-1912)

Trained at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, he was ordained deacon in 1869 and priest in 1870. He was curate of St Thomas', Coventry, a morning lecturer at St Anne's Wandsworth from 1872-74, then curate at Portsmouth and minister at St Mary's chapel of ease. He came to Pietermaritzburg in 1879, apparently as archdeacon and canon-resident of St Peter's Cathedral. He preached the funeral sermon for Bishop Colenso. He could not manage the leaderless and recalcitrant members of the Church of England congregations in the ensuing years, when he may have wished to establish himself as leader to reconciliation. He quarrelled with the Church Council and the Colensos, and there was a court case and resort to arbitration over matters of dispute. He subsequently went to England, where he tried to gain recognition for his position and addressed W.E. Gladstone on his experiences. In the early twentieth century he was rector of Stockton, Rugby, a position which he held in 1912.

CONS, Emma (1838-1912)

Remembered mainly as founder and manager of the 'Old Vic' where she was succeeded by her niece, Lilian Baylis, Emma Cons was a pupil at the school run by the mother of Octavia Hill,

where she was drawn in to the circle of John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, and F.D. Maurice. Possessed of artistic gifts and a social conscience, she turned her attention to slum clearance and housing before devoting herself to providing 'temperance' entertainment for the working classes. The backing *i.a.* of Samuel Morley, millionaire textile manufacturer, enabled her to buy the freehold of the Old Vic in 1891. Here musical and other entertainment was provided for the working classes. She supported feminist causes and was a member of the National Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation. She and Harriette had a mutual friend in Ethel Everest (not identified) and there are references to her in Harriette's correspondence.

CONYBEARE, C.A.V. (1853-1919)

Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, a barrister by profession, he was MP for Camborne or NW Division of Cornwall, 1885-1895. He was imprisoned for three months in 1889 because he had assisted tenants in Donegal. 1888-1890 he was a member of the Finsbury School Board. He appears to have had business interests in Beira and in north Charterland. The **MISS CONYBEARE** who was a friend of Olive Schreiner, supported Harriette, and campaigned against the Contagious Diseases Act was his sister. He visited South Africa in 1890. Harriette referred to him as one of her 'Zulu MPs'.

COURTNEY, Leonard Henry (1832-1918)

Politician and journalist. Like Colenso, he was a Cornishman by birth and a member of St John's College, Cambridge. Between 1865 and 1880 he wrote editorials for *The Times* and taught political economy at London University. From 1875 to 1900 he was MP for Liskeard. In 1886 he broke with the Gladstonian Liberal party and became a Liberal Unionist. He was Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker but was not elected Speaker, allegedly because of opposition from within the cabinet. He was consistently anti-imperialist. According to Colenso, Courtney had relatives in Natal, and the *Natal Mercury*, in identifying Henry Binns as one such, suggested that this was why Courtney was so well informed on South African affairs. He sympathised with the Colensos over their representations on behalf of the Zulus. He attended the Privy Council of January 1889 where an order-in-council was issued granting Dinuzulu leave to appeal against his removal to Zululand. He was consistently pro-Boer over the South African War of 1881, the Jameson Raid, and, especially, the second South African War when he was president of the South African Conciliation Committee. He went blind in the late 1890s. He became a member of the House of Lords in 1906 and opposed anti-German trends in British policy and attitude. He published *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and Its Outgrowth* (1901) and *The Diary of a Church-Goer* (1904). His wife Kate, née Potter, was a sister of Beatrice Webb.

COWEN, Anne (? -1894)

With her two sisters she was prominent in local government, philanthropic, and women's circles in Nottingham. Her husband was a town councillor. She founded the local women's suffragist society and, with her sisters, was prominent in the local Women's Liberal Association. She was a Unitarian. She failed to secure re-election as a Guardian in 1892 and died in 1894.

COX, George William 'Sir' (1827-1902)

Rector of Scrayingham 1881-1897 and author. He was educated at Rugby and Oxford and was literary adviser to Longmans and Co. 1861-85. His numerous publications included *Mythology of Aryan Nations* (1870), *Popular Romances of the Middle Ages* (1871), *Tales of Teutonic Lands* (1872), *History of Greece 2 vols* (1874), *The Crusades* (1874), *The Athenian Empire* (1876), *British Rule in India* (1881), and *The Life of Bishop Colenso 2 vols* (1888). He claimed to have succeeded his uncle to a baronetcy in 1877, but his claim was posthumously disallowed.

DABULAMANZI (c.1840-1886)

Half-brother closest in age to Cetshwayo, he was a prominent uSuthu leader whose *umuzi* was in southern Zululand. A crack shot and often mounted in conflicts he led the attack on Rorke's Drift in January 1879. He was able to protect his own *umuzi* from destruction on one occasion but not from the devastation of a later attack. He submitted in June 1879. The Wolseley Settlement placed him under the authority of John Dunn. Fiercely resentful, he was prominent in the uSuthu deputations that urged the restoration of Cetshwayo. But the terms of the restoration outraged him because he found himself placed in the 'Reserve' *i.e.* that part of

southern Zululand excluded from Cetshwayo. He used vehement words to Sir Theophilus Shepstone on the occasion of the actual 'restoration'. Escaping on horseback he survived Zibhebhu's attack on Cetshwayo at oNdini (Ulundi) in July 1883. On the death of Cetshwayo he was associated with Ndabuko and other *abaNtwana* in claiming that Cetshwayo had designated Dinuzulu his heir, but rivalry between royal brothers was rumoured. A descendant of Dabulamanzi alleged that collusion between Ndabuko and the Boers was responsible for the murder of Dabulamanzi in the Reserve on 22 September 1886, an assassination that outraged the Colensos.

DANIELS, Anthony (fl. 1900)

Educated at Lovedale and the holder of a Cape Teacher's Certificate, he was appointed assistant guardian to the *abaNtwana* in 1890 and accompanied them to St Helena. His services were interrupted and he was evidently dismissed for fraud. He nevertheless reappeared in St Helena, having been, to Harriette Colenso's shock, re-appointed as assistant guardian. After the return of the Exiles he was Dinuzulu's secretary in Zululand, but there was another quarrel and Daniels was dismissed. He sued Dinuzulu for his unpaid salary but lost the case in 1906. He gave evidence against Dinuzulu both at the preliminary investigation and at the trial in 1908. In all, he served the anti-uSuthu cause well.

DAVEY, Horace (Baron Davey) (1833-1907)

Educated at Rugby and Oxford, he was a distinguished jurist. As Q.C. he accepted the brief of Loughborough and Gedge on behalf of Dinuzulu and in January 1889 successfully petitioned the Privy Council for leave to appeal against a decision of the Natal Supreme Court which upheld the legality of Dinuzulu's removal from Natal to Zululand. He was at the time a Liberal MP. He represented Christchurch 1880-1885 and Stockton-on-Tees from 1888-1892. In 1886 he was Solicitor-General under Gladstone and was knighted. In 1893 he was made a lord of appeal and privy councillor and was elevated to the peerage in 1894.

DAVIS, P. (fl. c.1880)

Owner of the newspapers *Natal Witness* and *Natal Advertiser*. His animosity to the Natal government was ascribed by Hely-Hutchinson to his disappointment in not being offered a seat on the Natal legislative council.

DE WORMS, Henry, First Baron Pirbright (1840-1903)

Politician and Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1888-92. His mother was a Rothschild. The family emigrated to England in 1815 and built up a successful trading business in which plantations in Ceylon were an important interest. The title 'baron' was an Austrian one, which the family was allowed by Queen Victoria to use in England. He was introduced to Disraeli by Count Beust, the Austrian representative, whose memoirs were edited by de Worms. He was elected MP in 1880. When Salisbury was in office as Prime Minister de Worms was appointed initially to the Board of Trade. He was appointed to the Privy Council. He presided over a conference on sugar bounty in 1887 where representatives hoped to secure the abolition of bounties. He was president of the Anglo-Jewish community but broke with his faith when his daughter married outside it. He became a peer of the realm, as Baron Pirbright, in 1895 taking as his title the name of the Surrey village where he lived. Married twice, he left no male heir.

DHLEMDHLEM (possibly Dlemudlemu or Dlemdlem)

See entry for Ndabayake.

DIAMOND, Charles (1858-1934)

A Catholic journalist and Irish Nationalist MP for North Monaghan between 1892-1895, he was the son-in-law of Justin McCarthy. He gave Harriette a sympathetic hearing in 1895. He was the founder of many Catholic weekly newspapers in London and the provinces. Animus against British imperialism made him, paradoxically, the defender of Leopold II in the Congo Free State when there were early criticisms of atrocities. In March 1920 he was sentenced to six months imprisonment for the publication of an article entitled 'Killing no Murder' which, in the context of the Irish turmoil, was judged inflammatory. He was an unsuccessful Labour candidate in the elections of 1918, 1922 and 1924.

DILLWYN, Lewis Llewelyn (1814-1892)

A prominent Swansea industrialist and conspicuous radical, Dillwyn was mayor of Swansea in 1848 and MP for a Swansea constituency from 1855 to his death. He supported Welsh disestablishment and helped ensure that Welsh Liberals supported Home Rule for Ireland. His age and accumulating business worries may explain why he seems to fade from the story of Colenso activities in his later years.

DINUZULU kaCetshwayo (1868-1913)

The main focus of Harriette's concern during this period, Dinuzulu was the eldest son of Cetshwayo, born prior to his father's accession, to a wife who, though clearly an able woman, was of commoner stock. Such circumstances strengthened the arguments of those who asserted the claims of Manzoiwandle, a posthumous son of Cetshwayo, to be his father's heir. As a child and youth Dinuzulu witnessed the upheavals in Zululand of the 1870s. On Cetshwayo's exile, Ndabuko and Mnyamana asserted their control over Dinuzulu. On Cetshwayo's return, and defeat by Zibhebhu, Dinuzulu escaped from oNdini (Ulundi) in July 1883, and, on his father's death, was confirmed in the succession by the backing of his uncles, Ndabuko, Dabulamanzi, and Shingana. The triumph of the uSuthu over Zibhebhu at Tshaneni was secured with Boer help, but proved a costlier victory than the uSuthu had envisaged. In May 1884 a party of 'Boers' had 'anointed' Dinuzulu as king and secured an agreement for the cession of land. As more and more freebooters rode into Zululand, so the claims for land increased. It was a situation in which William Grant, who had once enjoyed the confidence of the Colensos, could not save the uSuthu and he may have exacerbated their plight. Appeals for British intervention were unavailing. At the end of 1884 the imperial government would sanction the annexation only of St Lucia Bay. When further intervention came, two or more years later, it worsened the sense of grievance of the uSuthu. They resented the loss of land effected by the partition arrangements made by Havelock with representatives of the New Republic in October 1886, and the loss of authority that followed the British annexation in May 1887 of the remainder of Zululand, including the old Reserve. Dinuzulu and Ndabuko were particularly intractable, but their efforts to obtain help from the New Republic drew little response. The uSuthu were quick to resent the British decision to return Zibhebhu, for whose earlier expulsion they had paid so high a price. The claims of Zibhebhu and Sokwetsathatha for land led to clashes which the British regarded as rebellion. Dinuzulu himself played a leading role in the defeat of the Mandlakazi at Ivuna in June 1888, which resulted in Zibhebhu being once more expelled from the Ndwandwe district. The fruits of this victory were, however, bitter, for the British subdued the uSuthu, and their leaders (and others) were arraigned before the Court of Special Commissioners for Zululand. Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, Dinuzulu together with his uncles, Ndabuko and Shingana, spent nearly eight years on St Helena. Here he learned to read and write, acquired a love of music, developed a talent for piano-playing, and was entertained by the Islanders, including the Governor, on terms of social equality. He returned to Zululand in January 1898 after the annexation of Zululand to Natal. The conditions of his return placed him in an impossible position and, as the pressures of natural disasters and harsh policies on the Zulu people increased and Zulu hopes were disappointed, so white suspicion of Dinuzulu increased. During the South African War he found it impossible to keep wholly clear of the conflict. A British military commander, Colonel Bottomley, used the Zulus to raid Boer cattle, and the consequent tension and retaliation culminated in the massacre of a Boer force by the abaQulusi at Holkrantz, shortly before the end of the South African War. In the early twentieth century Dinuzulu's life style at oSuthu, where he made his home, appears to have become more and more that of a 'do-nothing king', tempted into the paths of self-indulgence and hypochondria. In 1906 restlessness and accumulated frustration led some of the black people of Natal and Zululand into rebellious acts which provoked exaggerated and vindictive alarm among the whites. Dinuzulu's position grew increasingly untenable. An interview with the Governor of Natal in May 1907 at Pietermaritzburg lessened tension for a time, but in December 1907, a few months after the imposition of martial law in Natal, Dinuzulu was arrested at Nongoma. After imprisonment in Pietermaritzburg he was tried on a long indictment before a special court at Greytown. Harriette Colenso waged a

vigorous campaign on his behalf, and there was much sympathy for him overseas, which the Natal authorities could not ignore completely. Dinuzulu was acquitted of most of the charges brought against him but was found guilty of harbouring rebels. He was sentenced to a fine of £100 and to imprisonment for four years. He was held prisoner first in Pietermaritzburg and then in Newcastle. In 1910 Louis Botha, first Prime Minister of the newly formed Union of South Africa, who had known Dinuzulu in the days of the New Republic and was probably aware of the political advantages of clemency, released Dinuzulu from imprisonment to exile on the farm Uitkyk, situated in the Transvaal between Middelburg and Witbank. Followers gathered there with him. Dinuzulu's health deteriorated and a visit to Europe was mooted, but he died in October 1913. Harriette Colenso attended the ceremonies of interment.

DIXIE, Lady Florence (1857-1905)

Authoress and traveller, she was married to Sir Alexander Beaumont Dixie in 1875. She travelled widely and was a noted big game hunter and explorer. She was correspondent for the *Morning Post* during the Zulu War. She wrote *In the Land of Misfortune* and sympathised with Cetshwayo, but her journalistic exploits on his behalf sometimes had unfortunate results, for example, in compromising the position of R.C.A. Samuelson as Cetshwayo's interpreter. She wrote to Harriette in 1890 but the letter does not seem to have brought any consequences.

DOMVILLE, W.H. Esq.

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

DUMAT, Frank Campbell (1858-1931)

Lawyer and businessman. Born at Calcutta, Dumat was educated in Mauritius and London where he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. He was an attorney and advocate of the Supreme Court in Natal, where he was a partner in the firm Campbell and Dumat of Durban. In that capacity he was defence lawyer for the uSuthu in 1888-1889, attended the trials at Eshowe, co-authored the *Remonstrance*, and in 1889 visited England in the uSuthu interest. Returning to South Africa, he went to the Transvaal, where he practised law and was apparently based in Johannesburg. He played a key role in the foundation of the town Delmas (called after an ancestral farm in France) on coal-bearing farmland, which he bought in 1895 and where a railway station was established as the immediate preliminary to the proclamation of a township in 1907. He sold out his interests in Delmas in 1909.

DUNN, John Robert (1833-1895)

Natal's most famous transfrontiersman, John Dunn was born in Port Alfred but brought to Natal with his family. He was left an orphan as a child to fend for himself. He married Catherine Pierce, a woman of mixed Malay-European descent, and made his living in Zululand. He was in his day a prolific hunter. Prosperity and survival depended on his skill in exploiting his political opportunities when there were rivalries and clashes. He miscalculated in the battle of Ndongakasuka, where he fought on the side of Mbuyazi, but subsequently ingratiated himself with Cetshwayo who granted him the use of a large tract of land north of the Thukela. Here Dunn established himself as a cattle rancher and took a large number of Zulu wives, leaving a considerable progeny. He was used by the Natal government as a labour agent. He deserted Cetshwayo in the Anglo-Zulu War. Wolseley made him one of the thirteen chiefs and he became a partisan of Zibhebhu against the Usuthu. His independence was ended when the British established a Reserve in southern Zululand in 1883 and this was underlined with the annexation in 1887. In 1888 he eventually provided a large force to assist in the suppression of the uSuthu. He survived until 1895 but had ceased to be a significant presence in Zululand.

EDWARDS, Arthur Kevill Davies (d.1907)

An Exeter College, Oxford, man, he was ordained priest in 1870. Although initially belonging to the Church of England, he joined the Church of the Province of South Africa and became the incumbent of St Paul's in Durban (1894-1897) before moving to Newcastle.

ELLIS, John Edward (1841-1910)

A Quaker who married into the Rowntree family, he was a manager of collieries and chairman of a bank before concentrating wholly on his political commitments and role. As Liberal MP for Rushcliffe, Nottinghamshire, from 1885 he was a member of the committee to enquire into the

Jameson Raid, a pro-Boer during the South African War, and Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, 1905-1906.

ELLIS, Thomas (1859-1899)

Educated at Aberystwyth and Oxford, he was Liberal MP for Merionethshire from 1886. He held junior office 1892-1895, and was chief whip of the Liberal party from 1894 until his death. He was highly esteemed, especially in Wales where he had a leading role in promoting Welsh interests in regard to land reform, disestablishment, and, especially, education. His early death cut short a promising career.

ELSDALE, Henry (1843-?)

An army officer with a literary bent, he published articles on military and political matters which show him to be concerned with current trends and possible future developments. He published an article on 'The South African Problem' in the *National Review* in August 1889 as well as an article on 'Why are our Brains Deteriorating?' in *Nineteenth Century* in August 1899. He and Harriette engaged in an interesting exchange of views on 'The Problem of Races in Africa' in articles published in *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* in 1896 and 1897.

ESCOMBE, Harry (1838-1899)

Lawyer and politician, Prime Minister of Natal (Feb-Oct 1897). Educated at St Paul's, London, he arrived in Natal in 1860 and became a lawyer. He was legal adviser to the town council of Durban for thirty years. He became a member of the legislative council in 1872 and normally represented the borough of Durban. He was involved in much vehement controversy over proposals to deepen Durban's harbour. He was jealous of the standing of Natal as a colony, but was opposed to the Responsible government agitation of John Robinson until 1886, when he associated himself with Robinson, under whom he served as Attorney-General 1893-1897, and whom he succeeded as Prime Minister in February 1897. Escombe opposed Indian immigration to Natal. First and foremost a white politician, he may have defended the Zulu chiefs in 1889 for reasons of political expediency rather more than genuine commitment. He was a friend of the Colensos and, to a limited extent, their associate. He was, for example, involved in the defence of Langalibalele; he was counsel to Colonel Luard who was drawn into troubled military politics by his friendship with Frances Ellen Colenso; and Escombe was involved in the dispatch of William Grant to Cetshwayo in 1883. But, dependent as he was on white votes, he could not, in fact, play the role of wise leader into racial harmony that Harriette hoped of him.

FAIRBRIDGE, Charles Aken (1824-1893)

Distinguished Cape Town lawyer, parliamentarian, and bibliophile. His home at Sea Point, Mimosa, which he built in 1862, was evidently a haven for the Colensos when *en route* to Britain. He opposed the imprisonment of Langalibalele on Robben Island and the confederation initiative of Carnarvon. Prime mover in the foundation of a South African museum at Cape Town, he was also a trustee of the Grey Library which was presented to the Cape by Sir George Grey. His own library was presented to the South African Library by Sir Abe Bailey, who bought it from the family in 1925. Charles Aken was the father of Dorothea, a writer well-known in her own day.

FAIRFIELD, Edward (1848-1897)

Member of the Colonial Office staff. Descended from a distinguished Anglo-Irish family, he was educated at Rugby and Oxford and might have become professor of modern history at Bombay if he had not opted for a career in the Colonial Office, where he qualified in law. He has been described as brilliant and the acknowledged expert on Africa in the Colonial Office. He was head of the South African department 1891-1897, and was awarded a C.B. and C.M.G. His minutes sparkle with humour and are enlivened by sketches, while his memoranda are models of lucid exposition. Fairfield was a Liberal in politics and at best a tepid imperialist. There was little personal cordiality between himself and Chamberlain. Fairfield participated in the controversial discussions at the Colonial Office that were the prelude to the Raid and shared the anxieties that were part of the aftermath. There is evidence that he was told in November 1896 that, despite previous assurances to the contrary, Chamberlain intended to disavow him at the Jameson Raid enquiry. He suffered strokes shortly afterwards, left the Colonial Office and went abroad. He died

at the end of April 1897.

FANNIN, John Eustace (1834-1905)

Civil servant, land surveyor, and judge. He came to Natal in 1847. He worked as clerk and interpreter to magistrates in the Natal Midlands before becoming a land surveyor in Natal, the Transvaal and at Kimberley. He took part in campaigns against black rulers deemed recalcitrant. He became magistrate for Umlazi (Mlalazi) in 1875 and was border agent at Kranskop during the Anglo-Zulu War. Subsequent appointments included that of magistrate at Stanger and Greytown in 1887. He served on the Free State/Natal boundary commission of 1887. He was appointed one of the Special Commissioners for Zululand and sat in judgment on the uSuthu 1888-1889. He became an advocate of the Natal Supreme Court in 1894, a puisne judge of the Native High Court in 1898, and he acted as judge president of the Native High Court in 1901 and 1903.

FIDDES, Sir George Vandeleur (1858-1936)

Educated at Oxford, he was a committed imperialist who was private secretary to the Earl of Onslow, Lord Pirbright (*i.e.* Baron de Worms) and Sir R. Meade. On the staff of the Colonial Office in the 1890s he was destined for high rank and distinction. He accompanied Milner to South Africa as his secretary and became secretary to the Transvaal government after the annexation of the former Boer republic. He subsequently returned to the Colonial Office becoming Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1916. He published *The Dominions and the Colonial Office* in 1926.

FORD, Isabella Ormston (1855-1924)

Quaker in upbringing and of upper middle class background, Isabella Ford was an ardent worker for the interests of working women. She was a pioneer trade unionist and an early member of the Independent Labour party. A friend of Olive Schreiner, Isabella Ford wrote some novels, but her main area of concern was in politics. She supported socialism, internationalism, and the women's suffrage movement. She founded the Leeds Women's Suffrage Society, served on the executive committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and was actively involved in the affairs of the International Women's Suffrage Association. During and after the First World War she was very committed to peace movements. Like Harriette she derived much support from the friendship of sisters who shared her values.

FORT, George Seymour (1858-1951)

A convinced imperialist, Fort is mentioned briefly by Harriette. The son of a clergyman he became private secretary of Lord Loch in Victoria and in the Cape. He subsequently moved to Rhodesia and worked as the manager of companies there. He wrote the *Life of Jameson and Alfred Beit, a Study of his Life and Work*. He published numerous articles in contemporary journals. In propagating pro-imperialist sentiment in the 1890s, he was in the opposite camp to that of Harriette Colenso. His memoirs were entitled *Chance or Destiny? A Pioneer Looks Back*.

FOWLER, Sir Robert Nicholas (1828-1891)

A prominent banker, Conservative MP and lord mayor of London (1883-34, and again in 1885), he was educated in London and followed his father into a banking firm. He was MP for Penryn and Falmouth from 1868-1874 and for the City of London from 1880 to 1891. Born into an old Quaker family, he was baptised into the Church of England as a young man of thirty-three. He supported a number of philanthropic societies, among them the A.P.S., which he joined in the 1850s. He was consistently interested in imperial affairs. His strong anti-slavery convictions led him to adopt an anti-Boer stance which was evident both in his maiden speech in 1869 and in his refusing the hospitality of the Mansion House to the Boer delegation in 1883. He was willing to co-operate with Liberal MPs for philanthropic purposes. Associated with the evangelicals in the church, he was very hostile to Bradlaugh but he avoided religious polemic. In 1877 he published *A Visit to India, China and Japan*. In 1881 he travelled to, and in, South Africa, where he met a range of leading and opposing personalities, including both Bishop Macrorie and Bishop Colenso. In 1882 he visited Cetshwayo in his lodging house in London, but he came to doubt the wisdom of the restoration of Cetshwayo. Although he supported the petition for the grant of a pension to Mrs Colenso in 1885, he appears to have become sceptical of 'Bishopstowe views'.

Created a baronet in 1885, Fowler won respect from diverse people. The Governor of Natal, Sir Charles Mitchell, expressed genuine warmth and esteem in the letter of condolence which he sent to Fowler's daughter on the death of her father.

FRANKLAND, Sir Edward (1825-1899)

Eminent chemist, apprenticed at Lancaster, studied at London and Marburg, held a number of high ranking academic posts in Manchester and London e.g. professor of chemistry at the Royal College of Chemistry; awarded a K.C.B. in 1897. He was father-in-law of Frank Colenso.

FRERE, Sir Bartle (1815-1884)

A distinguished pro-consul of the British Empire, the policies he pursued in South Africa in regard to federation aroused the vigorous opposition of the Boers in the South African Republic and of the Colensos as champions of the Zulus at a time when Bishop Colenso sympathised with the Boer cause. Frere had served with distinction in India and Zanzibar, and had received many honours, before being appointed Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner in South Africa (1876-1880). His responsibilities were curtailed in 1879 and he was recalled in 1880 following the earlier British disaster in the Anglo-Zulu War and the failure of the federation policy.

FROUDE, James Anthony (1818-1894)

Historian and writer. He played a prominent and controversial role in the affairs of South Africa in the 1870s. His writings did not please the Colensos and the suggestion of Chesson in December 1887 that he might be induced to take a role in Zulu affairs seems not to have borne fruit. The A.P.S. appears to have parted company with Froude over the Bechuanaland question. Froude was editor of *Frazer's Magazine* in the 1860s. He visited South Africa in 1870s. He was Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1892.

FUZE, Magma kaMagwaza

See entry under Magma.

GALLOWAY, R.

He accompanied Zibhebhu on his return to the Ndwandwe district in 1888. Previously he had been one of John Dunn's magistrates.

GALLWEY, Sir Michael Henry (1826-1912)

Educated at Trinity College, Dublin he trained as a lawyer in Dublin and was on the Munster circuit before coming to Natal, where he was appointed Attorney-General in 1857. He was president of the boundary commission of 1878 to investigate Boer and Zulu claims to the disputed territory. He became Chief Justice of Natal in 1890 from which position he retired in 1901. He was sometime Officer Administering the Government. He received a C.M.G. in 1883, became a Q.C. in 1888 in which year he received the award of K.C.M.G. He was a Roman Catholic and a friend of Bishop Colenso. It was said that the pro-Zulu decision of the boundary commission in 1878 delayed his knighthood. He was once invited to stand for the presidency of the Orange Free State. He had a role in regard to education and in regard to Indian immigration into Natal. He was a fluent speaker and, as a member of the executive council of Natal, was opposed to the grant of Responsible government.

GARLICKE, Thomas (1847-1914)

An advocate of Natal and partner with Escombe in their legal firm, he handled some of the correspondence relating to the 1889 trial of Dinuzulu. He was subsequently solicitor for Durban and founded the firm of Garlicke and Bousefield.

GAUL, W.T. Rt. Revd (1844-1928)

Of Irish extraction and exuberant temperament he was an Anglican priest who, having served in Bloemfontein and Griqualand West, became Bishop of Mashonaland (1895-1907). He was apparently consulted by Chartered Company leaders on 'native affairs'. He ended his life as a canon of St George's cathedral in Cape Town.

GEDGE, Sydney (1829-1923)

Conservative MP for Stockport 1886-1892, and for Walsall 1895-1900. His name is on the list of possibly sympathetic MPs which Harriette Colenso was given in 1890. He was educated in Birmingham (King Edward School) and at Cambridge. He was vice-president of the Church

Missionary Society and a licensed preacher in the diocese of London and Southwark. It was, perhaps, his son, another **SYDNEY GEDGE (d.1897)**, who was a partner in the firm Loughborough and Gedge and son-in-law of H. Escombe.

GIBSON, James Young (1859-1935)

A Zulu linguist and civil servant he held several magisterial posts, was Master of the Natal Supreme Court (1903-04) and wrote a number of books on Zulu history and on native policy: *The Story of the Zulus* (1903) and *The Evolution of South African Native Policy* (1927). In the period when Zululand was a British crown colony he was magistrate at Nqutu (1889) and at Ndwandwe (1894). He was on the boundary commission of 1891 and had a role in the despatch of letters and parcels to the Exiles from ekuBhazeni. He was critical of the direction of 'native' policy in the early years of the Union of South Africa.

GILES, Katherine (1841-1910)

Close friend of the Colenso women. Her brother, Major J. Giles, of the 14th Hussars was magistrate of Alfred County and of Richmond, Natal. Her sister, Caroline, was the wife of T. Warwick Brooks who was the 'warm adherent' of Bishop Colenso. Katie Giles met the Colensos in 1867 and was considered by Mrs S.F. Colenso to be somewhat superior to the average young colonial woman. She became part of the Bishopstowe household and shared in its work - studying German, teaching the black youngsters and copying Colenso material - as well as its pleasures. She was at Bishopstowe in September 1884 when the home was destroyed by fire. Until her death in 1910 she was the 'warm devoted friend' of the Colensos and the home she established in Pietermaritzburg was their base in the Natal capital. She bequeathed £700 to Harriette Colenso. The epitaph on her tombstone in the Pietermaritzburg cemetery salutes her as 'A Brave Woman and a Faithful Friend'. She is buried close to the Colenso women.

GLADSTONE, J.H. FRS (1827-1902)

A distinguished chemist, pioneer educationalist, and a committed Christian, he was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

GLADSTONE, W.E. (1809-1898)

Distinguished Liberal leader and Prime Minister of Britain: 1868-1874; 1880-1888, 1886, 1892-1894. From 1886 he and the Gladstonian Liberals were committed to Home Rule for Ireland. He had denounced the imperialism of his rival Disraeli, but found that, whatever his own preference, he could not reverse the expansion of empire.

GOODRICKE, G.D. (1843-1892)

A legal practitioner in the firm Goodricke and Son he was attorney and advocate in Natal and an English barrister.

GRAHAM, Sir Frederick (1848?-1923)

He was on the staff of the Colonial Office in London from 1870. He became principal clerk in 1897 and retired in 1907. He was awarded a C.B. in 1899 and was created K.C.B. in 1907.

GRAHAM, Robert Bontine Cunningham (1852-1936)

One of the more colourful of the people who showed an interest in Harriette's concerns, he was a public school (Harrow) educated Scottish nationalist and socialist, who was Liberal MP for north-west Lancashire from 1886-1892. He stood unsuccessfully for a Glasgow constituency in 1892. He found causes to champion in South America (where a city was named after him in Argentina) and was a friend of Buffalo Bill in Mexico. The friend of William Morris, he was imprisoned after the Trafalgar Square demonstration of 1887. He was a prolific writer.

GRANT, William (1836-1907)

At one time the head of a West Street firm of merchants (Messrs Grant and Fadd) which evidently ran into financial problems, William Grant and his large family lived on the Durban Berea. The hostile press regarded him as a very close associate of Colenso, who enjoyed the hospitality of the Grant home on his visits to Durban. Grant's appointment as Cetshwayo's adviser was consequently deplored. His subsequent role as adviser to the uSuthu was highly controversial. With Dinuzulu he signed a deed of cession to the 'Boers' in 1884. The Colensos came to doubt his integrity and impartiality, although Harriette conceded in December 1886 that probably nothing could have saved the uSuthu. Grant subsequently opposed the grant of

Responsible government in Natal. In 1893 he moved to the South African Republic, where he was appointed Native Labour Commissioner. After the South African War he became a member of the legislative council of the Transvaal.

GRAY, Robert (1809-1872)

Son of a bishop of Bristol, educated at Eton and Oxford, ordained in 1834, he worked for a time in county Durham but, turning to missionary work, he was consecrated Bishop of Cape Town in 1847. He bought the estate which became Bishops court, the home of the Metropolitan (later the Archbishop) of Cape Town. He made an extensive visitation throughout South Africa, then returned to Britain to arrange the re-organisation of his diocese and the creation of the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal. New Letters Patent issued in November 1853 superseded the earlier Letters Patent of 1847. Gray found himself involved in prolonged and complicated litigation when his authority was questioned by South African clergy, notably Long of Mowbray and Colenso of Natal, at a time when there was much uncertainty about the legal and constitutional position of the Church of England in colonies that were moving to representative government. W.K. Macrorie, appointed as a rival to Colenso, was consecrated in Cape Town and was called Bishop of 'Maritzburg' to avoid a direct legal confrontation with Colenso. In 1870 Gray presided over the synod at Cape Town which accepted the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa. This included the controversial Third Proviso.

GREEN, James (1821-1906)

Remembered in Natal as 'Dean Green', Green was educated at Durham and Cambridge and then worked in a parish in London. Responding to an invitation from Robert Gray, he came to Pietermaritzburg as military chaplain in 1849. He became dean a few years later, after the arrival of Colenso as bishop and the building of St Peter's as the cathedral. Disputes with Colenso developed early on questions of doctrine and church organisation. The 'trial' of Colenso and the sentences of deprivation and excommunication against him opened a period of bitter hostility and tragic division. As Vicar-General of the diocese, Green opposed the authority of Colenso but found that the decisions of the courts placed control of the property of the church in Colenso's hands. When the new cathedral of St Saviour's was built, Green became Dean there. An avowed Tractarian and firm in his convictions, Green did not work entirely harmoniously with either W.K. Macrorie or with A.H. Baynes who was selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury to achieve reconciliation. Dean Green published works on questions of doctrine and church history. In his actions he was concerned for the black population of Natal and Zululand. He opposed the imperial policy of the Anglo-Zulu war, served on the Native Affairs Commission of 1882, and later addressed Milner on the subject of the black people of South Africa.

GREY, Sir George (1812-1898)

Sandhurst-trained, he explored western Australia before being appointed Governor of South Australia and subsequently of New Zealand. He was Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape 1854-1859 and 1859-1861. He became Governor of New Zealand once more. Having left the colonial service, he was elected to the New Zealand legislature and was Prime Minister for a short spell. His years at the Cape are highly controversial. The failure of his federation initiatives now excites much less interest than the many controversies about the appalling tragedy of the cattle-killing. Sir George combined a genuine, if limited, interest in the aboriginal peoples of South Africa and New Zealand with a supreme confidence in the values of Victorian 'civilisation'. He was living in old age and retirement when Harriette visited him in London.

GREY, Henry George, Viscount Howick and the third earl (1802-1894)

A prominent 'Whig' in earlier days and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1846-1852, he was by the 1880s an elder statesman of British politics who could still write copiously to *The Times*. He mistrusted colonial self-government and believed in genuine trusteeship for the black people of Africa. His letter of 20 June 1889 which urged leniency for the Zulu chiefs was published by the A.P.S. in *State Trials in Zululand*. Grey was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee. His nephew and successor, Albert, was a director of the British South Africa Company. Rhodes thus exploited the humanitarian reputation of the Grey family.

GREY-WILSON, Sir William (1852-1926)

Governor of St Helena 1887-97. He was educated in Cheltenham and in France. He held secretarial and clerical posts in Jamaica and British Honduras as well as special appointments, e.g. in command of scouts on the Mexican border and as special commissioner for the border area between Sierra Leone and Liberia. From being assistant colonial secretary in the Gold Coast he became colonial secretary in St Helena in 1886. He was appointed Governor in the following year. Subsequently he was Governor of the Falkland Islands (1897-1904), and of the Bahamas (1904-12). He was created K.C.M.G. in 1904, K.B.E. in 1918 and became a Commander of the Star of Romania in 1912. He was chairman of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations as well as the Institute of Patentees.

GURNEY, Henry Esq

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

HANBURY, R.W. (1845-1903)

A Conservative MP who held his seat at Preston from 1885 to his death in 1903. He gave Harriette some support in the 1890s. His colleagues in the Conservative party regarded him as something of a freelance, but he was assiduous in his attacks on the Liberal government 1892-1895. He subsequently held government office becoming a privy councillor in 1895 and a member of the cabinet in 1900. A man of 'exceptionally fine physique' and a very conscientious parliamentarian, he was clearly a formidable opponent.

HANCOCK, Charles (fl. 1888?)

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee and, for a few months prior to January 1889, the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. Colenso letters suggest a degree of friction between Hancock and Fox Bourne.

HATHORN, K.H. (1849-1933)

A baby when his parents arrived as part of the Byrne settlement, he was educated in Pietermaritzburg where he was admitted as an attorney before a short but successful venture to the diamond fields. On his return he was Master of the Supreme Court for a time and was admitted as an advocate in 1877. For many years he attended the legal affairs of the Misses Colenso. He was a member of the Natal parliament 1902-1906. From 1910 to 1926 he was a judge of the Natal Supreme Court.

HAVELOCK, Sir Arthur Elibank (1844-1908)

Governor of Natal (1886-1893) and Special Commissioner for Zululand (1886-1887), then Governor of Zululand (1887-1893). He followed a military career until 1877; then entered the colonial service, becoming Governor of the West African settlements in 1881. His years in Natal were difficult ones in which he had to contend with economic depression, financial stringency, and competing aspirations. He was initially unpopular because his tax policy was denounced, while his Zulu policy seemed to be sacrificing the interests of Natal to those of land-grabbers whose links with the S.A.R. were strong. He was Governor at the time of the confrontations of 1888-1889 and his actions, particularly in allowing the restoration of Zibhebhu, were much criticised by the Colensos. He was not an enthusiastic supporter of Responsible government in Natal which he left in 1890 to become Governor of Ceylon (1890-5), then Governor of Madras (1895-1901) and Governor of Tasmania (1901-1904). He received a succession of honours, K.C.M.G. in 1888, G.C.M.G. in 1895, G.C.I.E. in 1896 and the C.S.I. in 1901.

HECKFORD, Sarah Maud (1829-1903)

One of Harriette Colenso's correspondents, Sara Heckford (née Goff), was a courageous and versatile pioneer and philanthropist. Of Anglo-Irish descent and independent means, she was lame and slightly hunch-backed after a childhood illness. She worked to combat cholera in the East End, studied medicine (but could not qualify as a doctor because she was a woman), and married her co-worker Dr Nathaniel Heckford. She and her husband founded a hospital which was opened by the Duchess of Teck and became the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for children. She was widowed in 1871. She nursed malaria patients in Naples and visited Egypt and India before coming to South Africa in 1878. When the farming scheme which attracted her to the Transvaal collapsed, she took a post as governess with the Jennings, a farming family, then traded on her own in the

Zoutpansberg. She bought a farm at Half Way House and tried transport riding to Natal. She then returned to England for a few years, where she published *A Lady Trader in the Transvaal* (London, 1882) as well as two novels and again worked in the East End. The discovery of gold lured her back to the Transvaal. She operated a mining agency in Pretoria and bought a farm in the Zoutpansberg, which she later entrusted to a young relative when she herself moved back to Nooitgedacht. She established good personal relations with neighbouring black rulers. Her last great cause was education in the Transvaal. She founded the Transvaal Women's Educational Union. She denounced Boer treatment of black people and clashed with Emily Hobhouse over the concentration camps. Her sister, Miss S. Goff, lived in England.

HELY-HUTCHINSON, Sir Walter Francis (1849-1913)

Governor of Natal (1893-1901) and of Zululand (1893-1897), he was later Governor of the Cape. The second son of the fourth Earl of Donoughmore, he was educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Entering the colonial service, he was private secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson in Fiji and in New South Wales. He then served as colonial secretary at Barbados and Malta before becoming Lieutenant-Governor at Malta and then Governor of the Windward Isles. To move from the Windward Isles to Natal was a considerable promotion, and he was clearly anxious to ensure smooth relations between the new Responsible government and the Colonial Office in London. He held a separate commission as Governor of Zululand until Zululand was annexed to Natal in 1897, together with the territories which had been brought under formal British control in 1895 (*viz.* Tongaland). In 1901 he moved from Natal to become the Governor of the Cape, which post he held until 1910. He was awarded a K.C.M.G. in 1888 and a G.C.M.G. in 1897 and became a Privy Councillor in 1909. While he was regarded as a great conciliator, he did not always eschew constitutional impropriety.

HEMMING, Sir Augustus William Lawson (1841-1907)

Long service in the Colonial Office, which he entered in 1860 and where he became principal clerk in 1879, was the prelude to appointment as Governor of British Guinea (1896-1897) and of Jamaica (1898-1904). He was awarded a K.C.M.G. in 1890 and a G.C.M.G. in 1903.

HENDERSON, Jim (d.1896)

State Attorney of the New Republic. He does not seem to have taken a prominent part in negotiations with Havelock, but he had a significant, if somewhat opaque, role dealing with Dinuzulu, who was accompanied by a son-in-law of Henderson when he came to Natal in November 1888. Jim Henderson (possibly a relative of Joseph Henderson, the close associate of Theophilus Shepstone in the Transvaal in 1877) seems to have had links with Escombe. There are indications that Jim Henderson helped in summoning defence witnesses to Eshowe during the sittings of the C.S.C.Z.

HENDERSON, Joseph (1824-1899)

A pioneer Natalian, he arrived in Natal in 1848 after having travelled in South America. A businessman he became chairman of the Natal Bank. He supported the advent of Responsible government. He travelled frequently to Britain. He was a 'stalwart Colensoite' in church matters.

HEYWOOD, James Esq. (fl. c.1870)

A longstanding associate of Bishop Colenso, he was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

HILL, Octavia (1838-1912)

Influenced by F.E. Maurice and John Ruskin, she is remembered mainly for her work to improve the housing of the poor, a work in which she was associated with Ruskin. She was also secretary for the women's classes at Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street. In 1884 she was appointed by the Ecclesiastical Commission to manage a great part of the property in Southwark. She was a member of the Poor Law Commission in 1905.

HIME, Sir Albert (1842-1919)

A soldier by professional training, he had served in Bermuda before coming to Natal as colonial engineer. He was a member of the pre-1893 legislative and executive councils of Natal. His main contribution to the life of the colony was in the development of communications in the form of road-making, railway-building, and Durban harbour, about which he was the opponent of

Escombe. He was elected to the Natal Legislative Council in 1897. According to F.S. Baines he was prominent in 1894 in persuading the vestry of St Peter's cathedral to accept the episcopal authority of A.H. Baynes.

HLUBI kaMota (c.1835-1902)

A Tlokwa who was related to Sekonyela, Hlubi migrated with his people from the Harrismith district to the Weenen-Escourt area in Natal in 1867. His people assisted the colonial forces against Langalibalele and in the Anglo-Zulu war. In the Wolseley settlement he was appointed one of the thirteen chiefs, having authority over a buffer area where Sihayo and his people had been located. Hlubi's interests were safeguarded by the British in 1883. On the annexation in 1887 the Nqutu area was one of the magisterial districts of Zululand. Hlubi assisted in the operations against the uSuthu in 1888. His area grew more and more impoverished and, with the retirement of Osborn, Hlubi was no longer an official favourite. His last years were spent in an asylum for the insane in Pietermaritzburg.

HOLLAND, Sir Henry Thurstan, first Viscount Knutsford (1825-1914)

Secretary of State for the Colonies 1888-1892. Educated at Harrow, Durham, and Cambridge, he entered the legal profession. Between 1867 and 1874 he was first legal adviser to the Colonial Office and then Under-Secretary, at the time of the Langalibalele affair. He was elected to parliament as a Conservative candidate in 1873. In 1879 Holland was evidently critical of the actions of Bartle Frere. He was given government office by Lord Salisbury who appointed him Secretary of State for the Colonies at the beginning of 1888. He became Lord Knutsford at the end of that year and received other honours. Becoming a privy councillor in 1885, he was awarded the G.C.M.G. in 1888 and was created a viscount in 1895. He did not hold cabinet rank after 1892, and was disappointed not to be reappointed to the Colonial Office in 1895.

HOPWOOD, Charles Henry (1829-1904)

Lawyer (a Q.C. in 1874) and Liberal politician, Hopwood was a radical reformer whose advocacy of personal liberty was sometimes extreme. As a judge (*i.e.* recorder) at Liverpool he sought to undermine the severity of the judicial system by imposing light sentences and was an advocate of prison reform. He was a firm supporter of universal adult suffrage, which would include the enfranchisement of women. Between 1892-1895 he was Liberal MP for Middleton in Liverpool, having previously been a member of the House of Commons 1874-1885. His support for the Colenso cause would seem to have been a matter of principle and not simply tactics. He was a member of the Zulu Defence Committee.

HOWARD, Rosalind, Lady Carlisle

See entry under Carlisle.

HUGHES, Hugh Price (1847-1902)

A gifted preacher and spokesman for the non-conformist conscience, he was the leading Methodist in London and England in his day. He promoted the moves to draw the non-conformist churches into membership of the Free Church Congress in 1892 and was president of the Free Church Council in 1896. Harriette sent him documents about Zululand, but no evidence has been found to indicate that he supported her. He supported the British war party during the South African War. It would seem that he was too committed an imperialist to assist Harriette in her criticisms of one area of imperial policy.

HULETT, Sir James Liege (1838-1928)

He arrived in Natal in 1857 and became prominent as a tea and sugar-planter and as a politician. He represented Victoria county in the Natal legislature from 1883 to 1910, when he became a member of the senate of the Union of South Africa. He was chairman and managing director of Sir J.L. Hulett and Sons Ltd, the tea and sugar growers. He was Secretary of Native Affairs in the Binns administration and subsequently acted as Speaker of the Natal legislative assembly. He was knighted in 1902.

HUNTER, W.A. (fl. 1885)

A Gladstonian Liberal and MP for Aberdeen city, he was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

HYNDMAN, Henry Kayers (1842-1921)

A pioneer socialist in Britain, he seems to have combined patriotic feeling with his socialism. As a journalist on the *Pall Mall Gazette* 1871-1880, he would have become familiar with imperial and with social problems. He founded the Social Democratic party in 1881. He was pro-Boer during the South African War. In 1916 he left the Labour party to found a national socialist party in Britain. In 1881 he published *England for All*. He called to see Harriette.

IMPEY, Catherine (1847-1923)

Apparently the owner or editor of *Anti-Caste*, a publication in which Harriette expressed criticisms of the Aborigines Protection Society in 1891, she was a Quaker lady of Street, Somerset. She was active in local good works, especially temperance, and in local government. She visited the southern parts of the United States where, on her own testimony, she mixed easily and happily with both the few who were rich and the many who were very poor among the coloured population. From the evidence of letters in *The Friend*, 8 December 1893 and 5 January 1894, she was a convinced and vocal opponent of racism. In February 1890 she resigned from the Society for the Propagation of the Brotherhood of Man because she thought that all who joined should be obliged to give up association with any colour bar movement. She stated then that she would try to revive *Anti-Caste*.

JAMES, W.H.

Presumably the Gladstonian Liberal MP for Gateshead who succeeded to the peerage as Lord Northbourne in 1892.

JOHNSON, George William (1857-1926)

A Cambridge man, he was appointed clerk in the Colonial Office where he became principal clerk in 1900. He was evidently a Christian Socialist and associated with those who opposed measures which appeared to condone sexual immorality. He wrote *Memoir of Josephine Butler* (1909) and *The State and Sexual Morality* (1920). He was interested enough in Harriette's campaign to correspond with her and probe her reasons for advocating the prior annexation of Zululand to Natal.

JORISSEN, Eduard John Pieter (1829-1912)

A Dutch pastor who published extensively on theological topics in the Netherlands, he was influenced by liberal writers such as J.S. Mill. He was invited to the South African Republic by T.F. Burgers, where he had virtually a second career as political leader, Attorney-General, and judge. His attitude to the British annexation may have been equivocal at first, but he was closely associated with Kruger in the representations that were made against it both in Britain and at the Cape. He later followed a judicial career in the Transvaal. He condemned the Jameson Raid vigorously and urged stronger action than Kruger was prepared to take; but he clashed with Kruger over the issue of the 'testing right' which Judge Kotze claimed, but which Kruger refused to concede. Bishop Colenso was in touch with the Transvaal leaders who appealed against the annexation of the South African Republic and it was not surprising that Harriette who, unlike her sister Frances Ellen, was never anti-Boer, should have been in touch with him in Britain. She sought to ensure the publication there of his memoirs. These were published in Dutch in 1897 as *Transvaalsche Herinneringen, 1876-1896* in Amsterdam.

JOWETT, Benjamin (1817-1893)

Educated at St Paul's and Balliol, where he became fellow, tutor and master, he was ordained 1845. At Oxford he was Regius Professor of Greek from 1855 but deprived of emoluments for ten years because of his suspected heresy. He contributed an essay on 'Interpretation of the Scripture' to *Essays and Reviews* 1860. He published translations of Plato and Thucydides. He was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1882-1886. He befriended the Colenso sons in England.

KIDD, Benjamin (1858-1916)

Author and social philosopher, his work *Social Evolution* published in 1894 was widely translated. He visited South Africa in 1902.

KINGSLEY, Mary (1862-1900)

A niece of Charles Kingsley, she is mainly remembered for her travels in west Africa and her

attempts to influence official policy in regard to that region. She first visited west Africa at the end of 1893 and her book *Travels in West Africa* (1897) made her a celebrity. She was hostile to missionary influence and associated with the British west African trading lobby. She was opposed to ineffective administration and critical of Sir F. Cardew, whose imposition of a hut tax in the newly created protectorate of Sierra Leone helped precipitate a rebellion in 1898. She was consulted by Chamberlain. She was one of Harriette's eminent contemporaries. Like Harriette, Mary Kingsley had a very deep regard for her father, whose death gave her the opportunity for independence, travel, and prominence. Mary Kingsley came to South Africa during the South African War to nurse Boer prisoners at Simonstown. She contracted enteric and died of heart failure after an operation. Her career challenged conventional views of what a woman's role should be, but she had no interest in supporting the campaign for women's enfranchisement.

KINLOCH, Mrs (fl. 1890)

Presumably the Mrs A. Victoria Kinloch who became treasurer of the *Africa Association* in 1897. See booklet headed *The African Association Instituted 24th September 1897 Rules*. No further information available.

KNIGHT, Bruce G.W. (1852-1896)

Educated at Eton and Oxford, he became bishop of Bloemfontein in 1886 and bishop of Mashonaland in 1891. In 1891 he was in England seeking to raise money for his mission. He accompanied the column to 'Matabeleland' in 1893. In his *Memories of Mashonaland* he sought to avoid taking sides as between the Company and the 'Matabele' asserting that his presence 'formed a contradiction to nothing and proved nothing'. Nevertheless, he resigned and returned to England in 1894. He died in 1896.

KNIGHT, John Locke (fl. c.1890)

He was appointed sub-commissioner and then R.M. for the Entonjaneni district. His father was a prominent Ladysmith resident. John Locke was clerk and interpreter in 1878 and then appointed administrator of native law and border agent to Lower Thukela.

KNUTSFORD, Viscount. See HOLLAND, Sir Henry Thurstan

LEES, Dora (née Livesey) (fl. c.1880)

A friend and contemporary of Frances Ellen Colenso, she too attended Winnington Hall and was much influenced by the ideals of John Ruskin. Evidently a woman of means, Dora received sheets of the *Zulu Digest* from Frances Ellen, who contemplated appealing to her to finance the cost of her publications. These were, however, differently financed.

LLOYD GEORGE, David (1863-1945)

Welsh political leader who evidently contemplated supporting Harriette Colenso's cause. He was prominent pro-Boer. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908 and was responsible for the 'people's budget' in 1909. He became Prime Minister in 1916. In later years he was, briefly, an admirer of Hitler, but then a vigorous opponent of appeasement.

LUARD, C.E. Major General (1839-1908)

Frances Ellen Colenso's helper whom she called 'Sir Lancelot' in the later phases of her attempt to vindicate A.W. Durnford, Luard, who married in 1875, was a Royal Engineer whose military career was one of responsibility for administrative and diplomatic work and construction rather than active service. He commanded the Royal Engineers in Natal in 1884-1886. He extricated himself from his association with Frances Ellen over the army enquiry by apologising to Offy Shepstone, who had been accused of removing papers from Durnford's body. Luard was promoted to the rank of major general in 1887 and he became county councillor in Kent. He wrote to Harriette in England but stipulated that there should be no reference to the army enquiry. He wrote a number of treatises, *i.a.* on the use of railways in warfare.

LUCAS, Sir Charles Prestwood (1853-1931)

Educated at Winchester and Balliol and the son of a doctor, he was in the 1890s a member of the upper clerical staff of the Colonial Office where he became Assistant Under-Secretary in 1897. His area of special expertise was the West Indies. His views on protectionism seem to have correspond with those of J. Chamberlain. Later he was the first head of the dominions section of the Colonial Office. He was subsequently honoured with the award of a K.C.M.G. and then

K.C.B. A noted historian of the British Empire he was a Fellow of All Souls College from 1920-1927.

LUGARD, Frederick John Deetly (1858-1945)

Soldier, author, and eminent imperial servant in East Africa, Hong Kong, and Nigeria. In 1902 he married Flora Shaw. At the time of Harriette's visit to Britain, 1890-1893 he conducted a public campaign to ensure that Uganda where he worked under the British Imperial East Africa Company should become a British protectorate.

LUGULOZA

See entry under Ndabayake.

LUTHULI, (or Lutuli) Martin (d.1921)

Uncle of Albert Luthuli who, as a youth, was brought up in Martin's household. Martin was the son of early converts to Christianity at Groutville in the Umvoti Reserve, where missionaries of the American Board were active. He accompanied Grant to Zululand. After Grant withdrew, Martin stayed on, first as the messenger of Mnyamana and then as the secretary of Dinuzulu. Harriette mistrusted him as an intermediary, although she conceded that his misrepresentations might not have been 'altogether deliberate'. Martin became a prominent and prosperous member of the mission at Groutville where he was elected chief in 1908 and became the owner of a sugar plantation. He was one of the founders of the Natal Native Congress and took a prominent role in the delegations of 'exempted natives' to the Natal authorities.

LYELL, Sir Charles (1797-1875)

An eminent geologist he studied at Oxford and published *Principles of Geology* in 1830-34, a work usually regarded as a landmark in scientific thinking. He was appointed Professor of Geology at King's College, London. His later works include the *Antiquity of Man* (1863). He was knighted in 1848.

LYELL, Katherine (d.1915)

A daughter of Leonard Horner and a sister of Lady Mary Lyell (wife of Sir Charles) Katherine was the wife of Colonel H. Lyell, who died in 1875. Her friendship with the Colensos began in the 1860s when the Colensos visited Britain. Her father Leonard, a friend of Brougham, was reputedly a founder of London University and one of the first factory inspectors to be appointed in Britain. A talented woman with an interest in botany, Katherine Lyell was the friend of J.D. Hooker and the recipient of Mrs Colenso's paintings of the flowers of Natal. She edited and published the papers of her father Leonard Horner, and of brothers-in-law, Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury. She befriended the Colenso children when they visited Britain, but was too patriotic in outlook to be entirely comfortable with the criticisms of British policy which Harriette made. Her son, Frank, visited the Colensos in South Africa and accompanied Durnford on his expedition to destroy Drakensberg passes after the Langalibalele affair. He was probably a source of information to Frances Ellen for her book *My Chief and I* (by Atherton Wylde). Another son, Leonard, was an MP and became the first Lord Kinnordy in 1914. A grandson of Katherine Lyell perished during the First World War, and a great grandson, who was awarded a V.C., was killed in action in 1943.

MABASO, Twaisa

See entry under Twaisa.

MACKARNESS, Frederick (1854-1920)

Jurist and politician, Mackarness (son of the Bishop of London) was trained at Oxford and learned law in the chambers of R.T. Reid a future Lord Chancellor of England. Early in his career he spent two years at the Cape where he studied Roman Dutch law and became an advocate of the Supreme Court. He was for a time a judge at Newbury. In politics he was a Liberal, but he disapproved of Gladstone's policy of Home Rule for Ireland. He contributed articles on South African affairs to major journals in Britain. During the South African War he was an active pro-Boer. In 1902 he met the Boer generals when they visited Europe and formed a friendship with Louis Botha. Mackarness was a staunch advocate of the granting of Responsible government to the Transvaal and a vigorous critic of the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. He entered the House of Commons in 1903 and identified himself with the left wing

of the Liberal party. He thought that the British government should have remonstrated more effectively with Natal about the suppression of the rebellion of 1906 and over the trial of Dinuzulu. In the later part of his political career he concentrated on questions relating to India. His basic stance was that Britain was responsible for redressing wrongs, however great the difficulties in interfering with a self-governing colony.

MACKENZIE, John (1835-1899)

Arriving in South Africa in 1858 as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, he worked for imperial intervention as a means of protecting the black people of South Africa. In the early 1880s he sought to check 'Boer' expansion in the area of Stellaland and Goshen. He found sympathizers in Britain who joined together as the South African Committee, a pressure group which urged an expansionist policy. In South Africa Mackenzie found himself outmanoeuvred, primarily by Rhodes, in the interests of the Cape Colony and white settlers. Mackenzie accompanied the Warren expedition in 1884-85 but, when that expedition was withdrawn, the Tswana area south of the Molopa became a British colony in which the Tswana lost much land. It was absorbed into the Cape Colony in 1895. In the late 1880s Mackenzie was once more in Britain campaigning primarily in the interests of the Tswana people north of the Molopa over whom Britain had established a Protectorate in 1885. He was associated with imperial federation supporters such as H.O. Arnold-Forster and F. Mackarness. Mackenzie favoured the policy of placing the 'native' territories in the hands of a High Commissioner who would be responsible solely to London. He published *Austral Africa* and articles in contemporary periodicals. Mackenzie was in touch with Joseph Chamberlain, a key member of the South African Committee, who advocated a more vigorous imperial policy and spoke on this theme to the London Chamber of Commerce in 1888. Many of Mackenzie's ideas were disappointed. For example, he was hostile to the British South Africa Company, which in 1889 was entrusted with the tasks of expansion, and dismayed that, after the Langeberg rebellion of 1897, those who sought redress for grievances were directed to the courts of the Cape Colony. But Mackenzie's agitation made British public opinion sympathetic to the pleas of the Tswana chiefs in 1895 and may well have strengthened Chamberlain's resolve not to yield all that the British South Africa demanded in the negotiations over Tswana territory that were the prelude to the Jameson Raid. In the sequel, the Chartered Company did not take over the administration of Bechuanaland. Mackenzie's campaign was broadly contemporaneous with Harriette's and may have damaged hers. He extolled the potential benefits of imperial rule at the time when Harriette was criticising its effects, and he called attention to the Tswana at a time when Harriette sought redress for the Zulus. Mackenzie was backed by the 'lobby' of the London Missionary Society. Mackenzie would have welcomed an official appointment to carry out the ideas he favoured; however, apart from his few months as commissioner in 1884-85, he was not given such an opportunity.

MACRORIE, W.K. (1831-1905)

An Oxford man he held a number of clerical appointments in England before accepting the invitation of Bishop Gray to become bishop in Natal in opposition to Colenso. He was consecrated in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town. Since the courts had ruled that Colenso was still legally Bishop of Natal in consequence of an appointment by the Crown, Macrorie's own title was the anomalous one of 'Bishop of 'Maritzburg' i.e. of a place which, legally, did not exist. Commanding more resources than Colenso to cover current expenses, he was able to increase his following in Natal, although Colenso retained control of the property of the Church of England in Natal. He rejected suggestions that he should resign on the death of Colenso in 1883. His eventual resignation in 1891 left the way clear for Archbishop Benson (of Canterbury) to accept an invitation from both parties to nominate a bishop. Macrorie returned to Britain, where he became a canon of Ely and an assistant bishop. He received honorary degrees from Oxford and from the University of the South (America).

MAFUKWINI (fl. c.1888)

An uSuthu messenger who was kept in prison during the trials conducted before the Court of the Special Commissioners, although there were frequent references to the messages he was alleged to have delivered to stir opposition to the British. After the main trials he was indicted and

convicted. He was evidently released from prison during Harriette's visit to Eshowe in 1893.

MAGEHLE

See entry for Nkhowana.

MAGEMA kaMagwaza Fuze (1840-c.1926?)

A key and long-lived personality in the Bishopstowe-ekuKhanyeni story, Magema was born in 1840, the son of Matota of the Ngcobo chieftaincy. He came to ekuKhanyeni in 1855 and was one of the pupils who, in their blue-striped and red-piped shirts, were educated into the Christian religion and the *mores* of Victorian civilization. He was baptised in 1859. A trained printer, he was an important intermediary. Evidently a merry youth, he accompanied Bishop Colenso on his visit to Zululand in 1859 and the journal that he kept was among the *Three Native Accounts ...* which the Bishop published. After a year's absence in Zululand he returned to ekuKhanyeni to be one of the mission young men in charge of the press, while the bishop and his family were in Britain. According to Etherington he disappointed Colenso in taking a second wife but, unlike William Ngidi, Magema was closely associated with Bishopstowe throughout his life. In the 1870s he was responsible for alerting Colenso to the untrustworthiness of a messenger of the office of the Secretary of Native Affairs who alleged that he had been badly treated by the unfortunate Hlubi chief, Langelibalele. A little later his role in helping to present a Christian petition against taxation stirred controversy and he was, wrongly it would seem, accused of falsifying the list of petitioners. A vigorous controversy between Colenso and J.R. Saunders ensued. Magema visited Zululand in July 1877 and this resulted in the article 'A Visit to King Ketchwayo' which was published over Magema's name in *Macmillan's Magazine* in March 1878. The accusations he made against Shepstone, that he had requested Cetshwayo to muster a large force in support of his annexation of the South African Republic, were apparently exaggerated. Colenso himself conceded in the *Zulu Digest* that Magema had been wrong in stating that the border people had actually been called out. In October 1879 Magema again visited Zululand, this time apparently on the authority of Major General H. Clifford, to recover the Prince Imperial's sword. On this visit he retrieved from Mfunzi, Cetshwayo's messenger and a friend of Magema, the last message of Chelmsford to Cetshwayo offering peace. It was in an unbroken envelope and had never been delivered. In 1883 Magema might have been responsible for urging the Zulus in the Reserve (Thukela to Mhlatuze) not to submit to John Dunn. The Bishop denied that either he or his daughter had given this advice and remarked that he was not responsible for the views of Magema. Magema corresponded with William Ngidi about securing witnesses in Pietermaritzburg to testify against John Shepstone when a libel case arose from allegations of the harsh treatment by Shepstone of the uSuthu people. In 1885 Magema again visited Zululand, and Harriette forwarded to the Aborigines Protection Society the letter that he wrote. Magema himself recorded that he was present at a consultation between Harriette and Harry Escombe over the plight of the uSuthu in 1888 and Magema attended the trials at Eshowe in 1888-89. He remained in Eshowe for a time after Harriette left. During Harriette's first visit to England he conveyed to Escombe reports from Zululand, and these were relayed to Harriette. During Harriette's second visit, Magema worked at St Alban's Native Training College in Pietermaritzburg which was under Revd F. Greene of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Magema was in touch with Mjwaphuna about the transmission of money and messages to Dinuzulu. Harriette would have liked to have secured Magema's presence in St Helena from the beginning of the uSuthu leaders' exile, but permission was not granted until 1896. Magema's stay at St Helena was not an unqualified success. He was drawn into the socialising that the Exiles enjoyed in the later years of their sojourn and stood godfather to one of Dinuzulu's children baptised on the Island; but he had a very unpleasant accident when he fell from a cliff and broke his leg. Sympathy for Magema was, for Harriette, linked with some suspicion about the circumstances of the accident. He was hospitalised in St Helena. He returned from St Helena with the Exiles and Harriette, who had joined the St Helena party at the end of 1897. In the early twentieth century he was for a time secretary to Dinuzulu, but this work ended in dispute about money, which Harriette settled by paying Magema's claims. Magema wrote *Abantu Abanyama* which, with Harriette's help, was first published in 1922. It has recently been re-published.

MANKULUMANA kaSomaphunga kaZwide kaLanga (c.1840?-1926)

While Dinuzulu was in exile Mankulumana was the senior *induna* of the *umuzi* at ekuBazeni near Nongoma where Dinuzulu's mother, okaMsweli, lived. He acted for Dinuzulu there, as Mjwaphuna represented his interests at Bishopstowe. In the troubles of the twentieth century he was Dinuzulu's main counsellor. He was of the Ndwandwe chiefly line but was a younger son of his father, who, in Mpande's time, had been a man of standing, if not among the men of the first rank. Mankulumana's brother, Mgojana, who was killed in 1888, was one of Wolseley's thirteen chiefs and a Zibhebhu supporter. In April 1906 Mankulumana led a peace-keeping mission to the rebels, acting for Dinuzulu and the Natal government. In June of that year he led a party of headmen to meet Sir Henry McCallum in Pietermaritzburg. In May 1907 he accompanied Dinuzulu to Pietermaritzburg to interview the Governor shortly before Sir Henry McCallum's departure. He was with Dinuzulu when the uSuthu leader was arrested in December 1907 and witnessed his arraignment in Pietermaritzburg. After the trial of Dinuzulu, Mankulumana was himself brought to trial and sentenced to a fine of £50 and a sentence of nine months' imprisonment. He joined Dinuzulu on the farm Uitkyk to which Dinuzulu had been exiled. Mankulumana took a leading role in the interment of Dinuzulu's body at Nobamba in ceremonies which Harriette Colenso attended. According to Magema kaMagwaza Fuze, he and the son of Ndabuko (Mnyaisa kaNdabuko) had charge of Solomon on the death of Dinuzulu.

MANSEL, Colonel George (fl. c.1900)

The son of a captain in the Inniskillings, he was known personally to the Colensos as a young man. Having served as a member of the Weenen force against Langalibalele, he joined the Natal Mounted Police in 1874 and became first sub-inspector, then inspector. He served in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and the South African War of 1880-1881. He was appointed commandant of the Reserve Territory Carbineers in April 1883 and subsequently commandant of the *Nongqai* Zululand police, in June 1887. He commanded a force in the action at Ceza in 1888. He stressed highly the soldier-like qualities of the Zulu. He appears to have been on good personal terms with H.E. Colenso. In 1897, on the annexation of Zululand, he was appointed assistant commissioner to the Natal Police to become assistant chief commissioner in 1902 and subsequently chief commissioner until his retirement in c.1909.

MARTIN, Victoria Claffin Woodhull (1838-1927)

Feminist, and conspicuous eccentric, she was proprietor and editor of the 'neglected monthly' *Humanitarian*, one of the few journals edited by women. In 1870 she memorialised the congress of the United States for women's rights. She championed causes designed to improve the human lot, including the condition of the working classes. She was interested in psychical research, motoring, and works of art. She was a member of the Ladies Automobile Club.

MARX, Eleanor (Aveling) (1855-1898)

Daughter of Karl Marx to whose ideals she devoted her energies, she was involved in a very unsatisfactory relationship with Dr Aveling that ended with her suicide when he deserted her. She was aware of Harriette's campaign to the extent that Harriette was invited to address the Socialist Supper Club in London.

MASEKWANA (fl.c.1890)

He was one of Cetshwayo's *izinceku*. See entry under Ndabayake.

MASON, A.W. (1860-1924)

Born the son of a Pondoland missionary, Mason, a Natal advocate, was a partner in the firm of Hathorn and Mason, the lawyers for the Misses Colenso. He acted for Agnes Colenso in November 1888 in the court applications which sought to prevent the removal of Dinuzulu from Natal to Zululand. He had a distinguished judicial career. He served as Acting Chief Justice in Natal and later a puisne judge and then Chief Justice in the Transvaal. He was knighted in 1922.

MATHERS, E.P. (1850-1924)

Educated in Edinburgh, he worked on British newspapers before coming to Natal in 1878 through the influence of the proprietor of the *Natal Colonist*, a newspaper which gave support to Colenso. In Natal Mathers worked as editor of the *Natal Advertiser*, which became a daily evening newspaper, the first in Natal. He was correspondent for the *Natal Mercury* during the Anglo-Zulu

War and during the early 1880s. He also assisted Archibald Forbes, the special correspondent for the *Daily News*, during the Anglo-Zulu War. Mathers publicised the rich mineral potential of South Africa in the books that he published: *A Glimpse of the Goldfields* (1884), *The Goldfields Revisited* (1887), *Golden South Africa* (1888), and *South Africa and How to Reach It* (1889). A subsequent publication was *Zambesia: England's Eldorado in Africa* (1892). He went back to England in 1888 and, late in that year, founded the weekly journal *South Africa* which disseminated news about South Africa. He emphasised economic and financial matters and sought to attract capital to South Africa. He was in South Africa after the Jameson Raid and, for some months of the South African War. After that conflict, he sought to encourage immigration to South Africa. Mathers visited Egypt, Canada, and the United States where he founded a branch office of *South Africa*. In London he initiated and presided over the annual South African dinners. In the early 1890s *South Africa* gave space to Harriette's visit and her campaign. In the mid-1890s he gave much publicity to the visit of the Tswana chiefs.

MAXSE, Leonard James (1864-1932)

Educated at Harrow and Cambridge he was owner and editor of the *National Review* 1893-1932.

MAYDON, W. (1857-1919)

Natal business man and politician, he was elected to the Natal legislative assembly in 1893. He was minister of railways and harbours in the early 20th century and was returned to the Union parliament in 1910 as the leading figure in the Natal Independent party.

MBULAWA kaLangalibalele (fl. c.1890)

A son of Langalibalele, he was educated at Bishopstowe and used by Harriette as a messenger to and in Zululand. He was for a time appointed to teach the children at oSuthu, the *umuzi* of Dinuzulu.

McARTHUR, Alexander (1814-1909)

Brother of Sir William (q.v.) he spent several years in Australia before returning to Britain in 1863. He was elected Liberal MP for Leicester in 1874 but retired from public life in 1892.

McARTHUR, Sir William (1809-1887)

With his brother, Alexander (q.v.), he conducted a thriving trade to Australia in woollen goods. He was MP for Lambeth 1868-1885, lord mayor of London in 1880, one of the founders of the London Chamber of Commerce in 1881, an associate of F.W. Chesson, and a supporter of the South African Committee of the early 1880s.

McKENNA, Reginald (1863-1943)

Banker and a politician, Liberal MP for North Monmouthshire, 1895-1918. In the twentieth century he was, successively, Lord of the Admiralty, Home Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

McKENZIE, Douglas (1841-1890)

Missionary bishop of Zululand 1880-1890. Before his appointment to Zululand McKenzie, a nephew of Bishop Merriman, taught at St Andrews, Grahamstown, where he became vice-principal. He was later the headmaster of St Andrews in Bloemfontein. He became Chancellor of the diocese and archdeacon of Harrismith. Consecrated bishop on 30 November 1880, he visited Cetshwayo in Cape Town in the company of Bishop Macrorie before he took up his duties in Zululand. He was bishop in a very turbulent decade in which attempts to recover from one wave of war, disaster and destruction were overtaken by successive waves of turbulence. kwaMagwaza, for example, suffered from the effect of the Anglo-Zulu War, when, perhaps because it was used as a military base by British troops, it was destroyed by the Zulu. After a subsequent period of recovery McKenzie found it in ruins again in 1885. He was determined to secure this station for the Church of the Province of South Africa and, to this end, negotiated with the 'Boer' authorities and resited claims put forward by the Colenso family and supported by Dinuzulu. He died of enteric in January 1890. His wife subsequently returned to missionary labours in Zululand.

McLAREN, W.S.Bright (1853-1912)

A successful businessman, and nephew-in-law of John and Jacob Bright, he was Liberal MP for the Crewe division of Cheshire, being elected in 1886 and 1892 to be defeated in 1895. He supported the enfranchisement of women. He was evidently returned again in 1910.

MEADE, Sir Robert (1835-1898)

Son of the fourth Earl of Clanwilliam, he was Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office in 1895. He was already in his sixties and, having served under Lord Granville, was mistrustful of imperialist expansion. He carried a great deal of the post-Jameson Raid strain in the office and, having suffered a broken leg in an accident in November 1896, wished to retire but was persuaded to continue in office by Chamberlain. In November 1896 he dissuaded Chamberlain from sending reinforcements to South Africa. He died in 1898.

MITCHELL, Sir Charles Bullen Hugh (1836-1899)

Colonial Secretary (1878-1886) and Governor of Natal (1889-1893). Trained in Royal Navy schools he saw service as a royal marine in the Crimean War. He joined the colonial service in 1868 and served in Honduras and British Guiana before coming to Natal. During the Anglo-Zulu War he was active in organising the defence of Pietermaritzburg. After short spells as Governor of the Fiji Isles and of the Leeward Isles, he returned to Natal as Governor in 1889 and had to deal with the tangled issues of railway extension, relations with the Transvaal and Responsible government. He identified himself more readily with the crown and the executive than with the colonist and was very watchful over finances. Harriette Colenso did not find him particularly sympathetic to the uSuthu. He left Natal in 1893 to become Governor of the Straits Settlement and was subsequently appointed High Commissioner for Brunei and Sarawak. He received the C.M.G. in 1879, the K.C.M.G. in 1883 and the G.C.M.G. in 1895.

MJWAPHUNA kaMahlungwana Shandu (? - d.1899)

A confidential uSuthu emissary stationed at Bishopstowe during the exile of Dinuzulu but travelling frequently to and from Zululand carrying messages, letters, and medicines requested by Dinuzulu. He was expected to secure money for the Exiles at St Helena from the Zulu people. Agnes Colenso certainly discussed with him the affairs and fortunes of the Zulu people, and it was to him that Harriette addressed her letter of explanation on the annexation of Zululand to Natal and the return of the Exiles.

MKHUNGO kaMpande (c.1840? to post 1903?)

He was the youngest full brother of Mbuyazi, the rival of Cetshwayo, who was defeated and killed at the battle of Ndongakasuka. Mkhungo was then placed in the charge of Bishop Colenso and educated for a time at ekuKhanyeni. His mother was Monase, and one of Stuart's informants maintained that Mpande took Monase to wife on behalf of Shaka. In the late nineteenth century some believed that Mkhungo had a rightful claim to the Zulu succession. The Colensos were not among them. Mkhungo was located in the Inanda Weenen area, and then moved to the area of Eshowe where he was living in 1903.

MNYAMANA kaNgqengelele (c.1810-1892)

Chief of the Buthelezi people who lived in the north-west of Zululand and, in his hey-day, a very rich and influential man. His father was a confidential counsellor of Shaka. Mnyamana himself was, in effect, chief counsellor of Cetshwayo. He was a cautious man. There were apparently two instances when he preferred a policy of acquiescence and submission to one of confrontation. In 1878 he opposed Cetshwayo's policy when the ultimatum was presented, and a decade later, distanced himself from Dinuzulu and Ndabuko. In the meanwhile he had commanded a Zulu force at Khambula, surrendered to the British in 1879, possibly facilitating their capture of Cetshwayo, and declined appointment as one of Wolseley's thirteen chiefs. This refusal may have stemmed from mixed motives; uSuthu loyalty, a concern not to be separated from his followers who were placed under Hamu, and a sense that the area it was proposed to allocate to him was too small. He was a leading figure among the uSuthu in the period that followed 1879 which witnessed the agitation for the return of Cetshwayo, the conflicts that followed his restoration, his defeat and death, the involvement of Dinuzulu with the Boers, the defeat of Zibhebhu at Tshaneni, and its sequel. After the annexation of Zululand by the British, Mnyamana would not be drawn into the opposition of Dinuzulu and Ndabuko to the restoration of Zibhebhu. He preferred to acquiesce in the inevitable. In consequence of this defection his cattle were raided by the uSuthu, and his son, Tshanibezwe, led a contingent of Mnyamana's followers somewhat

ineffectually at the engagement at Ceza in June 1888. Subsequently, Tshanibezwe gave evidence against the uSuthu before the Court of Special Commissioners in Zululand. In later years Tshanibezwe was recognised as a loyal chief whose attitude may, according to J.Y. Gibson, have contained the disaffection of 1906.

MOOR, Sir Frederick (1853-1927)

Born in Pietermaritzburg the son of a Byrne settler, Moor is described as 'a man devoid of racial prejudice'. He had a short venture into the diamond fields and then settled down to farm at Estcourt. He was elected to the legislative council and joined the Responsible government party becoming Minister for Native Affairs (1893-1897) under Sir John Robinson and then Escombe. He was again Minister for Native Affairs from 1899-1903. He was in opposition to the Smythe ministry and opposed the poll tax. He became Prime Minister of Natal in 1906. He represented Natal at the National Convention and advocated joining the Union, even though he failed to secure the federal constitution he would have preferred. He was briefly minister for customs and commerce after 1910 but, after an electoral defeat, he became a nominated member of the senate of the Union of South Africa on the grounds of his special knowledge of native affairs. He was created a privy councillor in 1906 and was knighted in 1911.

MORCOM, William Boase (1846-1910)

Natal lawyer and politician. Born in Cornwall, he came to Natal in 1861 and for a time combined journalism with clerical work and writing law reports. He was clerk to the executive council, to the legislative council and to the Attorney-General in early years. He went with Shepstone to the Transvaal and, after being admitted as an advocate of the Natal Supreme Court, he became Attorney-General in the Transvaal in 1880. He acted as Attorney-General for Natal in 1885 and in 1889 and served as Attorney-General for Zululand 1888-1889. He became a Q.C. in 1888. He prosecuted the uSuthu before the Court of Special Commissioners in Zululand 1888-1889. He was Attorney-General for Natal from 1890 to 1893. He was opposed to Escombe in the harbour controversy and represented Methuen in the harbour enquiry. With Alfred Hime he defeated the Escombe candidates for Pietermaritzburg City in the elections of September/October 1897 and he represented Pietermaritzburg in the legislative assembly until 1910. He was Minister of Justice in 1903 and was selected to represent Natal in the National Convention from which ill-health obliged him to retire early.

MORGAN, Sir George Osborne (1826-1897)

A brilliant Oxford scholar and jurist, Osborne Morgan was opposed to the High Church movement of his day and, as a Welshman, championed disestablishment and challenged the privileged position of the Anglican church. He was MP for Denbighshire. In 1881 he was responsible for the abolition of flogging as a military punishment. He contributed to the enactment of the Married Women's Property Bill. He was Under-Secretary for Colonies in 1886 but did not again accept office.

MORLEY, John (1838-1923)

Oxford-educated and a man of literary distinction, he was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the early 1880s. Elected as Liberal MP for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he was a staunch Home Ruler and the biographer of Gladstone. He was Secretary for State for India 1906-1910. A convinced pacifist he opposed the 'Boer War' and resigned from the cabinet in 1914 at the outbreak of war.

MPIKWA (fl. c.1888)

He was convicted of the murder of the trader Tonge on 1 July 1888. In dealing with his case Harriette observed that he was an uSuthu only in the sense that 99 out of 100 Zulus were uSuthu, that the murder occurred in a state of war for which officials were responsible, that, although he was provided with counsel, the lawyer concerned was drunk at the time of the trial, and that his detention in Durban was illegal. In 1897 there was an Mpikwa on the ekuKhanyeni estate whom Agnes sent into Pietermaritzburg to watch the jubilee ceremonies, wearing red, white, and blue in his hat.

MSANE, Saul (d.1932)

Educated at the Edendale and Healdtown mission stations, he toured Europe with the choir before becoming a compound manager in Johannesburg and subsequently a labour recruiting

agent. With Martin Lut(h)uli he was a founder member of the Natal Native Congress and subsequently a member of the African National Congress which he served as a member of the 1914 deputation to England to protest against the 1913 Land Act, as secretary-general, and as editor of the ANC newspaper *Abantu-Batho*.

MSUTSHWANA (? - 1888)

His father, Mfuzi, was one of the *izikhulu* of Cetshwayo and Msutshwana succeeded his father as chief of the Mdletshe people. A strong uSuthu supporter he had been placed under Zibhebhu in 1879. He was killed by Zibhebhu in a raid during June 1888.

MTHUMBU kaMbopha (fl.1880?)

Chief of the Hlabisa and heir to a struggle for control which he inherited from his father Mbopha. This clash arose when Mbopha was regent for, and the rival of, his nephew Somfula. In 1879, under the Wolseley settlement, Mbopha and the Hlabisa were placed under Zibhebhu. Mbopha defied Zibhebhu but Somfula gave his loyalty to the Mandlakazi leader. Mbopha was killed in a clash in 1883; but in the following year Mthumbu forced Somfula to take refuge in the Reserve. The 1888 restoration of Zibhebhu and his allies threatened Mthumbu, and his kraals were among the first to be destroyed, even though it had been hoped that Somfula might be accommodated on vacant kraal sites. A.J. Shepstone gave Mthumbu a pass to settle in land under Somkhele, but Mthumbu had no wish to move and threw the pass away. He took refuge at the uSuthu kraal where the warrant for his arrest was spurned in April 1888. In November 1888 he was condemned by Addison for contempt of court and sentenced to three months' hard labour and a fine of cattle. He gave evidence to the Court of Special Commissioners. The uSuthu defence claimed he was forced to cart manure in Addison's garden while a prisoner.

MTATENI

See entry under Ndabayake.

MTHIMKHULU Paul Bonsha (Radebe)

See entry under Paul.

MUBI kaNondenisa Mthuli (fl. c.1890)

Somewhat older than Magama kaMagwaza Fuze he, too, had a life-long association with the Colensos. He was a school teacher at ekuKhanyeni and worked also as a compositor. Magama described him as a man of some substance who held a position as a headman. Harriette obviously trusted him. She used him as a confidential messenger and was accompanied by him on some of her important undertakings. He was a member of the Natal Native Contingent during the Anglo-Zulu war and gave information about allegations concerning the rifling of Mpande's grave. Harriette sent him to Zululand in 1883 to report the death of Colenso. He went to Zululand again in 1885, and Harriette contemplated appointing him to take charge of the mission station at kwaMagwaza. With Twaisa he was a confidential messenger in 1888, and Magama reported that he was one of the people who attended a consultation between Harriette and Escombe. He accompanied Harriette to Eshowe. From there he and Mbulawa were sent to gather in witnesses for the defence of the uSuthu. In 1895 he accompanied Harriette when she left Natal, but he stayed on at St Helena when Harriette went on to England. If a visit to England had been permitted to the Exiles, Harriette intended that he should accompany them as interpreter. His stay at St Helena, where he taught the children in the Exiles' party, was not a very fortunate period for him. There was a vigorous quarrel with A.J. Daniels, the assistant guardian. Mubi returned to Natal to be replaced by Magama. Mubi was subsequently a source of information for the Colenso sisters and a companion for Harriette when she travelled on uSuthu affairs. In 1913 he accompanied her when she went to Nobamba for the interment of Dinuzulu.

MULLER, Henrietta (fl. c.1890)

As Helena B. Temple she was the editor of the *Women's Penny Paper* a weekly paper which boasted that it was 'the only paper conducted, written, printed and published by women'. It lasted from 1888-1890 and in 1889 published a series of articles on Zululand by Harriette under the heading of 'The Eshowe Trials'. The paper reappeared later as the *Women's Herald*, and subsequently as the *Women's Signal* (1894-1899).

NAORAJI, Dadabhai (1825-1916)

A prominent Parsee of Bombay, he was a scholar, businessman, and politician. He served on a number of government institutions in India including the Bombay municipal council and the Bombay legislative council. He was a critic of British policy in India and sought to widen opportunities for Indians to be employed in the civil service of India. He was thrice President of the Indian National Congress. He was Liberal MP for Central Finsbury 1892-1895. Harriette Colenso assisted his election campaign. Numerous publications attest his zeal and ability for the causes that he supported. No evidence had been found to indicate that he supported Harriette's representations on behalf of the uSuthu chiefs and Zulu people.

NDABAYAKE (fl.1880)

He was a coastal chief in the lower Mfolozi area where Mpande located the emaNgweni *ikhanda*. Ngqumbazi, the mother of Cetshwayo, had her *umuzi* here and this was where Cetshwayo spent his youth. uSuthu sentiment was strong. In 1889 Ndabayake was convicted by the Court of Special Commissioners for Zululand of high treason, rebellion, and public violence. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labour. Others similarly arraigned and sentenced were the 'headman' Mtateni, Masekwana, Lugolozu, and Dlemudlemu. In 1900 an informant of James Stuart listed all these men (with the exception of Mtateni) and Bhejana as chiefs of the Abasemangweni.

NDABUKO kaMpande (c.1847-c.1902)

He was a full brother of, and younger than, Cetshwayo. He belonged to the Mbonambi *ibutho*. His *umuzi* was at kwaMinya in the Ivuna valley. The secondary sources give little information about his role prior to the end of the Anglo-Zulu War. On the exile of Cetshwayo he is reported to have insisted that he and Mnyamana should have control of Dinuzulu. He backed Mnyamana's rejection of the offer of a Wolseley chieftaincy and found himself placed under Zibhebhu whose authority was resented. Ndabuko was associated with the agitation for the restoration of Cetshwayo. On the death of Cetshwayo he took a leading role in securing the burial of the king in the Nkandla. He may not always have been the advocate of Dinuzulu's right to succeed but emerges from the uSuthu story more and more as the mentor and guide of Dinuzulu through the events of 1884, subsequently appealing to the British for intervention to protect the uSuthu from the loss of all Zululand to the filibusters. With Shingana he visited Pietermaritzburg in May 1886 and later protested against the line of demarcation which Havelock arranged with representatives of the New Republic in October 1886. He was part of a thousand-strong deputation to Osborn in January 1887. With Dinuzulu he boycotted the ceremonies at Eshwe and Nkonjeni in 1887 which were held to proclaim the assumption by Britain of sovereignty over Zululand. He refused the offer of a stipend and accompanied Dinuzulu on his visit to the Boers in 1887. In November 1887 he attended the interview with Havelock who levied a fine of cattle on both Ndabuko and Dinuzulu and announced the impending restoration of Zibhebhu. In April 1888 Ndabuko was in charge of the uSuthu *umuzi* when a force under a sub-commissioner attempted - but failed - to execute warrants of arrest. He was with Dinuzulu at Ceza and with him took refuge in the New Republic after the confrontation at Ceza. He surrendered in September 1888 to the military at the Mona camp, and the preliminary investigation was conducted at Nkonjeni. He was tried before the Court of Special Commissioners, where he made a vigorous statement on his own behalf, and was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. With Shingana and Dinuzulu he was exiled to St Helena. He did not long survive the restoration to Zululand at the beginning of 1898, dying in about 1902.

NEWMAN, F.W. (1805-1897)

Younger brother of Cardinal Newman he was educated at Oxford where he was a Fellow of Balliol 1826-1830. He taught at Bristol College and was Professor of Classics at Manchester University and of Latin at London University. He published extensively on questions of faith and ethics.

NKHOWANA kaMsongane (d.1888)

He was a headman of the Nzuza people who, with two associates, was found guilty of murdering two of Zibhebhu's men on 18 March 1888 a few miles north of the Ndwandwe magistracy. They

were tried before the court of the Chief Magistrate at Eshowe and found guilty by Osborn with A.J. Shepstone as a co-judge. Nkhowana was sentenced to death and hanged just before the opening of the Court of the Special Commissioners. Havelock commuted the death sentence imposed on his associates, Tshwayibe and Magehle, to life imprisonment. Allegedly the bodies of the murdered men were mutilated for medicine. Harriette contended that the case should not have been tried before Osborn but before the Court of the Special Commissioners. She pointed out that the murder took place outside Zibhebhu's location. She protested that the hanging of Nkhowana intimidated the uSuthu. While in England she took up the cases of the two men serving sentences of life imprisonment and argued that their detention in Durban was illegal. Early in 1894 she heard that both had been released.

NONDENISA i.e. Mubi (Bubi) kaNondenisa Mthuli

See entry under Mubi.

NOVIMBU - see under okaMsweli

NZUKUZONKE (fl. c.1880)

A uSuthu adherent he was indicted for murder before the Court of Special Commissioners for killing a follower of Mnyamana. He was defended by W.Y. Campbell. Convicted on a charge of culpable homicide, he was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour. In 1894 Marshal Clarke told Harriette he had been released.

O'CONNOR, T.P. (1848-1929)

Journalist and politician he sympathised with Harriette's campaign. He was a Home Rule supporter and an MP. He was at first elected for Galway but from 1885 represented the Scotland division of Liverpool. In 1887 he founded the radical evening newspaper the *Star* which pioneered the new journalism. Until 1889 Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, the noted anti-imperialist, was a director of the *Star*. When T.P. O'Connor was bought out from the *Star*, he founded a weekly newspaper. In 1893 he founded the *Sun* which was another venture into the daily evening newspapers' market. He was not in the forefront of Irish politics, and some more extreme than he deprecated his willingness to work with Britain.

O'DELL STACKPOOL, E. (fl. 1890)

One of Harriette's correspondents, he was interested in phrenology and was president of the Pioneer Reform Association.

okaMSWELI (or Novimbu) (c.1840-1908)

Mother of Dinuzulu, she was the daughter of a member of the Dube 'tribe'. One of the girls captured from among Mbuyazi's supporters after the battle of Ndondakasuka she was taken to the Gqikazi royal *umuzi* and then brought to the new *umuzi* at oNdini (Ulundi) (originally at Eshowe) established by Cetshwayo where she was an *incekukazi* (female attendant) before her ceremonial marriage to Cetshwayo. With Mankulumana, she seems to have been the focus of uSuthu loyalty in the Ndwandwe during Dinuzulu's St Helena exile. She died during Dinuzulu's trial in 1908. According to Harriette she was 'shrewd and capable'. Because Dinuzulu was her only child, 'they were very close.'

OLIVIER, Sydney Haldane, Baron Olivier from 1924 (1859-1943)

An Oxford man and Fabian socialist he was a member of the Colonial Office staff from 1882. In the early twentieth century he served as colonial secretary then as Governor in Jamaica, before holding high posts in London including the Secretaryship of India. He is depicted by the historian P. Rich as a man who was critical of the dominant imperial trends because he favoured a free black peasantry and who, in later life, regarded the 1890s as the period when Britain sold out black interests to the benefit of financiers and capitalist Afrikaners. He subsequently published *White Capital and Coloured Labour* (1906) and *Anatomy of African Misery* (1927).

OMMANEY, Sir Montagu Frederick (1842-1925)

He had a military training but was Crown Agent for the Colonies (1877-1900) and Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1900-1907). He received a number of decorations becoming King-of-Arms of the Order of St Michael and St George in 1908. He was honorary treasurer and then vice-president of the Royal Colonial Institute and was appointed a director of the London Assurance Company and of the North Borneo Company.

OSBORN, Sir Melmoth 'Malimati' (1834-1899)

Born in the Cape he came to Natal as a boy of 12. He held early appointments as Zulu interpreter to magistrates and was clerk to the Attorney-General before becoming magistrate at Newcastle in 1867. He was secretary to Theophilus Shepstone when the Transvaal was annexed in 1877 and went as envoy to the Pedi and Swazi. After the Anglo-Zulu War he became British resident in Zululand in the turmoil of the Wolseley 'settlement' and was the particular object of uSuthu hostility. He served on the boundary commission of 1886-1887 which delimited the boundary between Boer territory and the territory that became British Zululand. He was Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate of Zululand between 1887 and 1893. He was much criticised by the Colensos who regarded him as the partisan of Zibhebhu, chief rival of Dinuzulu. He was pensioned off with a K.C.M.G. in 1893. He was a friend of H. Rider Haggard.

PACKARD, Henry Charles, Revd (fl. c.1890)

A clergyman who had trained at London College of Divinity, he was ordained deacon in 1882 and priest in 1883 at St Albans. He appears to have studied at the medical school of Trinity College, Dublin. He had been curate in a number of parishes and in 1890 held a general licence in the diocese of Dublin. His name appears in the 1892 Crockford's Clerical Directory but there is no entry for him at all in the 1903 Crockford's Directory. Harriette corresponded with him in the 1890s about the possibility of a clerical appointment in Natal.

PALMER, William Waldegrave Second Earl Selborne (1859-1942)

See under Selborne

PAUL Bonsha Mthimkhulu 'Umtandaleza' or 'Dr Paul' (d.1909)

He was a *kholwa* preacher who was with Dinuzulu at the Ceza in June 1888. Evidence before the Court of the Special Commissioners for Zululand refers to his addressing the assembled *umkhumbé* before the confrontation with the advancing force of British troops, Zululand police and Mnyamana's men. The thrust of his counsel and exhortations cannot easily be determined. Some evidence is that he spoke re-assuring words. He belittled the approaching force, assured the uSuthu that it would not cross the river, and allegedly made the conventional prophecy that bullets would turn to water. He was with the party of *izinduna* who accompanied Dinuzulu to Bishopstowe and Pietermaritzburg in November 1888, where he attested a document with his signature, not a mark. He was at Eshowe during the trials. He accompanied the Exiles to St Helena. Here he is recorded as conducting services, providing medicines, participating in the social life which the officials and elite of the Island opened up for the Exiles, and disputing philosophical matters with the clergy. He married a St Helena woman and was evidently disappointed that the marriage did not produce children. He returned with the Exiles 1897-98 and seems to have lived at oSuthu. There is a reference in Magema Magwaza Fuze's *The Black People ...* to a correspondence with Dr Paul in the early twentieth century. Paul Mthimkhulu died at Greytown during the later trials in 1909.

PEARSON, Karl (1858-1936)

Cambridge educated and trained in law, Karl Pearson was Director of the Francis Gilton Laboratory for National Eugenics. He published *The Chances of Death and other Studies in Evolution* in 1897.

PENNEFATHER, Edward Graham (1850-1928)

He was a soldier and policeman who had an important role in the affairs of Zululand and of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). As a commissioned officer in the dragoons he served in the Anglo-Zulu War and in Zululand and Bechuanaland in the 1880s. He commanded the military force at Ceza and was subsequently promoted. Two years later he was in command of the Pioneer Corps that moved up to Salisbury (Harare). He continued in the police force in what was then Rhodesia for a time but, when the size of the force was cut down, he rejoined his regiment. After he had retired from the army in 1895, he became Inspector of Police in the Straits Settlement. He married the daughter of the Revd Crompton at Pinetown and died in Natal.

PICTON, James Allanson (1832-1910)

MP for Leicester, 1884-1894. He was the author of a number of works on religion, theology and philosophy. He was educated at Owens College, Manchester and in London. He tried to enter

the church but was dogged by accusations of heresy. 1869-1879 he was pastor of a chapel at Hackney where he arranged popular lectures on secular themes on Sunday afternoons, thus pioneering the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement. He represented Hackney on the London school board. His interest in the theological issues Colenso had raised as well as his own humanitarian impulses led him to support Harriette Colenso's campaign in the Commons, where he was known as 'the sincere advocate of extreme views'. He was a contributor to the *Weekly Despatch*, regarded as a radical organ, at the time when Fox Bourne was editor.

PIRBRIGHT, First Baron. See **DE WORMS, Henry**

PORTER, James (fl. c.1890)

Clergyman of Drumnaskilly Sixmilecross, R.S.O., County Tyrone, he had held earlier appointments in Irish parishes. He may be the Irish clergyman who wanted to add to Harriette's responsibilities the work of producing a collected edition of her father's works.

QETHUKA kaManqondo son of Magwaza chief (fl. c.1880)

A prominent uSuthu and close counsellor of Cetshwayo, his followers were responsible for the assault on Smith and Deighton which became one of the pretexts for the British invasion of Zululand in 1879. Described as 'fiery' he was an *induna* of the uThulwana regiment at Isandlwana and a spectator of the clash at oNdini (Ulundi) in 1879. He was arrested in 1888 before he could participate in the main confrontations.

QUELCH, Tom

Editor of the *Social Democrat* he was regarded by H.G. Wells as a leading British communist in 1920.

QUILTER, H.M.A. (-1897)

Barrister, artist, and author who studied at Cambridge and the Slade School. He travelled widely and was a freelance journalist. In 1890 he published a work called *Mr Stanley as Hero*. He founded the *Universal Review* in 1888 and ran it on his own until December 1890. H.E. Colenso and Fox Bourne published 'The Story of Dinuzulu' in the *Universal Review*.

RADEBE, Paul Bonsha Mthimkhulu (Radebe)

See entry under Paul.

REDMOND, W.H.K. (1861-1917)

The brother of John Redmond and a staunch Irish nationalist, he was three times imprisoned for agitation in Ireland. He was elected to the House of Commons as an Irish Nationalist, representing in turn Wexford, North Fermanagh, and East Clare, which last constituency he held for the rest of his life. He showed an interest in Zulu affairs in the British parliament on occasion. Since the British government had enacted a Home Rule Bill he followed his brother's lead in supporting Britain in the 1914-1918 war and was himself, although in his fifties, on active service. He commanded a company in the Royal Irish Regiment. He was killed in 1917 during an advance in one of the battles of the Somme.

REITZ, F.W. (1844-1934)

Trained as a lawyer in England he was admitted to the bar in England and the Cape Colony where he was a member of parliament briefly before becoming Chief Justice and the President of the Orange Free State (1899-1895). He was subsequently State Secretary of the South African Republic. After the South African War he was president of the senate of the Union of South Africa. A man of culture and learning, he was a committed Afrikaner and Republican.

RENAUD, Eugene (1870-1944)

A Mauritian by birth, he came to Natal in the 1880s and was a clerk in the firm of Campbell and Dumat in which capacity he had dealings with Harriette Colenso. He was subsequently admitted as a barrister at the Middle Temple. He was a member of the legal firm of Robinson, Renaud and Co. of Durban and, as Dinuzulu's defence lawyer, was closely associated with Harriette Colenso and W.P. Schreiner in the defence of Dinuzulu at Greytown.

RICHARD, Henry (1812-1888)

Secretary of the Peace Society (1850-1885) and MP for Merthyr borough 1868-1888, he was educated in Wales and at Highbury and was congregational minister to the Marlborough Chapel in Old Kent Road, until he gave up his ministry in 1850. He dedicated much of his life to the

cause of peace, working in association with Richard Cobden in organising international congresses, denouncing the Crimean War, and subsequently persuading the plenipotentiaries to insert a clause in favour of arbitration. He was devoted, too, to Welsh interests, whether the grievances of those responsible for the Rebecca riots or the plight of miners during a lock-out. He expressed the non-conformist standpoint in religious and educational matters and championed disestablishment. In 1873 he carried a resolution in favour of arbitration in the House of Commons. He was one of the recipients of Colenso's *Digest* sheets; but died in August 1888. The mantle of chief parliamentary spokesman for Welsh interests seems to have passed from H. Richard to Tom Ellis, and then to David Lloyd George.

RIGBY, Sir John (1834-1903)

Lawyer and politician, he was educated at Cambridge, and called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn. He took silk in 1880. He was probably the Rigby Q.C. who acted for Dinuzulu in the Privy Council appeal in July 1889; for, in his legal practice, Rigby concentrated on appeal cases before the Privy Council and the House of Lords. He was reputed to be at his best in a bad case. He was subsequently elected to the House of Commons in 1892 and in the same year was appointed Lord Justice of Appeal.

RIPON, First Marquess. George Frederick Samuel Robinson (1827-1909)

Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1892-1895. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1853, moving to the Lords when he succeeded his father as Earl of Ripon in 1859. A Roman Catholic, he nevertheless rose to prominence, holding cabinet rank under Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and W.E. Gladstone. He was created marquess in recognition of his work in settling American claims against Britain arising from the activities of privateers who had aided the South in the American Civil War. He was Viceroy of India (1880-84) where he encountered hostility from some of the English in India to the prospect of coming under the authority of Indian judges in the row over the Ilbert Bills. As Secretary of State he sanctioned the grant of Responsible government to Natal and the annexation of Pondoland to the Cape. His decision to return Dinuzulu to Zululand in January 1895 was aborted in the face of the hostility of the Natal government. He failed to control the activities of Rhodes and the Chartered Company north of the Limpopo. Ripon sanctioned the annexation of Bechuanaland south of the Molopa to the Cape and envisaged the possibility that the area of Bechuanaland to the north might be handed over to the Chartered Company. He was not prepared to condone proposals for an attack on the South African Republic comparable to the later Jameson Raid. He allowed the S.A.R. to establish a protectorate over Swaziland but blocked its access to the sea by annexing to the Crown the territories of Zambane and Mbegisa and declaring a protectorate over Tongoland. He was critical of the policies of Joseph Chamberlain while anxious to prevent the pro-Boers of the Liberal party from breaking with the Liberal imperialists. He served in the Cabinet under Campbell Bannerman but retired from office in 1908 when Asquith became Prime Minister.

ROBERTSON, Robert, Revd Uzimela - one who stands alone (d.1897)

A missionary of the Church of the Province of South Africa, Robertson, already at work as a missionary in Pietermaritzburg, he was ordained during Colenso's first visit to Natal. Colenso appointed him to work first in Umlazi (Mlalazi) and subsequently at kwaMagwaza. Robertson withdrew his allegiance from Colenso in 1864. His first wife died in 1864, his second a decade later. Robertson is probably remembered most frequently for his role in the missionary outcry against Cetshwayo and for the earlier censure he incurred from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for drunkenness and womanising. That said, his record is one of a lifetime of missionary labour. During the Anglo-Zulu War the buildings constructed at kwaMagwaza were destroyed, while Robertson served as military chaplain with the British forces. Subsequently Robertson worked at a station in southern Zululand (*viz.* the 'Reserve'). His last years were at a mission which he founded at Lebombo where he died in 1897 and was buried, perhaps symbolically, in his cassock and a Union Jack. It appears that he did not find it easy to win converts among the indigenous people and that the core of his followers often consisted of his own retainers and tenants.

ROBINSON, George Frederick (first marquess of Ripon)

See Ripon.

ROBINSON, Sir John (1839-1903)

Newspaper proprietor and first Prime Minister of Natal. In 1850 his family emigrated from Yorkshire to Natal where his father founded the *Natal Mercury* which soon passed into the control of John Robinson. He travelled overseas in 1861 and turned to public speaking and writing. He published *i.a.* a novel *George Linton or the First Years of an English Colony (Natal)*. He was elected to the Natal legislative council for Durban in 1863. In 1876 he attended the conference in London called by Carnarvon and was in London in 1887 for the colonial conference of that year. He was awarded a K.C.M.G. in 1889. In 1892 he and G.M. Sutton went to England to secure the grant of Responsible government. He encouraged railway development and the expansion of Natal's control northward, providing this was to the advantage of Natal and did not sour Natal's commercial relations with the South African Republic, which had its own ambitions in the area. He was out of sympathy with any idea of 'Zululand for the Zulus' and hostile to any special recognition for Dinuzulu. He was Prime Minister of Natal from October 1893 to March 1897 when he resigned because of ill health. During his retirement he travelled to Europe twice and published his autobiography.

RUDOLPH, Gerhardus Marthinus (1828-1906)

Voortrekker, civil servant, and judge. He came to Natal as a child with the Landman trek. Fluent in Zulu he worked as a clerk and interpreter in Natal and as landdrost at Utrecht in the S.A.R. in 1874 he negotiated with Cetshwayo. He remained a civil servant when the British annexed the Transvaal and was taken prisoner by the Boers during the first South African War. He was a member of the Natal Native Commission of 1881 and was employed by the British to negotiate with the filibusters of the New Republic. He was appointed a Special Commissioner for Zululand 1888-1889 and took part in the trial of the uSuthu. He was judge of the Native High Court in 1894.

RUSKIN, John (1819-1900)

Author, artist, social reformer. He studied at London and Oxford. He published voluminously, *i.a.* *Modern Painters* 1843-1860; *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849. He encouraged the Gothic revival and defended the pre-Raphaelites. He taught at Working Men's College, London, and published on the social issues of the day. After 1871 he lived at Brantwater, Coniston, where he died in 1900. He issued from there a monthly letter to the working men of England, *Fors Clavigera*. He was first Slade Professor of Art at Oxford. His 1872 lecture is often cited as an inspiration to ennobling imperial endeavour to members of his audience *i.a.* Cecil Rhodes. He taught at Winnington Hall in Yorkshire where the Colenso girls were pupils for a time. His marriage to Euphemia Gray was annulled after seven years. His relationship with the young Rosa la Touche has recently received attention. By the late 1880s his mind had given way.

RUSSELL, Francis Albert (Rollo) (1849-1914)

The third son of Lord John Russell and his widow (the dowager Lady Russell who invited Harriette to Richmond) and the uncle of Bertrand Russell, he was a Harrow and Oxford educated man of wide ranging interests. These are reflected in the topics on which he published; questions relating to meteorology and health feature prominently. He performed the filial duty of publishing Lord John Russell's early letters. He and his second wife, Gertrude, were good friends to Harriette during her years in Britain.

RUSSELL, Lady John (1815-1898)

The widow of Lord John Russell, she was a woman of very liberal theological views who showed spontaneous sympathy for the champions of struggling causes. She rejected claims to infallibility, whether of the Bible or of any church. Her home was Pembroke Lodge, an old fashioned house standing on a hill in Richmond Park, which at the time commanded views of the Thames and of the plains beyond. She was the grandmother of the philosopher Bertrand Russell who, being orphaned as an infant, was brought up at Pembroke Lodge. She received many and varied visitors at her home, among them Mr Voysey, the noted atheist and, in 1896, Armenian refugees. It is not surprising that Harriette, the daughter of Bishop Colenso and the champion of the Zulus,

should have been received at Pembroke Lodge, although as her grandson later recalled, Lady Russell's anti-imperialism had not precluded her making a social call on Bartle Frere.

SALMON, C.S.

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Committee.

SAMUELSON, Robert Charles Azariah 'Bhembedu' (1858-1934)

Natal attorney, Zulu linguist, and critic of Natal 'native' policy he was associated with the defence of Dinuzulu in 1888-89 when he was defence interpreter for a month, and in 1908 when he worked with E. Renaud and W.P. Schreiner. The son of a missionary, he spent his childhood at the mission stations of Umlazi (Mlalazi), kwaMagwaza, and St Paul's. He was educated at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and was appointed interpreter to Cetshwayo at Oude Moulén, a post he lost when letters he had sent to Lady Florence Dixie were published evidently in a garbled form. Official animus was aroused by criticisms of the appointment of H.C. Shepstone to accompany Cetshwayo to England. Samuelson became a lawyer in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. He visited Zululand twice in the 1880s: on the restoration of Cetshwayo and again early in 1886 when he drafted an appeal from Mnyamana for British intervention and protection. He was again in Eshowe to assist the defence 1888-89. He commanded the Driefontein Scouts in the South African War and resented the poor recognition accorded to them. He published the *White Man's Burden* in 1906. He believed that his criticisms of 'native' policy and his defence of Dinuzulu damaged his legal practice. Payment of his services as defence lawyer was tardy, and he importuned Harriette Colenso. He held an appointment as a labour agent but gave that up very quickly. During the First World War he was manager of the Union Native Choir which raised funds and entertained the prestigious. He published his reminiscences, entitled *Long Long Ago* in 1929.

SAMUELSON, Samuel Olaf 'Vumazonke' (1854-1913)

Son of the Norwegian missionary S.M. Samuelson and brother of R.C.A. Samuelson, he was born at Mapumulo, educated at Rondebosch and served in the Native Affairs department of Natal as interpreter and translator. He was registrar of the Supreme Court and of the Native High Court. He was interpreter to the Court of the Special Commissioners for Zululand in 1888-89, but withdrew because his sense of justice was outraged by the proceedings. He became Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in 1893 when Natal received Responsible government. He was a member of the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-05 and signed a minority report. He was a prominent Wesleyan.

SANDHURST, Lady (d.1906)

Presumably Lady Victoria Alexandrina Spencer, daughter of the fourth Earl Spencer K.G., who married William Mansfield Sandhurst in 1881. He had succeeded his father as Baron Sandhurst in 1876. In 1888 Lady Sandhurst was elected to the London County Council but the man she defeated secured a court ruling that declared her election invalid.

SAUNDERS, Sir Charles James Renault 'Mashiqele' (1857-1931)

During the 1880s he was Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Zululand: at Eshowe from 1888-90 and again, after a year at Ubombo, from 1891-95. A fluent Zulu-speaker he was entrusted with special missions: in 1887 to effect a treaty with Zambili, the regent for the Tonga people; in 1889 to demarcate the Tonga-Zulu boundary; in 1891 to the Swazi people; and in 1895 he was entrusted with the task of establishing British protection over the territories of Zambane, Mbegisa and Mdhlalaeni. As Resident Magistrate in Eshowe he conducted the preliminary enquiry against Zibhebhu after the conclusion of the proceedings of the Court of Special Commissioners for Zululand and found that Zibhebhu had no case to answer. In 1897 he was appointed to succeed Sir Marshal Clarke as head of the administration of Zululand with the title of Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner. He arranged a formal reconciliation between Dinuzulu and Zibhebhu. He served on the joint Imperial and Colonial Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission. Later he did not easily abandon his confidence in Dinuzulu's loyalty but resented the discovery that Dinuzulu had not been wholly frank with him. He was awarded a C.M.G. in 1895 and the K.C.M.G. in 1906.

SAUNDERS, James Renault (Nkosi bomvu) (1818-1892)

Natal politician and pioneer of the sugar industry in Natal. He came to Natal in 1854 and settled at Tongaat. He campaigned vigorously for the importation of Indian labour. From 1860 to 1867 he was a member of the Natal Legislative Council. He was critical of humanitarian attitudes. He opposed Responsible government because he distrusted the colonists' hostility to Indian immigration. He was a Church of England man but was not uncritical of Colenso with whom he conducted a vehement correspondence. His eldest son, Charles James Renault Saunders, became Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner in Zululand in 1897.

SCHIEL, Adolph (1958-1903)

Born in Germany he emigrated to Natal in 1878. After serving as an official in the South African Republic he joined the Boer 'allies' of the uSuthu in 1884 and with August Einwald tried to negotiate between the Zulu king eager for allies and German interests. He and Einwald re-appeared in Zululand in 1888. He was subsequently employed in a para-military capacity in the South African Republics. He was wounded at Elandslaagte in the South African War and interned at St Helena.

SCHREINER, Olive Emilie Albertina (1853-1920)

Famous in her own day, Olive Schreiner was a literary and political figure and a pioneer feminist. She shared some of the values of Harriette Colenso. She opposed injustice to Boers and to black people and became very anti-Rhodes. Having published *The Story of an African Farm* under the pseudonym Ralph Iron in 1882, Olive Schreiner was already a well-known literary figure in 1889. In England she was drawn into the circle of Havelock Ellis who explored and wrote about relations between men and women which were then regarded as unconventional. Olive Schreiner married Samuel Cronwright in 1894. He took her name, and for a time husband and wife shared the same political outlook and the same political platforms. They drifted apart after about 1913. Olive Schreiner published numerous works of fiction and political comment. In England during the 1890s Harriette was in touch with Olive Schreiner and admired the book *Trooper Peter Halket*. But the two women were very different in temperament. Harriette's dedicated single-mindedness made her a very different character from the restless, emotional, and - to a degree - self-centred personality of Olive Schreiner.

SCHWANN, Sir Charles Ernest (1844-1929)

He changed his name to Swann by royal licence in 1913. Liberal MP for North Manchester (1886-1918) he was created a baronet in July 1906 and member of the Privy Council in 1911. Harriette Colenso consulted him while she was in London and in 1900 he was a vice-president of the A.P.S. His wife, Elizabeth (née Duncan), collected funds and lobbied for Harriette Colenso and Dinuzulu in the early 20th century. She died in April 1914.

SELBORNE William Waldegrave Palmer, second Earl Selborne (1859-1942)

Parliamentary Under-Secretary to Joseph Chamberlain and spokesman for the Colonial Office in the House of Lords, 1895-1900, he was subsequently High Commissioner in South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (1904-10). He was the fifth son of the eminent jurist Roundell Palmer. Educated at Winchester and Oxford he married a daughter of Lord Salisbury. He entered parliament as a Liberal but broke with Gladstone over Home Rule for Ireland and became a Liberal Unionist. On the death of his father, when he became Earl Selborne, he tried unsuccessfully to contest the rule that he was no longer eligible for membership of the House of Commons. In 1900 he left the Colonial Office to become First Lord of the Admiralty. As High Commissioner in South Africa he was not always at ease with the Liberal Secretary of State in Britain but he played a crucial role in promoting the union of the four colonies through, for example, the publication of the Selborne Memorandum in 1907. After leaving South Africa he opposed the Parliament Act of 1911 but favoured reform of the House of Lords. He served as a cabinet minister during the First World War but resigned in 1916 over the Irish policy of the government. In later years he was interested in the affairs of India, the promotion of women's suffrage, agricultural productivity and the affairs of Hampshire. A keen churchman, he had a prominent role in the Anglican Church in regard to questions of administration and of Church/State relations.

SHAEN, A.

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Committee. His father, William, friend of Bishop Colenso (and of Frank) died in 1887.

SHAW, Flora (1852-1929)

Born at her grandfather's home in Ireland, the daughter of a military man, she spent her early years at Woolwich, London, where she cared for the younger members of her family, was appalled by the lot of London's East Enders, and enjoyed the friendship of Ruskin. An introduction to W.T. Stead opened for her the possibility of a career in journalism through describing distant places. A visit to Gibraltar resulted in her writing about the position of Zebehr Pasha who was held in exile there. He was subsequently released. She wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and for the *Manchester Guardian*. She met Moberly Bell, correspondent for *The Times* in Egypt and, after his appointment as assistant manager of *The Times*, she began to write fortnightly articles for *The Times*. She travelled to South Africa and to Australia in 1892-93 and consulted leading personalities, including Sir Marshal Clarke then in Basutoland. She published *Letters from South Africa*. She became a friend of Cecil Rhodes and a constant visitor at the Colonial Office. She seems to have had more knowledge than she should of the Jameson plan/Raid but gave little away when she was called to give evidence before the committee to enquire into the Raid. She visited South Africa again in December 1901. She reviewed Frederick Lugard's book *Our East African Empire* in 1892 and subsequently married him. She was a convinced imperialist who believed, like Rhodes, that the expansion of the British empire would solve the social distress which she had witnessed in the East End of London. She maintained that the good sense of the white settlers in South Africa would protect its black people from injustice. She was awarded the D.B.E. in 1918.

SHEPSTONE, Arthur Jesse 'Mangu kaSomtseu' (1852-1912)

Natal civil servant and judge, fifth son of Theophilus whom he accompanied to Basutoland in 1865. He went to Kimberley in an unsuccessful pursuit of riches. He served in the Langalibalele campaign and escorted the condemned Hlubi chief to Robben Island. He returned to the task of placing the Hlubi and Putini in other areas of the Drakensburg. He had a spell as a labour agent. He accompanied his father to the 'restoration' of Cetshwayo in 1883. In 1887-88 he was magistrate at Lower Mfolozi until succeeded by A.L. Pretorius. He served in the suppression of the 'rebellion' in 1888 and was appointed subsequently magistrate of Nkandla (1891) and Entonjaneni (1894). In the South African War his duties were to maintain liaison with black chiefs. He served subsequently as magistrate of Vryheid. He was awarded a C.M.G. in 1902. He was appointed Secretary of Native Affairs in 1909.

SHEPSTONE, Theophilus 'Somtseu' (1817-1893)

Colonial civil servant and Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal (1856-1873), previously diplomatic agent. He was the son of a Wesleyan missionary and 1820 settler. His skill in the Xhosa language led to his securing government posts in the eastern Cape: as interpreter to D'Urban 1834; as assistant to Ayliff in the now controversial 'rescue' of Mfengu from Hintsa; as interpreter to Major Charteris in the expedition to Natal; and as a Resident Agent to the Mfengu. Escaping assassination, he moved to Natal where he was the pivot of 'native' policy, responsible for the settlement of many of the black people in the locations that were a feature of Natal's policy. He was ambitious for the expansion of Natal. His proposal to found a black settlement to the south of Natal, which he would control, was applauded by Colenso at the time but blocked by Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. Shepstone urged respect for 'native' customs and elasticity in administration. For this reason he was opposed to the codification of 'native laws'. He had a crucial but difficult role. There was bitter contention with Governor Pine in the 1850s, while he was much criticised by the colonists in the 1860s. In the 1870s Colenso, a former close friend, found Shepstone's connivance at wrongdoing over Langalibalele intolerable, and the friendship shattered. Shepstone was knighted in 1876 and commissioned by Carnarvon to annex the Transvaal, which he did in 1877. That action brought condemnation from the Boers, while Shepstone was also criticised by his imperial superiors for his administration of the Transvaal. He effected the 'mock coronation' of Cetshwayo in 1873. He may have exploited the

Zulu animus against the Boers in effecting the annexation of the Transvaal, but his support of Boer land claims in the disputed territory appalled Cetshwayo and the Colensos. He commanded much influence even out of office. He opposed the grant of Responsible government to Natal. He supported Colenso in the disputes of the 1860s and remained a Church of England man even after the breach of 1873. He was one of the Curators of the Church of England properties. Shortly before his death he had a key role in trying to secure as bishop in Natal a man whom both the Church of the Province of South Africa supporters and the adherents of the Church of England would support. There is controversy about the meaning of his Xhosa name 'Somtseu'. He apparently claimed that it meant the 'great father'. It is usually rendered as 'great hunter' but may have been applied mockingly.

SHEPSTONE, Theophilus 'Offy' (1843-1907)

Natal lawyer, politician, farmer, and adviser to the Swazi king. His wife Helen, née Bisset was a close friend of Frances Ellen Colenso. A devout Anglican he qualified as a lawyer. He was a member of the Natal legislative council (1875-87) where he supported the moves for Responsible government. He was Officer Commanding the Natal Carbineers (1872-80) and was awarded a C.M.G. in 1880. Accused by Frances Ellen Colenso and her associate, Colonel Luard, of having removed papers from the body of A.W. Durnford on the Isandlwana battlefield, he demanded an enquiry in Pietermaritzburg. The Colensos criticised the procedure adopted at this enquiry which vindicated Offy. In the following year he left Natal to become adviser to the Swazi king Mbandzeni. Recent research indicates that in a context of concession-grabbing and white pressure for land, Offy's role was at best questionable. Subsequently he farmed unsuccessfully in the Transvaal.

SHEPSTONE, Henric Charles 'Gebhuza' (1840-1917)

Natal civil servant, Secretary for Native Affairs, 1884-93. He served as Indian immigration agent and twice visited India. He was a magistrate at Harding and Durban. He accompanied his father (Theophilus) to Zululand in 1873 and to the Transvaal in 1877 where he was, briefly, Secretary for Native Affairs. He commanded the Edendale contingent in the South African war. He served as S.N.A. for nine years, leaving when Responsible government was instituted. He was awarded a C.M.G. in 1895. In the sequel to the Bambatha rebellion he was one of the three judges appointed to the court to try Dinuzulu.

SHEPSTONE, John Wesley 'Misjan' (1827-1916)

Natal civil servant and judge of the Native High Court, he was a younger brother of Theophilus, with whom he was closely associated in 'native administration'. He was diplomatic agent with Mpande (Zulu) in 1847 and later with Faku (Mpondo). He was Zulu border agent at Stanger. In 1857 he tried to lure Matyana into a trap but a *mêlée* ensued in which Shepstone fired a shot and some of Matyana's followers were killed. Colenso was convinced that the memory of the incident explained Langalibalele's reluctance to obey government summons, and secured a public enquiry in 1875. This was conducted by General Colley who found that, while a shot had been fired, it had not been fired at Matyana. J.W. Shepstone held office as Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1884 and was judge of the Native High Court, 1884-95. He was a member of the Transvaal/Zululand border commission of 1878 as a colleague of Durnford and Gallwey. His actions in the area of the 'Reserve' (i.e. southern Zululand) incurred the wrath of the Colensos who believed that he was intimidating the followers of Cetshwayo. In the ensuing court case the findings favoured J.W. Shepstone, but the Colensos maintained that the issue was not tried on its merits. He received a C.M.G. in 1888 but no further honour, a circumstance which suggests that the Colenso criticism of him had some effect.

SHINGANA kaMpande (c.1840-1911)

A half-brother of Cetshwayo, he took a leading role in the affairs of the uSuthu after 1879. He was prominent among the uSuthu adherents who came to Pietermaritzburg to petition for the restoration of Cetshwayo in protest against the situation in which they were placed in Zululand and was subsequently in touch with Bishopstowe. After Cetshwayo's death he was one of the royal brothers who took charge of Dinuzulu and sought to guide the fortunes of the uSuthu. He accompanied Ndabuko to Pietermaritzburg in 1886 to plead for help against the land-hungry

filibusters whose demands for land far exceeded what the uSuthu leaders had expected to pay. Shingana was hard hit by the partition of October 1886 because the district where his people lived was placed within the New Republic. He was driven out and his *imizi* were burnt. He therefore moved to the Hlophekhulu area. His attitude to the British authorities immediately after annexation was less intransigent than that of Ndabuko and Dinuzulu. He attended the flag hoisting at Nkonjeni on 7 July 1888 and accepted a stipend from the British authorities. When confrontation between Ndabuko and Dinuzulu on the one hand, and Zibhebhu and the British on the other, became more and more explicit, Shingana gathered supporters at Hlophekhulu and prepared for conflict. The battle of Hlophekhulu was fiercely contested, but the uSuthu were routed. Shingana then joined Dinuzulu in territory that had become part of the South African Republic. Returning to his old area of the emaKhosini he raised more companies, gathered a following which seemed to be a preparation for further conflict. When, after Ceza, Dinuzulu opted to leave the South African Republic for Natal to avoid internment at Lydenburg, Shingana returned to the Hlophekhulu region. He was apprehended and taken to Eshowe. At the Court of the Special Commissioners for Zululand the fact that he had received a stipend from the British authorities counted against him, and he was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. He shared the exile at St Helena. After the Exiles' return he did not again play a leading role in the affairs of the Zulu people but, in 1906, in the context of the stresses of the 'rebellion', he was deposed and exiled to an area in the vicinity of Isipingo/Amanzimtoti. He died there in 1911. Harriette Colenso made representations on behalf of his family to the new Union Government. Shingana was one of James Stuart's informants about Zulu history.

SIBISI, Moscs (fl. ±1900, he died in the 1920s)

He was the 'native' catechist at St Mary's ('native') church at the corner of Commercial Road and Burger Street where the Colensos worshipped from about 1895 when St Peter's congregation opted to accept the authority of Bishop Baynes. St Mary's was the first Anglican 'native' church to be built in Pietermaritzburg, on its original site in Longmarket Street. The building was re-erected on its present site (corner of Commercial Road and Burger Street) in the early 1880s. It remained outside the Church of the Province of South Africa when the Church Properties Act was passed in 1910. Harriette's attempt to secure a pension for Sibisi in 1913 failed, although the case went to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein. Sibisi visited congregations outside Pietermaritzburg, for example at Umlazi and Greytown. He was ordained as a presbyter in the United Free Church of Scotland at St Mary's in 1920 and was evidently recognised as a marriage officer because he officiated at his son's wedding in 1925. He died after a bicycle accident, the Colenso sisters at his side.

SIGANANDA kaZokufa (d.1906)

A mat-carrier in the days of Shaka, Sigananda became chief of the Cube in the Nkandla in the reign of Mpande. He seems to have avoided involvement in the Anglo-Zulu War but gave Cetshwayo refuge in the Nkandla in 1883 and became responsible for the care of Cetshwayo's grave. He was detained by the officials during the 1888 disturbances. He and his people were caught up in the rebelliousness of 1906.

SIKIZANE kaNomageje (fl.1880)

Clearly a warrior leader, he commanded an uSuthu contingent in the conflict with Mbuyazi in 1856 at Ndondakasuka, and the iNgomakhosi at the battle of Isandlwana. In the civil war of the 1880s he became a supporter of Zibhebhu and after the Mandlakazi defeat of 1884 he was driven north of the Phongola. He returned to the Ndwandwe in support Zibhebhu in 1888 and evidently remained in the area as Zibhebhu's representative, while Zibhebhu himself was obliged to remain in the vicinity of Eshowe.

SIZIBA kaDlozolo (fl. c.1885)

A uSuthu adherent who in November 1887 was flogged by R.H. Addison as one of the suspects in a supposed murder case. A year later, when Siziba was at Eshowe, some of his followers were flogged on the orders of L. Tyrrell, the Acting Magistrate at Ndwandwe. There are frequent references to a 'Siziba' who is presumably the same man; he was a messenger for the uSuthu in 1882 to complain of intimidation in southern Zululand; in 1885 he reported to Harriette the

activities of Adolph Schiel; in 1886 he reported the death of Dabulamanzi; in 1887 he complained of the loss of land. In 1888-89 he was one of the uSuthu headmen in consultation with Escombe at Eshowe.

SMYTH, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Augustus (1825-1906)

He served in the Royal Artillery. A veteran of the Crimean War, he saw service in South Africa in the early 1880s. He commanded the Woolwich garrison from 1882-86 and then became Officer Commanding the troops in South Africa. He commanded the forces which were sent from the Cape to Natal to crush the 'rebellion' of the uSuthu. He was Acting Governor of the Cape Colony between the appointments of Robinson and Loch. He was awarded a C.M.G. in 1889 and a K.C.M.G. in 1890 when he was appointed Governor of Malta.

SOKWETSHATHA, kaMlandela (Myandeya) kaBiya kaTshangana (fl. c.1880)

Sokwetshatha was linked to the house of Senzangakhona through his mother, Nomqoto, a half-sister of Shaka and full sister of Siqujana. Shaka reportedly killed Siqujana. Sokwetshatha and Zibhebhu both belonged to the Mxapo *ibutho* and they became allies. Like Zibhebhu, Myandeya (father of Sokwetshatha) was one of Wolseley's thirteen appointed chiefs. Myandeya's position was challenged by the 'pretender', Sitimela, who claimed to be the heir to Dingiswayo, but Sitimela was worsted by Osborn and John Dunn. In the following years Sokwetshatha's fortunes meshed with those of Zibhebhu. He opposed the restoration of Cetshwayo and, after Cetshwayo's return, left the Lower Mfolozi area to take refuge in a portion of John Dunn's territory in the Reserve. Like Zibhebhu he was authorised by Havelock at the end of 1887 to return to lands previously occupied (or claimed) from where uSuthu who disputed his claims were expected to remove. When attacked by the uSuthu, Sokwetshatha took refuge at the magistracy of the Lower Mfolozi where A.L. Pretorius was stationed. A desultory uSuthu attack was made against Sokwetshatha in the vicinity of the magistracy. In the sequel the forces under Major McKean, troops and 'native allies', pacified the region. In 1900 an informant of James Stuart listed Sokwetshatha as chief of the Mthethwa.

SOMHLOLO kaMvundhlane (fl. c.1880)

Heir to the chieftaincy of the Biyela people in succession to Mkhosana, who was killed at Isandlwana, Somhlolo was ousted from the succession when Wolseley appointed Mgitshwa, a relative of Somhlolo, to be one of the appointed chiefs. Mgitshwa supported Zibhebhu, while Somhlolo was a uSuthu supporter. Evidence at Somhlolo's trial suggests that he and a portion of the Biyela people were intimidated into joining Shingana at Hlophekhulu by 'fear of the Dutchmen'. His was the first trial before the Court of Special Commissioners, and he was not legally represented. He was convicted of high treason, rebellion, and public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Magema kaMagwaza Fuze believed that Somhlolo's downfall was instigated by Mgitshwa in concert with Osborn. Harriette was critical of the way Somhlolo conducted his defence, and Escombe argued that the conviction of Somhlolo prejudiced the later trials of uSuthu leaders and he condemned the admission of hearsay evidence. In the early 1890s Harriette was informed that Somhlolo had been fined, but released. The fine was later reduced.

SOMKHELE kaMayanda kaVelane (c.1839-c.1907)

The grandson of an *induna* of Dingiswayo who had been allotted land by Shaka, Somkhele was also the nephew of Mpande. He occupied land that had been assigned by Shaka to Mayanda, an *isikhulu* of the king. Somkhele was chief of the Mkwawasi section of the Mphukunyoni people. He submitted timeously to the British in 1879 and was one of the thirteen appointed chiefs chosen by Wolseley. He supported Sitimela in his claims to be the heir to Dingiswayo and was savagely defeated by John Dunn in 1881. There was enmity between Zibhebhu and Somkhele to whom the uSuthu adherents at the royal *umuzi*, ekuBazeni, looked for leadership. In 1883 he and his people scattered into the Dukuduku forests south of lake St Lucia seeking refuge from Zibhebhu, but, in the following year his forces participated in the uSuthu triumph over the Mandlakazi at Tshaneni. Somkhele had cause to resent the return of Sokwetshatha in 1887, and in January 1888 officials heard rumours that he was contemplating an attack on Sokwetshatha. A few months later Zibhebhu, after he had attacked and murdered Msutshwana, sent threatening messages to

Somkhele who took refuge again. He was involved in the attack on Sokwetshatha in the vicinity of the magistracy, for which he and his headmen were fined 1800 cattle. They were also arraigned and convicted before the Court of Special Commissioners and sentenced to five years imprisonment. The uSuthu defence contended that this amounted to double punishments as their offence had already been dealt with by Pretorius. The fines imposed by Pretorius were formally quashed in April 1889. Whether the cattle were returned seems doubtful. In 1890 Harriette was informed from Pietermaritzburg that Somkhele had been released but fined, and in the following year she was told that the fines had been reduced. It seems very possible that a cloak of legality was thrown over cattle raiding. At the time of his death he was once more a chief in the Hlabisa district.

SOMOPHO kaSikhali (fl. 1880)

Chief of a section of the Thembu people he was in charge of the emaNgweni *ikhanda* (established by Mpande in the south-east of the kingdom and Cetshwayo's early home) and in command at the battle of Gingindlovu. He had a role in the expulsion of Sokwetshatha in 1884. In 1887, after the return of Sokwetshatha, Arthur Shepstone led an attack on Bhejana and Somopho who were captured, arraigned, and, on conviction for contempt of court, sentenced to three months' hard labour. In 1888 Bhejana and Somopho were worsted by a combined operation of McKean and Carrington but escaped to be captured only in 1890.

STABB, Col Henry Sparke (1835-1888)

He commanded the British forces in Natal from 1886 to his death from a heart attack on 10 October 1888. While serving in South Africa in the 1870s he travelled north to the Victoria Falls and the land of the Ndebele. He saw active service in the Anglo-Zulu War. Subsequently he commanded the force sent to erect a memorial at the site where the Prince Imperial was killed. He spent several years in Britain before returning to Natal in 1886.

STANLEY, Henry Morton (1841-1904)

Explorer, journalist, and publicist, he was at the height of his fame while Harriette campaigned for the Zulus in the 1890s. He accompanied Sir Robert Napier's expedition to Abyssinia. Acting for the *New York Herald*, he 'found' Livingstone in 1871. He accompanied Wolseley to Ashanti. He led an expedition to equatorial Africa 1874-77. He explored in the Congo regions under the auspices of Leopold II's International Association. In 1887 he led the controversial Emin Pasha relief expedition which helped lay the foundations of Britain's East African sphere of influence but which stirred much hostile public opinion. In 1890 he published *In Darkest Africa* which was widely read. In 1892 he failed to secure election in north London where Harriette supported his rival candidate. He was successful in 1895 and was an MP from 1895-1900. He visited South Africa in 1897 as a guest of the British South Africa Company, and published *Through South Africa*.

STATHAM, Francis Reginald (1844-1908)

Journalist, author, poet, and composer, Statham alternated between Britain and South Africa. As a young man he embezzled money from a Liverpool cotton-broking firm and was imprisoned. He published collections of poems. He was interested in liberal Christianity and was a lay preacher in Edinburgh. He was assistant editor to a Liverpool newspaper, but came to Pietermaritzburg to edit the *Natal Witness*, 1877-79. He was editor of the short-lived *Cape Post* until 1880 when he went to Britain. He published *Blacks, Boers and Britons: a Three-Cornered Problem* in 1881. He returned to Natal as special correspondent of the *Daily News* and editor of the *Natal Witness*. At a time when he backed the Colensos and criticised the Shepstones, he was denounced in the House of Commons as an unreliable correspondent. He resigned the editorship of the *Natal Witness* in 1887. After a short spell in Britain he returned to Natal to edit the *Natal Advertiser*. Strongly anti-imperialist, he became editor of the short-lived *Transvaal Observer* and gave up his post with the Rhodes-controlled *Independent* at Kimberley in 1893 to be a freelance journalist until July 1895 when he returned to Britain as the press *attaché* of the South African Republic. The books published in the period were hostile to Rhodes and critical of British policy towards the Boers: *Mr Magnus* (1896); *South Africa As It Is* (1897); *Paul Kruger and His Times* (1899) and *My Life's Record* (1901). After the outbreak of the South African War he tried to become

professor of music and devoted himself to musical composition and publication. He wrote and published the *Natal Anthem* in 1886, and later an anthem for the Cape Colony. He published a collection of the national songs of South Africa. He died in England. At times criticism of British policy drew him into association with the Colensos but, in comparison to them, he was rather more concerned about justice to the Boers and less concerned about justice to the Zulus.

STEAD, W.T. (1849-1912)

English journalist who, as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, attacked the white slave trade in a series of articles on 'The Maden Tribute of Modern Babylon'. He was imprisoned for three months as a result. He founded the *Review of Reviews* in 1890. An admirer of Cecil Rhodes, he attacked Joseph Chamberlain on the Jameson Raid. Although he had been an ardent imperialist, he was a prominent pro-Boer during the South African War. He was interested in spiritualism in later years. He went down with the *Titanic* in 1912.

STUART, James (1868-1942)

A Zulu linguist and Natal civil servant, he was on the staff of the Resident Commissioner at Eshowe for a time. He went to London with the Swazi delegation in 1894 and was British representative in Swaziland for a few months before being appointed resident magistrate and civil commissioner in Ingwavuma in Zululand in 1895. He held a succession of magisterial posts ending as Assistant Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in 1909. He represented Natal at the orthography conference. He served in the suppression of the rebellion in 1906 and was with the forces that arrested Dinuzulu in 1907. Harriette did not forgive him the destruction of the oSuthu *umuzi*. He wrote the official history of the suppression of the Rebellion. His interest in the Zulu people was immense, and his records of conversations with Zulu informants are now published in the volumes of the *James Stuart Archive*. While in retirement in Britain he worked on the Fynn papers but the *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* was published posthumously.

SUTTON, George Morris (1834-1913)

A Natal Midlands farmer and politician who served in the legislature and on the executive of Natal. He supported the Responsible government cause vigorously and accompanied John Robinson to Britain in 1892. As 'Agricola' in the Natal press he commented on agricultural questions in Natal. As a politician one of his main pre-occupations was the question of the labour needs of the colony.

SWANWICK, Anna (1813-1899)

A woman of independent means and high intellectual interests she was a pioneer of women's education and sought to promote education among working men. Harriette and Agnes Colenso attended some of the gatherings which she hosted.

TATHAM, Frederick Spence (1865-1934)

Natal lawyer and subsequently judge of the Supreme Court. He was the lawyer for the Church of the Province of South Africa and one of the founders of Michaelhouse in Natal. He served in the South African War and in the First World War. He was elected to the Natal Legislative Assembly in 1893, where he was noted for his reluctance to agree to Indian immigration into Natal.

TEMPLE, Helena B.

See entry under Muller.

TOOLEY, S.A. (d.1946)

A prolific journalist and writer, she was educated at University College, studying literature under Professor Henry Morley. She wrote biographies of eminent women *i.a.* Harriette Beecher Stowe, Florence Nightingale, and members of the royal family. She wrote *The History of Nursing in the British Empire* and *The Story of the Red Cross*. She held executive office in the Society of Women Journalists. She interviewed Harriette for *The Humanitarian*.

TREVOR, John (1855-1930)

Religious leader and ardent advocate of social reform, he was assistant to P.H. Wicksteed at Little Portland Street before moving to Manchester in 1890 to be the minister to the Unitarians of the Upper Brooke Street chapel. In the 1890s he was the founder and moving spirit of the Labour Church movement which established churches in various parts of the United Kingdom. By 1900

the movement had lost momentum.

TSHWAYIBE - See entry for Nkhowana.

Harriette protested *i.a.* that it was illegal for him to be detained in Durban. By early 1894 she knew that he had been released.

TWAISA, Mabaso (fl.1895)

The headman at Bishopstowe he was used by Harriette as a confidential messenger to Zululand in the 1880s when he accompanied Mubi and attended the trials at Eshowe. He received an income from the Curators of Church of England properties.

TYRRELL, L. (fl.1890)

A colleague of R.H. Addison in the Stanger Mounted Rifles during the Anglo-Zulu War he was subsequently appointed Border Customs Officer at Rorke's Drift. He knew both Dutch and Zulu and served as temporary resident magistrate and assistant commissioner at both Nqutu (where he relieved Major McKean who was called to military duty) and at Ndwandwe (where he relieved Addison who was required to attend the trials at Eshowe). He was ordered to investigate the conduct of Zibhebhu and to take him into custody. He delayed proceedings against Zibhebhu and acted harshly against the uSuthu. He arrested four *izinduna* for rebuilding their *imizi* west of the Ivuna where he claimed they were forbidden to rebuild. Floggings were inflicted on three of these men, while a fourth, Siziba kaDlozha, escaped because he was at Eshowe. Somewhat later a Tyrrell was in government service at Eshowe.

UNWIN, T.E. Fisher (1848-1935)

Regarded as a successful publisher in his own day, although his business was reputed by his nephew to have been in decline, T.E. Fisher Unwin, the husband of Jane Cobden-Unwin, had impressive offices in Adelphi Terrace in the 1890s. He published a number of women writers, including Olive Schreiner and Alice Werner, and could claim to have 'discovered' Joseph Conrad and Somerset Maugham. One of the series that he ran was *The Story of the Nations* which reached more than seventy titles. Harriette was in touch with him about the possible publication of Jorissen's memoirs. (See entry under Cobden-Unwin)

WALKER, J. Douglas

He was a member of the Zulu Defence Fund Committee.

WATSON, Robert Spence (1837-1911)

A prominent Liberal who concerned himself with the grass roots organisation of the Liberal party and with educational matters. He founded the Liberal Association in Newcastle in 1880 and he was president of the National Liberal Federation 1890-1902. He was a member of the first Newcastle school board (1874-94) and promoted education in science in Durham. He supported liberal reform in Russia, the Indian national movement and the peace movement. Harriette was in touch with him and in communication with his wife.

WEBB, Alfred John (1834-1908)

Irish biographer and politician, he was born and educated as a Quaker. His father was strongly committed to social reform and anti-slavery. Alfred started a fund to alleviate the sufferings of the Irish famine. He spent some time in Australia as a young man, working his way back to Ireland on a sailing vessel. On return he became manager, then owner, of his father's printing business. He supported Isaac Butt in advocating Home Rule and for a time was a follower of Parnell but broke with him and represented West Waterford as an anti-Parnellite MP 1890-1895. He travelled extensively. He frequently visited India, where he became president of the Indian National Congress in 1898. In 1877 he published *A Compendium of Irish Biography*. He published other books and a number of articles.

WELBY, The Right Revd Thomas Earle, M.A. D.D. (fl.1880)

He was consecrated Bishop of St Helena on Ascension day 1862 by Archbishop Longley of York, officiating with Bishop Tait (of London) and Bishop Wilberforce (of Oxford) among a goodly episcopal throng. He had formerly been rector of a church in Canada and at Newton in Lincolnshire. He had also been Archdeacon of George in the Cape. He was in St Helena at the time of the sojourn there of the Zulu Exiles.

WERNER, Alice (1859-1935)

A gifted scholar, linguist, and writer, Alice Werner was a member of an intellectually distinguished family who, after meeting Harriette Colenso in Britain, made Africa the focus of her intellectual concerns. She attended Newnham, where she was Goldsmith's Scholar from 1878-80. When uncertain of the direction of her life, she was briefly a missionary at Blantyre and visited the Misses Colenso at Bishopstowe. On her return to England she contributed to the *Review of Reviews*, the *Speaker*, and the *Athenaeum*. At the turn of the century she gave private classes in Afrikaans and in the languages of the black people of Africa. These classes were subsequently recognised by King's College and by the University of London. She was awarded the Mary Ewart Travelling Fellowship from Newnham (1911-1913) and travelled in East Africa. Returning to Britain, she was a Fellow of Newnham before being appointed lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies. In due course she became Reader and then the first Professor of African Languages at the University of London. She received many honours: C.B.E. in 1921, D.Litt. of the University of London and the silver medal of the Africa Institute. Her publications were numerous. They included works of fiction as well as major contributions to scholarship both in the translation into English of the work of other scholars and her own original works. Among the latter were *The Language Families of Africa* (1916) and *Myths and Legends of the Bantu* (1925). Her sister, Mary, was a loyal and loving supporter who survived her sister. Both Werner sisters had an important role in collecting together Colenso material which was entrusted to Killie Campbell of Durban in Natal. It is noteworthy that Alice Werner's publications before she met Harriette showed little interest in Africa. Her early publications included a book of poems and the translation of a *Life of Garibaldi*.

WESTLAKE, John (1828-1913)

International jurist and Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge (1888-1908). A Cornishman by birth he was educated at Trinity College Cambridge where he was a Fellow from 1851-60. He pioneered the study of international law, publishing a treatise on private international law in 1858 (and again in 1880) and subsequently on public international law. He was a member of the Hague International Court of Arbitration, 1900-06. He founded the *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée* in 1869 and the *Institut de Droit International* in 1873. With F.D. Maurice he founded the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street. He supported the enfranchisement of women and the aspirations of Balkan nationalities. He was a Liberal MP in 1885 but he broke with his party on the Irish issues and was not subsequently re-elected. It seems he was a pupil in John Colenso's house at Harrow and was later Colenso's legal representative speaking for him in the Privy Council. He wrote in defence of Langalibalele 'The Kafir revolt of 1873' in the *Fortnightly Review* and in May 1879 he was one of the signatories of the letter of protest against the Anglo-Zulu war which the A.P.S. addressed to Sir Michael Hicks Beach. He was consulted by Harriette during her visit to England, but his standpoint was that the issues of the rights of uncivilised races lay outside the sphere of international law. His wife, Alice, was a member of the London School Board, prior to her removal to Cambridge following her husband's appointment to the Chair of International Law in 1888.

WICKSTEED, P.H., Revd (1844-1927)

Like his father who ministered at Toxteth Park, Liverpool, a key centre of Unitarianism, P.H. Wicksteed was a prominent Unitarian who studied at Manchester when Unitarianism was extremely strong there. He was in charge of the Little Portland Street Chapel until 1897. He empathised with Colenso's Biblical criticism and was introduced to the works of the Dutch scholar, Kuenen, through a translation of Kuenen made by Colenso. He sought to stir public opinion in Britain on behalf of the Armenians in 1897. This was a campaign with which Harriette had only limited sympathy because she thought it deflected criticism from the injustices in Britain's record. A tribute and obituary on Colenso by Wicksteed was published in the *Modern Review* in 1883 and in the early twentieth century he supported the efforts of Lady Schwann to raise funds to help Harriette meet the costs of the defence of Dinuzulu.

WILKINSON, Thomas Edward (1837-1914)

Bishop and author, he was educated at Cambridge and became Church of the Province of South

Africa Bishop of Zululand 1870-75. He lacked both knowledge of the Zulu language and the goodwill of Cetshwayo, but he was an enthusiastic churchman who collected funds to support the work of the church, both before and after his period as bishop. kwaMagwaza was his base while in Zululand. Subsequently he lived in Devonshire, Cornwall, and London (where he was Bishop Coadjutor of London for north and central Europe) before retiring to Taunton in Somerset. He published a number of works including *Zulu Hymnal*, 1874. He edited his wife's journal which appeared as *A Lady's Life in Zululand and the Transvaal*, London, 1882.

WILSON, Sir Henry Francis (1859-1937)

He was the son of the Revd W.G. Wilson, the rector of Fornsett St Peter's, Norfolk, who knew the Colensos personally. Educated at Rugby and Cambridge, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn. He had a distinguished career in the colonial service and in the years 1895-1897 was private secretary to Joseph Chamberlain. He was subsequently legal assistant to the Colonial Office. During the period 1900 to 1907 he served in South Africa and became colonial secretary to the Orange River Colony, sometimes acting as Governor, and representing the colony at inter-colonial conferences. He was subsequently chairman of companies and was the secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute and editor of its journal *United Empire*. He received a number of awards: 1902 C.M.G., 1908 K.C.M.G., 1919 K.B.E.

WINDHAM, W.

He served in the Natal Native Affairs Department and was Under-Secretary for Zululand in the 1890s.

WINGFIELD, Edward

A clerk in the Colonial Office he became the most senior Assistant Under-Secretary on 1 March 1897.

WOLSELEY, Sir Garnet (1833-1913)

The Victorian military hero *par excellence* after his exploits in the Red river campaign and in the Ashanti War, Sir Garnet held a special commission as administrator of Natal in 1875, to return as Governor and Special Commissioner for South East Africa 1879-1880. The Colensos roundly denounced the 'Wolseley settlement' in Zululand and incurred the animus and contempt of the peppery soldier. Wolseley subsequently served in Egypt and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British army in 1895.

WRAGG, Sir Walter Thomas (1842-1913)

Judge and colonial civil servant. Educated at Oxford, he was called to the Bar in 1879. He became a district judge 1872-83. He was appointed a puisne judge in Natal in 1883. He headed a commission to investigate Indian immigration into Natal, 1885-87. He was President of the Court of the Special Commissioners for Zululand, 1888-89. He was knighted in 1891 for his services in that capacity. In 1892 he decided on the crucial election petitions from Weenen and Newcastle. He received an honorary doctorate from Oxford in 1894. He was Acting Chief Justice of Natal, 1897-1898. He left Natal in 1898 to settle in the Isle of Man and subsequently at Bedford.

XIBILILI (or Zixibilili) kaSomkhele (c.1870-c.1893)

He was the eldest son of chief Somkhele of the Mphukunyoni people in the Lower Mfolozi district and was in charge of his father's Falaza regiment. He had taken young men to visit Dinuzulu and had been fined by Arthur Shepstone, the magistrate. One of the incidents during the disturbances of 1888 was the murder of the white trader Ashby. Ashby was in the wagon party of the traders Knight and White who, together with Zulu women and cattle, were proceeding away from the Lower Mfolozi to Natal when confronted by hostile uSuthu. Ashby was ill and could not flee with Knight and White, who made good their escape. Xibilili and three others were not tried for the murder of Ashby, but were charged before the Court of Special Commissioners with 'shooting with intent to kill'. He was the only man found guilty and was sentenced to eight years' hard labour. In 1894 Harriette was informed that he had died in prison.

YAMELA (fl.1890)

The court *induna* and messenger of Osborn, Yamela was regarded by the uSuthu defence in 1889 as a man who 'made mischief at every turn'. He gave evidence before the Court of Special

Commissioners in the trial of Ndabuko. (See *Remonstrance*) After Osborn's retirement Yamela lost his special standing and in 1898 Harriette found his attitude more acceptable. By 1904 he was dead and his following broken up.

ZIBHEBHU kaMaphitha (1844-1904)

Of the Zulu royal house in being the son of Maphitha and grandson of Sojiyisa, the brother of Senzangakhona (who fathered Shaka), Zibhebhu was a distinguished warrior who seems to have begun to build up a distinctive Mandlakazi following in the 1870s. He fought at Isandlwana and was in command at oNdini (Ulundi) where (so Harriette alleged) he was responsible for firing the shot that precipitated the Zulu defeat. He was one of Wolseley's thirteen chiefs whose authority was bitterly resented by members of Cetshwayo's close family placed under his authority. In 1883 he was given a position of semi-independent authority to the north of the truncated portion of Zululand to which Cetshwayo was restored and triumphed over Cetshwayo's followers at the battles of Msebe and oNdini (Ulundi) in March and July 1883. To counter the effectiveness of Zibhebhu's 'whitemen', the uSuthu after Cetshwayo's death negotiated with the Boers (or freebooters) of the New Republic and triumphed over Zibhebhu at the battle of Tshaneni. Zibhebhu took refuge in the Reserve. Three years later the British authorities in Natal were confronted by uSuthu animosity after the partition of October 1886 and the British annexation of 1887. They decided to repatriate Zibhebhu to an ill-defined area which he claimed in northern Zululand. Clashes and near anarchy ensued. After he was provoked into raiding and murdering Msutshwana, Zibhebhu was worsted by the uSuthu at the battle of Ivuna (near the Nongoma magistracy) and again driven into southern Zululand. His men took part in some of the operations against the uSuthu in 1888. Harriette Colenso and the members of the uSuthu legal team tried to insist that Zibhebhu should be brought to trial for the murder of Msutshwana, but, when a preliminary investigation was held at Eshowe, C.J.R. Saunders ruled, somewhat questionably, that Zibhebhu should be released. Attempts by the local Natal officials to secure the return of Zibhebhu to the Ndwandwe district were, however, blocked until after the repatriation of the uSuthu Exiles from St Helena. Dinuzulu, in the initial optimism of his return, was eager to establish friendly relations, and there was a formal reconciliation between Dinuzulu and Zibhebhu although Mandlakazi-uSuthu tension survived. In the early twentieth century there were court cases over claims for cattle, and Zibhebhu was ready to support the claims of Manzolwandle, a rival to Dinuzulu. The Mandlakazi-uSuthu animosity continued into the next generation.

"The Sad Story of the Zulus."

HYMNS TO BE SUNG

AT

Miss Colenzo's Service

In the ZION CHAPEL, SETTLE,

On Sunday Evening, November 15th, 1891,

At 6-30.

God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honour—men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And show his treacherous flatteries without winking,
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions, and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps.

2.

"ALL ye are brethren!" Down the aisle of ages
The Master's word comes ringing from afar,
And the sad past's tear-blotted, sin-stained pages
Are lit with brightness from the Bethlehem star.
The sightless stranger by the wayside crying,
The lonely widow of her son bereft,
The helpless cripple at Bethsada lying,
The leper, by his nearest kindred left,—
These were his brethren. To one certain haven
We voyage on across the same deep sea,
And upon every brow alike is graven
The common seal one of humanity.
Levite and priest may look and pass unheeding,
Nor care to claim the brotherhood divine;
But when our brother by the way lies bleeding,
Ours be the hands to pour in oil and wine.

3.

WHEN the twilight gathers fast,
With a quiet still and deep,
When the busy day has passed,
And the weary "falls on sleep."
When the lifelong toil is o'er
At the setting of the sun,
Comes joy for ever more,
With the Master's word "Well done!"
'Mid the tread of many feet,
'Mid the hurry and the throng,
In the burden and the heat,
Have the working hours seemed long?
Softly the shadow falls,
And the pilgrims' race is run;
While through celestial halls
Resounds the glad "Well done!"
Well worth the daily cross;
Well worth the earnest toil;
Well worth reproach and loss,
The fight on stranger soil!
Let us lift our hearts and pray,
And take our journey on;
Work while 'tis called to-day
With the thought of that "Well done?"

1.

I LIVE for those who love me,
Whose hearts are kind and true;
For the heaven that smiles above me,
And awaits my spirit too;
For all human ties that bind me;
For the task of God assigned me;
For the bright hopes left behind me;
And the good that I can do.

I live to learn their story
Who've suffered for my sake,
To emulate their glory,
And follow in their wake;
Bards, patriots, martyrs, sages,
The noble of all ages,
Whose deeds crowd history's pages,
And Time's great volume make

I live to hail that season
By gifted minds foretold,
When men shall live by reason,
And not alone for gold;
When man to man united,
And every wrong thing righted,
The whole world shall be lighted,
As Eden was of old.

I live for those who love me,
For those who know me true;
For the heaven that smiles above me,
And awaits my spirit too;
For the cause that lacks assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that I can do.

4.

THINK not of failure,
Look hopefully on:
Droop not o'er sorrows
Whilst joy may be won
Cease useless pining,
Be up and astir,
Look boldly round thee,
At fate ne'er demur.

Think not of stopping,
Because in the strife
Some gain before thee
The battle of life;
Let it awake thee
To what may be won;
Let it arouse thee
To what may be done.

Think not of casting
Thy soul's dream away
Though the road's rugged,
And dreary the day;
Measure the mountain
With eagle-bright eye,
Mount to its summit
And pierce to the sky.

Think not that shadows
For ever will rest;
Sunshine must follow—
Hope on for the best.
Life has its beauty,
Its summer and flowers
Which, with their light, cheer
The dreariest hours!

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Cited as Carbutt Papers:

Carter Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Papers of William Carter, Bishop of Zululand

Cited as Carter Papers:

Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University

Papers of the Rt Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies 1895-1903

Cited as Chamberlain Papers:

Colenso Collection, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg

Papers, pamphlets etc. Mainly, but not exclusively, the papers of Harriette and Agnes Colenso

Cited as N.A., Col.Coll:

Colenso Collection, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban

Mainly, but not exclusively, the papers of John William Colenso

Cited as K.C.A.L., Col.Coll:

- Colenso Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford
Papers of Frank Colenso
Cited as R.H.L., Fr.Col. Papers:
- Colenso Papers, Natal Diocesan Archives, Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Pietermaritzburg
Miscellaneous papers collected for the 1983 Centenary celebration
Cited as N.D.A.:
- Colenso Papers, Don Africana Library, Durban
A few letters of Bishop Colenso c.1875
Cited as D.A.L.:
- Cory Papers, Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
Papers of Sir George Cory relating to his interviews with prominent people
Cited as Cory Papers:
- Courtney Papers, Library of the London School of Economics, London
Papers of Leonard Courtney, Liberal Unionist Member of Parliament
Cited as Courtney Papers:
- Dilke Papers, British Library, Manuscripts Room. Limited usage
Papers of Sir Charles Dilke
Miscellaneous notes, cabinet opinions and colonies
Cited as Dilke Papers:
- Dinuzulu File, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban
Letterbook of Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo
Cited as K.C.A.L., Dinuzulu File:
- Dinuzulu letter, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
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- Escombe Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of Sir Harry Escombe, Prime Minister of Natal, 1897-1899
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- Fannin Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of J.E. Fannin, Natal civil servant, advocate and judge; one of the Special Commissioners for Zululand 1889-1890
Cited as Fannin Papers:
- Gladstone Papers, British Library, London
Papers of W.E. Gladstone, Liberal party leader and Prime Minister of Britain 1868-1874, 1880-1885, - 1886, and 1892-1894
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Cited as Viscount Gladstone Papers:
- Granville Papers, Public Record Office, London
Papers of Earl Granville, George Leveson-Gower, *i.a.* Secretary of State for the Colonies 1868-1870, and 1886
Cited as Granville Papers:
- Lagden Papers (Mss Afr.S.142-214), Rhodes House Library, Oxford
Papers of Sir Godfrey Yeatman Lagden, Colonial Administrator
Cited as Lagden Papers:
- Littleton Collection, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
Papers of W. Littleton, private secretary to Sir Bartle Frere 1878-1879
Cited as Littleton Coll:
- Mackenzie Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
Papers of John Mackenzie 1835-1899, missionary of the London Missionary Society and sometime Deputy Commissioner for Bechuanaland.
Cited as Mackenzie Papers:

- Macrorie Papers. Used when located in the Library of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; subsequently moved.
Papers of W.K. Macrorie
Bishop of 'Maritzburg', 1869-1891
Cited as Macrorie Papers:
- Merriman Papers, South African Library, Cape Town
Papers of John X Merriman, Cape politician and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony
Cited as Merriman Papers:
- Ripon Papers, British Library, Manuscripts Room
Papers of the Marquis of Ripon (G.F.S. Robinson), Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1892-1895
Cited as Ripon Papers:
- Robinson Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of Sir John Robinson, first Prime Minister of Natal, 1893-1897
Cited as N.A. Robinson Coll:
- Robinson Correspondence with W. Peace, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
Letters of Sir John Robinson to the Crown Agent. Photocopies lent by Mr F. Carroll
Cited as W.C.L., Robinson Letters:
- Salisbury Papers. Used when located, on loan, in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford.
Papers of the third Marquis of Salisbury (R.A. Gascoyne Cecil), Prime Minister of Britain, 1885, 1886-1892, 1895-1902
Cited as Salisbury Papers:
- Schreiner Papers, South African Library, Cape Town
Papers of W.P. Schreiner, Cape politician, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Defence Counsel for Dinuzulu, 1908-1909
Cited as Schreiner Papers:
- Shepstone Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, 1853-1875; his brother, John Wesby Shepstone, Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal; and his sons Henrique Shepstone, Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, and Theophilus 'Offy' Shepstone.
Cited as Shepstone Papers:
- Siedle, O. File, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban
Letter to Killie Campbell, 20 November 1944, giving extracts from Diary of 6 January 1898
- Sprigg Papers, Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
Papers of Sir Gordon Sprigg, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, 1878-1881, 1886-1893, 1896-1898 and 1900-1904.
Cited as Sprigg Papers:
- Stabb Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of Colonel H.S. Stabb, officer commanding in Natal and Zululand 1888
Cited as Stabb Papers:
- Sutton Papers, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of G.V. Sutton, Natal politician
Cited as Sutton Papers:
- Tatham Papers, Natal Diocesan Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Papers of F.S. Tatham, legal representative of the Church of the Province of South Africa, member of the Natal Legislature and subsequently judge of the Supreme Court.
Cited as Tatham Papers:
- Temple Papers, Lambeth Palace, London
Papers of F. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1896-1902
Cited as Temple Papers:

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C.O.247. Original correspondence, Governor of St. Helena and Secretary of State, 1889-1897.

C.O.427. Original correspondence, Governor of Zululand to Secretary of State, 1887 to 1897.

C.O.537. Secret correspondence, 1889-1890.

Rhodes House Library

Letter Book of H.Bulwer, March 1882 to October 1885. Schedule of despatches with Blue Book references where appropriate.

C2. South Africa**Natal Archives**

Magistrates correspondence, Zululand, 1887-1897.

Natal Government House (cited as N.G.H.): files of original correspondence 1887-1897. Selected usage.

Zululand Files of original correspondence 1887-97: viz either Zululand Affairs (cited as Z.A.) or Zululand Government House (cited as Z.G.H.). Selected usage.

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356 V 3rd Series

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Vols CCCXXII - CCCXL 9 Feb.1888 to 30 Aug.1889

Vols CCCXLI - CCCLVI 11 Feb.1890 to 5 Aug.1891

199 V 4th Series

Vols I - XXIV 9 Feb.1892 to 30 May 1894

Vols XXV - XLVII 31 May 1894 to 29 Mar.1897

Vols XLVIII - LXXI 30 Mar.1897 to 19 May 1899

b. *Cabinet Papers*

Cab.37/25 Removal of Zulu Prisoners, December 1889 [found initially in CO.537/124 b] (Knutsford)

Cab.37/30 Natal (Responsible Government Bill) 23 October 1891 (Knutsford)

c. *Colonial Office: Confidential Print***C.O.879/30 Africa**

No.370 Affairs of Zululand, September 1888 - January 1889

No.373 Affairs of Zululand, Further Correspondence, February 1889 - November 1887

C.O.879/32 Africa

No.390 Affairs of Zululand, October 1887 - May 1890

C.O.879/33 Africa

No.398 Affairs of Zululand, June 1890 - May 1891

C.O.879/41 Africa

No.471 Natal: Affairs of Zululand and Repatriation of Chiefs: Correspondence June 1893 - August 1895

C.O.879/49 Africa

No.535 Zululand: Incorporation with Natal and Repatriation of Zulu Chiefs: Further correspondence August 1895 - March 1895.

d. **British Parliamentary Papers (Blue Books)**

(cited in abbreviated form, e.g. C.8782)

- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| 1887 | LXI | C.4913 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| | | C.4980 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| | | C.5143 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories, 1886-1887 |
| 1888 | LXXIV | C.5432 Notification of Acquisitions of Territory on the Coasts of Africa |
| | | C.5488 Correspondence Concerning the Separation of the High Commissionership from the Governorship of the Cape |
| | | C.5489 Correspondence Concerning a Petition from the Church Council of the Church of England in Natal |
| 1888 | LXXV | C.5331 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| | | C.5522 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| 1889 | LVI | 347 Zululand: Revenue Return, 1887-1889 |
| 1889 | LVI | 348 Zululand: Seizure of Cattle Return, 1887-1889 |
| 1890 | LII | C.5892 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| | | C.5893 Further Correspondence Concerning Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories |
| | | C.5897 Report on Blue Book for 1889 |
| | | C.6070 Further Correspondence on Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories, 1888-1890 |
| 1891 | LV | C.6270 Report on Zululand Forest |
| | LVII | C.6487 Correspondence Concerning Establishment of Responsible Government in Natal |
| 1892 | LVI | C.6684 Correspondence concerning Boundary Questions in Zululand |
| 1893 | LX | 216 Further Correspondence Concerning the Establishment of Responsible Government in Natal |
| 1898 | LX | C.8782 Further Correspondence Concerning the Affairs of Zululand |
| 1875 | BPP | C.1119 Further Papers re Kafir Outbreak in Natal |
| | | C.1141 Bishop of Natal's Remarks on the Official Records of the Langalibalele and Amahlubi Tribe Trials |

e. Court of the Special Commissioners for Zululand (London, 1889)

f. Précis of Information concerning Zululand prepared for the War Office (London, 1895)

g. Zululand: Annual Reports, 1889-1897

D2. **South Africa; mainly Natal and Zululand**

a. Debates of the Natal Legislative Council, 1887-1893

Debates of the Natal Legislative Council and Assembly, 1893-1897

b. Natal Government Gazettes, 1887-1897 (selective usage)

c. Government Commissions

Natal Immigration and Crown Lands Commission, 1891-1892 (Pietermaritzburg, 1892)

Natal Lands Commission, 1901-1902: Report with Appendix and Digest (Pietermaritzburg, 1902) and Evidence Given Before the Lands Commission, 1901-1902 with Appendix (Pietermaritzburg, 1904)

Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1906-1907 (Pietermaritzburg, 1907-1908)

Natal Native Commission, 1881-1882. Report (Pietermaritzburg, 1882)

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Zululand. Land Delimitation Commission (1902-1904). Reports of the Joint Imperial and Colonial Commissioners, with annexures and map (Pietermaritzburg, 1905)

- d. *Ordinances, Laws and Acts of the Colony of Natal which refer specifically to Natives*. Compiled by the Native Affairs Department (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1906)
- e. *The Trial of Dinuzulu on Charges of High Treason at Greytown, 1908-9* (originally published 1910, Durban; reprint no.48, Pretoria, 1969)

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| Series 2 | October 1881 (Bishop Colenso died June 1883) to May 1884 |
| Series 3 | January 1885 |
| Series 4 | February 1885 - October 1885 |
| Series 5 | November 1886 - June 1887 |
| Series 6 | May 1887 - June 1887 |
| Series 7 | 22 October 1887 |
| Series 8 | 8 March - July 1888 |
| Series 9 | September - October 1888 |
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 - (b) *Mr Bradlaugh on the Zulu Question*.
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 - (d) *Contradiction*, reprint of an extract from the *Natal Witness*, 18 February 1893.
 - (e) Debate on Zululand: letter to MPs 24 July 1890.
 - (f) *Letter to Lord Knutsford June 1891* (printed but untitled).
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 - (h) *The Sad Story of the Zulus*. Hymns to be sung at Miss Colenso's [sic] Service in the Zion Chapel,

- Settle, November 15th, 1891.
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E2. Newspapers, Journals, etc

Anticaste

Birmingham Gazette [very limited usage]

The British Friend [limited usage]

The Daily Chronicle [very limited usage]

The Daily News [very scattered usage]

The Friend (i.e. the Quaker journal) [limited usage]

The Graphic [scattered usage from holdings in the Durban Municipal Library]

Great Thoughts [very limited usage]

Greater Britain [very limited usage]

Humanitarian [very limited usage]

Inquirer [limited usage]

Islington Londoner [very limited usage]

The Pall Mall Gazette Microfilm Cory Library, Rhodes University

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The Speaker [scattered usage]

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Women's Penny Post [limited usage]

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Natal Mercantile Advertiser, 1887-1897 [limited usage]

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Cape Monthly Magazine

Contemporary Review
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G. INTERVIEWS AND PERSONAL INFORMATION

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 The late Mrs Eothen Cameron-Taylor
 The late Mr A.A. Crovo
 Mr R.K. Frost
 Mrs Betty Mbanjwa
 Mrs D. Scogings
 Mrs. S. Spencer
 The late Mr P.W. Vietzen
 Dr S. Vietzen