

Anti-Caste.

ADVOCATES THE BROTHERHOOD OF MANKIND IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOUR OR DESCENT.

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Price One Cent, or Halfpenny.

Lines written over the grave of
William Lloyd Garrison.

In a small chamber, friendless, and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor unlearned
young man;
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Under the British Flag.

Outline of the Zulu Grievances.

[Personally revised and corrected by Miss H. E. Colenso.]

THE present troubles, it seems, grew out of what is called "the settlement of Zululand" which took place in 1886-7.

Some few years before this, when Cetshwayo was about to be restored to part of his kingdom by the British Government—in their attempt to repair some of the wrongs of the war of 1879—a Zulu chief named Zibebu, prompted by some British officials, and supported by a corps of white mercenaries, made war against Cetshwayo, and he being but newly returned to his country and hampered by promises that he would not fight, was driven back wounded into the Reserve, where, worn out with harassing cares, he soon after died. His young son Dinuzulu, a boy of 15, with his uncle Ndabuko as regent, with the countenance of some Boers, and others, then drove Zibebu from the country, but, the war over, these Boers claimed about half of Zululand as payment for their share of the work. This monstrous claim was referred for settlement to Sir Arthur Havelock, the governor of Natal, and when he was found to have awarded to the Boers the best half of the Zulu kingdom there was the gravest dissatisfaction among the Zulus.

Against the remainder of his decision—that a British Protectorate be declared over the rest of Zululand—they made no resistance, declaring "they had nothing to say; they belonged to the Queen," and a few months later (in 1888) it was completely annexed to British rule. A resident Commissioner, with magistrates and police, were appointed, the governor of Natal being made governor also of Zululand.

Hardly had these high-handed proceedings been accomplished when Zibebu was allowed to return, accompanied by 1100 armed men, and thousands of loyal Zulus were violently

evicted from lands on which they had been invited by the Governor to settle a year before, to make room for Zibebu and his followers, and give him a "defensible frontier," as it was said.

Six months of violence and outrage followed, during which the loyal chiefs faithfully restrained their people from any kind of revenge or attack upon the police, &c., and when a violent attack on trumped up charges was made upon them by bodies of police backed by troops, instead of offering resistance they withdrew to the part of their country ceded to the Boers to avoid collision, which was nevertheless forced on some of their straggling followers. At last after repeated threats and plunderings, Zibebu attacked and murdered an unoffending Zulu chief, and this the Zulus endeavoured to avenge, and thoroughly defeated Zibebu's force while scrupulously respecting and avoiding the English Magistracy close by.

This outbreak was called a "Rebellion" on the part of this "fine and friendly Zulu nation," and it was for this rebellion, this so-called "attempt to subvert the authority of the Queen and offering of armed resistance to the authorities," that the Zulu Chiefs have been tried and sentenced! Having given themselves up to the authorities, the chiefs appealed to the Government, which then controlled all their property, "for the assistance of counsel and for payment of the costs of their defence, but nothing was done for them, and the entire responsibility of defending them, or leaving them to meet capital charges undefended, devolved, with valuable and self-sacrificing assistance from Mr. Harry Escombe, a leading advocate at the Natal Bar, on Miss Colenso," who has spent "more than £3000 in defending the prisoners." The trial appears to have been conducted with flagrant injustice to the prisoners, and as Miss Colenso says, "not to try but to condemn them." From the report of the shorthand writer we learn that "the Crown prosecutor fought with all his strength and ingenuity to prevent the grievances of the Usutus (Dinuzulu's Zulus) from being brought out in evidence."

To conclude with the words of the Zulu Defence Committee: "Admitting that in a Crown Colony both administrative

and legislative functions are centred in the Crown alone, it is all the more necessary that the Crown should supervise very closely the action of its officials; and it should be shown them that they are not empowered, as they seem to suppose, to place themselves above law as irresponsible rulers, and to resort to such expedients as the examination of accused persons under torture, or shooting at a child who is running away, as though he were a partridge, both things which are alleged to have been done by a Zululand magistrate in 1887."

Brutal Murder of a Hindoo by British Soldiers.

(Written by an Indian in England, abbreviated from "The Indian Appeal.")

In the small hours of the night of the 7th November last, a party of British soldiers at a small military station near Calcutta, called at the shop of a grocer named Bhut Nath and demanded toddy. On his refusing to give it they fired at him, and he, being alarmed, took them to a toddy-shop. Here the owner refused to sell to them, it being before the legal hour for opening, so the soldiers struck the man, and when he fled fired at him, but missed. They then broke into a dispensary, smashing windows and firing shots, as they also did from the fields outside. On reaching the house of one Selim Mullick, who was asleep on the verandah of his house, they again demanded toddy, and again upon being refused, they fired. Catching hold of Selim they dragged him along for two or three hundred yards, for the purpose of making him fetch them toddy. He was a strong man, and tried to run from them, but was thrown into a ditch full of water by one of the soldiers, and as he tried to get out he was twice fired upon, and mortally wounded. He managed to reach home, but died almost immediately. "How many such incredibly brutal murders by these British soldiers are not committed every month!" exclaims the writer.

The next morning the soldiers were ranged in line for identification, but Bhut Nath, the grocer, was unable to identify them. [As the outrage took place in the night this seems little wonder!—Ed. *Anti-Caste*.]

"We believe he acted very wisely indeed. No native will come bound to give evidence against a European murderer," says this Indian writer, "even the son or brother of the murdered man will not venture to do so, because the murder of a native is not a crime for a European, especially an Englishman in India." "In England and the Colonies even an assault would be severely punished, not to speak of

outrages and murders. In India they are almost invariably pronounced not guilty, on marvellous grounds of accident, provocation, miraculous spleens and livers. And the reason why they are so brutal by nature, is, we believe, that they are harder drinkers in India than they are here. Our government excise policy is spreading that blessing in India," adds the writer sarcastically, "and we doubt not our Indian soldiers will ere long become half as brutal as their British brothers, for no amount of drinking could make them quite their equal in brutality and contempt for human suffering."

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Miss Colenso and the Zulu Chiefs. Miss Colenso, daughter of the late Bishop of Natal, has furnished us with further particulars

of the object of her mission to England. She comes on behalf of her "father's poor friends the Zulus," not only to appeal against the heavy sentences of banishment passed upon Dinuzulu, the young son of the late king Cetshwayo, and his two uncles, but "to claim the attention of the English public to what is the truth in this matter, viz: that these chiefs, and through them their whole people, are being punished for disturbances which were the direct and inevitable result of official maladministration."

The Zulus "know and feel as strongly as I do," she says, "that these chiefs in particular deserve the thanks of Her Majesty's Government, instead of deportation to St. Helena, and separation from all they care for in this world, for quietly submitting to the Queen's rule, and loyally controlling their people as no one else had the power to do, amidst the wildest confusion, amidst orders from the white officials flatly contradicting one another, amidst indiscriminate cattle-raids, cruel and wholesale evictions of thousands, lawless floggings, and other torture inflicted by white officials in England's name." [See letter in the *Times*, April 2nd.]

When, charged with rebellion and treason, these chiefs appealed to the Governor of Natal, for enquiry and redress, a special commission was constituted, "not to try, but to condemn them" says Miss Colenso, and she now asks that an independent Commission, with power to remove any of the officials, &c.,

be sent to Zululand, so that searching enquiry may be made into the present state of affairs and the events leading to it. On page 12 of the *Times* of April 5th, which anyone can get by sending 3d. and their address to the "TIMES OFFICE, LONDON," there will be found a much fuller statement of the Zulus' case contained in a letter addressed by the Aborigines' Protection Society to Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies. A Zulu Defence Committee consisting of twenty-four gentlemen, principally members of Parliament of both Houses, and representing the different political parties—for this is no party question—has been formed in London to endeavour to obtain justice for the Zulu chiefs.

One very practical way of expressing our abhorrence of the deeds committed in our name, and of our desire to make such reparation as may be possible, is by sending contributions, however small, to the Zulu Defence Fund, payable either to the Secretary, H. R. Fox Bourne, Esq., Broadway Chambers, Westminster, or to the Treasurer, Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart, M.P., 50, Cornhill, London.

The work of the world is done by few: God asks that a part be done by you.

H. S. Newman on the American Race Question.

OUR friend H. S. Newman, of Leominster, has written an interesting letter from America, where he is now travelling, to the *Leominster News* of March 7th. It appears also in *The Friend* of this month. The letter is dated Helena, Arkansas, Feb. 12th, from the midst of wide-stretching cotton fields. It gives a bright account of the skill and industry of the coloured people, by whom the crop is manipulated, some of whom are now purchasing small lots of the wooded lands to the west of this district, and are clearing the ground for cotton growing on their own account, improving their condition year by year. White men, who "have inherited the fatal idea," that to labour with their own hands is beneath them, and "are ashamed to be seen toiling on the soil, now crowd into the towns, and are leaving the country farms very much in the hands of the great and growing coloured population."

"The great problem of to-day," Mr. Newman thinks, "is the illiteracy of the South, the ignorance of these millions of coloured people to whom the Government has nominally given votes." But much the largest space in his letter is given to what he speaks of as that "very difficult" problem, known as

the "race question"—in other words, the question of *how much* the liberties of this busy working population shall be outraged and abridged to suit the convenience of the white minority.

It is written "the wicked flee when no man pursueth," and if it is true, that Negro "illiteracy" is the "great problem" of the South, it is also true that the fear of "Negro supremacy" is its "bugbear," and even Englishmen sometimes share in the panic. Down in some of those Southern States the darker people outnumber their brothers and cousins of fairer skin; the illiterate majority (not *all* black, by the bye) outnumber the educated minority (not *all* white)—a proportion of things that has sometimes existed in other lands,—and there is a gripping terror in the hearts of the tyrant whites lest the Government should pass from their control.

Our English friend says that he "would not say one word to excuse the murders and whippings and house burnings" which are some of the means used "to terrorise the black majority into submission," but, alas, he straightway proceeds to put the case for the white man in its most beguiling form. "The intelligent whites in the South practically say," says Mr. N., "We have no objection to the coloured man in his right place. We do not even wish to be rid of him. We accept his position as a freeman. We do not ask for a repetition of slavery, but we say imperatively we cannot permit the coloured people to govern us," and he adds, "There is such a thing as a majority that is unfit to govern." [the italics are Mr. Newman's, not ours.] "There are difficulties" he continues, "inherent to the foundation principles of our modern system of government by popular majorities, which cannot be ignored, and in the Southern States of America the main difficulty assumes gigantic proportions. If the coloured people in the Gulf States vote and have their votes counted, they immensely out-vote the whites and carry the poll."

And why not? Is there any just reason why this should not be?

They are "illiterate" and "ignorant" it is urged. But *not all*. Thousands of them are teachers of schools, doctors, lawyers, and editors, and thousands more are ministers of religion. Besides this the whites have also a mass of illiterate poor, but which does not disqualify their race from votes. If illiteracy is to be the bar to voting, let there be an educational test applied to all who claim the right, to black and white alike.

"It is acknowledged," Mr. Newman tells us, "that the Democrats in the South [the whites] "keep control of the ballot boxes and of the registration of voters, and of the counting of the votes, and systematically cheat. Sometimes they prevent the coloured people voting, but more frequently now they allow them to vote, and then send up the returns to Washington as it pleases themselves."

All for fear of "Negro supremacy,"—or equality? Which?—!

But "they have never yet acquired the power to govern," says Mr. Newman, and goes on to speak of the three or four years following close upon the war when the government of Arkansas and of other Southern States, was practically worked by the coloured people, and how "it resulted almost in bankruptcy." True! But was that experiment of twenty years ago anything approaching a fair test of their "power to govern with discretion"? It was not of their own will that they undertook *unshared*, the untried duties of State Government. It was thrust upon them by the exigencies of the hour. Hoping to be able to modify the horrible laws which bore them down, they elected representatives of their own colour to sit in the State Legislatures, but scorn of a black man was so intense in the hearts of the whites, that they chose rather to let their States be ruined by incompetence, than condescend to sit in an assembly where negroes, however intelligent, should be represented. They refused to help the negro to rule wisely, and when in his utter inexperience he failed, they sprang out upon him, in the darkness of night, shooting, burning, and butchering all who had shown any capacity for leadership, and thus regained their ascendancy. It is to the honour of those negro legislators that, though their government was corrupt and bad in many ways, they "*never by legislation removed the penalties from anything that the world at large calls a crime; never put upon the statute book a law hostile to the universal enjoyment of American liberty;*" and "*in the darkest day of their power*" they "*established the public school system.*" (See G. W. Cable, in *The Forum*, Aug., 1888.)

This outcry against "Negro supremacy" is a party cry, a bugbear. The negroes do not ask nor wish to rule on race lines. That is the white man's wish—not theirs.

Mr. Newman quotes from what he describes as Senator Ingall's (of Kansas) "magnificent speech" last month in the Senate at

Washington, in which he says the coloured people (large numbers of whom, we have to remember, are more nearly related to the white race than to the black) "instinctively separate themselves into their own communities." (Why?) "They have their own habits and customs, and their own methods of life." (We query—Does Senator Ingalls associate with them in their homes? I, the Editor of *Anti-Caste*, who have mingled freely with them in cities and in country, North and South, *have yet to discover these peculiarities of "habit" and "custom."*) "They are taught," he says, "in separate schools." (Why?) "They do not now intermarry much with the whites." (No, because by compulsion of the whites it is made a criminal offence to do so, punishable by long terms of imprisonment in the penitentiaries, and this not in the South only, but in many of the Northern and Western States!) "The line of cleavage is becoming more and more distinct. There is neither amalgamation, absorption, nor assimilation." (No, and Mr. Newman himself unconsciously gives the answer why, when he says, "*The Southerners' . . . whole programme seems to be to maintain a strongly pronounced social line between white and coloured.*" (This time the italics are ours.) What an insufferable wrong is here; while Mr. Newman can admit that "there are among the coloured people those who must in the nature of things rise in society by force of their endowments and natural gifts." Let the whites of the South nominate fair-minded and just men—men to whom the negroes can entrust the defence of their lives and liberties—and the struggle for supremacy will cease. All the supremacy the negroes ask is the supremacy of law and justice. In this they are wiser than the whites. They see that the interests of black and white are identical. Bitterly as the thought would be resented by many, the Americans, whether white or black, are in fact already one people—one in nationality, one in religion, and very largely one also in blood. "Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless millions mourn."

With what feelings must not our Heavenly Father, with Whom weakness and helplessness are but a claim to special protection, witness the outrages practised upon the most helpless members of His family on earth! "My thoughts are not your thoughts, saith the Lord; neither are your ways My ways."