

CO 427/2

21012

Hav to Knut 140 23/9/88 printed in CP 370

Minutes " On another paper 'Sir R. Herbert has said that it is to be considered whether the Colonial Regulations can not be amended so as to make the ~~republic~~ respective position of the civil and military authorities more clear. Twenty years ago, it was not considered possible in civil disturbances for the civil power wholly to give way to the military. Possibly the existence of the cable make a difference. If the Governor was to give wholly, he might still telegraph ^{to} the Colonial Minister 'I think General ^{pressing} /?/ in operations needlessly. If pause is given rebels will submit or disperse. If hostilities forced - future government of country will be rendered more difficult. Please suggest to War Office that General be ordered to pause, and allow of civil authorities to call on rebels to submit or disperse'. The Govt. at home would then have to take a decision - almost in the dark - and the persons who would chiefly profit by the change in the Regulations would be the Shareholders in the Cable Company. When political questions arise there seem some sense in entrusting them to a political officer with some discretion and responsibility. I believe the India Govt ~~never~~ never parts with its supreme political control in and around India; and I do not see why we should. We have to look on these Usutis as potential tax payers, and it was of importance ~~that~~ from that point of view, if from no other, to shoot as few of them as possible. The case of a foreign enemy invading a Colony is quite different. There is obviously nothing to do, but to beat them off and make him go home again, and the ~~civil~~ military are in such a case

rightly supreme for the time. E ~~Ex~~ 25.10.88

If the Government at home come to be attacked in the House of Commons or the press, for measures of repression involving needless loss of life, it would be no answer to say that it had 'left it all to the General'. E F

CO 879/30/370

No 61 Hav to Knutsford 23/9/88 p98

/submits correspondence in connection with reports by Smyth up to 30/8 the date he returned to Eshowe. Also enclose a letter I wrote to him on the question of the exact date of D's departure from Cexa which shows that if ~~the incident~~ "the incident took place on the 7th August, as it appears it did, an attack by General Smyth on the position at Ceza was not, in fact, delayed or frustrated by my request that the General would, after the completion of the stage of the operation upon which we had concurred, pause, in order to give time to the Usutus at Ceza to surrender."

Enc 1 From Smyth to Hav. 6/9/88 Durban p99

/As proposed in my letter of 21/8 I left Ndwanwe on 23/8 with column and levies to go to Eshowe by the Coast road. I despatched to forces under Sir F Carrington and Maj Maclean to catch Somopo and Lokotwayo. ^{before they could} they made night marches and reached their destination but as soon as they tried to open communication the wuthu fired on them and had to be dispersed. Believes that Lokitwayo and M'Hondaga were killed ~~ix~~. Reached Eshowe 30/8

Enc 2 Smyth to Hav 10/9/88 P E

/Reports in compliance with your request to report on my transaction ~~in~~ between 7/8 and 6/9/

"The troops being arrested at Y E's request, in their concentric advance

on Ceza, the Assistant Commissioner at N'konjeni endeavoured to open communication with the rebels, in the intention prescribed by Y E, but he failed in getting any message conveyed ~~by~~ to them. / On being informed by my scouts of the escape of Dinuzulu from that position on the 8th Ultimo, I despatched a force on the 9th to Insugazi, with instructions to push a reconnaissance up to the Ceza, but this force, on arrival at Insugazi, was itself threatened with attack by night, and its pickets fired upon, therefore it proceeded, on the 11th, to brush away the rebels hanging about, and clear them out of some caves near the 'Fig Tree Store'. In this operation, and the pursuit which followed, the boundary line was /100' / accidentally transgressed by some of the native levies, as already reported to you." / Prisoners and cattle were sent to As Comm Nkonjeni for adjudication. I inspected the boundary line and was satisfied that it did not correspond with the one on the map, and that it was difficult to trace. On evening of 11/8 reconnoitering party left for Ceza from Insugazi under B P and they returned with 8 prisoners including Chief Mangai and reported 2 companies of Zulu still about the place. I therefore took strong force to Ceza on 16/8 to Ceza to examine it "clear it out" and demolish it. found it a strong position and a natural bastion. / It extends for about a mile across the extreme north-west corner of Zululand, and as each flank rests on the boundary line of the New Republic it could only be attacked in front where it is strongest; thus differing from Hlopekulu, which was easily assailable from the rear. The lower edge of the bush was much fortified with stone breastworks, where in some instances signs of European or white skill. These have been demolished, and wide openings have been cleared through the bush in various directions, so that the place is not fit for immediate hostile re-occupation."

/Seized Chief Mangai's cattle because he ^{did not} gave up his follower's arms.
Sent to him to Ass Comm except those used to feed the levies. ~~from the~~
"A small herd of 15 head was also aputured in the Isiquebese valley by the
native levies" /I then went to Ivuna and ordered the destruction of the
"Usutu military kraal" and to clear out Usutu in caves between the Iskwebsi and
Bale Mfolosi. Hel Martin did so, dispersing the defenders, taking cattle
and prisoners

Enc 3 Hav to Smuth 22/9/88 /You say Din left Ceza on 8/8. Res Comm told
me that he left on the evening of 7/8 and Undabuko on 6/8. Addison he left on
7/8 with southforce. This has importance, Hav writes; because he believes
it has been said that, Hav's request that the military operations might, pause,
and give the Usuthu the opportunity to surrender, delayed the attack on
Ceza and frustrated the attack.

However letter from Mil Sec to Ass Comm Ndwanter dated 7/8 that the first
stage of military operation was only completed on 7/8 / "If Dinuzulu left Ceza
on the 7th August, and there is evidence to show he did, and if the
first stage of the operations agreed upon was only accomplished on the 7th August
...it is manifestly impossible, having regard to the distance of N'kinjeni
from Ceza, and to the important circumstances, that an attack could have
been made upon Dinuzulu at Ceza before he abandoned his position at that place."
Moreover Thso mpi and his troops did not arrive at Insukazi till 10/8 when
D and N were beyond the borders of Zululand. /

CO 327/3

20867

Minutes seen

WO to CO 20/10/88

Smyth to S of S for War 21/8/88 Ndwanwe

Extracts from Teleg from Hav to Smyth.

~~23/6~~ Telegs in July hav Hav pressing for prompt move to Ceza and the re establishment of the constituted authority/

14/7 "I deprecated further delay on this matter and beg you to consider the bad effects of such delay"

23/7 /After the sweeping movement a pause should be made before attacking Ceza.

1/8 /Ref to teleg of 23/7. / "in which I say that when the operations therein described have been completed pause should be made to take work of effect of them before attack upon Ceza. Request you will inform me of readiness for attack upon Ceza and not to deliver attack till I express concurrence."

4/8 Teleg of 1/8 virtually repeated.

12/8 disband levy as soon as possible.

Extracts from private letters from Hav to Smyth.

27/6 /Precise objects I have in view for which troops are needed are 1 dispersion of the armed gathering at Ceza 2 the execution of the Queen's warrants against Dinuzulu for offences against the law.

9/7 "Mr Osborn informs me today that Dinuzulu has only Ceza and that a great number of his men have returned to

little forward action and I am quite prepared to see the whole thing butst lik
a pricked bubble. You seem to find it impossible to make a movmennt
from N'Konjeni untl the movment to Mr Pretorius' station has been
completed. At any rate I earnetly hope the former will follow immieaetaly on
the latter."

-8-88 NB.
CO 427/3

19099

WO to CO 21/9/88

"Transmits copies of further desps from G.O.C. Again draws attnction to services rendered by hief John Dunn."

Minutes. " I suppose that this is meant as a hint to give John Dunn a C.M.G or K C.M.G. The only objection to be made to such a proposal is that when ~~undxxx~~ men are decorated they often hasten to ^{this} ~~the~~ country and demand to be presented at the Levee and then their wives want to be presented at the Drawing Room. Now John Dunn has about 180 wives, and this ipens up an endless vista of Lady Dunns trooping thro gh the State Apartments of Buckingham palace. It would be

"one of the largest drawing rooms ever held by Her Majesty"

/Sketches same - black wives dressed in white court dress./

ut I suppose that the WO have thought out all this before embarking on this course of recommendations. There are other polygamists already in the Order of S. Michael and S. George: but they are Mahomedans, who do not bring their wives. to Courth. E F 1/10/88

No one can ~~x~~ /?/ us of being too chary in our recommendations to to Michael & George but the line must be drawn somewhere and I should certainly draw it so as to exclude a man of the character & /?/ of John Dunn. A white man who goes & lives the life of a savage may occasionally be useful as on this occasion but he is not the kind of person whom the Queen should delight to honour. R.M. 2/10

It is perhaps rather hard upon the Queen, & upon the lady who would act officially on the occasion, to be deprived of so brilliant a prospect as Mr

Fairfiled sketched: but I agree with Mr Meade & him that John Dunn is not eligible for the most distinguished Order."

/At the same time he should get some handsome present in recognition of his services.

Herbert 4/10/ / Knutsford says yes but way 5/10/

/Herbert suggests a chronometer or sporting guns. Ask Hav. confidentially/

WO to CO 21/9/99. Smyth to S. off for War Nkonjeni 9/8/88

Major McKean to Assis Adjutant General HQ Zululand 26/7/88 Lwr Mfolosi

/Arrived here this morning. Dunn joined the Column last night with 48 co.s

No casualties on march. ALP after conferring with me sent messages to Somopo, Somkeli, Golosar*, Dabayatu, Bejana, Lokotwayo, Hlembhem, Umtatem, Umpomene, telling them to meet him at the Lwr Mfolosi drift on 28/29/7. If they did not they would be dealt with as rebels. Encloses report of Officer commanding detachment of 6th Mergaons who arrived here yesterday

1/8/88 /In continuation of above. Went to drift and sent two of Dunn's messengers to Somkele. 29/8 they returned with reply that someko would come in the next day. He arrived with small party of unarmed headmen/ "I told him that I considered he had rendered himself responsible for the action of the other chiefs by taking them among this following and that he must send messengers to bring them to me. He stated only Dhlindhleh, Dabayaki, Bejana, Masetiwana and Mtaleni were with him and he sent for them at once. I also ordered Somkeli to produce the five men implicated in the murder of some white residents of this District.

31st. Myolosa, Masetiwana, Dabayaki, Mtatene, Dhlendhelu came and gave themselves up. Somkeli delivered over the five men accused of murder, among whom is his own son and heir. I handed them over/ to ALP

19099 cont 2

Somkeli says he has snet for Somopo. Lokotwayo, Mponeeni are S.W. of the junction of the Mfolosis. the have not replied to the messengers sent to them. Dunn is to excort the prinosers to the Magistacy and action will then be taken against those who haven't come in.

In continuation 7/8/88 March for ^{mounted} Ndwandwe. Zulusi seen in the distance wanting to communicate with Somkele thinking he was in the Dukuduku.

Halbisa and Dletsheni people flee as on 4/8 the column approaches.

~~Replensih~~ Troops replensih their store of mealies from pits.

5/8 An suthu driving cattle shot by one of the Baustos Capture rpisoners and witch doctor sent to doctor our roaid. All proosners admit Boers assited Dinuzulu on the attack on Ndwandwe Ndwandwe reached 6/8 Fort wrecked

Ceza

Smtyh to Sec of State for War 17/8/88 the esp with the offending remarks about Hav's interference. / " I have the nonour to report for your information that on the 6th instant the sweeping movement of the Coast Column having been completed up to Ndwandwe, and I having at the same time established a chain of defnsbile posts between N'Konjeni & that place, w ich commands the country up to the Northern Border, as N'Kinjeni commands it to the Western Border, I was then in a position to advance upon the stronghold of Dinizulu at Ceza, in the north west boorener of Zululand, without leaving open to him any line of retreat except acorss the adjancet Border into the SAR. / /In this position, however, I was compleled to halt, by the peremptory instructions of his Escellency the overnor (as reported to you in my telegram of the 3rd instant) in order to take note of the effect of the previous operations, and to give oppoortunity to the Ciliv Authorities to

summon Dinizulu to surrender, and to endeavour, by proclamation, to detach his followers from him. I understand that the Civil Authorities were not successful in casing any kind of summons or proclamation to reach him or any of his part; but on the 8th instant I learnt from my scouts that Dinizulu with some horsemen and about 45 Companies, crossed the Northern Border on the preceding day, and the track of his force, crossing the just eastward of the 26th Beacon, was clearly made out by my Basuto Mounted Levies.

I am of opinion that the operation of the Coast Column prevented the further transmission of reinforcements and supplies from Somkeli to Ceza, and was necessary to the Security of the right flank of our forces in their advance. / The submission of Somkeli had been repeatedly sought by the Civil Authorities but it was obtained wholly and solely by the action of this column. / Have since searched Ceza and dispersed small bodies of the Nuthu. The remainder of the rebels have dispersed to their homes.

CO 427/3

CO 25686

Hav to Knut confl 27/11/88

Minutes /We must get Treasury permission to buy the gun £50-£60. A copy of this should go to WO / "as there is an undue idea at the Horse Guards seemingly as to John Dunn's merits." E F 28/12

But Bramson and Herbert find Dunn's behaviour to have been "of questionable character" and think that he should not have a present. /

The despatch confl. /Acks Knut's conf. of 12/10 asking to think of a present for Dunn for his held in the Lower Mfiliso rebellion and Have recommends on Onb's advice a sporting gun. But Have points out that when, at the end of June, news from ALP that his station was in jeopardy, news which we have learnt since, in jeopardy Dunn's behaviour was as follow.

1/7/88 Smyth telegraphed me that Saunders ~~had advised me~~ and told him to impress on Dunn that it was necessary for him to send military assistance to ALP as now military assistance could be sent from Eshowe. 3/7 Smyth telegraphed me that Saunders could not persuade Dunn to assist ALP and also that his people were suspected of being sympathetic with the rebels. Meanwhile on 2/7 the Hlopekulu operation was successful and the news of it reached Eshowe on 3/7. On 4/7 informed that Dunn had changed his mind and offered to raise a force ~~for~~ provided that 250 of his men were supplied with firearms. / "From this moment his conduct was all that could be desired. His previous refusal to give the assistance which the Government has the right to claim and to receive from every Chief in Zululand, following as it did previous objections

to comply with Mr. Osborn's request for a levy for service at Holpekulu and Ceza, was unquestionably blameworthy. ~~But~~ John Dunn's action contrasted unfavorably with that of the other Chiefs... living in his neighborhood, who readily rendered the service demanded of them, and it aroused not only my indignation, but also that of all to whom his conduct became known. The question of dismissing him from chieftainship was seriously proposed to me.

CO 427/3

264
Hav to Knut Confl 30/11/88

Minutes "...Dunn should have been put on this trial for refusing to carry out the orders of Govt. JB. 5/1

and might perhaps now be told that HM Govt doubt whether he can be retained in his present position if he is unable or unwilling to render the effective & immediate cooperation of his men when the public welfare or safety demands their ~~extra~~ services. RLWH Jan 9

This warning should be given to JDunn in very clear terms.

The desp confl of 30/11/88 /Submits further reports on Dunn's behaviour./

Enc 1 Report by Mr Saunders Res Mag Eshowe District 4/11/88

/Dunn's refusal, when he could have raised 2000 men, meant that an unsuccessful attempt to raise a force in Natal had to be attempted. /

Enc 2 Saunders to Osg 22/6/88

/On receipt of yours of 15/6 sent to Ntshingwayo, Dunn, Mpuhlane (Yamela's induna, Ishana Sikumyana and Mbango to raise the levy. They all responded but for Dunn who said / "the people looked upon the disturbances as Usibebu's

quarrel with the Usutu. I told him it was an order from Government and Usibubu had nothing to do with the present disturbances..." /He said he would have an Indaba with his people. A letter was the result and the men who delivered it said their headmen had told them to say they could supply no men as their able bodied men were away working. I said that only 530 passes to go into Natal had been issued during the year, and ~~half~~ "nothing like" half of these issued to Dunn's people.

These men (another chief refused, following Dunn's example) should be deprived of their chieftainships and fined, for they know what would have happened to them under their own laws for refusing such an order. Dunn himself fined heavily all those who failed to turn out when he attacked Ititimela. Dunn could have supplied 3-4000 men and I only asked him for 1000. A Saunders to Dunn Ehsowe 18/6/88 /the request/

B Dunn to Saunders 21/6/88 Enyezane,
/Had meeting with my headmen and cannot succeed in raising a force. Most able bodied men have gone to work but / "the main causes of their objection, are that they look on these disturbances as having been caused by Sibebu, for whom they do not care to risk their lives; and another is that they firmly believe that Dinuzulu is being backed by the Boers."

Knut to Hav conf 14/1/89 "I have learnt with regret his hesitation and unwillingness to assist the Govt. in response to their requisition for a native levy, and I request that you will cause Chief John Dunn to be informed that if on any future occasion he is either unable or unwilling to secure the effective and immediate cooperation of his men when the Governor considers that public welfare of safety require their service, HM Govt will be under the necessity of considering whether they can retain him in his present position."

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113

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GH 713

Z588

Knutsford to Havelock 2/8/88

/Acks desp of 18/6 and enclsoes letter to War Office/

WO to CO 2/8/88

~~xxxxxxx~~/Forwards correspondnce ~~tm~~ on the employment of native levies in Zululand and notes that at the time they were writtn the employment of native levies were to ag reat extent under the immediate direction of Havelock and civil authories and Havelock was anxious that certain principles be carried out. / "That Uisibebu and his trive should if possible not be employed against the other Zulus.

That eupropan officers should be in charge of native lievies, and that strict orders should be given with a view of restriining the violence and cupidity to which in accordance with tradition and habit, the native and Basuto lieves are likely to be tempted to give way, and the European officers in charge of levies whousl be warned that they will be heldp reponsible for the observance by the natives under them of such orders. The conduct pf all militiary operation has since passed out of the hands of the civil authorities, but Lord Knutsford thinks that it is important that the military authorities should observe the principles laid down by Sir A E Havelock, and he would suggest for the consideration of Mr Stanhope that possibley it might be well to send a telegram to the Genrerall Officer commanding in Zululand saying that great caustion should be taken in employin Uisibebu in active operations, and that all naitive levies are to be under European Officers who will be repsonsible for their abstaining from plunder or inhumanity,"

PAUL BONTSA MTIMKULU (HADEBE)
Some notes for Prof. Bengt Sundkler
from Jeff Guy
27 June 1989

Background

In 1879 the British invaded the Zulu kingdom, defeated the Zulu army and exiled the king Cetshwayo kaMpande and divided Zululand amongst 13 Zulu chiefs.

Civil war broke out: on the one side were the Usuthu, the royalists who supported Cetshwayo and the Zulu royal house; the major figure on the other was Zibhebhu, of the Mandlakazi section of the royal house.

The civil war did terrible damage and so weakened the Zulu that external forces were able to occupy their country. Boers moved into the north western districts founding the New Republic, and the British annexed the rest of the territory in 1887.

The Usuthu, the royalist faction, continued to protest. The British treated this as defiance and attempted to arrest the leaders, including Dinuzulu the young son of the last Zulu king.

On 2 June 1888 the Usuthu under Dinuzulu were occupying the mountain at Ceza when they were attacked by a British force. The British alleged that they were attempting to exercise their legitimate authority. The Usuthu under Dinuzulu alleged it was an unprovoked attack.

To repay old debts and to offset the power of the Usuthu in the north the authorities then tried to return the Usuthu's greatest enemy, Zibhebhu to his home territory. Dinuzulu and the Usuthu marched from Ceza on the night of 22 July 1888 and attacked Zibhebhu and his army which was sleeping near the new British magistracy at Nongoma.

For the British this was rebellion and the Usuthu leaders were later brought to trial for treason. At this trial evidence was led of the presence of a "praying man" at Ceza. Here it is:-

THE FIRST PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1624 TO 1789
AND IS A VERY INTERESTING AND
INFORMATIVE WORK.

THE SECOND PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
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THE THIRD PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1898 TO 1914
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THE FOURTH PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1914 TO 1929
AND IS A VERY INTERESTING AND
INFORMATIVE WORK.

THE FIFTH PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1929 TO 1945
AND IS A VERY INTERESTING AND
INFORMATIVE WORK.

THE SIXTH PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1945 TO 1960
AND IS A VERY INTERESTING AND
INFORMATIVE WORK.

THE SEVENTH PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1960 TO 1975
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INFORMATIVE WORK.

Court of Special Commissioners. Evidence of Tshanibezwe, 320

The chopping of the ugangana poles went on. Those poles were sharpened at both ends, and were to be used on the suggestion of Umtandalaza, the prayer-reader, that, on being struck by a bullet, the pole would turn round and the other end would still be prepared, as it were, for battle. Those poles were to be as good as fighting men: when struck, the piece would fly off and would strike the party who had fired. That was the suggestion of the praying-man, who does not confine himself to praying. Those poles were brought up from thorn-country, and they were put down very carefully and reverently, not simply thrown down anyhow."

Evidence of Mnumeni, 756-7

Before we started [on the march to Nongoma] there was an mnkumbe formed at Ceza. The umkumbe was not addressed, it was only part tetering: there was only one man speaking, the Umtandalaza ("the praying man"), because our Zulu spirits were no longer addressed (tetered).....The Umtandalaza spoke to the impi, at the umkumbe; Dinizulu, Ndabuko, and the heads of the Zulus, did not speak to us, but they were present when Umtandalaza was speaking. Umtandalaza was praying, saying that Dinizulu would be able to beat ...all the nations, even the English were to be beaten by Dinizulu, and his presence there was to Dinizulu the power to do this: "this impi, which accompanies Dick [the magistrate], is a little impi of Malimati [the resident magistrate], but has not come from any given authority, and is only to buy the money: it is a little impi of Malimati, he has not come from any authority and has only come to steal Dinizulu's land": Dick and Malimati were simply thieves, stealing the land, we were to kill all the English in Zululand drive them across the Tugela: we were to fight and to drive all the English out, in order that Dinizulu might reign in the land: this would happen, as he (Umtandalaza) had come: if we were inclined to dispute what he said, he (Umtandalaza) asked us "do you know whence I come? those were the wrods of the Umtandalaza."

758 As regards women and children, I heard no orders given at the umkumbes. When the Umtandalaza, did the killing of women and children cease? did it ever cease? It never ceased: somen and children were killed at Unduna, and the Umtandalaza was there and he despatched us, the impi. Umtandalaza had come to set up the Zulu house, and so spoke before and after the Ceza fight. That Umtandalaza frequently read out of his book: he has a book: we were surprised.

Harriette Colenso left some notes on this praying man. (Natal Archives. Colenso Collection Box 87. MS). They conflict with the evidence led at the trial.

Cetshwayo on his restoration in 1883, when his son Dinuzulu was a youth of 15, invited a man of Zulu birth, but brought up in the Cape Colony to come to Zululand as a Medical Missionary. His name was Paul Bontsa Mtimkulu. But before he arrived in Zululand, Cetshwayo died. Paul was well received by Cetshwayo's family & by the Zulus generally, & remained with them sharing their troubles till 1890, when he voluntarily accompanied the three chiefs into exile at St Helena, & is there with them to this day.

During the Zulu State Trials preceding this exile, a witness brought against Dinuzulu to prove that had taken part in a certain battle, gave evidence which showed incidentally that Paul's influence had not been evil. This witness told how after the engagement he was brought a prisoner before Dinuzulu, who, in the flush of his first victory over his father's cruel foe, gave the following order about this prisoner "Do not harm him, God has protected."

Dinuzulu now urges "I have told you that I am not a professed convert. But my relations with Paul show that I was not opposed to Christian teaching, at a time when I had no special advantage to gain by the hypocrisy you now impute to me."

"The words of Paul Mtimkulu at Ceza (June 2 1888.) On the day when the impi of the white people attacked. Hezekia (2 Kings) XIX 1-24 I read all the words of these verses & after that I explained, saying:-Hezekia acted thus being heart-broken, & wishing that the Almighty should help him; & when he sent out his Indunas, he sent them to the Prophet Isaya to complain, because this was a great day of heaviness, saying to the Prophet that he should listen to these words of abuse, which reproach the Almighty.

And do you too now trust in the Almighty & in nothing beside, for it is He who will help you, because you have not been resisting the white people. Although it is great, that impi, - so great as the Mfolozi forests - fear not. I trust not in the ancestral spirits, as you have been used to do. If you trust in Him, He will manifest Himself for you this day, even as he helped Hezekia so will he help you also."

After this I read out the ten commandments of Moses. And the Zulu repeated the words after me. That was all

(the service). We finished by saying "Amen."

3

Paul had told me what had been his text on this occasion long before the evidence given during Dinuzulu's trial disclosed the importance of the point that, in this chapter Israel does no fighting, is not urged to do any, but remains entirely passive deliverance being effected by "the Angel of the Lord!" Immediately after this service, be it remembered, Ndabuko & Dinuzulu gave the order to retreat up the pass, over the boundary.

"On the Day of the setting out for Ndumu (June 22\23, 1888) Deuteronomy XXX 1-20. I read all the words of these verses, & after that, produced a few little words of explanation, saying :-

"You must now trust in the Almighty, according to these words, If you trust in Him He will be your strength to help you amongst even the heaviest distresses. If you do not trust in him, he will give you over into the hand of death, for verily you are going to meet death itself this day. If you stand fast in Him, He will help you, & will manifest Himself for you. Himself will go with you to-day, because He is the god of those who are in difficulties. His ears are opened to those who trust in Him, & He is near to them also. Be strong of heart, & fear not!"

After this I laid upon the order, to wit:-

"You know the orders of your Chief! Namely, you shall not injure a woman, nor a boy, nor an old man, nor a white person, nor an infant, nor a little girl."

Colenso Collection

Box 87

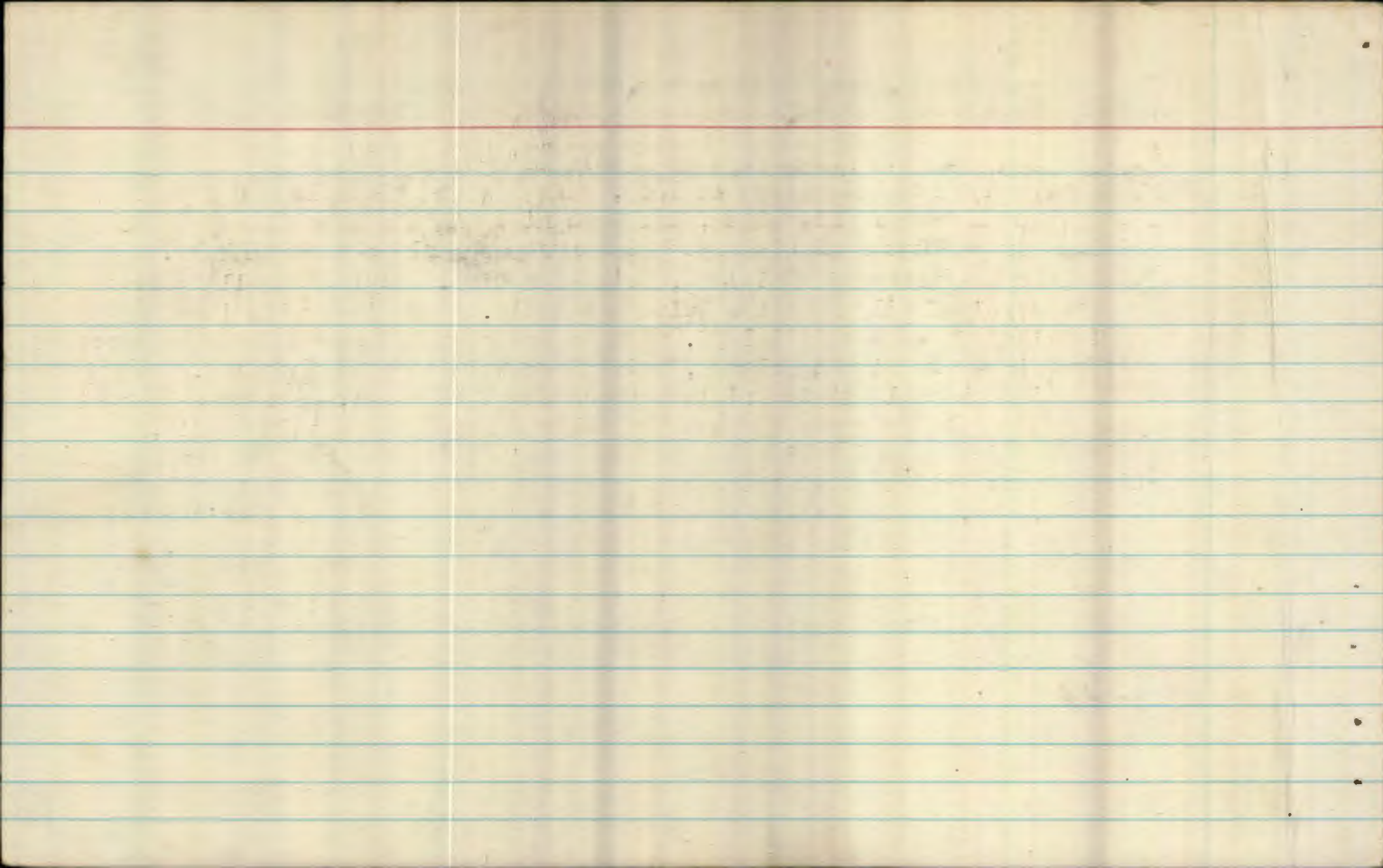
Quarto plain paper. Manuscript in H Colenso's hand

"Cetshwayo on his restoration in 1883, when his son Dinuzulu was a youth of 15, invited a man of Zulu birth, but brought up in the Cape Colony to come to Zululand as a Medical Missionary. His name was Paul Bontsa Mtimkulu.

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Colenso Collection

Box 87

"The words of Paul Mtinkulu at Ceza, (June 2 1888.) on the day when the impi of the white people attacked.

Hezekia (= "Kings") XIX 1-24. I read all the words of these verses & after that I explained, saying :-

"Hezekia acted thus being heart-brroken, & wishing that the Almighty should help him; & when he sent out his Indunas, he sent them to the Prophet Isaya to complain, because this was a great day of heaviness, saying to the Prophet that he should listen to these words of abuse, which reproach the Almighty.

And do you too now trust in the Almighty & in nothing beside, for it He who will help you, because you have not been resisting the white people. Although it is great, that impi, - so great as the Mfolozi forests - fear not. I trust not in the ancestral spirits, as you have been used to do. If you trust in Him, He will manifest Himself for you this day, even as he helped Hezekia so will he help you also."

After this I read out the ten commandments of Moses. And all Zulu repeated the words after me. That was all (the service). We finished by saying 'Amen.' I.

1. Paul ~~to~~ had told me what had been his text on this occasion long before the evidence given during Dinuzulu's trial disclosed the importance of the point that, in this chapter Israel does no fighting, is not urged to do any, but remains entirely passive deliverance being effected by 'the Angel of the Lord!

Immediately after this service, be it remembered, Ndabuko & Dinuzulu gave the order to retreat up the pass, over the boundary.

On the Day of the setting out for Ndumu (June 22-23, 1988)

Deuteronomy XXX 1-20. I read all the words of these verses, & after that, produced a few little words of explanation, saying:-

"You must now trust in the Almighty, according to these words, If you trust in Him He will be your strength to help you amongst*even the heaviest distresses. If you do not trust in him, he will give you over into the hand of death, for verily you are going to meet death itself this day. If you stand fast in Him, He will help you, & will manifest Himself for you. Himself will go with you to-day, because He is the God of those who are in difficulties. His ears are opened to those who trust in Him, & He is near to them also. Be strong of heart, & fear not!"

After this I laid upon them the orders, to wit:-

'You know the orders of your Chief! Namely, you shall not injure a woman, nor a boy, nor an old man, nor a white person, nor an infant, nor a little girl.'

/The original in Zulu/

2 Kings 18

28. Then the Rabshakeh stood and called out in a loud voice in the language of Juda: 'Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria!

29. Thus says the king: 'Do not let Hezekiah deceive you out of my hand.

30. Do not let Hezekiah make you to rely on the LORD ~~xx~~ by saying, the LORD will surely deliver us, and this city will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.'

31. Do not listen to Hezekiah; for thus say the king of Assyria: 'Make your peace with me and come out to me; then every one of you will eat of his own vine, and every one of his own fig tree, and every one of you will drink the water of his own cistern;

32 until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of grain and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive trees and honey, that you may live, and not die. And no not listen to Hezekiah when he misleads you by saying, The LORD will deliver us.

33. Ha any of the gods of the nations ever delivers his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharva'im, Hena and Ivvah? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hands?

35. Who among all the gods of the countries have delivered their countries out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?'

36. But the people were silent and answered him not a word, for the king's command was, 'Do not answer him.'

37. Then Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, who was over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah the son of Asaph, the recorder, came to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him of the words of Rabshakeh.

/The reading on June 2 follows/

19.

1. When the King Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the Lord.

2. And he sent Eliakim, who was over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and the senior priests, covered with sackcloth, to the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz.

3. They said to him. 'Thus says Hezekiah, The day is a day of distress, of rebuke, and of disgrace; children have come to the birth, and there is no strength to bring them forth.

4. It may be that the Lord your God heard all the words of Rabshakeh, whom his master the king Assyria has sent to mock the living God, and will rebuke the words which the LORD your God has heard; therefore lift up your prayer for the remnant that is left.'

5. When the servants of King Hezekiah came to Isaiah,

6. Isaiah said to them, 'Say to your master, 'Thus said the LORD: Do not be afraid because of the words that you have heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have reviled me.

7. Behold I will put a spirit in him, so that he shall hear a rumour and return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.'

8. The Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria fighting again Libnah; for he heard that the king had left Lachish.

9. And when the king heard concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, 'Behold, he has set out to fight against you,' he sent messengers again to Hezekiah saying, 'Thus shall you speak to Hezekiah king of Judah: 'Do not let your God on whom you rely deceive you by promising that Jerusalem will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.'

11. Behold, you have heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, destroying them utterly. And shall you be delivered?

12. Have the god of the nations delivered them, the nations which my fathers destroyed, Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the people of Eden who were in Tel-assar?

13 Where is the king of Hamath, the king Arpad, the king of the city of Sepharvaim, the king of Hena, or the king Ivvah?

14. Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it; and Hezekiah went up to the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD.

15. And Hezekiah prayed before the LORD, and said: O LORD the God of Israel, who art enthroned above the cherubim, thou art the God, thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou has made heaven and earth.

16. Incline thy ear, O LORD, and hear; open thy eyes, O LORD, and see; and hear the words of Sennacherib, which he has sent to mock the living God.

17. Of a truth, O LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations and their lands,

18 and have cast their gods into the fire; for they were not gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone, therefore they were destroyed.

19 So now, O LORD our God, save us, I beseech thee, from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, O LORD, art God alone.

20. Then Isaiah, the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, "Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: Your prayer to me about Sennacherib king of Assyria I have heard.

21 This is the word that the LORD has spoken concerning him: She despises you, she scorns you - the virgin daughter of Zion; she wags her head behind you the daughter of Jerusalem.

22. Whom have you mocked and reviled?
Against whom have you raised your voice
and haughtily lifted your eyes
Against the Holy One of Israel!

23 By your messengers you have mocked the Lord
and you have said, 'With my many chariots
I have gone up the heights of the mountains,
to the far recesses of Lebanon;
I felled its tallest cedars,
its choicest cypresses
I entered its farthest retreat,
its densest forest.
I dug wells
and drank foreign waters,
and I dried up with the sole of my foot
all the streams of Egypt.

25 Have you not heard
that I determined it long ago?
I planned from of old
what now I bring to pass,
that you should turn fortified cities into heaps of ruins,
while their inhabitants, shorn of strength
are dismayed and confounded,
and have become like plants of the field, and like tender grass,
like grass on the housetops;
blighted before it is grown.

27 But I knew your sitting down
and your going out and coming in,
and your raging against me.
Because you have raged against me and
your arrogance has come into my ears,
I will put my hook in your nose
and my bit in your mouth,
and I will turn you back on the way by which you came.

29 /A sign, don't sow for two years then sow/

30 And the surviving remnant of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward;

31 for out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and out of Mount Zion a band of survivors. The Seal of the LORD will do this.

32. Therefore thus say the LORD concerning the King of Assyria. He shall not come to this city or shoot an arrow there, or come before it with a shield or cast up a mound against it.

33. By the way that he came, by the same he shall return, and he shall not come into this city, says the LORD.

34 For I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David."

35. And that night the angel of the LORD went forth, and slew a hundred and eighty five thousand in the camp of the Assyrians; and when men arose early in the morning behold, these were all dead bodies.

36. Then Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went home, and dwelt at Nineveh.

Deuteronomy XXX 1-20

"And when all these things come upon you, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before you, and you call them to mind among all the nation where the LORD your God has driven you, and return to the LORD your God, you and your children, and obey his voice in all that I command you this day, with all your heart and with all your soul; then the LORD your God will restore your fortunes, and have compassion upon you, and he will gather you again from all the peoples where the LORD your God has scattered you. If your outcasts are in the uttermost parts of heaven, from there the LORD your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you; and the LORD your God will bring you into the land which your fathers possessed, that you may possess it; and he will make you more prosperous and numerous than your fathers....

And the LORD your God will put all these curses upon your foes and enemies who persecuted you. ~~And ye shall be a people of peace....~~
The LORD your God will make you a unduly prosperous in all the work of your hand, in the fruit of your body, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your ground; for the LORD will again take delight in prospering you, as he took delight in your fathers.

/Note he didn't ~~read~~ read verse 3 in ~~Deuteronomy~~ XXXI

"The LORD your God himself will overtake you; he will destroy these nations before you, so that you shall dispossess them; and Joshua will go over against your head, as the LORD has spoken!"

