

presents and valuables to follow the chase beyond the kraal,* and partly to the awe with which the Zulus universally regarded their hereditary sovereign, so that even when led against him, none of them would dare knowingly to strike the King. He received, however, two assegai wounds in the confusion, and remained in hiding for some time before he was able to travel.

The full account of this atrocity, with the pathetic story of Cetshwayo's noble demeanour on that melancholy day, must be reserved for another volume, and the present sketch passes on to the next period of Zulu misery, Cetshwayo's sojourn in the Inkandhla fastness,† where he abode until he was beguiled by

* "Before setting fire to the royal kraal, all the King's boxes, labelled 'King Cetshwayo, &c.,' were brought out and smashed open with large stones, then rifled, the white men sharing, a gentleman [?] who is said to be a special correspondent getting the lion's share, according to his own statement. Nothing of the smallest value was burnt, unless, indeed, it was the poor dogs."—*Corr. : Natal Witness*, Aug. 29, 1883.

Later on, when Zibebu met with reverses, a considerable fuss was made in Natal about these white men, and urgent appeals to Government to take measures for their protection. But England can hardly be expected to protect men who are, or who call themselves her sons in the commission of crimes (such as the sack of Ulundi) in a foreign country, and surely if these men were British subjects they should be called to account for this detestable action, and made to render up the Queen's, the Prince of Wales's, and other gifts to Cetshwayo, of which they robbed him at this time. Lord and Lady Churchill's cup was openly exhibited in a Durban shop soon after, and the other valuables fell for the most part into the hands of the same men.

† "The Inkandhla is a range of steep and mostly forest-clad hills, 50 or 60 miles long, extending from the Qudene mountain

his still unshattered faith in his friends the English to put himself under the "protection" of the Resident in the Reserve, Mr. Osborn, when he again became a prisoner.

The end was now close at hand, but those last few months of his life must have been the bitterest he had yet endured since he was hunted down in 1879. No justice, or even mercy, was shown the Zulu King—his deep sufferings, his noble fortitude and sincerity, his touching confidence that England, and England's Queen meant well by him and his people, in spite of all the injury inflicted on him and them in Her name—none of this had any power to move his oppressors' hearts. Cetshwayo stands out amidst all the chaos of South African blunders and wrongdoings, of cruelty, falsehood, and selfishness on the part of white and black, as grand a figure as any in modern history. His faith in our England wrought his downfall and his death, yet England's representatives here never seem to have entertained one just or gentle thought towards him in his misery; it did not chime in with their general policy that his merits should be admitted, and they continued to torture him to the last. The word is no exaggeration. He came to the Resident, or rather, as his intention was, to the British troops, for protection

to the Umhlatuze. We spent the night at a kraal, the owner of which keeps a spy on all advancing parties."—'With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhla,' by W. Y. Campbell.

N.B. The Inkandhla is within the "Reserve," i.e. in the country inhabited by some of Cetshwayo's most loyal subjects.

and sympathy, and he found himself at once deprived of the friends he wished to have beside him, his faithful followers dispersed,* the European secretary,† whom he had chosen, with the approval of the Bishop of Natal, driven away from him, and himself insulted, coerced, and restrained at every turn. But one last stroke finally broke his heart. He had good reason to feel unsafe where he was, kept under surveillance by Mr. Osborn, whom he could not look upon as favourable to him; rumours of fresh designs against his life on the part of Zibebu and Dunn had reached him, and he was altogether uncomfortable, friendless, and alone. At last a definite warning of an intended attack upon him was brought to him, and he determined that this should last no longer. He was not by rights a prisoner at all, but a King, who had trusted himself as a guest to the white authorities, and who wished to be with the British troops, encamped at no great distance from his quarters. He liked the English officers as a class. Many of them had treated him with courtesy and kindness during his long captivity at the Cape, and their whole tone had been different from that of the Natal officials. So Cetshwayo, with a party of attendants started off on foot and reached the British camp at about 10 P.M. on the 19th December.

* By Mr. Osborn, presumably under orders from head-quarters.

† Mr. Wm. Grant, who has of late, *but too late*, endeavoured to assist the Zulus, already, before his tardy arrival (delayed in the first instance through Sir H. Bulwer's refusal to recognise his mission) fallen into the jaws of their worst enemies, the Boers.

He left again next morning—it is said of his own free will, but the fact remains that he wished to stay with the military, and nothing but an intimation that, if he did not go of his own accord he would be made to go, can account for his speedy departure. Such a supposition is in keeping with the dignity of his character, and also, unhappily, with the evident determination on the part of the Natal officials to treat the Zulu King with whatever harshness lay within the bounds of possibility. For the honour of our soldiers' name we may be glad to know that the military authorities were guiltless of this affront, and that, so far as they had any conscious share in it at all, they were acting under strict commands from those who had never any pity for Cetshwayo. They might easily be ignorant of what was really said to and by the King, for they were necessarily at the mercy of interpreters, and most of them could only have taken their ideas of Cetshwayo's character and deserts from the Natal officials. However this may be, the disappointment on this occasion was the last stroke to Cetshwayo's overburdened spirit, and on the 8th February, 1884, he died, as nearly of a broken heart as is ever permitted to mortals here below. His best friend had gone before him to the better land where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest," and it is no small proof of the nobility of Cetshwayo's heart that soon after receiving notice of the death of the Bishop (on the 20th June, 1883)—although in debt and difficulty himself, hampered and beset on every side—he sent

a messenger to say that a memorial must be raised at his expense to his departed friend, "a stone to show their (the Zulu people's) love for him in return for his so great love for them." Since no one, he said, could owe more gratitude than he to the Bishop of Natal.

APPENDIX.

SIR BARTLE FRERE wrote of one of Cetshwayo's friends, who had been refused by his Excellency leave to visit the King in prison at Capetown, that he, Mr. John Mullins, was "a notorious gun-runner, who had been convicted in Natal, and suffered a term of imprisonment *with hard labour (sic)* for smuggling guns and selling them to Cetshwayo" (*vide supra*, p. 46). The following are facts concerning this case which do not admit of dispute. A consideration of them will show how far Mr. John Mullins' character was sacrificed to Sir Bartle Frere's anxiety to make a point against Cetshwayo and his well-wishers.

In 1878 a pamphlet ('The Zulu Agency') was published in Natal, descriptive of the circumstances attending Cetshwayo's attempt to avail himself of the services of two members of the (English) Bar as his agents in settling the dispute between the Boers and himself. In this pamphlet Mr. Mullins is described as one who "had lived as a trader at the King's kraal for five years, and was highly esteemed by the King." The author added "Mr. Mullins leads an honourable life, and supports his mother and her seven children by the profits of his trade, and has no Zulu wives. This, though a matter of surprise to the King, does not probably lessen his respect for the man."

These words were written with reference to the visit of Mr. F. Colenso to Ulundi in January 1878. He had then been hospitably entertained by Mr. Mullins who occupied a shanty near the Royal kraals, and who proved himself, through his local knowledge and experience, a useful assistant. Mr. Mullins having openly espoused Cetshwayo's cause, became the object of dislike and suspicion in many quarters,

and soon the means were found for interfering with his movements. Depositions were made in July 1878 by three natives, who had been in his employ, to the effect that in August 1873 he had bartered six guns to Cetshwayo, having brought them up in a wagon from Natal. As such an act constituted an infringement of a Colonial Statute, Mr. Mullins was brought up before a magistrate and committed for trial. He was treated with extraordinary severity, bail being refused in the first instance, but afterwards at the expiration of seventeen days' imprisonment, accepted in the amount of *two thousand pounds*. Mr. Mullins was convicted of having smuggled the six guns as alleged, and was sentenced to undergo six months' imprisonment but *without* hard labour, and to pay a fine of 100*l.* The Judge in passing sentence dwelt upon the heinousness of the prisoner's offence in supplying savages with firearms. But the penalty inflicted was regarded as a shamefully severe one in view of the facts:—

(1) That J. Dunn had had the Zulu gun trade entirely in his hands and had imported thousands of firearms into Zululand.

(2) That this, if proved, was a first offence, Mr. Mullins having pursued a legitimate calling ever since.

(3) That in September 1873, the month following the date of the alleged barter of the six guns, several breech-loaders were presented to the Zulu King *by leave of Sir T. Shepstone*.

There is no doubt that Mr. Mullins' incarceration during the six months which saw the inception of the invasion deprived the Zulu King of the services of a most useful emissary, who might have done much towards the exposure of the machinations which ultimately destroyed him. And whether Mr. Mullins was or was not, at the outset of his career as trader, guilty of the indiscretion laid to his charge, it is quite certain that the character which he bore in 1878 is correctly exhibited, not by Sir B. Frere's sweeping condemnation, but by the words quoted above from 'The Zulu Agency.'

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THE
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ZA 968.404
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