

THE DIARY OF HENRY FRANCIS FYNN: 1883.

VOLUME I INTRODUCTION

BY

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## ABSTRACT

Henry Francis Fynn (1846-1915) was British Resident in Zululand with the restored king Cetshwayo kaMpande during the year 1883. During this period, Fynn kept a written diary of the events he witnessed in this position, particularly those of the Zulu civil war which reached a climax at the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883. Fynn's manuscript was inherited by his great-granddaughter, Lynn Mathews who donated the diary to the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban in 1984.

This thesis aims to present a transcribed and edited form of this considerable manuscript, together with explanatory footnotes, maps and illustrations. The diary, as a separate entity, thus constitutes Volume II of this thesis. Volume I, which contains an introduction, appendices and bibliography, aims to provide a context for Fynn's work by assessing his writing within the framework of nineteenth century Zulu history, and examining its value against the substantial body of historical writing on this subject. The necessity for such an analysis is further validated by the fact that Fynn's diary contains much oral collected evidence which he recorded from witnesses of the significant events of the year 1883.

Volume I of the thesis required careful reconsideration of the historical writing on the Zulu state, as well as research into Fynn's early life and career. Volume II required research into the details of the course of hostilities of the civil war and the prominent individuals involved. On a different level, it was essential to edit out sections of Fynn's manuscript which did not pertain to the immediate events of the civil war, in order to ensure a coherent and manageable-sized narrative.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Summary	iii
Table of Contents	vi
Abbreviations	viii
Preface	ix
Frontpiece	xii
1 <u>The Manuscript</u>	1
Provenance (1) - The nature of the manuscript (2) - the significance of the manuscript (5).	
2 <u>Life and Career of H.F. Fynn (1846-1915)</u>	13
Early life and career (13-15) - Fynn as Resident Magistrate at Umsinga (16-17) - Fynn's role during the Anglo-Zulu war (18-20) - Fynn as British Resident with Cetshwayo (21-22) - Fynn's retirement (23-24).	
3 <u>The Nature of the Zulu State c. 1780-1883</u>	26
The meaning of the 'destruction' of the Zulu kingdom 1879-1883 (26-28) - the basis of the Zulu political economy (29-31) - the underlying reasons for the 'Mfecane' (32-35) - the reign of Shaka (36-39) - the reign of Dingane (39-41) - Mpande's appeal to the Voortrekkers (41) - Mpande's take-over and consolidation (41-45) - the advent of missionaries in the Zulu kingdom (45-46) - underlying tensions and the civil war of 1856 (46-47) - Cetshwayo's appeal to the British and Shepstone's recognition of Cetshwayo as the heir apparent 1861 (48-49) - Cetshwayo's consolidation of power (50-53) - Cetshwayo's 'coronation' in 1873 (53-54) - Zululand during the 1870s (55-56) - the British invasion 1879 (56-58) - tensions within the Zulu state during the war (58-59) - Wolseley's 'settlement' of Zululand, September 1879 (60-69) - implications of the settlement (69-70) - the upheavals and conflicts from 1880 to 1882 (70-80) - appeal for restoration (81-84) - restoration terms (84-88) - Cetshwayo's return to Zululand in January 1883 (88-89) - conclusion: the reasons for the outbreak of civil war (89-91).	

4	<u>The Events of 1883</u>	92
	Historiographical outline (92) - the nature of Fynn's position and his relationship with Cetshwayo (93-98) - outline of the events during the year 1883 (98-118).	
Appendix A (i):	Map of Zululand showing the thirteen chiefdoms allocated by Wolseley in September 1879	119
	(ii): Map of Zululand in 1883	120
Appendix B:	The Conditions of Cetshwayo's Restoration	122
Note on Appendix C		128
Appendix C:	Biographical Notes	
	i) Officials	129
	ii) Traders and Missionaries	134
	iii) Royalists	140
	iv) Adherents of Hamu and Zibhebhu	166
	v) Zulu who attempted to remain neutral	174
Appendix D:	Postal System and Messengers	178
Note on Sources		184
Bibliography		185

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
Editing of The Manuscript	ii
Illustrations	vi
<u>PART I</u> - From Cetshwayo's installation to the battle of Msebe (29 January to 30 March 1883)	1
Map of the battle of Msebe	65
<u>PART II</u> - From the battle of Msebe to the battle of oNdini (31 March to 21 July 1883)	66
Map of the battle of oNdini	142
<u>PART III</u> - Cetshwayo's flight to the Nkandla Forest (22 July to 16 October 1883)	144
<u>PART IV</u> - Fynn at Eshowe and in the Transvaal (29 October to 22 December 1883)	195

## SUMMARY

In January 1879, largely as a result of Sir Bartle Frere's confederation schemes for Southern Africa, British and Colonial forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, invaded the independent Zulu kingdom, ruled since 1873 by King Cetshwayo kaMpande. The political economy of the Zulu state rested on the amabutho system of age-grade regiments, originally established in the late eighteenth century by Dingiswayo kaJobe and consolidated by his famous successor, Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Despite underlying tensions within the framework of the Zulu polity, the army was able to offer substantial resistance to the British invading forces, but was nevertheless decisively defeated at the battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, who succeeded both Chelmsford and Frere, divided the Zulu state into thirteen 'kinglets' or chiefdoms, each to be ruled by an appointed chief. These chiefs were chosen for their anti-royalist leanings, with the aim of ensuring that the Zulu monarchy and its attendant amabutho system was irretrievably destroyed. Wolseley also appointed a powerless British Resident to oversee the actions of the thirteen chiefs. Within weeks of Wolseley's departure in September 1879, fighting broke out between the appointed chiefs and the royalist (uSuthu) adherents under their rule. For the following three years, this conflict escalated and Zululand rapidly deteriorated into a state of anarchy. The uSuthu, under the leadership of the king's brother Ndabuko kaMpande and his

ex-prime minister, Mnyamana kaNgqengelele, eventually appealed to the Natal government to restore Cetshwayo. This request coincided with Cetshwayo's visit to London in 1882 and the Colonial Office, with a view to re-stabilising Zululand, agreed to restore the king as an authority in Zululand. However, the conditions of this restoration required that Cetshwayo was only to rule the central districts of his former kingdom. A large northern area was placed under the rule of Zibhebhu kaMaphitha, an aggressive anti-royalist and formerly one of the thirteen appointed chiefs. The area in the south of Zululand was made into the Reserve Territory, to be placed under the jurisdiction of a British Resident Commissioner. It was considered necessary to appoint another British Resident in Zululand to monitor the actions of the restored king and Henry Francis Fynn, son of the renowned pioneer who had visited Shaka in 1824, was given this post.

Fynn kept a detailed diary of the events of 1883 which included official despatches as well as his private writing. This unpublished manuscript constitutes valuable source material on the momentous events of the civil war in 1883. Fynn recorded the intensifying conflict between the uSuthu party and Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi adherents. In March, Ndabuko and Ziwedu kaMpande, the two princes who had been placed under Zibhebhu's rule led some 5 000 uSuthu forces against Zibhebhu. On 30 March, the Mandlakazi, consisting of about 1 500 troops, completely routed the uSuthu in the battle of Msebe in north-east Zululand. The uSuthu-Mandlakazi conflict reached a tragic climax on 21 July 1883, when



Zibhebhu marched on Cetshwayo's new homestead oNdini and, after surprising and defeating the practically defenceless remnants of Cetshwayo's royal regiments, burnt the king's homestead and killed about forty important dignitaries. Cetshwayo, as well as his heir, Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, managed to escape from the Mandlakazi forces and sought refuge in the Nkandla Forest of the Reserve Territory. Fynn, after watching the battle of oNdini and recording the event in detail, sought for Cetshwayo but was not able to establish his exact whereabouts and safety until some weeks later.

In October 1883, Fynn moved to Eshowe under the orders of Melmoth Osborn, the Resident Commissioner. Osborn then requested Fynn to persuade Cetshwayo and his remaining followers to come under British protection at Eshowe. Fynn was then sent to the north-western districts of Zululand to investigate reports of Boer 'squatters' on the Zululand side of the Blood River border.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BPP British Parliamentary Papers
- CO Colonial Office, London
- CSO Colonial Secretary's Office, Natal, papers in Natal Archives
- GH Government House, Natal, papers in Natal Archives
- GHZ Government House, Zululand, papers in Natal Archives
- ZA Zululand Archives, papers in Natal Archives

## PREFACE

Jeff Guy, in his book The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, has provided an authoritative account of the civil war in Zululand from 1879 to 1884. Particularly central to his period were the events of 1883, which included the major battles of Msebe in March and oNdini in July of that year. Guy's account of these events is based primarily on the material in J.W. Colenso's Digest of Zulu Affairs, Volume II. Further detailed material is available in the despatches of the British Resident, Henry Francis Fynn, which are filed in the Government House Zululand files in the Natal Archives Depot, Boxes 682 to 687. Unaccountably, Guy has to a large extent overlooked this crucial source in favour of Colenso.

Fynn, in his position as Resident with the restored King Cetshwayo, was in a unique position to provide an original account of these events. He was an eye-witness to much of the conflict in the central Zululand district and, moreover, recorded oral evidence from a considerable variety of sources. As so much Zulu history relies on oral tradition, Fynn can, in a sense, be classed with James Stuart as a significant 'recorder' of oral material. An additional important factor is that Fynn was not, like Colenso, attempting to fight a specific 'pro-uSuthu' cause and it is likely that his writing was considerably less biased.

Close examination of Fynn's unpublished manuscript yielded a substantial volume of new material on the civil war. The GHZ despatches are, in most instances, supplemented by personal writing which often revealed underlying intrigue and interesting additional information which served to explain the major events more clearly. A prominent theme which

emerged was that of minor, continuous conflict. Fynn's extremely detailed narrative clarified the nature of the complete upheaval experienced by the population of Zululand and the sheer impossibility of remaining neutral and attempting to follow a 'normal' day-to-day existence in the face of wholesale civil war.

In order to place Fynn's diary in context and provide an analytical background, an introduction, together with explanatory appendices, has been prepared as Volume I of this thesis. Fynn's manuscript, which has been transcribed and provided with explanatory footnotes, maps and illustrations, constitutes Volume II. The mass of material in Fynn's diary made it necessary to edit out certain sections. An explanation of the manner in which this has been done is given at the beginning of Volume II.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance given to me by so many people in the course of my research and in the task of transcribing Fynn's diary. Mrs Lynn Lund, Fynn's great-granddaughter, made this thesis possible by donating the manuscript to the Killie Campbell Africana Library. She also provided me with information about her great-grandfather Mrs Sheilah Bailey, Fynn's grand-daughter, also gave me valuable source material. Mr Adrian Koopman from the Zulu Department of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, advised me on Fynn's nineteenth century Zulu spelling, on the meaning of Europeans' Zulu names and on modern Zulu orthography. Mrs L. Le Roux drew the maps for this thesis with meticulous accuracy, despite the lack of information available for this task.

I would like to thank the staff of the Department of Historical Studies of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg for their constant encouragement during the past two years, and especially my supervisor, Mr John Laband, who has always been available to advise me in this considerable task. This thesis is dedicated to my family who have never ceased to support me in this endeavour.

I must state that this thesis is entirely my own work, except where indicated in the text or footnotes, and has not been submitted to any other university.

J. Pridmore

10 December 1987.

ALING CECILIANO JAMELANDE  
Photograph taken in 1982



EMMA FRANCIS FLYNN  
Photograph taken in 1996



## CHAPTER I

### THE MANUSCRIPT

#### 1. PROVENANCE

Henry Francis Fynn (1846-1915)<sup>1</sup> was the only white child of the renowned pioneer, Henry Francis Fynn (1803-1861)<sup>2</sup>. Fynn senior's detailed journal of his experiences with King Shaka kaSenzangakhona from 1824 to 1828 was edited and published in 1950 as The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn.<sup>3</sup> Fynn's manuscript<sup>4</sup> was written during his period of appointment as British Resident with the restored King Cetshwayo kaMpande from January 1883 to February 1884. During that year, the Zulu civil war, which had been escalating in intensity since the removal of British troops from Zululand in September 1879, reached a tragic climax on 21 July 1883 at the battle of oNdini.<sup>5</sup> The king was defeated by his enemy and distant cousin, Zibhebhu kaMaphitha,<sup>6</sup> and died six months later under the protection of the British government at Eshowe.<sup>7</sup>

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- 1) Hereafter referred to as Fynn.  
M. Davies, Twin Trails (Durban, 1974), pp. 5-7, 134-5.
  - 2) Hereafter referred to as Fynn senior.  
Davies, Twin Trails, pp. 3-7; W.J. de Kock (ed.), Dictionary of South African Biography (Cape Town, 1968), vol. I, pp. 360-361.
  - 3) J. Stuart and D. McK Malcolm (eds.), The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn (Pietermaritzburg, 1950).
  - 4) Unpublished diary of H.F. Fynn. Hereafter referred to as manuscript.
  - 5) GHZ 684, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 July 1883.
  - 6) See Appendix C.
  - 7) C.T. Binns, The Last Zulu King (London, 1963), pp. 210-211.

Fynn's manuscript was later given to his youngest daughter, Eileen Orge Fynn, who was born in 1888 while Fynn was Resident Magistrate at Umsinga.<sup>8</sup> Eileen kept the manuscript until her death in 1975 when it was taken by her grand-daughter, Lynn Mathews.<sup>9</sup> She donated the manuscript to the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban in 1984.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. THE NATURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Fynn's manuscript, when compared with his other official and private correspondence,<sup>11</sup> appears to be written in his own hand until the entry dated 16 May 1883. From that time, Fynn began using a clerk, Cecil Davey, to assist him with various secretarial duties.<sup>12</sup> Fynn's handwriting is untidy and usually rushed with some sections being completely indecipherable.<sup>13</sup> His spelling, punctuation and grammar are irregular and inconsistent and his command of English in a literary context is clearly limited. However, he also uses Zulu phrases and idiomatic expressions which are vivid and meaningful. Like most nineteenth century writers of Zulu, Fynn spells almost entirely phonetically, but it is obvious that his knowledge of the language is considerable.

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- 8) Private information (March 1987) from Mrs Sheilah Bailey, grand-daughter of H.F. Fynn. Davies, Twin Trails, pp. 5, 134-5.
  - 9) Private information (March 1987) from Mrs Lynn Lund, great-grand-daughter of H.F. Fynn.
  - 10) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 55149: Papers of H.F.Fynn junior.
  - 11) See GHZ 682-687, January to December 1883.
  - 12) Manuscript, 5 May 1883.  
BPP C. 3616, enc. 2 in no. 15: Bulwer to Fynn, 28 April 1883.
  - 13) See example of Fynn's handwriting, p. 3.



11 Dec. 1883  
 Dispatched by Publishers of Hathi to give 10 Entails  
 to Prince of Wales draft to take to fight committee on 234  
 enclosed to him & asking him for envelopes & ink &  
 to send one dispatched by first post. (Letter home)  
 Re Hame's messengers - Cethways states the people keeping  
 away from him, show they do not recognize him, why is Hame  
 (Hame's), Cethways never did him any harm.

Cethways sends 11 Dundee  
 ten messengers to Hame to ask Hame to come & see me  
 him to preserve peace; or send the people to recognize  
 him Cethways as their King - & also those concerned in  
 the Rukhwaga case to come & the case to be heard. That Hame  
 keeping the people away has caused blood shed & his will  
 increase of the people keep away from Cethways.  
 Hame's messengers sent to accompany these messengers to Hame.  
 & in all that takes place - & Tell Hame he is under Cethways jurisdiction.  
 Hame's messengers recognize him & report to him & preserve peace - is responsible for  
 the fact you were wrong in not telling the people.  
 Hame's messengers request a letter to  
 Hame's wife of Hame's name & Eligwija's messengers  
 of Hame's name & Hame's name who received a letter with  
 her after the had given with to be held by him which she  
 carried concealed. Inside Letter Book page 55. 12 March 1883  
 forwarded by Hame's messengers at 6 am 17/5/83 9 - Letter (man - day)

received; and that he had  
 received information that the  
 forces were about to make an  
 attack upon him - and further  
 information from Gibebo. Cethways  
 a letter to Hame's messengers, with  
 the belief of Gibebo  
 see my Debate 185. I informed  
 the Hame's messengers of the report  
 made by Cethways' letter; that  
 some of Gibebo's messengers had  
 proceeded against Hame's  
 messengers (adherents of Cethways;  
 see Hame's territory) - with  
 further information, and see  
 reply to Cethways' messengers.

My Debate 186 to Hame  
 Hame's messengers, receiving a letter from  
 the 12th of Hame, dated the 4th of  
 Hame's messengers to Hame's messengers by  
 Hame's messengers to Hame's messengers  
 see my Debate 187 - 188, 189  
 reported the raid of Hame's messengers  
 the 14th of Hame's messengers  
 by the Hame's messengers

The manuscript contains both official and personal elements. Most of Fynn's entries form partial or complete duplications of his official despatches to the Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for South East Africa, Sir Henry Bulwer.<sup>14</sup> These despatches are contained in the Government House Zululand (GHZ) files in the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg, and are numbered Box 682 to Box 687. Some entries, however, are completely private and include Fynn's personal feelings and opinions about events. While Davey's handwriting is used exclusively for official material, Fynn's private comments are entered in his own hand. Zulu phrases and statements which are not included in the official despatches are not translated into English. The manuscript also contains some of the official and private correspondence received by Fynn in his capacity as British Resident in Zululand.

Despite some flaws in style, Fynn's manuscript provides a comprehensive personal and official narrative of the events of 1883. He checked the dates of all information he received and used arrows or an asterisk to show where extra material should have been included in the chronological sequence. The entries differ markedly in length, for Fynn sometimes waited until a considerable volume of material had accumulated before writing up an entry which would then cover a period of a few days. He took substantial quantities of dictation from messengers and mentioned the names and origins of all of them.<sup>15</sup> He also noted in detail all conversations held with Cetshwayo and other leading and influential personalities.

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14) Sir Henry Bulwer (1836-1914) was Lieutenant-Governor of Natal from 1875 to 1880. He was appointed Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for South East Africa in 1882 and held this post until 1886. (W.J. de Kock, Dictionary of South African Biography (Cape Town, 1972), vol. II, pp. 101-102).

15) See Appendix D.

Fynn's sources were widespread. He recorded information from Cetshwayo and his uSuthu adherents in the immediate vicinity of oNdini,<sup>16</sup> as well as accounts of events from informants in other districts. He also recorded reports from various European traders and missionaries in contact with Zulu leaders. This collected evidence clearly constitutes valuable source material for the historian.

### 3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The historical value of Fynn's writing lies in the fact that it contains not one, but three distinct yet interrelated types of evidence. On one level, it provides documentary material of both an official and personal nature. This written primary source material is enriched on a deeper and more pertinent level by a substantial body of oral material collected and recorded by Fynn. The oral material was recorded for official purposes but there are instances of the collection of evidence from various informants for personal interest. In this sense, Fynn's material is similar to that collected by James Stuart.<sup>17</sup> The value of such oral evidence cannot be overstressed, and to be appreciated must be placed in the context of other collections made in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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16) The term 'uSuthu' had originally been the distinguishing cry of Cetshwayo's followers during the civil war in 1856. From the 1880s, this was associated directly with the royalist cause. See J.W. Colenso, Digest of Zulu Affairs, vol. II (Bishopstowe, 1888), pp. 525-526.

17) C. de B. Webb and J. Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vols. I-IV (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1986). See also p. 6. for Fynn's method of recording evidence.

MANUSCRIPT: EXAMPLE OF FYNN'S COLLECTED EVIDENCE

STILL I ALLOW ME TO ASK YOU TO PUT IN YOUR OWN HANDS  
 Anything I wish to ask will be put in its proper place, as I  
 DONALD SMARTE 1854  
 SAMUEL WILFRED DUNN

What is his present address, please  
 JOHN RUPPON DUNN  
 Thank you for the full name

As he was 61 when he passed away, and the date of his death is  
 1895, he was born in 1834 as you show on your

his first crossed the Tugela into 1854 - 19 in 1853  
 at 19 years of age on a hunting trip; he was then 19 years

NDONDA KUSUKA

Yes, uku Donda = Delay, Be-Slow, Lag.  
 This certainly was delay, because  
 Dondayo's impi came into sight before all were on the

of 1 December 1856, but because of a move made by your father, the  
 began to retreat and as it was broken almost sundown, Ndwandwe's 7,000  
 also retreated. It seems to me that it can hardly be called

that can be called Dondayo's 'kind' warfare.  
 The name of battle is iNdondakusuka, a Ndwandwe iziGaga

ndondakusuka or iDondakusuka.  
 UkuDonda = Hard-breathing, as from a big effort. May also refer

MPANDE'S HEIR sound of your father's shouting, ndo-into.  
 Mtonga, whose mother was a NomenTyali. Thank you.

and I know each other well.

JOHN HAMES I am glad to have your list. Here it is:  
 This is your list with (for EmC, you used Onyaga, which is for

- (1) Qweyinduku (Onyaga & R Europeans) (I have it in my
- (2) Nswelobapenduli.

In the absence of written material, the history of the northern Nguni has depended almost exclusively on oral and archaeological evidence.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, most modern written history on the emergence of the Zulu kingdom in the late eighteenth century, and its subsequent developments until the period of European penetration in the 1830s, rests largely on two early written accounts: Fynn senior's Diary and the later works of A.T. Bryant.<sup>19</sup>

Fynn senior's account of the rise of the Mthethwa confederacy under Dingiswayo kaJobe, although based primarily on speculation and a limited Euro-centric outlook, does serve as an initial framework on which to base subsequent research.<sup>20</sup> Fynn senior's unique position within the Zulu kingdom makes his account relevant, despite its obvious historical inaccuracies. James Stuart commented in his

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- 18) C. Hamilton and J. Wright, 'Olden Times and Beyond: conceptualising the pre-documentary history of Zululand-Natal.' (Paper given at a conference on Natal and Zulu History, University of Natal, Durban, 1985), pp. 1-2; M. Hall, Settlement Patterns in the Iron Age of Zululand: an ecological interpretation (British Archeological Reports, 1981), pp. 5-8; S. Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni": a second look at the work of A.T. Bryant' in L. Thompson (ed.), African Societies in Southern Africa (London, 1969), pp. 127-128.
- 19) A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (London, 1929); A.T. Bryant, The Zulu People, as they were before the white man came (London, 1949); A.T. Bryant, History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes (Pietermaritzburg, 1964).
- 20) J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath (London, 1966), pp. 24-48.

introduction to Fynn senior's Diary:

'The fact is that Fynn stood and still stands in a category of his own, and it is this freely and unanimously accorded precedence which straightaway invests almost everything from him about the earliest days of Natal and Zululand with a distinction and quality of its own.' (21)

Contemporary explorers similarly agreed that Fynn senior's knowledge of the Zulu kingdom was unprecedented among European pioneers and warranted publication for future researchers.<sup>22</sup> Bryant's works, which contain a considerable collection of oral evidence, attempt to trace the earlier, pre-Shakan history of the northern Nguni.<sup>23</sup> Although recent research has proved many of his basic tenants flawed, his first publication Olden Times in Zululand and Natal remains a standard authority for the history of the northern Nguni and the rise of the Zulu state.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, the value of Fynn senior and Bryant lies not in the historical accuracy of their work, but in their compilation of previously unrecorded oral evidence pertaining to Zulu history which, by virtue of its very nature, relies on oral tradition. As such, their collections constitute invaluable frameworks for research in this field.<sup>25</sup> It has been pointed

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21) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, p. xii.

22) Ibid.  
A.F. Gardiner, Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa (Cape Town, 1966), pp. 127-139; L. Herman (ed.), Nathaniel Isaacs Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa (Cape Town, 1936), pp. 177-178.

23) Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', pp. 2-4; Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', pp. 129-133.

24) Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', p. 128.

25) Hall, Settlement Patterns, pp. 7-8.

out that oral evidence is no less unreliable than any other type of evidence and is therefore as biased and fallible as history itself.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, oral material should be examined in relation to additional sources, which, in this context, are limited to archaeological evidence.<sup>27</sup>

The European records of Zulu oral tradition are thus the only basis for further historical writing. Although such records are likely to be distorted through the medium of white interpreters, it cannot be assumed that all recorders were uniformly imbued with a restricted Euro-centric outlook.<sup>28</sup> The material collected by James Stuart for example, has provided a rich variety of sources for research on the Zulu state as well as the neighbouring territories of Natal and Swaziland.<sup>29</sup>

The evidence of the Zulu people on events concerning the development of their nation is, therefore, largely limited to the recording of that evidence by Europeans. This evidence is overlaid, from the mid-nineteenth century, by official and private comment by all sectors of the white population of the British Colony of Natal. Thus, from the time of the

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26) P. Thompson, The Voice of the Past - Oral History (Oxford, 1978), pp. 134-5; J.D. Vansina, Oral Tradition (London, 1965), p. 186.

27) Hall, Settlement Patterns, pp. 8-12.

28) J. Laband, 'The cohesion of the Zulu polity under the impact of the Anglo-Zulu War: a reassessment' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History 8 (1985), p. 36: J. Laband, Fight us in the Open (Pietermaritzburg and Ulundi, 1985), Introduction.

29) Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive vol. I, p. xv.

reign of Mpande kaSenzangakhona,<sup>30</sup> Zulu oral evidence can be compared to a substantial volume of documentary material. The changing nature of the Zulu state under the impact of surrounding white colonisation in Southern Africa can be intensively examined and reconstructed from an extensive supply of European sources. Some secondary works on this theme, such as J.Y. Gibson's The Story of the Zulus,<sup>31</sup> successfully combine personal collections of oral material with official records.

Fynn's manuscript, as a combination of both types of evidence, provides new perspectives on the political and economic dynamics of the late nineteenth century Zulu kingdom. The most authoritative modern account of the Zulu civil war is Jeff Guy's book The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> Fynn's manuscript must be analysed in relation to this major work if its value for contemporary research on the internal conflict in the Zulu state during the 1880s is to be assessed.

Although Fynn's complete manuscript was unavailable at the time of Guy's publication, Guy has, unaccountably, overlooked much of the detail provided in Fynn's GHZ despatches. Guy stresses that his 'reconstruction of events in Zululand in 1883 is based on Colenso's Digest Volume II<sup>33</sup> and the various reports in BPP C. 3616, supplemented by some of Fynn's reports in GHZ 683.'<sup>34</sup> It so happens that Fynn's despatches are

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30) Mpande kaSenzangakhona (c.1798-1872) ruled the Zulu kingdom from 1840 until his death in 1872. See also Chapter 3.

31) J.Y. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus (London, 1911).

32) J.J. Guy, The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom (London, 1979).

33) J.W. Colenso, Digest of Zulu Affairs, vol. II (Bishopstowe, 1888).

34) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 209.



contained in five boxes of GHZ and Guy, by using only one box (683), has neglected Fynn in favour of Colenso as a primary source. Colenso's Digest, of which Volume II covers the period of the civil war,<sup>35</sup> consists of information gathered from the official 'Blue Books' collated with newspaper reports and information from Colenso's messengers in Zululand. This is then reinforced with personal comment.<sup>36</sup> Colenso, however, was using his Digest to present a specifically pro-uSuthu version of the events in Zululand.<sup>37</sup> Most of Colenso's informants were adherents of the uSuthu party within Zululand, and, moreover, often brought information to Pietermaritzburg that had been distorted by the time-lapse caused by the considerable distances they had to travel. Fynn, by contrast, although by no means an entirely neutral observer, was neither overtly pro-uSuthu nor an orthodox government official following implicitly the views of Bulwer or Sir Theophilus Shepstone.<sup>38</sup> Fynn's informants, although also forced to travel long distances, brought him more up-to-date news than any reaching Colenso. Fynn had the added advantage of being in the area of conflict and was an eye-witness to many crucial events.<sup>39</sup>

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35) Volume II (Series 2) includes events from July 1882 to October 1883.

36) R. Edgecombe, 'Bishop Colenso and the Zulu Nation' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History 3 (1980), p. 24.

37) *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

38) Sir Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893) was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876. His influence over most appointed white officials in Natal and Zululand was unrivalled, and many of these tended to adopt Shepstone's ideology and then apply it in their own dealings in 'native affairs'. See J. Guy, 'The role of colonial officials in the destruction of the Zulu Kingdom' in A. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds.), The Anglo-Zulu War: new perspectives (Pietermaritzburg, 1981) and J. Laband 'The establishment of the Zululand Administration in 1887: a study of the criteria behind the selection of British Colonial Officials' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History 4 (1981).

39) See Appendix A.

An examination of Fynn's manuscript, building on the foundations laid by Colenso and Guy, as well as in relation to material made available since Guy's publication,<sup>40</sup> is absolutely essential for a full analysis of the civil war in Zululand. Indeed, the necessity for a broader examination of the events of 1883 cannot be overstressed. The battle of oNdini in July 1883 marked the final destruction of the monarchy in Zululand and was a turning-point in the British government's attempts at restoring the king as an influential figure.

The year 1883 also saw the emergence of Zibhebhu kaMaphitha as the unrivalled leader of all opposition to the royalists during the 1880s. Fynn's position in Zululand enabled him to provide a unique eye-witness account of these crucial events and in that role lies the significance of his invaluable manuscript. As Gibson aptly commented:

'Fynn's father had been associated with the founder of the Zulu nation and witnessed some of the important battles by which it had been built up. It was now to be his lot to witness some of the events attending its final downfall.' (41)

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40) See in particular H. Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, servant of two kings (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1986) and Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vols. III and IV.

41) Gibson, The Story of the Zulus, p. 242.

## CHAPTER II

### LIFE AND CAREER OF H.F. FYNN (1846-1915)

Henry Francis Fynn was born on 14 November 1846, in Colesberg, Cape Colony.<sup>1</sup> Fynn senior had left Natal in 1833 to take up an appointment as interpreter to Sir Benjamin D'Urban on the Cape Eastern Frontier.<sup>2</sup> Following similar appointments, Fynn senior finally returned to Natal in 1851 where he became Native Administrator in Durban, and later Resident Magistrate at Umzinto until his retirement in 1860.<sup>3</sup> Little is known of this period in Fynn's life but presumably he was educated in Durban or the Umzinto area between 1851 and 1864. During that time he gained sufficient knowledge of the Zulu language to enable him to enter the Natal Government Service as Clerk and Interpreter to the Resident Magistrate at Newcastle in March 1864.<sup>4</sup>

Fynn was aware of his father's explorations in Natal and Zululand and his unique relationship with Shaka. He wrote:

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- 1) CSO (MJPW) 115/8, no. C40 of 1897: Fynn to Colonial Secretary, 1 December 1897; Davies, Twin Trails, p. 5.
  - 2) CSO (MJPW) 115/8, no. C40 of 1897: Fynn to Colonial Secretary, 1 December 1897; B. Leverton, 'The papers of Henry Francis Fynn' in Historia (1964), pp. 28-33; H.C. Lugg, A Natal Family Looks Back (Pietermaritzburg, 1976), p. 43.
  - 3) Lugg, A Natal Family Looks Back, p. 43; De Kock (ed.) Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. I, p. 360.
  - 4) Blue Books for the Colony of Natal (hereafter referred to as Natal Blue Books), 1864: Civil Establishment Returns.

'I am the son of late Henry Francis Fynn, late R.M.<sup>5</sup> of this Colony ... having come to the Cape Colony in the year 1818 and arrived in Port Natal permanently to settle on 10th March 1824, preceding Lieutenant Francis Farewell and King who arrived on the 24th March 1824 which with the adjacent country was ceded to them by the Zulu king Tshaka, with whom my father had become great friends previously.' (6)

He added that his father had never succeeded in obtaining a land-grant from the Natal government for the farm he owned at Isipingo, in spite of his contribution as the colony's 'sole pioneer settler'; and as a result he had 'died broken hearted'.<sup>7</sup>

Fynn also played an active role in the preservation and publication of Fynn senior's manuscript. James Stuart commented that Fynn

'took exceptional pains in affording all the information he could about his father. Moreover, he concurred with me in thinking that every effort, within reason, should be made to piece together all that is of value in the manuscript on the foundation laid down by his father.' (8)

In 1865, Fynn was transferred from Newcastle to the magistracy of the Upper Umkomaas, where he was appointed Clerk of the Court for the Richmond District.<sup>9</sup> Five years later he met and married Hannah Maria

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5) Resident Magistrate.

6) CSO (MJPW) 115/8, no. C40 of 1897: Fynn to Colonial Secretary, 1 December 1897.

7) Ibid. The italics are Fynn's.

8) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, p. xiii.

9) Natal Blue Books, 1865: Civil Establishment Returns.

Payne, whose family had emigrated from Yorkshire in 1850.<sup>10</sup>

The Fynns had ten children, of whom seven daughters and two sons survived infancy.<sup>11</sup> While living in Richmond, Fynn became involved in the colonial interaction with the Zulu kingdom when he accompanied Theophilus Shepstone to King Cetshwayo's 'coronation' ceremony in August 1873.<sup>12</sup> This was possibly the occasion on which Fynn first met Cetshwayo. He later recalled that 'previously' to 1883 he had known Cetshwayo, adding that Fynn senior had been in contact with the Zulu prince since the 1850s.<sup>13</sup>

In 1876, Fynn was promoted to the post of Resident Magistrate for Umsinga Division.<sup>14</sup> The magistrates were part of Shepstone's system of indirect rule over the black 'locations' in Natal. They communicated between the local izinduna and the Secretary for Native Affairs, who acted as 'supreme chief'.<sup>15</sup> As well as providing information from outlying areas to the colonial government in Pietermaritzburg, they also dealt with all matters of local justice and collected the 'hut tax', which served to pay for this local administrative structure.<sup>16</sup>

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10) Davies, Twin Trails, p. 134.

11) Private information (March 1987) from Mrs Sheilah Bailey, granddaughter of H.F. Fynn; Davies, Twin Trails, pp. 134-5.

12) Davies, Twin Trails, p. 5.

13) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 24175: Stuart Papers, Notebook 54: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 November 1913.

14) Natal Blue Books, 1876: Civil Establishment Returns.

15) E.H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb, A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), pp. 57-61.

16) J. Laband and P. Thompson, The Buffalo Border 1879. The Anglo-Zulu War in Northern Natal (Durban, 1983), pp. 15-16.

In this capacity, Fynn was particularly suitable as he had an extensive knowledge of Zulu language, customs and institutions, and was noted as dealing with the blacks under his jurisdiction with a marked degree of 'insight and sympathy'.<sup>17</sup> Fynn was widely known and respected by the black population, and had been given the Zulu name of Gwalagwala after the red feather of the Loerie bird which he was accustomed to wear. This had direct associations with heroic qualities in battle.<sup>18</sup>

Umsinga was situated on the Buffalo river border between Natal and the independent Zulu kingdom. Fynn's reputation extended across this frontier and the izinduna from the Zululand side of the river held Fynn in respect and saw in him a valuable link between themselves and the Natal government.<sup>19</sup> As magistrate in such a district, Fynn was also directly responsible for the defence and security of the area against possible Zulu attack.<sup>20</sup> It was this strategic position between the colony and Zululand which brought Fynn into intensive involvement with the events which culminated in the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in January 1879.<sup>21</sup>

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17) Ibid., pp. 17-18.

18) Ibid., p. 17; R.C.A. Samuelson, Long, long ago (Durban, 1919), pp. 112 and 238.

19) D.B. Morris, The Washing of the Spears (London, 1966), p. 321.

20) Laband and Thompson, The Buffalo Border, p. 18.

21) G.A. Chadwick and E.G. Hobson, (eds.) The Zulu War and the Colony of Natal (Mandini, 1979), pp. 72-100.

In 1877, Sir Bartle Frere<sup>22</sup> took up his post as High Commissioner for South Africa as the agent for renewed attempts at confederation by the British government, and more specifically the Secretary of State for Colonies, Lord Carnarvon.<sup>23</sup> In April 1877, shortly before Frere's arrival, Carnarvon had taken the preliminary step in this venture by annexing the Transvaal, through the agency of Sir Theophilus Shepstone.<sup>24</sup> Shepstone, by accepting the new post as Administrator of the Transvaal, destroyed his hitherto good diplomatic relationship with the Zulu monarchy. The Boers, through their aggressive land-claims in north-west Zululand had long since been involved in a border dispute with the Zulu kingdom.<sup>25</sup> The immediate repercussion of the annexation was the involvement of Britain in this long simmering border dispute, and in March 1878 the Natal government set up a Boundary Commission to investigate these land-claims.<sup>26</sup>

Fynn, being a suitably experienced official on the spot, was appointed as interpreter to the Boundary Commission when it began hearing evidence

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- 22) Sir Bartle Frere (1815-1884) was High Commissioner for Southern Africa and Governor of the Cape Colony from March 1877 to September 1880. See Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp. 127-145 and B. Worsfold, Sir Bartle Frere, A Footnote to the history of the British Empire (London, 1923), chapters 7-14.
- 23) GH 23, no. 62: Carnarvon to Barkly, 4 May 1875; GH 344, no. 32: Carnarvon to Barkly, 15 July 1875.
- 24) BPP C. 1883, no. 4: Shepstone to Carnarvon, 1 May 1877; no. 6: Frere to Carnarvon, 15 May 1877.
- 25) An interesting background account of this dispute is given in Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 23471: Stuart Papers, no. 22: 'The Zulu and Transvaal Boundary Question'.
- 26) GH 638, no. 40: Bulwer to Shepstone, 23 February 1878.

in June 1878<sup>27</sup>. Frere had hoped that the Commission would prove the Transvaal claims legitimate, but it reported in favour of Zululand and it was clear that Frere would have to resort to other methods if he wished to force Zululand into submission.<sup>28</sup> Frere then looked to border transgressions to manufacture a quarrel with the Zulu kingdom, and in July 1878 an ideal incident arose when the sons of Sihayo kaXongo crossed the Buffalo river into Natal to arrest their father's adulterous wives who had sought sanctuary in the colony.<sup>29</sup> The women were taken back into Zululand and put to death in accordance with Zulu law,<sup>30</sup> but Frere seized upon the incident as an instance of blatant disobedience of the 'laws' imposed by Shepstone in 1873.<sup>31</sup> The issue was then incorporated into Frere's ultimatum along with other impossible demands on the Zulu state in December 1878.<sup>32</sup> Cetshwayo later recalled asking his izinduna if

'the sons of Sihayo had told Gwalagwala? I then said "it will be said that we are making war in Natal and that men must look sharp and go to report to Mr Fynn."' (33)

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27) Davies, Twin Trails, pp. 5-7.

28) BPP C. 2220, no. 74: Frere to Hicks Beach, 10 September 1878.

29) C. de B. Webb and J. Wright (eds.), A Zulu King Speaks. Statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the History and Customs of his People (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1978), pp. 53-54.

30) Bryant, The Zulu People, p. 569.

31) BPP C. 1342, enc. in no. 1: Report of the expedition to instal Cetshwayo as King of the Zulus, August 1873.

32) BPP C. 2222 enc. 2 in no. 53: Message from Bulwer to Cetshwayo and the chief men of the Zulu nation, 11 December 1878.

33) Webb and Wright (eds.), A Zulu King Speaks, p. 54.



But Fynn was fully aware of the course of events, for he had been nominated translator for the delivery of Frere's ultimatum to the Zulu izinduna at Tugela river mouth on 11 December 1878.<sup>34</sup> His involvement from the outset in the negotiations, and his insight into the implications of such an ultimatum, convinced him that the Zulu would never accept the terms.<sup>35</sup> Before the expiry of the ultimatum, Fynn attempted to secure the surrender of the chief Gamdana, a brother of Sihayo.<sup>36</sup> These negotiations were unsuccessful, but they served to emphasise once again Fynn's role as an intermediary between the Zulu leaders and the British officials.

On 4 January 1879, with invasion imminent, Umsinga became Colonial Defensive District No. 1 and Fynn, as the magistrate, was expected actively to assist the British invasion preparations.<sup>37</sup> On his arrival at the border on 4 January, the British commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, recruited Fynn as his personal interpreter and political 'adviser'. With the expiry of the ultimatum on 11 January, Fynn accompanied Chelmsford with Colonel Glyn's centre column into Zululand.<sup>38</sup>

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34) Davies, Twin Trails, p. 5.

35) Chadwick and Hobson (eds.), The Zulu War and the Colony of Natal, p. 84.

36) Morris, The Washing of the Spears, p. 322; BPP C. 2374, enc. in no. 1: Confidential Minute, Resident Magistrate Umsinga to Colonial Secretary, 16 January 1879.

37) Laband and Thompson, The Buffalo Border, pp. 35-8.

38) G.B. French, Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War (London, 1939), p. 292.

On 22 January, Fynn accompanied Chelmsford and Glyn to relieve Major Dartnell's force which had been involved in skirmishing since the previous day with Matshana kaMondisa's forces, some sixteen kilometres south-east of the British camp at Isandlwana. In their absence, the camp was overrun by the main Zulu army commanded by Ntshingwayo kaMahole and Mavumengwana kaNdela.<sup>39</sup> Years later, Fynn recalled his experience on his return that evening and also recorded a Zulu participant's account of the battle.<sup>40</sup>

Fynn's experiences with Chelmsford, and his consequent worry about his family and the safety of his district, resulted in a temporary breakdown in his health.<sup>41</sup> The effects of this do not appear to have been long-term, but it is clear that Fynn's stamina was seriously lacking in times of strenuous physical activity and emotional stress.

Fynn's involvement in the war after the battle of Isandlwana was uneventful apart from his negotiations in securing the surrender of the border chiefs in August 1879.<sup>42</sup> This, like his earlier contact

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39) The first official report of the battle can be found in BPP C. 2374, enc. in no. 2: Minute: Bulwer to Secretary for Native Affairs, 25 January 1879. See also J. Laband and P. Thompson, Field Guide to the War in Zululand and the Defence of Natal 1879 (Pietermaritzburg, 1983), pp. 55-57.

40) The Natal Witness, 25 January 1913: article by Fynn.

41) Laband and Thompson, The Buffalo Border, p. 39.

42) Ibid., pp. 80-84.

with Sihayo and Gamdana, reinforced his role as an official familiar to the Zulu leaders, and was further extended by an additional two years as magistrate on the Buffalo border following the end of the war.<sup>43</sup>

On 12 January 1883, Bulwer, as Special Commissioner for South East Africa, wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, informing him that 'I have appointed Mr Henry F. Fynn to be the British Resident with Cetewayo (sic) for the time being.'<sup>44</sup> Bulwer expected Fynn's appointment in this capacity with the restored king after the failure of the settlement imposed by Wolseley in 1879 to be temporary, and did not give any specific reasons for Fynn's suitability as the Resident with Cetshwayo. Bulwer obviously considered Fynn's previous record of experience in Natal as an adequate credential for the post. Fynn had proved a competent magistrate and his knowledge of Zulu language and customs was indisputable. It is also possible that Bulwer knew of Fynn's association with Cetshwayo through his father.

Fynn had an insight into the situation in the partitioned Zulu kingdom that was deeper than most similar officials in Natal. His contacts on the border, and his background knowledge of the Zulu monarchy, gave him an acute awareness of the implications of a restored king in a divided kingdom.

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43) Natal Blue Books, 1880-1882: Civil Establishment Returns.

44) BPP C. 3293, no. 161: Bulwer to Kimberley, 12 January 1883.

Fynn's position with Cetshwayo lasted until October 1883 when the British authorities took the king under their protection at Eshowe.<sup>45</sup> Fynn then spent a few months investigating the problem of Boer 'squatters' in north-western Zululand and returned to his post at Umsinga in February 1884.<sup>46</sup>

During his period as Resident, Fynn was periodically affected by ill-health.<sup>47</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether this, combined with his illness during the war, had a cumulative effect, for after returning to Umsinga in 1884 it would appear that Fynn remained relatively well until 1896. However, in June of that year, he requested that 'I may be granted leave of absence on sick leave for six weeks at once, as the state of my health is such that I cannot carry on my duties.'<sup>48</sup> An Acting Resident Magistrate, F.E. Foxon, was immediately appointed to replace Fynn and his leave was extended to six months with full salary from 1 August 1896.<sup>49</sup> In March 1897, Fynn was transferred to the magistracy of Lion's River, although he had not requested a transfer.<sup>50</sup> Three months later, much to his bewilderment, he was retired on pension without the regulation thirty days' notice.<sup>51</sup>

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45) GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 October 1883.

46) Natal Blue Books, 1884: Civil Establishment Returns.

47) Manuscript, 12 March 1883 and 8 April 1883.

48) CS0 1470, no. 3648 of 1896: Fynn to Colonial Secretary, 20 June 1896.

49) CS0 1470, no. 4661 of 1896: Colonial Secretary to Fynn, 11 August, 1896.

50) CS0 1519, no. 4153 of 1897: Colonial Secretary to Fynn, 3 March 1897.

51) CS0 1519, no. 4153 of 1897: Colonial Secretary to Fynn, 18 June 1897.

Understandably, Fynn's reaction to this treatment was one of anger. He immediately requested a reconsideration of the decision, commenting that he could not 'conceive that Her Majesty's government would retire me in such an abrupt and ungracious manner and without cause.' He then wrote a lengthy petition to the Natal government, appealing against the decision and pointing out that he was being 'cruelly tossed aside' by a government to which he had given over thirty years service.<sup>52</sup> This appeal eventually went before the Legislative Council, and although no substantitative reason could be found for the decision to retire him, the decision was not repealed and Fynn was merely commended for his service. The final comment by the Council on the subject was that 'there is no question that Mr Fynn has rendered to the Colony not only able but distinguished service.'<sup>53</sup>

Although retired early, Fynn continued to be recognised in some quarters of Natal as an authority on 'native affairs'. From his retirement in 1897 until his death in 1915, Fynn lived with his family at Foxhill outside Pietermaritzburg and wrote many informative articles for the Press.<sup>54</sup> During the 1906 'rebellion', for example, he wrote articles for the Times of Natal, pointing out that the cause of the rebellion was lack of centralised control over the black population, and urging the appointment of a Special Commissioner as

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52) CSO (MJPW) 115/8, no. C40 of 1897: Fynn to Colonial Secretary, 1 December 1897.

53) Debates of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Natal, vol. 7 1898: Debates, 21 June 1898.

54) Private information (March 1987) from Mrs Sheilah Bailey, granddaughter of Fynn.

a communication link between the chiefs and the government authorities.<sup>55</sup> He later told James Stuart that Shepstone had recognised the importance of such a central authority in the form of a 'supreme chief' embodied in the person of the Secretary for Native Affairs.<sup>56</sup>

Fynn, as a government official and magistrate under the Shepstone system, clearly supported some of Shepstone's policies although he did not follow Shepstone's view on all matters. He possessed a deeper insight than many officials into the real dynamics of Shepstone's system of indirect rule, a fact which did not go entirely unrecognised by the colonists of Natal. Fynn's obituary in The Natal Witness commented that

'few men had a better knowledge than Fynn of the native language, character and customs. For this reason his services as an administrator or magistrate were of peculiar value. The natives held him in high esteem and respect for his fair administration of justice.' (57)

Fynn's narrative of the events of the civil war in 1883 must be seen against this background of his previous experience. His obvious awareness of the implications of the partition of Zululand and the

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55) Times of Natal, 8 March 1906: article by Fynn.

56) Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vol. I, pp.130-131: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 6 November 1906; Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 24175: Stuart Papers, Notebook 54: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 November 1913.

57) The Natal Witness, 30 April 1915: obituary.

restoration of Cetshwayo imbued his account with an insight that was unrivalled amongst white officials, thus ensuring that his manuscript exhibited a unique knowledge of the underlying tensions within the Zulu kingdom under the impact of partition and division by the colonial authorities.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NATURE OF THE ZULU STATE c.1780-1883

At the battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford's British forces routed the regiments of King Cetshwayo, under the command of his brother, Ziwedu kaMpande.<sup>1</sup> As a Zulu witness commented, 'the army is now thoroughly beaten, and as it was beaten in the open, it will not reassemble or fight again.'<sup>2</sup> Chelmsford wrote that he was satisfied that 'the power of the Zulu nation has been completely broken'.<sup>3</sup> Thus, having achieved what he clearly considered a suitably crushing defeat, and having repaired some of his reputation, in tatters after the debacles of the defeat at Isandlwana on 22 January, and the loss of the Prince Imperial on 1 June, Chelmsford resigned his command on 8 July to General Sir Garnet Wolseley.<sup>4</sup>

The 'power of the Zulu nation', which Chelmsford referred to, was to a large extent vested in the king's control of the military (or amabutho) system. With the scattering of the army, the king fled and effective resistance became fragmentary.<sup>5</sup> The capture of the monarch by the invading British troops two months later was in effect a mere formality in the final cessation of hostilities. The British forces were able to move about the countryside almost completely unhindered and by

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1) BPP C. 2374, no. 55: Frere to Hicks Beach, 8 July 1879.

2) Laband, Fight us in the Open, p. 44.

3) French, Lord Chelmsford and the Zulu War, p. 294.

4) BPP C. 2374, no. 54: Frere to Hicks Beach, 30 June 1879.

5) BPP C. 2482, enc. in no. 84: Wolseley to Colonial Secretary, 27 August 1883.



mid-August, Wolseley had secured the surrender of the majority of Zulu leaders.<sup>6</sup> Wolseley saw the capture of Cetshwayo on 28 August as the end of British military responsibility in Zululand and he commented the following day:

'A great weight is off my mind by this ... for I am urgently wanted in the Transvaal and yet I could not leave Zululand until I had finally settled matters here and as long as Cetewayo was at large, he would always have been an element of trouble and disturbance in the country.' (7)

The decisive nature of the defeat at Ulundi has long been a question of substantial historical argument. Jeff Guy maintains that the monarchy as a unifying force in Zululand was crushed but not destroyed at Ulundi. The king, as a representative of the 'old order' was only finally defeated during the civil war of the 1880s following his unsuccessful restoration in 1883.<sup>8</sup> Guy makes the point that the 1879 'settlement' and partition of Zululand by Wolseley crystalised the rival parties and that the king's restoration united his enemies who went on successfully to destroy the remnants of the royalist uSuthu party in July 1883.

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6) A. Preston (ed.), Sir Garnet Wolseley's South African Journal 1879-1880 (Cape Town, 1973), pp. 97-100.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 100.

8) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 202-204. This view is shared by other historians. See S. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the ideology of segregation' in Journal of Southern African Studies, 4, 1 (October 1977), p. 177; P. Maylam, A History of the African people of South Africa: from the early Iron Age to the 1970s (Cape Town, 1986), p. 72.

Guy comments that

'Zibhebhu succeeded where Chelmsford failed in July 1879. The second battle of Ulundi was a fitting historical moment to mark the end of the old order.' (9)

Similarly Fuze notes that in July 1883 'the Mandlakazi killed all the dignitaries about forty men who were the pillars of the Zulu nation.'<sup>10</sup> Thus, the Zulu nation, in the eyes of the above, was identified entirely with the monarch's influence over the population through the military system, and it was the monarch who essentially represented the 'old order'.

An alternative theory suggests that the king's power had, by 1879, waned to such an extent that the invasion and the settlement merely served to emphasise long-standing tensions which had eroded the king's influence. Thus, defeat and removal of the monarchy effectively destroyed the central royal institution - the amabutho system. This ensured that local power structures remained intact as the ruling forces within Zululand and were formalised by Wolseley's creation of the 'thirteen kinglets', while the royalists were reduced to a faction amongst other powerful factions.<sup>11</sup>

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9) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 203.

10) M.M. Fuze, The Black People and Whence they came (Pietermaritzburg, 1979), p. 118.

11) See R. Cope, 'Political power within the Zulu kingdom and the "Coronation Laws" of 1873' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 8 (1985); J. Laband, 'The cohesion of the Zulu polity under the impact of the Anglo-Zulu war: a reassessment' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 8 (1985).

The origins of the civil war which reached a climax in the battle of oNdini in July 1883 must nevertheless be examined against far more than the background of invasion, defeat and partition in 1879. The internal upheaval of the 1880s needs to be investigated within the much broader context of the establishment and rise of the monarchical institution, or the 'old order', and the political and economic framework within which it operated during the nineteenth century.

The internal dynamics of the Zulu state and its corresponding relationship with surrounding black and white states is the subject of complex and ongoing debate. While it is beyond the scope of this introduction to provide an extensive review of these arguments, some reassessment is central to the provision of a context for Fynn's manuscript. The following analysis therefore attempts to investigate the major aspects of the nineteenth century Zulu state and to analyse some of the underlying causes of the civil war of the 1880s. A lack of written sources for the period prior to the 1830s makes it essential to rely on the most recent scholarship in this field.

Bryant pointed out that the social organisation of the northern Nguni in the pre-Shakan period was contained in the patrilineal segmentary lineage system. The central unit in this structure was the 'clan' which consisted of a total political and economic unit headed by a lineage head who derived from a single common ancestor.<sup>12</sup> Bryant's

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12) Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 70-72.

premise that the fifty or so independent clans derived from a single 'Nguni' ancestor has lately been proved incorrect, as well as his theory that state formation under Shaka involved an amalgamation of the clans into a single, larger unit of essentially the same type.<sup>13</sup> It seems that, on the contrary, a completely new kind of social system resulted from the new monarchical controls and that this structure, centring ultimately on the state, was imposed on the clan organisation, which revolved essentially around kinship social organisation.<sup>14</sup> Although political, economic and social relationships were altered considerably in this process, the kinship and clan social structure remained a crucial part of the new state and as such, formed a major underlying trend in Nguni society throughout the nineteenth century.

The productive unit of the clan was the umuzi, or homestead, which was in a sense a microcosm of the larger entity.<sup>15</sup> The imizi were not entirely self sufficient, relying on surrounding imizi of different clans for the exchange of women, as intermarriage within a clan was unacceptable.<sup>16</sup> Essential in these exchanges were cattle which, through their status as bridewealth, became representative of the storeable surplus wealth of each individual umuzi.<sup>17</sup> Political control of economic transactions was vested in the dominant lineages of the stronger

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13) Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', pp. 2-4.

14) J.B. Peires (ed.), Before and After Shaka: Papers in Nguni History (Grahamstown, 1981), Introduction, p. 7.

15) Bryant, Olden Times, p. 72.

16) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 10-11; E.J. Krige, The social system of the Zulus (Pietermaritzburg, 1936), p. 120.

17) J. Guy, 'Ecological factors in the rise of the Zulu kingdom' in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa (London, 1980), pp. 170-172.

clans who acquired the status of hereditary chiefdoms.<sup>18</sup> These territorial chiefs acted between the imizi heads and the lineage heads, and their function in ensuring the reproduction of the entire social formation was indispensable.<sup>19</sup> The dominant chiefdoms could, through this social function of cattle exchange, accumulate wealth and, through the custom of ukusisa or 'lending out' of cattle to homestead heads, ensure political support.<sup>20</sup> This tradition also served to protect cattle resources against loss through disease by dividing the cattle between different imizi.<sup>21</sup>

The Nguni custom of age-sets, or grouping together youths into amabutho had, according to Bryant, grown out of the institution of circumcision sets which had, by the late eighteenth century, become obsolete. The amabutho had retained a variety of productive functions before being adopted by Dingiswayo and then Shaka for military purposes.<sup>22</sup> The productive function of the amabutho assumed a new significance as they came to represent the extraction of surplus labour for military and other purposes from each umuzi and were central in the control exerted by the new state.<sup>23</sup>

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18) Peires, Before and After Shaka, pp. 5-7.

19) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

20) Guy, 'Ecological factors', p. 171; Peires, Before and After Shaka, pp. 10-11.

21) Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 186-7.

22) Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 98-100; Bryant, The Zulu People, pp. 490-494.

23) *Ibid.*; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 28-29; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, pp. 3-4; J. Wright, 'Pre-Shakan age-group formation among the Northern Nguni' in Natalia, 8 (1978), pp. 22-23.

The original theory explaining the necessity for the changed function of the amabutho first emerged in the later nineteenth century, and was entirely Euro-centric.<sup>24</sup> Its basic premise was that the characters of Dingiswayo and Shaka enabled them to implement wide-reaching military reforms which they had learnt through contact with Europeans. This then furthered their conquest and expansion in South East Africa.<sup>25</sup> A major flaw in this speculative theory is its lack of circumstantial evidence for the rise of such 'great men',<sup>26</sup> and, as Gluckman noted, the 'individual' could not operate without a specific 'social framework' despite the revolutionary nature of his military innovations.<sup>27</sup>

Gluckman pointed out that population pressure in the northern Nguni region, and the consequent competition for resources, led to increased rivalry between dominant chiefdoms.<sup>28</sup> Gluckman's argument was later taken up by J.D. Omer-Cooper<sup>29</sup> and remained a central explanation of

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- 24) The 'great man' theory seems to have originated with Fynn senior and was later taken up by Theophilus Shepstone. See Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', pp. 2-4.
- 25) Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 95-99; Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 4-8.
- 26) Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', pp. 2-5; Hall, Settlement Patterns, pp. 10-11.
- 27) M. Gluckman, 'The individual in a social framework: the rise of King Shaka of Zululand' in Journal of African Studies, I, 2 (1974), pp. 123-134.
- 28) Ibid. See also M. Gluckman, 'The kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa' in M. Fortes and E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.), African Political Systems (London, 1940), pp. 28-40; M. Gluckman, Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand (Manchester, 1958), pp. 30-39.
- 29) J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath (London, 1966), pp. 24-48.

the changes in the region for some time.<sup>30</sup> The most recent hypothesis along these lines is Guy's 'ecological' explanation that south-east Africa was suffering from a dendrinological crisis and hence an acute lack of vital resources during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The effects of this on pasture degeneration caused intense rivalry for resources and conflict developed between chiefdoms through the use of the amabutho to secure resources.<sup>31</sup> Another central issue in this theory is that the amabutho system, through denying marriage, ensured the state's control over the resources of the area.<sup>32</sup> While this argument of central control over reproductive potential has been criticised as unlikely, Hall has also noted the lack of archaeological and other evidence which makes the 'ecological' arguments untenable.<sup>33</sup>

An alternative, 'materialist' approach, by contrast, relies on the existing evidence and presents a more coherent argument.<sup>34</sup> This approach is concerned with studying economic constraints and, more specifically, the demands of international trade which had far-reaching effects on the

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30) The historiographical trends in this field are particularly well discussed in W.J. Argyle, 'The origins of the Zulu kingdom: theories and facts' (Paper given at a conference on Natal and Zulu History, University of Natal, Durban, 1985), pp. 1-4. See also Hall, Settlement Patterns, pp. 8-12; Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', pp. 7-12; Peires, Before and After Shaka, Introduction, pp. 3-7.

31) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 2-7.

32) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

33) Hall, Settlement Patterns, pp. 10-11.

34) *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12; Hamilton and Wright, 'Olden Times', p. 12.

political and economic dynamics of northern Nguni society. Smith, in a formative study, argued that the conflicts between rival dominant lineages stemmed directly from an increase in the Delagoa Bay ivory trade.<sup>35</sup> Slater then endorsed this view by pointing out that external trade increased internal homestead commodity production, which in turn led to intense competition for control of particularly productive homesteads.<sup>36</sup> Slater suggested that the 'feudal' social relations among the northern Nguni were penetrated by the effects of mercantile capitalism which led to an acute labour shortage in the demand for exchange goods and, consequently, resulted in rivalry between the amabutho of the dominant chiefdoms.<sup>37</sup>

These theories were further examined by Hedges who crystalised both earlier writings by stressing the importance of an historical context and emphasising two distinct periods of intense trade with Europeans. His first time period is concerned essentially with the ivory trade until the 1790s, and the second with cattle.<sup>38</sup> The increase in cattle-trading at the time of the rise of the Zulu state suggested the necessity for increased cattle raiding through the medium of the amabutho and the

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35) A. Smith, 'The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor in Nguni politics 1750-1835' in Thompson (ed.), African Societies in Southern Africa, pp. 171-180.

36) H. Slater, 'Transitions in the political economy of south-east Africa before 1840' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1976), pp. 1150-155.

37) Ibid., pp. 155-160.

38) D.W. Hedges, 'Trade and politics in southern Moçambique and Zululand in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1978), chs 5,6,7 and 8.



take-over by dominant lineages of inferior, but cattle-rich areas.<sup>39</sup> Bonner, in a recent study, points to the significance of 'conspicuous consumption' among the Nguni chiefs, who looked not only to cattle as wealth for power and status, but also to trade goods from Delagoa Bay. Their control over these goods then ensured their social and political influence.<sup>40</sup>

These fundamental changes in economic relationships necessitated a political transition away from control by the chiefdoms and towards centralised control by the state.<sup>41</sup> The king's power was vested ultimately in his amabutho and the extraction of labour from the imizi for state service in the amakhanda or military homesteads.<sup>42</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that this was entirely continuous service but it ensured that a labour supply was harnessed to the demands of the monarchy whenever required.<sup>43</sup>

Cattle constituted the major form of wealth surplus and the king, as the new ruling lineage, controlled these resources.<sup>44</sup> The traditional ukusisa system acquired a new form as the monarchy now lent out cattle

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39) Ibid., pp. 11-13 and 51-52.

40) P. Bonner, 'The dynamics of late eighteenth century, early nineteenth century northern Nguni society - some hypotheses' in Peires (ed.), Before and After Shaka, pp. 75-80.

41) Hedges, 'Trade and politics', pp. 294-6; Bonner, 'The dynamics', pp. 78-80.

42) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 22-24.

43) Ibid., pp. 10-12 and 20-25; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, pp. 3-4; Bonner, 'The dynamics', pp. 79-82; Hedges, 'Trade and politics', ch 7.

44) Guy, 'Ecological factors', pp. 170-172.

to ensure political loyalty.<sup>45</sup> The amakhanda heads received most royal sis'd cattle, thus ensuring their economic dependence on the king but at the same time the monarchy needed to lend out cattle to other important individuals and control its subordinates throughout the kingdom through this method.<sup>46</sup>

Although Shaka eliminated many rival chiefs in his establishment of the new regime, he also retained a substantial number of the traditional hereditary chiefdoms.<sup>47</sup> These rulers, although subordinate to the demands of the king, had a certain degree of independent economic and political power as they controlled considerable wealth surpluses, and, through their individual ukusisa systems, ensured political control over their districts. The loyalty of the population in many areas rested first with the local chief and only secondly with the king.<sup>48</sup> The pre-Shakan chiefs, or izikhulu, also exerted influence on the monarch as they constituted, together with the royal family members or abantwana, the highest council in the kingdom - the ibandla.<sup>49</sup>

The ibandla under Shaka made little attempt to contradict or question his decisions, but obviously there was potential for future confrontation between the king and his councillors. Similarly, Shaka had eliminated

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45) Ibid., p. 171.

46) P. Colenbrander, 'The Zulu political economy on the eve of the war', in Duminy and Ballard (eds.), The Anglo-Zulu War, pp. 80-82; Gluckman, 'The Kingdom of the Zulu', pp. 44-45; Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 220-221; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 23-24.

47) Gluckman, Analysis of a social situation, pp. 32-33; Gluckman, 'The individual in a social framework', pp. 130-131.

48) Laband, 'Zulu polity', pp. 34-35.

49) Bryant, The Zulu People, pp. 463-465.

rival abantwana or princes, who might become contenders for the throne, and refused to acknowledge heirs who could occupy a threatening position to the king.<sup>50</sup> The possibilities for violent usurpation were obvious and characterised the Zulu monarchy throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

Clearly the monarch needed to retain control of trade-routes in order to ensure wealth resources.<sup>52</sup> Through use of his tightly organised amabutho system, Shaka extended Zulu hegemony into the Delagoa Bay hinterland and maintained trading contact with the Portuguese traders through the medium of the 'Tsonga' middlemen traders.<sup>53</sup> He also engaged in conflict with Swaziland in order to obtain cattle supplies for trading ventures.<sup>54</sup> By far the most important trading contacts were those made between Shaka and the English traders at Port Natal from 1824.<sup>55</sup>

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50) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 14-16.

51) Maylam, A history of the African peoples, pp. 70-71.

52) Hedges, 'Trade and politics', Chapter 7; Peires, Before and After Shaka, Introduction, pp. 14-15; Slater, 'Transitions in the political economy', pp. 151-152.

53) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 17-18; Bryant, History of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes, p. 98; P. Harries, 'History, ethnicity and the Ingwavuma land deal: the Zulu northern frontier in the nineteenth century' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 4 (1983), pp. 1-2.

54) P. Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires. The evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth century Swazi state (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 39-45.

55) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, Chapter 5; C.C. Ballard, 'The role of trade and hunter-traders in the political economy of Natal and Zululand, 1824-1880', in African Economic History 10 (1981), pp. 1-6; 'Trade, tribute and migrant labour: Zulu and colonial exploitation of the Delagoa Bay hinterland 1818-1879' in Peires (ed.), Before and After Shaka, pp. 110-118; 'Natal 1824-1844: The frontier interregnum', in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 5 (1982), pp. 50-52 and 55-57.

Through this connection, Shaka retained a royal monopoly on European-imported firearms and incorporated the traders into Zulu society, using them in military campaigns and giving them chiefly status.<sup>56</sup>

Shaka's despotic control was the only instance of effective rule in the nineteenth century Zulu state. Yet even within the Shakan state there was considerable potential for the devolution of central authority. The royal power was superimposed on a whole social system containing loyalties which pre-dated those enforced by the king. The territorial chiefs represented a disintegrative force encompassing regional loyalty and semi-autonomous power-bases, while the possibility of violent usurption by rival abantwana was an ever-present threat to the monarch.<sup>57</sup>

It has also been pointed out that the imizi heads, through their control of cattle through the ukusisa system, retained economic independence from state control although they were subject to the political constraints of the central authority.<sup>58</sup> Thus the political unity of the kingdom, based primarily on the amabutho system, was superficial and had no real economic base as the homestead and not the state ultimately controlled production.<sup>59</sup> The amakhanda also fell under this system as the izinduna controlled the wealth, in other words, cattle in each military homestead, and although this was directly harnessed and owned by the king, the potential for independent action did exist.

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56) Ballard, 'Natal 1824-1844: The frontier interregum', pp. 55-7.

57) Maylam, A history of the African people, p. 71.

58) Cope, 'Political power', p. 89.

59) Colenbrander, 'The Zulu political economy', pp. 80-82; P. Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom' in W. Guest and J. Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony. Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1986), pp. 103-106.

Shaka's political autocracy, combined with underlying tensions in the kingdom, led directly to a situation favouring assassination and in 1828 he was murdered by his half-brother Dingane and members of his ibandla.<sup>60</sup> Although Dingane had achieved power through unscrupulous means and complex intrigue, he gained the political support of the important chiefs due to their resentment against Shaka's autocratic rule. This discontent also existed amongst the main amabutho and Dingane was able to gain their support.<sup>61</sup> The relative smoothness of Dingane's transition to the kingship, despite his methods, was aided by the fact that the monarchy had, in its brief life-span, acquired a certain degree of legitimacy.<sup>62</sup>

Dingane started his reign in a relatively peaceful manner, relaxing Shaka's strict military discipline and subjecting the subordinate chiefs to less exacting supervision. This attitude only lasted until 1829 when the Qwabe clan, under Nqetho's leadership, rose in revolt against Dingane's rule.<sup>63</sup> The Zulu forces were unable to inflict a decisive defeat and thereafter Dingane dealt ruthlessly with any threats to the cohesion and security of the state, eliminating any rival abantwana or chiefdoms which displayed independent tendencies.<sup>64</sup>

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60) Stuart and McK Malcolm (ed.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 156-157.

61) Maylam, History of the African people of South Africa, p. 70.

62) P. Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande' (Paper given at a Conference on Natal and Zulu History, University of Natal, Durban, 1985), p. 3.

63) Maylam, History of the African people of South Africa, p. 70.

64) Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 49; Morris, Washing of the Spears, pp. 116-120.

Dingane, like Shaka, appealed to the Europeans at Port Natal to supply him with firearms for his military campaigns.<sup>65</sup> In 1831, he received their trading party but these cordial relations soon lapsed, and Dingane was forced to look elsewhere, and particularly in the direction of Delagoa Bay, for a trading connection for weapons. Under Dingane's leadership during the 1830s the Zulu made considerable inroads into the Delagoa Bay hinterland.<sup>66</sup> A third European power on the borders of Zululand arrived in the form of the Voortrekkers in 1837. The Voortrekkers were looking for more than a trading outpost and attempted to negotiate for land.<sup>67</sup> Dingane had, by this stage, alienated the English traders who could have been valuable allies as they had been to Shaka against the Ndwandwe in 1826.<sup>68</sup> Thus, when conflict erupted between Dingane and the Voortrekkers in 1838, the English traders allied themselves with the Voortrekkers and assisted them in inflicting a decisive defeat on Dingane's forces at the Ncome river in December 1838.<sup>69</sup> The European elements on the borders of the Zulu kingdom had thus demonstrated their superior firepower and had effectively won the first 'Zulu War' between the independent kingdom and colonial forces.<sup>70</sup>

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65) Ballard, 'Trade, tribute and migrant labour', pp. 104-105.

66) Harries, 'History, ethnicity and the Ingwavuma land deal', pp. 5-7.

67) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp. 30-32.

68) Stuart and McK Malcolm (eds.), Diary of H.F. Fynn, pp. 122-125.

69) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp. 34-35.

70) Maylam, A history of the African people of South Africa, p. 73.

Within Zululand, Dingane had eliminated most rival abantwana with the notable exceptions of his half-brothers, Mpande kaSenzangakhona and Gquku kaSenzangakhona.<sup>71</sup> Mpande was born in about 1798, the son of Senzangakhona's ninth wife, Songiya kaNgothsa.<sup>72</sup> He had been incorporated into the Zulu army on the death of his father in 1816<sup>73</sup>, but retained a submissive role during the next few years, possibly leading Dingane to believe he was lazy and ineffectual and therefore no serious threat to the kingship.<sup>74</sup> Mpande was left to exercise a fair degree of autonomy over his followers in south-east Zululand, and he built up a substantial support base, especially among the semi-autonomous chiefs. Mpande also fathered several possible heirs, but was ignored by Dingane until the early 1830s when he became recognised as a potential candidate for the kingship. In 1832, Dingane made an attempt on Mpande's life and this was followed in 1838 by a second threat, resulting from Mpande's failure to comply with Dingane's demands for regiments to take part in a proposed raid on Swaziland. In late 1839, Mpande fled to the Voortrekker Republic of Natalia with some 17 000 followers including many important chiefs.<sup>75</sup>

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71) Gquku was Mpande's younger half-brother.

72) For useful studies of the life and reign of Mpande see P. Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande'; P.A. Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy: Sir Theophilus Shepstone and the Zulu Kings 1839-1879' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1976); P.A. Kennedy, 'Mpande and the Zulu Kingship', in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 4 (1981); D.R. Edgecombe and J. Wright, 'Mpande kaSenzangakhona' in C.C. Saunders (ed.), Black leaders in Southern African History (London, 1979).

73) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', p. 47; Maylam, A history of the African people of South Africa, p. 72.

74) Ibid.

75) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 47-50.

This momentous act in seeking external, colonial based support in the dynastic struggle signified a turning-point in the internal affairs of the kingdom. Shaka and Dingane had tried to attain white trader support directly through participation or indirectly through firearm supplies. Mpande's move in seeking an alliance with the Voortrekkers demonstrated the possibilities for future agreements and appeals and underlined the need for the rival groups within Zululand to appeal to external powers for support. From this arose the view that Mpande's flight in 1839 'broke the rope which held the nation together'.<sup>76</sup>

In February 1840, Mpande, in alliance with the Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius, defeated Dingane's army at the Battle of Maqongqo.<sup>77</sup> Dingane himself then fled and was murdered by the Nwayo people, assisted by Swazi. The consequences of Mpande's alliance were immediately made apparent when the Voortrekkers demanded 36 000 cattle in return for their assistance, while at the same time they deprived the Zulu kingdom of a large amount of territory by declaring the Black Mfolozi the new boundary. In addition, Mpande had to swear loyalty to the Volksraad in Natalia.<sup>78</sup> These demands set a precedent for all future Zulu relations with the white powers on the borders of the state.

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76) Ibid., pp. 48-50.

77) Ibid., pp. 49-50; Kennedy, 'Mpande and the Zulu kingship', pp. 28-31.

78) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, p. 35; Maylam, A History of the African people of South Africa, p. 73.



From the outset, Mpande's rule was tempered not only by the Voortrekkers' terms, but also by the need to retain the approval of the more powerful chiefs who had assisted in Dingane's demise.<sup>79</sup> These semi-autonomous rulers clearly thought that Mpande could be manipulated to suit their own purposes. Maphitha kaJama for example, a chief with substantial wealth and following, expropriated Dingane's cattle for his own use as soon as the latter was defeated, thus contributing to his own position of strength.<sup>80</sup> Such action later gave rise to the classical historical view of Mpande as weak and vacillating, controlled primarily by subordinate chiefs and external powers.<sup>81</sup> Recently, this view has been reassessed. Mpande's reign is now seen as somewhat 'paradoxical' in that he was supposedly ineffectual, yet endured the longest of all the Zulu kings. Unlike his predecessors, he did not fall prey to violent usurpation and died peacefully. It has been pointed out that Mpande possessed considerable diplomatic qualities and succeeded in manoeuvring both internal and external forces to his own gain.<sup>82</sup>

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79) Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande', p. 5.

80) Ibid., p. 6.

81) Ibid., p. 2.

82) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 51-52; Kennedy, 'Mpande and the Zulu kingship', p. 4; Maylam, History of the African people of South Africa, p. 70.

On his accession, Mpande immediately entered into a diplomatic alliance with the British authorities who had succeeded the Voortrekkers as the paramount power on the southern borders of Zululand.<sup>83</sup> Such an alliance would assist Mpande against possible further Voortrekker ambitions, particularly further land claims. It would also ensure a potential forceful ally to deal with rival contenders for the kingship.<sup>84</sup>

Having for the moment secured the kingdom against any immediate Trekker threat, Mpande set about the task of internal consolidation. In 1843, he eliminated his main rival, Gquku kaSenzanagakhona, who had a strong genealogical claim for the throne. Mpande followed this up with a revitalisation of the Shakan amabutho control system and built new amakhanda around his capital, Nodwengu, thus ensuring a stronger support base.<sup>85</sup> He expropriated considerable numbers of cattle from rivals and built up his own wealth. His efforts to curb secessionist tendencies were not restricted to forceful methods, and he carefully installed loyal favourites as major chiefs. Through his considerable royal isigodlo he arranged marriage alliances which further cemented his control.<sup>86</sup>

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83) The Colony of Natal was officially annexed by the British government in August 1845, but British authorities had been present since 1841. See Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp. 44-54.

84) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 50-51; Kennedy, 'Mpande and the Zulu kingship', pp. 31-35.

85) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 52-53.

86) Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande', p. 9.

Military expansion could no longer follow southern or north-western directions as these routes were blocked by British and Boer settlements. Mpande was forced to look for alternative areas. In 1847 he undertook a full-scale invasion of Swaziland, while at the same time reasserting Zulu overlordship in the Delagoa Bay area and ensuring the loyalty of the 'Tsonga' traders.<sup>87</sup> Mpande also took care to retain his good relations with the British in the new Colony of Natal. He repudiated an agreement made with the Boers in 1847 whereby he had given them territorial rights in the Klip River district, and also stopped an attack on Swaziland in 1852 due to the disapproval of the British authorities.<sup>88</sup> Notably, this attack had also been opposed by many of Mpande's ibandla, who were possibly also looking for British support for their personal ambitions.<sup>89</sup>

By the late 1840s, Mpande was at the height of his power and he admitted missionaries from Natal into the Zulu kingdom.<sup>90</sup> Hans Schreuder had brought the Norwegian Missionary Society to south-eastern Africa in 1844 and in 1849 received permission from Mpande to found stations in

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87) Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 70-74; Ballard, 'Trade, tribute and migrant labour', pp. 105-106; Harries, 'History, ethnicity and the Ingwavuma land deal', pp. 7-9.

88) Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 52-54; R. Cope, 'The Zulu Kingdom 1824-1879' (Paper given at a conference on the Anglo-Zulu War, University of the Witwatersrand, 1979), pp. 2-4.

89) Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande', p. 9.

90) N. Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878' in Duminy and Ballard (eds.), The Anglo-Zulu War, pp. 16-17; P. Hernaes and J. Simensen, 'The Zulu kingdom and the Norwegian Missionaries, 1845-1880' (Paper given at a conference on Natal and Zulu History, University of Natal, Durban, 1985), pp. 3-5; A. Winquist, Scandinavians and South Africa. Their impact on cultural, social and economic development before 1900 (Cape Town, 1978), pp. 94-97.

Zululand, which he did at Empangeni in 1851 and Entumeni in 1852.<sup>91</sup> He was joined by Ommund Oftebro and Lars Larsen who came to South Africa in 1849.<sup>92</sup> The missionaries were not overtly imperial agents, but did act as important informants on affairs within the kingdom for the benefit of the Natal authorities.<sup>93</sup> Mpande was anxious to gain support from Natal representatives but the Norwegian Missionary Society did not assist the monarchy in the internal disputes of the kingdom, and remained carefully neutral in the civil upheaval that was to erupt in the later 1850s.<sup>94</sup>

While taking refuge in the Republic of Natalia in 1839, Mpande had recognised Cetshwayo, his eldest son born about 1832, as the heir to the kingship.<sup>95</sup> By 1852, his favour had shifted to the second eldest, Mbuyazi.<sup>96</sup> In November 1856, in an attempt to gain support from Natal for his recognition of Mbuyazi, Mpande gave Mbuyazi and his followers,

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91) Winqvist, Scandinavians and South Africa, pp. 76 and 127-9.

92) Ibid., pp. 128 and 134.

93) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878', pp. 17-21.

94) Ibid; Hernaes and Simensen, 'The Zulu kingdom and the Norwegian missionaries 1845-1880', pp. 4-6.

95) Cetshwayo kaMpande (c.1832-1884) was the son of Mpande's wife Ngqumbazi. For useful studies of Cetshwayo's life and career see R. Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo 1873-1879' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1967); J. Laband and J. Wright, King Cetshwayo kaMpande (Pietermaritzburg and Ulundi, 1980); J. Guy, 'Cetshwayo kaMpande' in C. Saunders (ed.), Black leaders in Southern African History.

96) Mbuyazi kaMpande was thought to be named after Fynn senior. Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. III, p. 232: evidence of Mkungu kaMpande.

the iziGqoza, territory on the Tugela southern boundary of the kingdom.<sup>97</sup> This action soon caused an eruption of full scale conflict with Cetshwayo and his uSuthu followers.<sup>98</sup> While Mbuyazi appealed to Natal, Cetshwayo enjoyed considerable support from the royal amabutho and the leading chiefs Masiphula and Maphitha,<sup>99</sup> who saw in the conflict a chance to set up Cetshwayo as their own candidate for the throne.<sup>100</sup> In December 1856, at the battle of Ndongakusuka on the Tugela border, Cetshwayo's regiments defeated the iziGqoza, killing Mbuyazi and five other sons of Mpande in the course of the fighting.<sup>101</sup>

Although the Natal government did not aid Mbuyazi directly, white traders including John Dunn did participate.<sup>102</sup> Dunn then changed allegiance to the victorious Cetshwayo and moved into the Zulu kingdom in 1857 as the heir apparent's resident adviser and trader.<sup>103</sup> Cetshwayo accepted Dunn and assisted his assimilation into Zulu society by

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97) Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 47-48.

98) From this time the 'uSuthu' became closely associated with Cetshwayo's cause. See p. 5 above.

99) See Appendix C.

100) Colenbrander, 'Some aspects of the kingship of Mpande', pp. 6-7.

101) The civil war of 1856 is discussed in Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 140-151; Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 5-6; Edgewcombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 55-56; Maylam, A history of the African People of South Africa, pp. 75-6. An additional interesting account can also be found in Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vol. II, pp. 223-4: evidence of Mangōya kaMgējana.

102) John Dunn (1834-1895) began trading in Zululand in about 1852. The most authoritative biography of Dunn so far is C. Ballard, John Dunn, The White Chief of Zululand (Johannesburg, 1985).

103) Ballard, John Dunn, pp. 61-62.

giving him land, a number of royal wives and chiefly status.<sup>104</sup> Cetshwayo thus gained unofficial support from Natal, while at the same time Mpande's other heirs, Mthonga and Mkhungo, sought sanctuary with the official authorities in Natal.<sup>105</sup> This semi-official recognition of Mpande did not go beyond a commission in 1857 when Fynn senior, in his capacity as a government official, was sent to Nodwengu to offer British support for Mpande.<sup>106</sup> This demonstration served to undermine Cetshwayo's legitimacy as the primary candidate for the throne and the issue was further complicated by constant rumours that Mbuyazi had escaped to Natal.<sup>107</sup>

Despite the existence of rivals and Mpande's appeal to the British authorities, Cetshwayo was still in a position of considerable strength, but nevertheless, joined Mpande in appealing to the external powers to recognise his claims to the kingship.<sup>108</sup> Cetshwayo's position was further threatened by external opposition when his proposed raids on Swaziland in 1857 were prevented by an appeal by Mswati, the Swazi king, to the Natal authorities.<sup>109</sup>

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104) Ibid., pp. 63-65.

105) Mkhungo was a brother of Mpande and Mthonga another of his sons. See Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 5-7; Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande', pp. 17-18.

106) Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 136 and 147-8.

107) Binns, The Last Zulu King, pp. 36-8; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 103-105; Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 3-4.

108) Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande', p. 18; Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 6-7; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 167-169.

109) Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 92-93; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', p. 167.

Within the Zulu state, Cetshwayo faced competition from rival chiefs. Hamu kaNzibe was Mpande's eldest biological son but through the custom of ukuvusa was the genealogical son of Nzibe, Mpande's brother.<sup>110</sup> As an umntwana and a powerful member of the ibandla, Hamu had considerable political autonomy which was further reinforced by his position as an induna of the powerful Thulwana regiment.<sup>111</sup> Hamu's political status was strengthened by his considerable economic independence which he maintained through his self-sufficient territorial position in north-western Zululand.<sup>112</sup> Although Hamu had fought on Cetshwayo's side in 1856, he became increasingly disloyal and independent in the following years.<sup>113</sup>

In February 1861, Mpande's son Mthonga sought refuge with the Boers in the Utrecht district to the north-west of Zululand.<sup>114</sup> Cetshwayo then attempted to negotiate for his return, promising the Boers land in exchange.<sup>115</sup> Rumours that Mpande intended pronouncing Mthonga his heir encouraged Cetshwayo in these negotiations. British imperial opinion was, however, in opposition to any Boer expansion in the area.

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110) N.G.L. Cope, 'The defection of Hamu' (unpublished Honours thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1980), pp. 44-45; Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 34.

111) F.G. Fynney, The Zulu army and Zulu headmen (Pietermaritzburg, 1879). See Appendix C.

112) Cope, 'The defection of Hamu', p. 46.

113) Ibid., pp. 45-52.

114) Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 7-8; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 189-190.

115) This incident and the negotiations which followed are discussed in Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 7-8; Edgecombe and Wright, 'Mpande', pp. 56-7; Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878', pp. 18-21; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 189-200.

This was in line with the tentative confederation plans of the High Commissioner, Sir George Grey.<sup>116</sup> Theophilus Shepstone, as Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, was encouraged by Grey to go to Zululand and officially recognise Cetshwayo as Mpande's successor.<sup>117</sup>

This was the first instance of wider British Colonial Office plans for Southern Africa directly affecting the Zulu kingdom, particularly its relations with the Boers. This trend was to escalate during the 1870s and bring the Zulu state into eventual conflict with the imperial authorities. On a more local level, this recognition of Cetshwayo as the official heir apparent implied imperial support for Shepstone's personal schemes for the Zulu kingdom as a potential labour supply and a dumping area for Natal's surplus black population.<sup>118</sup>

Although Shepstone did not, as he had hoped, gain any territory, this intervention had ensured that Cetshwayo was recognised as Mpande's uncontested successor by both the British and the Boers. While Mpande was clearly more than a mere figure-head, Cetshwayo's powers were in excess of those normally wielded by the heir to the kingship. Although they both continued to appeal to Natal for support, Mpande and Cetshwayo were, by the mid-1860s, reconciled in the face of an external threat from the Boers over land claims made in 1864. Mpande and Cetshwayo were

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116) Sir George Grey was High Commissioner from December 1854 to August 1861.

117) Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 7-8; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', pp. 188-200.

118) C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, 1979), Chapter 6.



both forced to appeal to the British government to arbitrate in this matter and thus looked for common support outside the Zulu kingdom.<sup>119</sup>

In the face of external interference, Cetshwayo attempted to consolidate his position within Zululand. He embarked on an extensive trade in firearms through the agency of Dunn, and at the same time reasserted Zulu dominance over the 'Tsonga' in order to ensure a continued royal monopoly on the firearm trade with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.<sup>120</sup>

While Cetshwayo retained a monopoly on firearms, he was challenged in other trading ventures by the more powerful chiefs, particularly Hamu, who had acquired a resident white trader, Herbert Nunn, during the 1860s.<sup>121</sup>

The number of white traders increased significantly during this period and in the mid-1850s they introduced the cattle disease, bovine pleuropneumonia (lung-sickness).<sup>122</sup> This placed an untold strain on cattle resources in the Zulu state and their presence also removed the hunting prerogative from the Zulu population.<sup>123</sup> As well as increasing trading ventures through Natal and Delagoa Bay to replace depleted cattle stocks, from the mid-1860s, Cetshwayo also planned an invasion of Swaziland for this purpose.<sup>124</sup>

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119) Colenbrander, 'Some reflections on the kingship of iIpande', pp. 17-20

120) Ballard, John Dunn, pp. 80-84; Ballard, 'The role of trade and hunter-traders', pp. 11-18; J. Guy, 'A note on firearms in the Zulu kingdom with special reference to the Anglo-Zulu War, 1879', in Journal of African History, XII,4 (1971), pp. 559-561.

121) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 16 and 115; E.C. Tabler, Pioneers of Natal and South Eastern Africa. (Cape Town, 1977), pp. 178-180.

122) Bryant, The Zulu People, p. 336.

123) Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom', pp. 108-110.

124) Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 113-133.

Missionaries continued to enter Zululand during the later part of Mpande's reign but they did not become a serious challenge to the monarchy until the 1870s. Additional Norwegian Missionary Society stations were built at Mahlabathini and at Nhlazatshe in 1860.<sup>125</sup> The Anglican Church Mission established a station at Kwamagwaza in 1861 under the leadership of Robert Robertson, who was later joined by S.M. Samuelson who resigned from the Norwegian Missionary Society in 1857 and took over the Anglican mission at St Paul's in 1865.<sup>126</sup> In 1867 Bishop Wilkinson arrived as the first Anglican Bishop of Zululand.<sup>127</sup> The Hermannsberg Missionary Society was established at Umlazi in Dunn's district in 1858 under Friedrich Volker and by 1865 had several stations in Zululand.<sup>128</sup> The Norwegian missionaries who, under Schreuder's leadership were the most influential in Zululand up to the 1870s, respected the independence of the Zulu people and were loyal to the king, providing him with trading goods from Natal while maintaining minimal interference in the lives of his subjects. The Norwegian missionary Oftebro, supported by the Anglican Robertson, enjoyed a good relationship with Cetshwayo during the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>129</sup> At the same time they retained an important role as informants for the authorities in Natal.<sup>130</sup>

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125) Winqvist, Scandinavians, pp. 134-5.

126) Ibid., p. 133; P. Hinchcliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa (London, 1963), p. 132.

127) Hinchcliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p. 130.

128) Ballard, John Dunn, p. 168; A. Leuschke, 'The Hermannsberg mission society in Natal and Zululand. 1854-1865', (unpublished Honours thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1985).

129) Hernaes and Simensen, 'The Zulu kingdom and the Norwegian missionaries 1845-1880', pp. 4-6.

130) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878', pp. 16-18.

By the time of Mpande's death in 1872, it was clear that Cetshwayo faced many serious internal problems. These were enhanced by the fact that the rival pretenders to the throne, Mkhungo and Mthonga, were still at large and receiving support in Natal.<sup>131</sup> This, coupled with the continuing land demands from the Boers, encouraged Cetshwayo to appeal again to Shepstone to attend his 'coronation' in 1873.<sup>132</sup> Cope stresses that Cetshwayo was anxious, above all, to strengthen his position in relation to that of the powerful chiefs.<sup>133</sup> It should also be noted that Cetshwayo was also concerned to limit the influence of missionaries who were a potential segmentary influence and could ally themselves at any time with enemies to the monarchy.<sup>134</sup> Cetshwayo also needed to negotiate a labour contract with Natal for 'Tsonga' migrant labour which would ensure a cash return which could be used to obtain firearms. This was particularly important, given the scarcity of cattle as trade goods since the mid 1850s.<sup>135</sup>

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131) Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', pp. 11-12.

132) The 'coronation' of 1873 is discussed in some detail in Cope, 'Political power in the Zulu kingdom'; Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo', Ch. 3; Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878', pp. 26-33; Kennedy, 'The Fatal Diplomacy', Ch. 7. The official report is contained in BPP C. 1342, enc. in no. 1: Report of the expedition to install Cetshwayo as King of the Zulus, August 1873.

133) Cope, 'Political power within the Zulu kingdom', p. 20.

134) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations 1856-1878', pp. 27-29.

135) C. Ballard, 'Migrant labour in Natal 1860-1879: with special reference to Zululand and the Delagoa Bay hinterland', in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 1, (1978), pp. 34-36; Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom', pp. 110-111.

Shepstone's motives were somewhat similar to those he had entertained in 1861. He had never abandoned his original goal of extending Natal's control of Zululand. Shepstone was also anxious to obtain a labour supply and negotiate with Cetshwayo for a suitable form of migrant labour from the 'Tsonga' tributary hinterland to the north-east of Zululand.<sup>136</sup>

Cetshwayo achieved three of his aims through the 'coronation' in 1873. He secured a cash supply from the 'Tsonga' labour contract which ensured a continued royal monopoly on firearms.<sup>137</sup> He also gained further security through a renunciation of Mpande's other heirs as well as a limit on missionary activity.<sup>138</sup> From Shepstone's point of view, the 'coronation' had lent a certain amount of credibility to his ideas of expansion and unofficial 'suzerainty' over Zululand. Clearly, the official mind was moving in a similar direction, towards renewed ideas of confederation.<sup>139</sup> While the Colonial Office never officially recognised that the coronation 'laws' created enforceable rights for Britain or British subjects in Zululand,<sup>140</sup> the inclusion of Zululand in a broader South African context under British rule was considered as early as 1875.<sup>141</sup> During the 1870s, Natal and its Zulu hinterland were seen as the frontier of British expansion in Africa and the eventual possibility of a clash between the Zulu state and the imperial authorities could no longer be overlooked.<sup>142</sup>

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136) Cope, 'Political power', p. 16.

137) Guy, 'A note on firearms', pp. 558-559.

138) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations', pp. 26-27.

139) GH 23, no. 62: Carnarvon to Barkly, 4 May 1875.

140) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations', p. 34.

141) GH 280, no. 131: Wolseley to Carnarvon, 14 June 1875.

142) Etherington, 'Anglo-Zulu relations', pp. 35-36.

An immediate effect of increased British involvement was the prohibition of the Zulu firearm trade with Natal in 1875. This meant that the Zulu state had to rely on the 'Tsonga' middlemen traders to ensure a firearm supply from the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.<sup>143</sup> The period from 1875 saw increased Zulu inroads into the Delagoa Bay hinterland as had been the case in the 1820s, until this was finally halted by a British ban on Portuguese-Zulu firearm trading in 1878.<sup>144</sup>

During the later 1870s Zululand appears to have been suffering from a severe lack of resources which partially explains Cetshwayo's reassertion of Zulu hegemony in the Delagoa Bay and the Swaziland region. From 1874 to 1877, Cetshwayo surreptitiously supported Mbilini kaMswati, a rebel Swazi prince who had fled to Zululand in Mpande's reign. Cetshwayo tried to have Mbilini installed as his personal favourite in Swaziland but at the same time embarked on a full scale invasion plan from 1876. These plans were thwarted by the Natal government whose goodwill Cetshwayo considered vital in the resolution of any boundary dispute with the Transvaal Boers.<sup>145</sup>

Just as significantly, these raids were opposed by Cetshwayo's ibandla.<sup>146</sup>

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143) Ballard, 'Trade, tribute and migrant labour', pp. 114-119.

144) Harries, 'History, ethnicity and the Ingwavuma land deal', pp. 14-15.

145) Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 132-135.

146) Cope, 'Political power', p. 26.

The more powerful chiefs were, by this stage, enjoying considerable wealth, mostly obtained outside the kingdom.<sup>147</sup> These trading connections suggest that the Zulu economy was substantially enmeshed with that of Natal, a trend which was further encouraged by an increasing dependence on imports in the Zulu kingdom during the 1870s.<sup>148</sup>

Guy has suggested that the kingdom was invaded by the imperial power in 1879 primarily to facilitate capitalist production.<sup>149</sup> Tensions evident within the state suggest, however, that the Zulu kingdom was not as economically self-sufficient as Guy maintains.<sup>150</sup> A similarly theoretical reason for the invasion was Frere's view that the Zulu state posed a military threat to the safety of British interests in Southern Africa.<sup>151</sup> It has also been noted that neither argument can do justice to the complex set of events leading up to the war.<sup>152</sup>

Carnarvon's confederation scheme for Southern Africa envisaged a union of states and the Zulu kingdom could not be exempted from this broad proposal.<sup>153</sup> While both Shepstone and Wolseley had considered the

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147) Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom', pp. 108-110; Laband, 'Zulu polity', pp. 5-7.

148) Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom', pp. 112-113.

149) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, Chapter 3.

150) *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

151) BPP C. 2220, no. 74: Frere to Hicks Beach, 10 September 1878.

152) Cope, 'The Zulu kingdom 1824-1879', pp. 6-7.

153) GH 280, no. 131: Wolseley to Carnarvon, 14 June 1875.

idea of annexing Zululand by force,<sup>154</sup> it was not until 1877 that the confederation scheme was effectively implemented with the annexation of the Transvaal.<sup>155</sup> Frere, following his appointment in 1877, tried to manipulate the Boer-Zulu land dispute into an excuse for British intervention and annexation of Zulu territory. He was unsuccessful in these attempts and resorted to Zulu transgressions of the Natal border as instances of what he considered a blatant threat to the security of the colony.<sup>156</sup> Using these incidents, and particularly the actions of Sihayo's sons in July 1878, Frere eventually compiled an impossible ultimatum which he presented to the king and his leading chiefs in December 1878.<sup>157</sup> Many in Cetshwayo's ibandla felt that the major issue offending the British authorities was that of Sihayo's sons and that if this condition was met, conflict would be averted. Sihayo was, however, one of Cetshwayo's favourites and the king refused to listen to the advice of his councillors, thereby, the Zulu believed, causing the British forces to invade Zululand.<sup>158</sup>

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154) GH 280, no. 131: Wolseley to Carnarvon, 14 June 1875.

155) BPP C. 1833, no. 4: Shepstone to Carnarvon, 1 May 1877; no. 6: Frere to Carnarvon, 15 May 1877.

156) BPP C. 2222, no. 6: Frere to Hicks Beach, 5 November 1878.

157) BPP C. 2222, enc. 2 in no. 53: Message from Bulwer to Cetshwayo and chief men of the Zulu nation, 11 December 1878.

158) BPP C. 2242, no. 9: Frere to Hicks Beach, 13 January 1879; C. 2367, enc. 3 in no. 3: Message from the Zulu king, 3 March 1879.

Despite underlying tensions there was, at the time of invasion, no coherent faction opposed to Cetshwayo and the Zulu state was, as Guy points out, able to put a substantial army in the field to defend itself.<sup>159</sup> There were, however, possibilities for individual responses to the invasion, and even for co-operation with the British authorities. It has been noted that

'The Zulu state had never been so monolithic that (the chiefs), especially those on the periphery of the kingdom and in commercial contact with whites had not the ambition - and the relative scope - for greater local autonomy.' (160)

Thus, on the eve of the war, the leaders within the Zulu state, although still controlled by the monarchy, did not always agree with central policy and the more powerful chiefs constantly sought to modify their own positions. Cope points out that

'What the great chiefs seem to have wanted was not complete independence and dissolution of the kingdom, but virtual autonomy in their regions together with a large share through the council of state, in the running of the central government.' (161)

Although there were no 'mass defections' during the war, several significant reactions against the monarchy's defensive stance did emerge.<sup>162</sup> Hamu's loyalty was already extremely dubious and his

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159) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 39; Cope, 'Political power within the Zulu Kingdom', p. 3.

160) Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 24.

161) Cope, 'Political power within the Zulu kingdom', p. 20.

162) Ibid., p. 3; Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 24.



defection to Colonel Wood in March 1879 was seen by many in Zululand as the beginning of the disintegration of the nation.<sup>163</sup> Hamu's defection followed that of Cetshwayo's adviser, John Dunn, and the movement towards submission made by Sekethwayo kaNhlaka Mdlalose, an isikhulu of the north-western region of Zululand. The northern area where Wood continued effectively to harass the surrounding countryside, following his successful victory at Khambula on 29 March 1879, seemed the most likely to be detached from its loyalty to Cetshwayo. Msebe kaMadaka, a second cousin of Cetshwayo and a Qulusi induna from the north-western area, also surrendered by the end of March, as did Mcwayo kaMangeda and his son Mnkolisa kaMcwayo.<sup>164</sup> Although these demonstrations of disloyalty undoubtedly caused consternation amongst the Zulu royal leadership,<sup>165</sup> they were not an attempt at reviving the pre-Shakan system of chiefdoms, but were governed rather by consideration of personal preservation and a marked degree of pragmatism in the face of invasion.<sup>166</sup>

It is clear that Chelmsford had not, as Guy suggests, 'left the Zulu political hierarchy virtually untouched and intact in 1879'.<sup>167</sup> The

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163) Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 5. Much useful information is also provided in the report given by Sibalo kaRibana in BPP C. 2454, enc. 1 in no. 32: Special border agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 3 March 1879.

164) Laband, 'Zulu polity', pp. 7-12.

165) BPP C. 2454, enc. 1 in no. 32: Special border agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 3 March 1879.

166) Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 23.

167) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 204.

chiefs who had collaborated with the invading forces would have to ally themselves with the imperial agents who entered Zululand in 1879 if they wanted to maintain their positions of semi-independence.<sup>168</sup>

General Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed in July 1879 not only as Chelmsford's replacement as commander-in-chief of the British forces in Zululand, but also as the supreme British authority in Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal.<sup>169</sup> As High Commissioner for South-East Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and Natal,<sup>170</sup> he outranked the previous imperial agents, Frere, Chelmsford and Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.<sup>171</sup> Wolseley's arrival marked the beginning of a permanent imperial presence in the defeated Zulu kingdom. As High Commissioner he became the immediate 'peripheral' agent in the carrying out of British policy in Zululand.<sup>172</sup>

Carnarvon's confederation policy as implemented by Frere, which had

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168) Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 22.

169) BPP C. 2318, no. 11: Hicks Beach to Bulwer, 19 May 1879; J.A. Benyon, Proconsul and paramountcy in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1980), p. 7.

170) Benyon, Proconsul, p. 189.

171) J. Laband, 'Bulwer, Chelmsford and the Border Levies', in Theoria 58 (1981), p. 11.

172) Benyon, Proconsul, p. 5.

precipitated the invasion, was an unequivocal failure<sup>173</sup> and further imperial responsibility in Southern Africa was unacceptable.

'Zululand was not to be annexed. No decision could more convincingly demonstrate the wish of the Home Government to be done with its South African adventure.'(174)

With the removal of the monarch, control of the internal affairs of Zululand would be the ultimate responsibility of the Colonial Office.<sup>175</sup> Wolseley was therefore instructed to find a rapid solution to the problem of who was to be 'master in the Zulu house'.<sup>176</sup>

Wolseley, on his arrival in Zululand, announced that 'Britain had not been fighting the Zulu people, but the Zulu king.'<sup>177</sup> This was in keeping with the earlier policy of both Chelmsford and Bulwer who had stressed throughout the invasion that the war was waged primarily to destroy the king's power and that the aim of the British forces was therefore a complete victory in Zululand, followed by the unconditional

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173) Ibid., p. 179; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 43-46; J.A. Benyon, 'Isandlwana and the passing of a proconsul', in Natalia, 8 (1978), pp. 38-40.

174) C. de Kiewiet, The Imperial Factor in South Africa (Cambridge, 1937), p. 238.

175) Ballard, John Dunn, p. 191.

176) C. de B Webb, 'Great Britain and the Zulu people', in L. Thompson (ed.), African societies in Southern Africa, p. 308.

177) Preston, Journal, p. 59.

surrender of the king.<sup>178</sup> Wolseley further encouraged those chiefs who still resisted to surrender, by promising that they would be allowed to retain their cattle, land and property in exchange for the surrender of royal ukusisa cattle and firearms.<sup>179</sup> On 26 July he also announced that the monarchy and its attendant amabutho system were abolished.<sup>180</sup> By mid-August, Wolseley had secured the surrender of most chiefs, and in early September, after signing the agreement nominating the thirteen chiefs to rule Zululand, he withdrew the British and colonial troops from Zululand.<sup>181</sup>

Wolseley, in following Bulwer and Chelmsford in declaring the British authorities to be opposed to the whole institution of monarchy, immediately aligned himself and his succeeding proconsuls<sup>182</sup> with the anti-royalist elements within the Zulu state. This involvement in the internal rivalries of the defeated kingdom became a major issue in the development of the civil war during the four years following Wolseley's arrival.<sup>183</sup>

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178) J. Laband, 'Humbugging the General? King Cetshwayo's Peace Overtures during the Anglo-Zulu War', in Theoria, 67 (1986), pp. 4-5.

179) Preston, Journal, p. 59.

180) Laband, 'Humbugging the General?', p. 14.

181) BPP C. 2505, no. 1: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 3 September 1879.

182) Benyon, Proconsul, p. 180.

183) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 77.

Wolseley, like Frere in the 1870s, had been given complete flexibility by the Colonial Office in the solving of the Zulu 'problem'. The metropolitan government, in times of crisis, usually left colonial issues to the discretion of the High Commissioner and, apart from the instruction not to annex Zululand, Wolseley was left to 'settle' the Zulu kingdom as he saw fit.<sup>184</sup> This lack of guidance from London led Wolseley to consult the peripheral officials in colonial Natal for advice on the form of his famous 'settlement' of Zululand in September 1879.<sup>185</sup>

Wolseley was not in the habit of consulting local advisers and had, even before his arrival in South Africa, consulted his Chief of Staff, Sir George Pomeroy Colley, on the possibilities for a successful 'settlement' in Zululand. As a result, the settlement was to some extent based on Colley's experiences as a military strategist in India, where local rulers compliant with the imperial authorities were used to maintain the North West Frontier against hostile chiefs.<sup>186</sup> Thus, even if Wolseley did not have detailed knowledge of the rivalries within the Zulu kingdom, the principles put forward by Colley provided for a settlement which made use of the divisions in Zululand.<sup>187</sup>

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184) Benyon, Proconsul, pp. 166-167.

185) Preston, Journal, p. 9.

186) Preston, Journal, p. 15; J. Pridmore, 'The reaction of Colonial Natal to Sir Garnet Wolseley's Settlement of Zululand, June-December 1879', (unpublished Honours thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1983), pp. 3-4.

187) Pridmore, 'The reaction of Colonial Natal', pp. 5-8.

Wolseley also had several Natal advisers who helped formulate his settlement. He listened to the opinion of Charles Brownlee, the ex- Secretary for Native Affairs for the Cape, and that of Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.<sup>188</sup> In early July, Wolseley had met John Dunn and commented that

'he is a power in Zululand and I intend making as much use of him as possible. My idea is to increase his powers by making him paramount chief over the district of Zululand lying along the Tugela and Buffalo rivers frontiers of Natal'. (189)

Dunn became Wolseley's ideal 'compliant chief' and his territory, as finally awarded by Wolseley's settlement, was similar to that of Kandahar in north-west India, providing a 'buffer' between Natal and Zululand.<sup>190</sup> Dunn also advised Wolseley on his choice of chiefs and, as he had a detailed knowledge of the tensions within the Zulu state, the idea of setting 'Zulu against Zulu' was to a large extent formulated by Dunn and provided the basis for Wolseley's settlement.<sup>191</sup>

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188) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp. 147-148; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 204-205; C.P. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History (London, 1896), p. 96.

189) Preston, Journal, p. 53.

190) Ibid., p. 19.

191) Ballard, John Dunn, p. 193; Preston, Journal, p. 61.

Wolseley also consulted the ex-Secretary for Native Affairs for Natal, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and his brother John Wesley Shepstone, who had taken over as Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in 1876.<sup>192</sup> Theophilus Shepstone influenced Wolseley on the final number of the chiefdoms in Zululand - thirteen - and emphasised his personal theory that the chiefs were anxious to obtain independence from the monarchy to reconstruct their pre-Shakan autonomy. He encouraged Wolseley to place 'pre-Shakan' chiefs in prominent positions in Zululand in order effectively to destroy the rule of the royal house. Shepstone was convinced that royal control was ineffective and that the population in Zululand had always desired to throw off monarchical rule which had held the nation together by no more than a 'rope of sand'.<sup>193</sup>

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192) John Wesley Shepstone (1827-1916) was a Resident Magistrate in Natal and was appointed Acting Secretary for Native Affairs when Theophilus became Administrator of the Transvaal in 1876. Sir Henry Bulwer had tried to persuade Wolseley to use John Shepstone as an adviser for his 'settlement' but Wolseley had only consulted Shepstone when his own adviser, F.G. Fynney, became unavailable. See Preston, Journal, pp. 67 and 71; Appendix C.

193) Theophilus Shepstone's view on the 'settlement' of Zululand is contained in his lengthy memorandum. See CO 179/16, 204, no. 168: T. Shepstone on Wolseley's Scheme, 23 August 1879. See also Shepstone Papers, 41: Herbert to Shepstone, 4 October 1879; J. Laband, 'Dick Addison: the role of a British official during the disturbances in the Ndwandwe district of Zululand, 1887-1889' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1980), pp. 9-11; J. Lehmann, All Sir Garnet (London, 1964), p. 258.

Wolseley's settlement did not specifically set up 'pre-Shakan' chiefdoms, but it did place the semi-autonomous chiefs in positions of power, thus enhancing their pre-1879 independence and further disengaging them from the influence of the monarchy's supporters. Wolseley chose those chiefs who had collaborated with the British invaders as the most prominent rulers in the divided kingdom.<sup>194</sup> He placed them in strategically significant positions, while those chiefs who were more hostile to imperial rule were given less prominent territorial positions. This was in line with Colley's strategy in using compliant chiefs as imperial agents.<sup>195</sup> Most of the chiefs placed in the strategic border areas of Zululand had either directly aided the British during the war or had deserted the king early enough to be trusted by Wolseley.<sup>196</sup>

Both Hamu and Zibhebhu had ensured themselves a prominent place in Wolseley's settlement through their 'timely submission'.<sup>197</sup> They had both experienced a large degree of political and economic independence before the invasion, controlled considerable areas of land and enjoyed sizeable personal followings, although Zibhebhu had never exercised his autonomy so far as to be disloyal to Cetshwayo.<sup>198</sup> Zibhebhu's territory was extended westwards by the 1879 settlement to incorporate the area where royalist uSuthu adherents were concentrated, including the princes Ndabuko kaMpande and Ziweddu kaMpande. Zibhebhu's southern boundary was also extended to the Black Mfolozi river.

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194) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 70-77; Laband, 'Zulu polity', pp. 22-23.

195) Preston, Journal, pp. 2-3.

196) Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 22.

197) Ibid.

198) Cope, 'The defection of Hamu', p. 44.



Hamu's desire for autonomy ensured that he kept the royalist Qulusi in his chiefdom out of power and his 1879 territory included the homesteads of Cetshwayo's chief councillor, Mnyamana kaNgqengelele and those of his adherents the Buthelezi.<sup>199</sup>

Mnyamana refused to accept a chiefdom from Wolseley and the reasons for this are unclear. Either he considered the territory offered him to be insufficient, or he felt his loyalty to Cetshwayo prevented him from partaking in the division of the kingdom. As a result, the area which would have been given to him was given to Ntshingwayo, Cetshwayo's former commander-in-chief who had timeously submitted to Wolseley.<sup>200</sup>

The two chiefdoms which were in fact 'pre-Shakan' were those of the Ndwandwe chief Mgojana and the Mthethwa chief Mlandela. Both their areas, however, contained royalist supporters, the Emgazini and Emangweni respectively. Somkhele, chief of the Mpukunyoni, had enjoyed a power base before the invasion and had surrendered early to the British during the war. He was thus given the most northerly of the coastal chiefdoms. Similarly the Mdlalose chief Sekethwayo's early attempt to defect secured him a chiefdom, although his homestead was situated in Ntshingwayo's territory. Gawozi, an Mpungose chief, and Mgitshwa of the Biyela clan, had supposedly supported the cause of peace before the invasion and had both had considerable autonomy before 1879. They were given the areas immediately north of John Dunn's territory, though their homesteads were situated within his chiefdom.<sup>201</sup>

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199) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 76-77.

200) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 77-78; Laband, 'Zulu polity', pp. 22-24; Appendix A; Appendix C.

201) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 78-80; Laband, 'Zulu polity', p. 23.

The internal regions of Zululand were given to the royalist isikhulu Mfanawendlela kaThanga and the Ntombela chief Faku kaZiningo who had little influence in Zululand. These two chiefs were likely, under the new arrangement, to remain under the control of their anti-royalist neighbours. The last remaining area of strategic importance bordering Natal, Sihayo's former territory, was given to Hlubi. Hlubi was an 'alien' in that he was of Sotho origin and had moved into Zululand from the Orange Free State and fought as a mercenary for the British during the war. Thus, he was unlikely to support the defeated royalists and his territory was intended to form a 'buffer' between the scattered uSuthu supporters and the Colony of Natal.<sup>202</sup>

Through the establishment of these thirteen chiefdoms, Wolseley considered that he had instituted the local self-government necessary for the settlement of Zululand and had insured its lack of military capability against its neighbours. At the same time, he had avoided further Colonial Office responsibility or extra expense.<sup>203</sup> Natal officials, like Shepstone and Bulwer, considered that Zululand should have been directly annexed by the British government, and they criticised Wolseley's settlement for its lack of imperial control.<sup>204</sup>

The British government was not without a representative in Zululand. Wolseley introduced a British Resident to act as 'man on the spot'. This Resident would not have 'administrative or legislative authority, exercising diplomatic duties only.' Wolseley also instructed the Resident to act as the eyes and ears of the Colonial Office and to

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202) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 80.

203) BPP C. 2505, no. 36: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 24 December 1879.

204) Guy, 'The role of colonial officials', pp. 155-156.

report to the High Commissioner or the Governor of Natal on the situation in Zululand.<sup>205</sup> Beyond offering advice to the thirteen chiefs, the resident could not interfere in their rule and was clearly no more than a reporter of events. Although he was required to ensure that the terms of Wolseley's settlement were kept, he was given no authority to enforce those terms with the consequence that his position was therefore completely 'helpless'.<sup>206</sup> Shepstone, in particular, had envisaged a British Resident with real power over the 'kinglets' and his view was shared by other Natal officials.<sup>207</sup> This absence of a 'controlling power' was seen by many officials and colonists as the major reason for the collapse of Wolseley's settlement and the drift towards civil war during the years following its implementation.<sup>208</sup>

Historians have seen Wolseley's 'settlement' of Zululand in September 1879 as the essential prerequisite for civil war in that it 'set Zulu against Zulu'.<sup>209</sup> However, Guy has pointed out that Wolseley's knowledge of the internal dynamics of the Zulu polity at the close of the war was too limited for him deliberately to construct a settlement which set the major parties effectively against each other. Thus, Wolseley's settlement was governed by political expediency and ignorance rather than by a diabolical set of plans to destroy Zululand.<sup>210</sup> At the same time,

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205) BPP C. 2482, no. 87: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 3 September 1879.

206) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, p. 147.

207) CO 879/16, 204, no. 168: T. Shepstone, Further Memorandum on the Settlement of Zululand, 14 October 1879.

208) J. Stuart, A History of the 1906 Rebellion (London, 1913), p. 211.

209) L. Thompson, 'The subjection of African chiefdoms, 1870-1898', in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, 1971), vol. II, p. 265.

210) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 75-76.

Guy notes that the settlement did form a key ingredient in the development of civil war in that it appointed chiefs like Hamu, Zibhebhu and Dunn who were 'self seeking, individualistic and had direct connections with the colonial world'.<sup>211</sup> Although many of the tensions which remained in the divided kingdom had pre-1879 origins, the settlement did serve to crystalise these rivalries and therefore contained in its terms the direct causes of the outbreak of civil war. The monarchy, although its control had been neither centralised nor absolute, had served as a unifying influence through the network of control of the amabutho system. With Wolseley's abolition of this system, the king's centralised power, albeit significantly less than in Shaka's time, was effectively removed along with the monarch. The king's sway over the rival autonomous chiefs may have been slight, but the new Resident's was non-existent. Civil conflict under these circumstances was inevitable and official imperial intervention in these disputes was restricted to a single visit by the High Commissioner, Sir Evelyn Wood, in August 1881.<sup>212</sup>

The Resident was not only powerless; he was far from impartial. The peripheral agents of the imperial government favoured outright annexation as a solution for Zululand, but were bound to support Wolseley's settlemen and were united through this into an anti-uSuthu stance. The supporters of the deposed monarchy had been reduced to a faction amongst

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211) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 78.

212) Sir Evelyn Wood was High Commissioner for South East Africa from February 1881 to March 1882. For details of this visit see BPP C. 3182, enc. in no. 34: Osborn to Wood, 30 May 1882.

powerful rival factions, and the imperial agents had to support the latter in their attempts to keep the terms of Wolseley's hopeless settlement.<sup>213</sup>

The uSuthu party turned to Natal for support against these unjust terms, and found a champion for their cause in Bishop J.W. Colenso.<sup>214</sup> Colenso had, during the 1850s and 1860s, followed Shepstone in the latter's schemes for imperial expansion through indirect rule. Between 1854 and 1873, they had together devised various plans for the creation of black kingdoms within this context. In 1873, Colenso had opposed Shepstone in what he considered an unjust trial of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele. Following this, Colenso renewed contact with Cetshwayo which had been broken in 1859 when Colenso had supported Mkhungo as a possible rival candidate for Mpande's throne. In 1877, when Shepstone had allied himself with the Boers, Cetshwayo turned to Colenso for support and in 1878 Colenso turned against Frere's confederation scheme and took up Cetshwayo's cause in the face of what he saw as an extremely unfair ultimatum and an unjustified invasion. From 1879 until his death in June 1883, Colenso continually supported the Zulu monarchy in its attempts to gain full and unconditional restoration.<sup>215</sup>

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213) K.A. Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn and events in Zululand, 1879-1883', (unpublished Honours thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1971), pp. 12-14.

214) John William Colenso (1814-1883) was Bishop of Natal from 1850 to 1883. For useful studies of his life and career see J. Guy, The Heretic, a study of the life of John William Colenso (London, 1984); D.R. Edgecombe, 'Bishop Colenso and the Zulu Nation'; Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, ch 11.

215) Edgecombe, 'Bishop Colenso and the Zulu Nation', pp. 16-29; Guy, The Heretic, ch. 6, 13, 16-20.

Of the appointed chiefs in Zululand, both Hamu and Zibhebhu, the most powerful, had white supporters. Herbert Nunn continued to assist Hamu as resident trader and, in December 1879, John Dunn sent his apprentice trader, Johan Colenbrander, to be Zibhebhu's adviser and firearm provider.<sup>216</sup> Colenbrander was later joined by two other European traders, John Eckersley and Grosvenor Darke.<sup>217</sup> A fourth European, McAlister, joined this group during the early part of 1880, and it was noted that the 'sons of McAlister' acted as secretaries to Zibhebhu.<sup>218</sup> Colenbrander, with these European assistants, successfully raised a cavalry unit for Zibhebhu's use and deployed it with considerable impact during the civil war.<sup>219</sup>

Missionaries, before the invasion, had attempted to preserve British interests in the Zulu kingdom in order to safeguard their own activities of missionary work and trading.<sup>220</sup> As imperial expansion was no longer deemed acceptable, it was obvious that missionary interests could no longer be protected by imperial authorities.<sup>221</sup> Wolseley, in drawing up his settlement, took little notice of missionary interests. Ballard comments that there 'are few, if any, known instances where missionaries

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216) Johan William Colenbrander (1856-1918). An authoritative account of his life and career can be found in B. Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1962). See also Appendix C.

217) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 204. See also Appendix C.

218) Fuze, The Black People, p. 119.

219) Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', pp. 36-45.

220) O. Stavem, The Norwegian Missionary Society. A short review of its work among the Zulus (Stavanger, 1918), pp. 37-52.

221) Ballard, John Dunn, pp. 175-177.

have been so roughly handled by colonial office policy.<sup>222</sup> The missionaries objected strongly to the fact that Wolseley's settlement did not recognise land-grants obtained from Mpande and Cetshwayo before the war. They criticised the British government for not annexing Zululand and opening it up for further missionary expansion.<sup>223</sup> The appointment of John Dunn was naturally seen as a threat to missionary endeavour, and the Natal colonists wrote letters to the press pointing out that Dunn was a definite impediment to any missionary activity in his own territory or in the rest of the divided kingdom.<sup>224</sup>

Dunn had refused to recognise Schreuder's land-grant at Entumeni and forbade both Oftebro and Volker readmittance to his territory.<sup>225</sup>

Despite these restrictions, the major missionary groups succeeded in re-establishing their stations in northern Zululand after the war.

The Norwegian Missionary Society spread its influence under Oftebro in the Mahlabathini district and at Nhlazatshe under Larsen, who was joined by Berge in 1880.<sup>226</sup> The Anglican missionaries expanded from Utrecht, which was the only station untouched by the war and, in June 1880, Bishop Mackenzie arrived as Anglican Bishop of Zululand.<sup>227</sup> By 1882, the Anglicans had re-built Kwamagwaza, which had been destroyed

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222) Ibid., p. 180.

223) Shepstone papers, 42: Cato to Shepstone, 29 September 1879.

224) The Natal Mercury, 7 November 1879: A. Bellville to the editor.

225) Ballard, John Dunn, p. 180.

226) Stavem, The Norwegian Missionary Society, p. 44.

227) Hinchcliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p. 166.

in the course of hostilities, and Robertson joined the Samuelsons at St Paul's mission station.<sup>228</sup> Volker, forbidden to enter Dunn's territory, moved to Ekuhlangeni in northern Zululand in August 1881, and became a central witness to the events of the civil war.<sup>229</sup> Throughout the war, the missionaries provided constant sources of information to the officials in Natal as well as to Osborn and Fynn in their respective positions as Resident.

Wolseley's settlement also changed the nature of Zululand's relations with surrounding states. With the Zulu defeated, Swaziland was no longer in danger of invasion. Although, as Bonner points out, the Swazi did not interfere in the civil war,<sup>230</sup> there is evidence which suggests that the royalist party did make attempts to recruit their assistance.<sup>231</sup> The 'Tsonga' labour contract had been nullified by the invasion and, when re-established in December 1879, it was controlled entirely by John Dunn.<sup>232</sup> The Transvaal, annexed in 1877, was still under British rule and border negotiations between Zulu and Boers would continue as they had done during 1877 and 1878, through the medium of imperial agents.

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228) Ibid.

229) C. Ballard (ed.), 'On a tough missionary post in Zululand. The Life and experiences of the missionary Friedrich Volker, Introduction in Natalia (1980), pp. 34-38.

230) Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 153-155.

231) Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, pp. 183-193: evidence of Ndabazezwe kaMfuleni; Manuscript, 12 June 1883.

232) Ballard, John Dunn, p. 233.



In January 1880, W.D. Wheelwright was appointed as British Resident in Zululand.<sup>233</sup> Wheelwright had been Resident Magistrate of Umvoti from 1878 and had been responsible for the defence of that district during the war.<sup>234</sup> He had, like Fynn, put together a border guard and had also been involved in the submission of chiefs and the collection of firearms along the border in August 1879.<sup>235</sup> Wheelwright soon became disgusted with the lack of power afforded the Resident and resigned from his post in March 1880, when he returned to Umvoti as magistrate. Wolseley, as High Commissioner, was bound to find a replacement and chose Melmoth Osborn.<sup>236</sup> He saw him as

'an officer in whose fitness for the post I have the greatest confidence. Previously a Resident Magistrate in Natal, he thoroughly understands the Zulu language and the character and habits of the people amongst whom his new duties will have to be discharged.' (237)

Osborn had entered the Natal Government Service in 1854 and had, from the outset, been strongly influenced by Shepstone whose control over 'native affairs' was unrivalled in Natal.<sup>238</sup> Osborn had strengthened

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233) BPP C. 2482, no. 87: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 24 December 1879.

234) J. Laband and P. Thompson, War comes to Umvoti (Durban, 1980), pp. 28-30.

235) *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

236) Melmoth Osborn (1834-1899) was an important official in Zululand throughout the period of the civil war. For details of his life and career see Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 2377/1,2,3: 'Melmoth Osborn'; Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn and events in Zululand, 1879-1883'; Guy, 'The role of colonial officials'; J. Laband, 'The establishment of the Zululand administration in 1887'.

237) BPP C. 2584, no. 22: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 9 March 1880.

238) Laband, 'The establishment of the Zululand administration in 1887', pp. 64-65.

his association with Shepstone in 1877 when he accompanied him to the Transvaal as Colonial Secretary.<sup>239</sup> Osborn was an exponent of Shepstone's ideology and was also imbued with considerable experience in Shepstone's system of indirect rule in Natal as he had been Resident Magistrate in Newcastle from 1867 to 1876.<sup>240</sup> Like many other officials, Osborn considered that annexation would be a far more suitable solution for Zululand than Wolseley's settlement.<sup>241</sup> Like Wheelwright, Osborn soon found that although he had little actual authority, the Zulu people appealed to him as a central dispenser of law and order and justice in the absence of the king.<sup>242</sup> By June 1880, Osborn was acting as a court of appeal for all manner of disputes, and especially those between the appointed chiefs and the uSuthu adherents within their territories. In attempting to enforce the conditions of Wolseley's settlement, Osborn frequently had to support the appointed chiefs against the people placed under their rule.<sup>243</sup>

One issue which caused much of the conflict between the appointed chiefs and the uSuthu was that of cattle. Wolseley had instructed the appointed chiefs to confiscate all firearms and royal cattle and deliver them up to the Resident.<sup>244</sup> Gluckman and Marks point out that his order was

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239) Ibid., p. 65.

240) Natal Blue Books, 1867-1876: Civil Establishment Returns.

241) Guy, 'The role of colonial officials', p. 156; Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', p. 13.

242) Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', p. 13.

243) Ibid., pp. 13-15.

244) BPP C. 2482, enc. in no. 104: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 11 September 1879.

particularly 'misguided' as most of the cattle owned by the chiefs had been lent out to them on contract, or sis'd under the ukusisa system. As such they were an integral part of each umuzi's economy and supported the population under each chief who was lent cattle through this custom.<sup>245</sup>

Wolseley's instruction had encouraged the chiefs to seize cattle from opposing groups under their rule, particularly from uSuthu supporters. Mnyamana, for example, complained bitterly to Osborn on several occasions that Hamu had seized vast numbers of his cattle, using Wolseley's instruction as an excuse for blatant thieving.<sup>246</sup> Zibhebhu had similarly confiscated the herds of the royal princes, Ndabuko and Ziweddu, who had been placed under his rule. Paulina Dlamini also maintained that at the end of the war, the royal cattle belonging to Cetshwayo, together with his isigodlo girls (of whom she was one), had been sent to Zibhebhu for protection from the invading British forces. She revealed that Zibhebhu was 'greatly delighted' to obtain Cetshwayo's cattle and pointed out that Zibhebhu's retention of these herds after the end of hostilities was a major cause of the civil war during the 1880s.<sup>247</sup> One of James Stuart's informants felt that the origins of the civil war were entirely attributable to Zibhebhu's actions in this context:

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245) Gluckman, Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand, p. 35; S. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, the 1906-08 disturbances in Natal (London, 1976), p. 87.

246) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 100.

247) Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 72-75.

'all this affair i.e. the hostilities between Zibhebhu and the royal house, arose out of Zibhebhu, during Cetshwayo's absence in captivity having appropriated girls and cattle belonging to the Indhlunkulu. And yet all this property was supposed to have reverted to the Government ... in consequence of its having defeated Cetshwayo, but Zibhebhu was allowed to take and keep this property.' (248)

The uSuthu complained repeatedly to Osborn but he did not have the authority to protect their rights against the appointed chiefs, and, as an upholder of Wolseley's settlement, he in any case supported the chiefs against the uSuthu under their control.<sup>249</sup>

The uSuthu therefore attempted to appeal to the Natal government, but were consistently prevented by Osborn's refusal to grant them a pass to Natal. Although they were supported by Colenso in their appeals for a reversal of Wolseley's settlement and a restoration of the monarchy, their deputations to Natal throughout 1880 and 1881 went unheeded by the Natal government, and they were merely shuttled backwards and forwards between Osborn and the Natal officials.<sup>250</sup>

The year 1881 was characterised by numerous clashes between the uSuthu and the appointed chiefs. The cattle issue ensured constant skirmishing between Hamu's Ngenetsheni and Mnyamana's Buthelezi. In June 1881, Osborn was forced to intervene between Zibhebhu's forces and those of the abantwana Ndabuko and Ziwedu.<sup>251</sup> In July, Sitemela, who claimed

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248) Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. III, p. 310: evidence of Mpatshana kaSodondo.

249) Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', p. 14.

250) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 98-101; Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', pp. 45-60.

251) Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', p. 34.

that he was Dingiswayo's grandson and therefore the rightful heir to the pre-Shakan Mthethwa chiefdom, forced the appointed chief Mlandela to flee to Dunn for protection. Osborn advised Dunn, Zibhebhu and Mgitshwa to assist Mlandela against Sitemela, and on 31 July Dunn attacked Sitemela's supporters. He was soon joined by Zibhebhu's forces, reinforced by Colenbrander's mounted unit.<sup>252</sup> This incident emphasised Osborn's support for the appointed chiefs and enabled Zibhebhu to secure his position as an independent chief by ensuring that Sitemela did not occupy his trade route.<sup>253</sup>

By August 1881, the situation had deteriorated into continuous fighting and Osborn, feeling his position to be insecure, asked Wood as High Commissioner to arbitrate between the appointed chiefs and the uSuthu.<sup>254</sup> This meeting at Nhlazatshe was later regarded by the uSuthu to be the real start of the civil war as their urgent requests for the return of Mnyamana's cattle by Hamu were ignored.<sup>255</sup> Wood, while providing Osborn with a show of force, demonstrated the alignment of the imperial authorities with the thirteen appointed chiefs.

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252) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 112; Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn', pp. 34-36; Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', p. 67.

253) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 111.

254) BPP C. 3182, enc. E in no. 65: Wood to Kimberley, 31 August 1881.

255) The meeting at Nhlazatshe is discussed in BPP C. 3182 enc. E in no. 65: Wood to Kimberley, 31 August 1879; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 105-110.

By September, Hamu and Mnyamana were resorting to outright conflict to thrash out their argument over stolen cattle. In October, the British government enhanced its anti-uSuthu reputation by overlooking Hamu's actions in entering the Transvaal to capture Qulusi cattle.<sup>256</sup> By this stage, John Dunn had taken over effective control of Mlandela's territory, and the uSuthu supporters in northern Zululand, under the leadership of Ndabuko and Ziweddu, engaged in conflict with Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi forces. It was clear that Osborn was quite justified in stating that 'the Zulus understand now that I have no authority'.<sup>257</sup>

In December 1881 Sir Henry Bulwer was re-appointed as Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for South East Africa.<sup>258</sup> Like Osborn and Shepstone, he had supported direct annexation as a solution in 1879, and although it was obviously expected that he would support Wolseley's settlement, he had his own ideas about Zululand's future. Bulwer was not always in agreement with the imperial government, and had criticised Frere's policy in the 1870s. Bulwer, however, had little sympathy with the monarchy in Zululand and he immediately aligned himself with Osborn's anti-uSuthu position.<sup>259</sup>

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256) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 110-112.

257) BPP C. 3182, no. 83: Osborn to Wood, 7 October 1881.

258) See p. 4 above.

259) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 134. Bulwer made his standpoint clear soon after the settlement of 1879. See BPP C. 2584, no. 66: Bulwer to Wolseley, 4 February 1880.

1882 saw increasing chaos in Zululand as Hamu seized Mnyamana's homesteads and Sekethwayo attacked the uSuthu supporters in his district. Zibhebhu at the same time launched a fresh attack on Ndabuko and Ziwezu.<sup>260</sup> Osborn, amidst the mounting anarchy, continued to support the appointed chiefs despite their obvious guilt in causing much of the unrest. Guy comments that

'Osborn's intervention between the supporters of the Zulu royal house and the appointed chiefs, Zibhebhu and Hamu, was a major factor in the development of the civil war. Although his actions at this time have been seen as an attempt by a well-intentioned official, hampered by the terms of his appointment to avoid violence in Zululand, his intervention was in fact a partisan action in support of the appointed chiefs which only encouraged them to greater violence.' (261)

Gibson similarly notes that Osborn, although well-intentioned and 'an able man in many respects', lacked tact and impartiality in dealing with the conflict between the appointed chiefs and the royalist supporters.<sup>262</sup>

In April 1882, the uSuthu made another appeal to the Natal government for a restoration of the monarchy.<sup>263</sup> Guy points out that this was a 'sensible decision made at the right moment'.<sup>264</sup> Cetshwayo, during his past two years in exile, had continuously solicited the British government for a reversal of Wolseley's settlement. His efforts

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260) BPP C. 3466 , annexures in no. 58: statement by Ndabuko, 28 June 1882; statement by Msushwana, 29 June 1882.

261) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 105.

262) Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 238.

263) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 117-118.

264) Ibid., p. 118.

culminated in a visit to England in July 1882.<sup>265</sup> The uSuthu appeals in Natal and Cetshwayo's negotiations in England coincided with a turning-point in British Colonial Office policy towards a possible restoration of the Zulu monarch. A Liberal electoral victory in Britain in 1880 had encouraged both the Boers of the Transvaal and the Zulu to urge for independence from imperial rule.<sup>266</sup>

The subsequent First Anglo-Boer war of 1880-1881 occurred at a time when Britain was adopting a policy which was essentially a reversal of the confederation schemes of the 1870s.<sup>267</sup> The Pretoria Convention of 1881, which ended this conflict, appointed a British Resident in the Transvaal, but he was as powerless as the Resident in Zululand.<sup>268</sup> The Zululand-Transvaal boundaries laid down in 1881 were far from satisfactory, and conflict was inevitable with a powerless Resident attempting to monitor the ongoing boundary dispute. After 1881 the Boers moved continuously into the north-western regions of Zululand and Sir H. Robinson, the High Commissioner, warned the Colonial Office of the necessity of direct British intervention to forestall this encroachment.<sup>269</sup>

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265) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 148-155; Laband and Wright, King Cetshwayo kaMpande, pp. 25-26.

266) T.R.H. Davenport, 'The fragmentation of Zululand, 1879-1918' in Reality, 5 (1979), p. 13.

267) D.M. Schreuder, Gladstone and Kruger, Liberal government and colonial "home rule" 1880-1885 (London, 1969), pp. 168-170.

268) G.M. Theal, History of South Africa 1873-1884, vol. II (Cape Town, 1933), pp. 130-132.

269) BPP C. 3466, no. 41: Robinson to Kimberley, 8 August 1882.



The new semi-independent nature of the Transvaal made it essential for Zululand to be reconstructed from the failure of Wolseley's settlement into a 'counterpoise' to Boer ambitions.<sup>270</sup> Cetshwayo's restoration might successfully stabilise Zululand while ensuring that the Zulu kingdom remained, as far as possible, under British 'suzerainty'. Furthermore, the violence which had erupted after the Nhlazatshe meeting in 1881 convinced the Colonial Office that the internal affairs of Zululand merited reconsideration.<sup>271</sup> Thus, when Cetshwayo arrived in England to appeal for his restoration, the idea had already been thoroughly circulated in the Colonial Office.

Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, ordered Bulwer to assess the possibilities for a restoration in Zululand.<sup>272</sup> Bulwer, as Governor of Natal, was presumed to have extensive knowledge of the local situation, and consequently the metropolitan government relied upon him for reports which would influence their policies.<sup>273</sup> Bulwer was, however, utterly opposed to restoration and therefore found himself investigating a cause for which he had no sympathy and no desire to implement.<sup>274</sup>

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270) Davenport, 'The fragmentation of Zululand, 1879-1918', p. 13.

271) BPP C. 3247, no. 4: Kimberley to Robinson, 14 September 1881.

272) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 134-135.

273) B.L. Blakeley, The Colonial Office, 1868-1892 (Durham, 1971), p. 116.

274) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 136.

Bulwer's reports to Kimberley were heavily influenced by Osborn and Shepstone. Guy points out in this context that a 'Shepstone clique', as seen by the Colenso family, although probably not as powerful as the uSuthu supporters believed, nevertheless had a considerable influence on the policies eventually adopted by the Colonial Office towards Zululand.<sup>275</sup> Shepstone, although retired, and with little active influence, had previously made his ideas felt through his exponents in Natal and Zululand.<sup>276</sup> Osborn in particular was a dedicated follower of Shepstonian principles in his policy-making in Zululand.<sup>277</sup>

Osborn and Shepstone supported Bulwer in his appeal for direct British control. Both had, since 1879, felt the lack of authority in the Zulu kingdom.<sup>278</sup> They were equally determined that if Cetshwayo were to be restored, it would be in such a manner as to prevent a resurgence of the monarchy in Zululand, with its attendant military 'system'. These officials probably over-estimated the unifying power of the king, but they were firm in their belief that 'the might of a unified Zululand' might pose a threat to white Natal and to broader British interests in Southern Africa. Shepstone also maintained, as he had done

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275) Guy, 'The role of colonial officials', p. 152.

276) D. Welsh, The Roots of Segregation, Native policy in Natal (1845-1910) (London, 1971), p. 225.

277) Laband, 'The establishment of the Zululand administration in 1887', pp. 64-65.

278) Shepstone papers, 41: Herbert to Shepstone, 4 October 1879.

in 1879, that the 'pre-Shakan' chiefs were clamouring for independence from any form of monarchical control. Shepstone wished instead to install a British Resident who would have the authority of a 'paramount chief' with similar powers to the Secretary for Native Affairs.<sup>279</sup>

Consequently, Bulwer informed the Colonial Office that there was a large group in Zululand who wished to remain independent of Cetshwayo's rule, and suggested that a British authority be installed to control Zululand.<sup>280</sup> Kimberley, however, was adamant in his refusal to take responsibility for any South African state and would not consider the idea of a British representative with any power in Zululand. Even so, he did take note of Bulwer's point that the whole of Zululand did not wish to be ruled by the king, and the Colonial Office accordingly altered its plans for restoration into those for partition.<sup>281</sup>

Bulwer's reports only reached England when Cetshwayo had already left, and the terms which Kimberley discussed with the king were therefore considerably modified after his departure. Consequently, although Cetshwayo realised that the British government intended to return him to a portion of his kingdom, he did not know what form this partition would take.<sup>282</sup>

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279) Shepstone papers, 49: Osborn to Shepstone, 6 January 1883; Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, p. 148; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 43; Guy, 'The role of colonial officials', p. 156.

280) CO 179/140, no. 11837 of 1882: Bulwer to Kimberley, 30 May 1882.

281) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 162.

282) Guy, 'The role of colonial officials', pp. 156-158.

Bulwer and Kimberley agreed to set aside an area of Zululand for those who did not desire to reside under Cetshwayo's jurisdiction. Bulwer, however, envisaged a much larger area than Kimberley who wrote that

'no more country should be reserved than is necessary to enable us to fulfill our obligations to the chiefs and people unwilling to remain in Cetshwayo's territory.'(283)

This region, which became known as the Reserve Territory, became a focal point in the civil war which followed the restoration. Unterhalter points out that although the British undoubtedly left the area outside Cetshwayo's rule in order to placate the chiefs John Dunn and Hlubi (whose 1879 territories were included in the Reserve Territory), the area also served several other underlying purposes. It was to fulfill Shepstone's plan for Natal blacks by becoming a region

'in which Zulu in Natal could settle rather than live in the Crown Lands of Natal, obstructing the development of these by white farmers'. (284)

The Reserve Territory also served as a buffer zone between Natal and the uSuthu, whom many colonists believed still posed a threat, despite

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283) BPP C. 3466, no. 114: Kimberley to Bulwer, 30 November 1882.

284) E. Unterhalter, "'The natives appear contented and quiet." The Nquthu district of Zululand under British rule, 1883-1897', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries, vol. VIII (London, 1977), p. 60.

the partition of the kingdom, as well as providing a military foot-hold for the British in Zululand.<sup>285</sup>

Although the chiefs John Dunn and Hlubi continued to rule their districts, a Resident Commissioner was introduced to control the Reserve Territory.<sup>286</sup> This commissioner was accorded more authority than the British Resident in Zululand had enjoyed since 1879, and was given a police force to maintain order, supplemented by Hlubi's Basutho troops.<sup>287</sup> John Shepstone was appointed first Resident Commissioner of the Reserve and was informed by Bulwer that he was to be the 'paramount authority' in the area.<sup>288</sup> John Shepstone saw the Reserve as being directly under the rule of Natal and clearly regarded the entire population under his jurisdiction as an extension of a Natal 'location'. He wrote to Bulwer that

'the majority of the people are in favour of remaining under the British commissioner, and are anxious to feel that they have nothing to fear from Cetshwayo or anyone else.' (289)

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285) Ibid., p. 61.

286) BPP C. 3466, no. 154: Bulwer to John Shepstone, 22 December 1883.

287) CO 179/1/1, no. 145 (2): Bulwer to Derby, 23 April 1883.

288) BPP C. 3466, no. 154: Bulwer to John Shepstone, 22 December 1883.

289) BPP C. 3616, no. 30: John Shepstone to Bulwer, 16 February 1883.

The restoration terms<sup>290</sup> also included a large independent territory for Zibhebhu, based on his previous substantial chiefdom in north-eastern Zululand. His boundaries were adjusted to exclude the major uSuthu supporters who now came under Cetshwayo's rule. Hamu was to be placed under Cetshwayo and, given his desertion in the Anglo-Zulu war and his previous autonomous status, this could only lead to intense conflict between him and Cetshwayo.<sup>291</sup>

Cetshwayo's reduced kingdom was far smaller than he had been led in London to believe it would be. Furthermore, he was not to be allowed to rule his territory entirely unobserved by the British government. A British Resident, Henry Francis Fynn, was appointed to monitor Cetshwayo's actions and ensure that the conditions of his restoration were adhered to by the king, his uSuthu supporters and his powerful rival rulers within Zululand.<sup>292</sup> The new Resident would clearly have no power to enforce these conditions, and he merely replaced Osborn as an ineffectual observer of the events in Zululand.<sup>293</sup>

In December 1882, Cetshwayo, realising he had no choice but to accept the terms of his restoration, signed the conditions and departed from Cape Town for Zululand. On 10 January he arrived at Port Durnford

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290) See Appendices A and B.

291) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 164.

292) BPP C. 3293, no. 139: Bulwer to Kimberley, 7 December 1882.

293) Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, p. 148.

to assume sovereignty over part of his former kingdom.<sup>294</sup> He knew from the outset that conflict was unavoidable and the restoration terms impossible to keep. He later commented: 'I did not land in a dry place, I landed in the mud.'<sup>295</sup>

On a superficial level, the civil war which broke out in its full fury in 1883, was a direct result of the 'settlement' of 1879 and the attempted restoration of 1883. The uSuthu view of the origins of these hostilities is concerned with the specific clash between the uSuthu and the appointed chiefs, culminating in the meeting at Nhlazatshe in August 1881. While it is possible to see the upheavals of 1883 as a continuation of the conflict that had arisen directly from Wolseley's settlement, it is also clear that the underlying tensions within the kingdom did not originate in that settlement. Guy sees the long-term origins of the civil war as essentially a struggle

'between representatives of the pre-capitalist and the capitalist social formations, between representatives of the old Zulu order working for the revival of the kingdom, and those trying to ensure political division as a pre-requisite for subordination to capitalist production.'<sup>(296)</sup>

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294) BPP C. 3616, enc. in no. 31: Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.

295) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM C 1278/6: W.Y. Campbell, With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhla and the present state of the Zulu question (Durban, 1883), p. 11.

296) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 243.

Shula Marks echoes this by pointing out that in order for capitalism effectively to penetrate the kingdom, the monarch had to be removed.<sup>297</sup>

While this argument encompasses several key issues as to the origins of the civil war, it should be noted that the underlying tensions within the Zulu state do not fit into precise 'capitalist' or 'modernist' and 'pre-capitalist' or 'traditionalist' categories. While some ardent supporters of the monarchy, like Sihayo kaXongo, were actively involved in trading enterprises with Europeans, penetration of the kingdom by mercantile forces long pre-dated the removal of the monarchical institution.<sup>298</sup>

It has also been recently argued that the Zulu political economy was intricately embedded in the Natal economy and was dependent on the colony for imports.<sup>299</sup> The Zulu state was not, as Guy has suggested, a self-sufficient pre-capitalist entity. The king, as well as the dominant chiefs, depended on trade with Europeans to maintain their positions. The traditionalist 'old order' maintained a royal monopoly on this trade at least until the 1860s, but the later traders who supported the more powerful chiefs against the king, were, as Guy notes, the agents of encroaching capitalism who allied themselves with the opponents to the traditional royalists.<sup>300</sup>

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297) S. Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa. Class, Nationalism and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal (Johannesburg, 1986), pp. 27-29.

298) Colenbrander, 'External exchange and the Zulu kingdom', pp. 113-116.

299) Ibid., 106-110.

300) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 343-345.



It is more difficult to see the imperial authorities in a similar light. Although Shepstone advocated the subordination of Zululand to the labour demands of white Natal, this view was by no means the crucial issue in British policy towards Zululand. Most imperial agents seemed more concerned with the matter of security and were determined above all else, as Frere was in 1879, to eliminate the possibility of any future Zulu military threat.

Perhaps, in attempting to examine the underlying reasons for the civil war of 1883 it is most useful to employ an empirical approach as has been suggested by some Anglo-Zulu war historians.<sup>301</sup> Such an analysis is validated by Fynn's detailed narrative during 1883 of the events of the civil war.

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301) Cope, 'The Zulu Kingdom 1824-1879', p. 7; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, p. 1; C. de B. Webb, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War: Problems of interpretation' in Duminy and Ballard (eds.), The Anglo-Zulu War, pp. 2-4.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EVENTS OF 1883

The significant events of 1883 are covered in a wide variety of sources, encompassing a considerable spectrum of opinion. The following narrative outline seeks some reconciliation between conflicting accounts. It aims also to examine Fynn's narrative within this context, and particularly the manner in which it enriches the existing framework of material.

The official perspective can be found in the 'chain of command' from the Colonial Office to Bulwer and from Bulwer to Fynn.<sup>1</sup> The most extreme example of the official viewpoint is the military authorities' succinct but pointed comment on the events:

'From the first Ketchwayo entirely failed to abide by the obligations and conditions he had bound himself to observe ... military preparations were therefore made and a small British force crossed the Tugela and advanced to Eshowe. The Resident Commissioner was now strong enough to demand the surrender of Ketchwayo.' (2)

The opposing approach, led by Colenso, emphasised that the restoration conditions were impossible to keep, and that from the outset Cetshwayo could not be expected even to attempt to adhere to them.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1) BPP C. 3293 of 1883-1884; GHZ 682-687, Despatches from British Resident to Special Commissioner, January to December 1883; Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 23470, 20031, No. 21, Stuart Papers: Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, 1883.
  - 2) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 34, Stuart Papers: Precis of Information concerning Zululand (War Office, London, 1885), p. 78.
  - 3) Killie Campbell Museum, File KC 20229, F.E. Colenso, Zululand past and present, (London, 1890), p. 8; W. Rees (ed.), Colenso Letters from Natal (Pietermaritzburg, 1958), p. 355.

As a major source, and one on which Guy has primarily relied, closer examination of Colenso's Digest is essential.<sup>4</sup> Colenso pointed out that the editors of the Natal Mercury and the Times of Natal were opposed to Cetshwayo's restoration and in favour of direct annexation, and he saw Robinson, the editor of the Mercury, as 'the most pronounced enemy of Cetshwayo and supporter of Sir Bartle Frere's policy.'<sup>5</sup> The Natal Witness and the Natal Mercantile Advertiser he viewed as less 'biased' and more reliable in their reports from Zululand, although he did mention that they obviously relied on white interpreters and could not therefore present the most accurate information.<sup>6</sup> While he acknowledged the problem of widespread rumour and the difficulty experienced by the newspapers in acquiring reliable correspondents, Colenso insisted on the accuracy of his own sources of information from within Zululand and used the newspapers' own pet expression in proclaiming that 'we have it on the best authority'. Although Colenso's informants did provide information which concurred with Fynn's account, there nevertheless are discrepancies, and it is obvious that neither Colenso nor Fynn were receiving an entirely undistorted picture of the events taking place.

Undoubtedly, major factors which contributed to the unique quality of Fynn's testimony were his position as eye-witness to the events of 1883 and his relationship with King Cetshwayo. On his appointment in

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4) J.W. Colenso, Digest of Zulu Affairs; see also pp. 11-12 above.

5) Colenso, Digest, p. 349.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. 349-351.

January, Fynn commented that 'the feeling between Cetshwayo and myself was at that time one of intimate friendship'.<sup>7</sup> Like R.C.A. Samuelson, who was Cetshwayo's interpreter and adviser during the king's exile at the Cape, Fynn maintained a friendly and cordial relationship with Cetshwayo on a personal level.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, Fynn should not be confused with the white advisers of other leading Zulu figures, such as Nunn who attended Hamu, or Colenbrander who resided with Zibhebhu. Fynn, as a government official, was clearly in a different category from these resident traders, yet he had not become assimilated into Zulu society to the same degree as his father and the original traders at Port Natal; nor to the extent of John Dunn, Cetshwayo's adviser before the invasion. From the outset, Fynn emphasised his position as a government representative, reminding Cetshwayo that he was merely the mouthpiece of the Natal and imperial authorities.<sup>9</sup>

Cetshwayo regarded Fynn as his adviser and protector, and expected him to be more sympathetic to the uSuthu cause than was possible in Fynn's position as British Resident. Cetshwayo repeatedly wrote to Colenso complaining about Fynn's refusal to act against Hamu and Zibhebhu.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, Cetshwayo appreciated Fynn's

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7) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 24175: Stuart Papers, File 54: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 April 1912.

8) Samuelson, *Long, long ago*, chapters 13, 14, 15; Webb and Wright (eds.), *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. xvii-xix.

9) See Manuscript, 28 March 1883.

10) Colenso, *Digest*, pp. 625-630.

helplessness. He commented on Fynn's arrival in January:

'do you see this that they (the Natal government) have thrown you away in the long grass'.<sup>11</sup> Cetshwayo acknowledged Fynn's difficulty in having to obtain permission for every action from the Natal authorities, bluntly pointing out that by the time Fynn had informed Bulwer in Pietermaritzburg, Cetshwayo would have been murdered by his enemies.<sup>12</sup>

Underlying Fynn's relationship with Cetshwayo was a fundamental lack of power. As British Resident with Cetshwayo, Fynn was given no more authority than Osborn had enjoyed during his period as Resident from 1880 to 1882. The instructions laid down by Wolseley in 1879 still formed the basis of his position.<sup>13</sup> Bulwer merely informed Fynn of the conditions of Cetshwayo's restoration and the boundaries of the king's, Zibhebhu's and the Reserve Territory, and hoped that Fynn had sufficient 'influence' over Cetshwayo to ensure he adhered to the conditions. Bulwer instructed Fynn:

'It will be your duty to take care that Cetshwayo observes the conditions which he has accepted and subject to which he is about to be restored. It will be your duty to advise him accordingly, and it should be your object to exercise at all times a friendly and beneficial influence with him, with a view to the maintenance of peace, to exercise by him of the rightful and legitimate authority in a rightful and legitimate manner.'

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11) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 24175: Stuart Papers, File 54: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 April 1912.

12) Binns, The Last Zulu King, p. 206.

13) BPP C. 2482, no. 87: Wolseley to Hicks Beach, 3 September 1879.

You will use your influence, and this will be more particularly desirable in the early days after Cetewayo's re-establishment in authority, in promoting a good understanding between him and the chiefs and headmen living in his territory.' (14)

Guy maintains that Fynn misunderstood Bulwer's despatches and failed to carry out his instructions.<sup>15</sup> Fynn, however, found it increasingly difficult to do so given the state of Zululand and the fact that 'the British Resident has no means at his command ... of ... compelling Cetshwayo's submission to his decisions, or to the terms of restoration.'<sup>16</sup> Bulwer over-estimated Fynn's influence with Cetshwayo, and overlooked the fact that the hostilities in Zululand had deep-rooted origins which were far beyond Fynn's ability to change. Bulwer exhibited his naiveté by telling Fynn that Hamu, who was entirely opposed to the king's restoration, should address all his complaints not to the British Resident but to Cetshwayo.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Bulwer instructed Fynn that with regard to the Qulusi

'Cetwayo should restrain them from taking up arms against Oham and from plundering Oham's people, and it should be your object to secure that this is done by seeing Cetwayo and by representing the matter to him.

On the other hand, if Oham refuses or neglects to recognise Cetwayo's rightful authority, it should be your object to persuade him to recognise that "authority".' (18)

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- 14) BPP C. 3293, enc. 1 in no. 161: Bulwer to Fynn, 8 January 1883.
- 15) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 98.
- 16) GHZ 683, no. 127: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.
- 17) Stuart Papers, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn 1883, no. 15: 23 February 1883.
- 18) Stuart Papers, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn 1883, no. 41: 17 March 1883.

Guy concedes that Fynn was 'personally sympathetic' to Cetshwayo and that, of all the government officials involved in the civil war, he was the most pro-uSuthu; yet at the same time he charges that Fynn was completely 'ineffectual'.<sup>19</sup> While Fynn did attempt to retain a neutral stance, his position was as ineffectual as it was because of his lack of authority and the general circumstances of the restoration.

Colenso had known Fynn prior to the civil war<sup>20</sup> and in his Digest never commented unfavourably on him. In fact he emphasised Fynn's helpless position. Bulwer, he pointed out, to a large extent probably ignored Fynn's despatches. Colenso commented that should Fynn write to Bulwer in connection with any major issue which did not directly concern him in his position as Resident, 'he had no business to write and therefore His Excellency ignored it and would not see it.'<sup>21</sup>

Most contemporary comment stressed Fynn's helpless position and the lack of power afforded him by the Natal and British governments. Haggard, for example, called Fynn's position particularly 'thankless' and added that Fynn's task was complicated by numerous unofficial advisers who attempted to interfere with Cetshwayo's position.<sup>22</sup> The Times of Natal commented that Fynn, although restricted by government policy towards Cetshwayo's restoration, was competent in his appointment and would in fact have been more effective than Osborn as Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory.<sup>23</sup> W.Y. Campbell noted that

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19) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 172.

20) Fynn Papers, vol. 6, Letter from Colenso to Fynn: 23 March 1880.

21) Colenso, Digest, p. 520.

22) R. Haggard, Cetywayo and his white neighbours (London, 1888), p. xviii.

23) Times of Natal, 20 February 1883: editorial.

both Osborn and Fynn were rendered incapable by the fact that they acted only under orders from the Special Commissioner. If they had been allowed some 'discretionary powers', the events of the civil war would have been considerably modified. Campbell stressed the inutility of both Fynn's and Osborn's position by quoting the Zulu comment that 'whilst Malemate or Gwalagwala (Osborn and Fynn) were writing, the country was burning.'<sup>24</sup>

Other writers overlooked Fynn's limited power and criticised him for not carrying out his instructions. The Natal Mercury commented that 'Mr Fynn it was known, did not possess the force of character and firmness essential in the position of British Resident.' The same editorial continued with the general unsubstantiated statement that 'Cetshwayo cared very little for Gwalagwala and the Zulus held him in no very high esteem.'<sup>25</sup>

A true assessment of Fynn's role can only be obtained by examining his actions in some details and it is therefore necessary to provide a chronological outline of his participation in the events of 1883.

On 29 January 1883, Fynn reported to Bulwer: 'By Theophilus Shepstone ... Cetshwayo formally reinstalled over the Zulus.'<sup>26</sup> In his own report, Shepstone stated that the installation had been successful and that the situation in Zululand was 'satisfactory'.<sup>27</sup> As Binns

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24) W.Y. Campbell, With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhla, p. 47.

25) The Natal Mercury, 16 June 1883: editorial.

26) Manuscript, 29 January 1883; GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883.

27) BPP C. 3616, enc. in no. 31: Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.



pointed out, the circumstances were far from satisfactory and uSuthu messengers reporting to Colenso a few days later also stated otherwise.<sup>28</sup> Mnyamana's induna Hemulana told Shepstone that in restoring Cetshwayo 'you are killing him', and that the uSuthu party had hoped that Shepstone

'would inquire how those (appointed) chiefs came to do as they had done, killing our people and seizing our daughters and eating up our cattle.'(29)

Fynn recorded privately in his diary that at the installation ceremony there had been

'many speeches very freely given, but all adverse to Zibebu's independence and the severing of the territory between Mhlatuse and Tugela rivers. Also much stress by all, regarding the king's cattle in possession of Zibebu, Hamu and John Dunn.'(30)

Shepstone, clearly upset and angry at the uSuthu reception, made arrangements to return immediately to Natal. As he departed, a messenger arrived with news of disturbances in Hamu's district, but Shepstone told Fynn 'it is a matter for you to deal with now'.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from immediate instances of unrest, there were other issues which surfaced on Cetshwayo's return to Zululand. A rumour had been circulating that Cetshwayo was not being brought back to Zululand and that the British authorities were cheating the Zulu into thinking he was.

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28) Colenso, Digest, pp. 423-424.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

30) Manuscript, 29 January 1883.

31) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 24175: Stuart Papers, File 54: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 April 1912.

One of Stuart's informants explained this issue in full:

'Zibebu gave out that Cetshwayo would not come back to Zululand, and when it was stated that he was returning, Zibebu explained that it would be only his image (isitombe), and not a reality. That is all the white men would bring back. Hence when, as a matter of fact, Cetshwayo was brought by Sir T. Shepstone to Emthonjaneni, accompanied by Fynn, large numbers, if not the majority of Zulus believed that a mere isitombe (statue or wax work) had been brought, until they saw the figure reputed to be Cetshwayo move forward and begin to address the assembly.' (32)

Gibson also reported this incident,<sup>33</sup> and Colenso mentioned that people had left the Reserve Territory against John Shepstone's instructions to ascertain whether or not Cetshwayo had returned.<sup>34</sup> Fynn, in his manuscript, mentioned that many Zulu thought the British were returning the fugitive Mbuyazi in Cetshwayo's place, whom many believed still lived in Natal.

After the restoration ceremony, Cetshwayo started to have a new homestead built near the site of oNdini,<sup>35</sup> and his leading dignitaries began to visit him there. Fynn reported that both Ntshingwayo and Mfanawendlela were criticised by the loyal uSuthu for having accepted chiefdoms from Wolseley and were prevented from visiting Cetshwayo.<sup>36</sup>

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32) Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vol. III, p. 310: evidence of Mpatshana kaSodondo.

33) Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 243.

34) Colenso, Digest, pp. 355-356.

35) See Appendix A.

36) Manuscript, 18 February 1883.

Messengers sent to Colenso by Mnyamana, however, reported that while Ntshingwayo was prevented from seeing Cetshwayo, Mfanawendlela was merely ashamed to visit the king.<sup>37</sup> Within a few days of the restoration, reports came to Fynn that the crops and homesteads of Mfanawendlela were being attacked by uSuthu supporters.<sup>38</sup> Messengers to Bishopstowe reported the same incidents and Colenso commented that as Mfanawendlela had planted his crops on Mpande's grave, he should have expected an angry reaction from the loyal royalists.<sup>39</sup>

Messengers arriving at Bishopstowe continually pleaded on Cetshwayo's behalf for Colenso to appeal against the harsh terms of his restoration. Cetshwayo complained that he had insufficient land and that his enemy Zibhebhu was taking advantage of the Zulu in his district who wished to remain loyal to the king.<sup>40</sup> There were similar complaints to Fynn that

'the difficulties are great and shameful to contend with; the division of the people which led to great complications, the severing of my personal adherents in the Reserve, Transvaal and Zibhebhu's boundaries will unavoidably bring about bloodshed - through rivalry and the smallness of the country allotted to me.' (41)

On 6 February, Fynn noted that the chiefs in the Reserve Territory, seeing that Cetshwayo had returned, wished to remain under his rule

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37) Colenso, Digest, p. 422.

38) Manuscript, 30 and 31 January 1883.

39) Colenso, Digest, pp. 452-453.

40) Ibid., pp. 423-4 and 484.

41) Manuscript, 17 and 18 February 1883.

but to live in the Reserve.<sup>42</sup> John Shepstone demanded that the chiefs who wished to be under Cetshwayo should either leave or remain permanently under his jurisdiction.<sup>43</sup> Messengers to Colenso interpreted this wrongly, stating that Shepstone demanded that all Reserve Territory chiefs remain under his rule.<sup>44</sup> On 8 February, Shepstone wrote to Fynn asking him to

'move Cetshwayo to direct his adherents in the Reserve to proceed to him (Shepstone) at once and hear the words of the government.'<sup>(45)</sup>

The chiefs were resentful of Shepstone's authoritarian attitude and on 21 February Shepstone lost patience and ordered his police force to attack the Reserve chiefs. It was reported to Fynn that

'Mr Shepstone springing up, seized a stick near him and struck Magegeba across the arm calling upon his police and people to beat these people, this was done by an attack, the Zulus escaping out of the enclosure. Of this office (Cetshwayo's homestead), four wounded on their heads bleeding.'<sup>(46)</sup>

Reports from Cetshwayo's messengers and those of the chiefs in the Reserve continued to arrive at Bishopstowe for months after this event.<sup>47</sup> The uSuthu representatives told Colenso that they had been prevented from

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42) Manuscript, 6 February 1883.

43) Manuscript, 6 February 1883; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 187.

44) Colenso, Digest, p. 456.

45) Manuscript, 8 February 1883.

46) Manuscript, 26 February 1883.

47) Colenso, Digest, pp. 589-599.

seeing the government officials in Pietermaritzburg, and that Fynn was unable to assist them as he was bound to refer all Reserve Territory matters to Shepstone's successor, Osborn.<sup>48</sup>

In a deputation to Colenso on 23 March, great emphasis was laid on the issue of Cetshwayo's cattle being under the control of Zibhebhu, Hamu and John Dunn.<sup>49</sup> Cetshwayo had complained about this to Fynn ever since his arrival on 29 January, and Fynn reported that

'Cetshwayo reports the want of food to support those about him, when Zibebu and Dunn have his cattle. As regards the cattle alleged to be possessed by Zibebu, Hamu and Dunn I reported that to the Government.' (50)

Paulina Dlamini similarly stated that throughout this period Zibhebhu still had most of Cetshwayo's cattle, although he had returned the isigodlo girls taken under his protection during the Anglo-Zulu war.<sup>51</sup>

The missionaries also reported widespread disturbances to Fynn. By March, Volker and his colleague Stillboom were giving confused accounts of the murder of Europeans in their district. Oftebro wrote to John Shepstone in the Reserve Territory objecting to Hlubi's attitude to missionaries at the Emzinjati station near the Buffalo river, claiming

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48) Ibid., pp. 518-520.

49) Ibid., pp. 484-520.

50) Manuscript, 23 February 1883.

51) Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 77-80.

that a land-grant had been given to Bishop Schreuder by Mpande for this area.<sup>52</sup> The Transvaal border was also being violated by both Zulu and Boers, and Colenso quoted the Transvaal Advertiser of 19 March which stated that 'Zulus commit murders almost daily within the Transvaal lines because the Boers steal their cattle'.<sup>53</sup> Fynn, pressurised by demands from all sides, began to suffer a breakdown in his health. In early March he wrote that he had neglected his manuscript and official reports as he had had 'no sleep during two previous nights, busy until 12 both nights, and then not able to sleep.'<sup>54</sup>

The initial disturbances culminated in the battle of Msebe on 30 March. Zibhebhu had long been insisting that the uSuthu under his rule should acknowledge his authority or leave the district.<sup>55</sup> Towards the end of March he began to use force to reinforce this demand. Ndabuko and Mnyamana then left oNdini and assembled a force consisting of some 5 000 uSuthu, Buthelezi and Emgazini adherents to attack Zibhebhu.<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence to support the view of many contemporary writers that Cetshwayo was aware of this mobilisation<sup>57</sup> but Fynn, feeling increasingly helpless as conflict became inevitable, wrote that

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52) BPP C. 3466, enc. 2 in no. 58: Oftebro to John Shepstone, 20 March 1883.

53) Colenso, Digest, p. 533.

54) Manuscript, 8 March 1883.

55) Manuscript, 22 March 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 487-489.

56) Although Fynn reported that the forces mustered for battle 'tribally not in regiments' many of Cetshwayo's regiments supported the uSuthu during the battle. See Manuscript, 4 and 6 April 1883.

57) Haggard, Cetshwayo and his white neighbours, p. xxix.

'I repeat my warning to Cetshwayo. That the Government hold him personally responsible for any disturbance ... my warning is done in kindness and for his future prosperity'.

He added that 'Cetshwayo has impis out and begs me not to report against him.'<sup>58</sup>

On moving north into Zibhebhu's territory, Ndabuko's and Mnyamana's loosely organised army was ambushed in the Msebe valley by Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi forces, assisted by Colenbrander's mounted unit, and utterly routed.<sup>59</sup>

The defeat at Msebe had a devastating effect on the uSuthu leadership, which was discredited and scattered. Fynn expressed his sympathy for Cetshwayo's losses, informing the king that

'I am sorry that so many of his principal men have with large numbers been killed in this war in Zibebu's district.'<sup>(60)</sup>

More casualties were suffered by the local population than by those involved in the battle. Gibson commented on the widespread effects of

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58) Manuscript, 30 March 1883.

59) Fynn, Manuscript, 4 and 6 April 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 527-531 and 561-563; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 243-244; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 191-193; Binns, The Last Zulu King, pp. 204-205.

60) Manuscript, 3 April 1883.

the hostilities in March:

'Few were killed on that day: but the course of the victors was marked, as far as the Umfolozi river, by the flames that rose from the habitations of the people. Probably in no battle had the Zulus suffered greater loss of life.'(61)

As a consequence of these losses, the defeated royalists in the northern area of Zululand faced starvation and were forced to take refuge in mountain strongholds or over the Transvaal border.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, in Natal, the Witness and the Mercury printed countless contradictory reports, based mostly on rumour, covering the events in northern Zululand. They offered different explanations for the battle on 30 March. The Witness, like Colenso, suggested that John Shepstone had encouraged Zibhebhu to attack Cetshwayo's forces,<sup>63</sup> while the Mercury accused Cetshwayo of breaking the restoration conditions by attacking Zibhebhu.<sup>64</sup>

Fynn, suffering from constant stress over these upheavals, requested that he might be relieved of his post in Zululand on the grounds of ill-health.<sup>65</sup> Bulwer, however, while sympathising with Fynn, wrote back that 'you will understand that it will be necessary for you to remain until I can make other arrangements to fill your place.'<sup>66</sup>

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61) Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 249.

62) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 185.

63) Colenso, Digest, p. 573.

64) Ibid., p. 570.

65) BPP C. 3616, enc. in no. 15: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 April 1883.

66) BPP C. 3616, enc. 2 in no. 24: Bulwer to Fynn, 28 April 1883.



Guy notes that at one level the period following the battle of Msebe was characterised by a continual series of minor clashes and skirmishes between different sections of the uSuthu and their enemies. At the same time, he points to an emerging uSuthu strategy which attempted to ensure that the Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni would be unable to launch a combined attack.<sup>67</sup> In April the uSuthu attacked Hamu and successfully drove his supporters from their strong position in north-western Zululand. Fynn's messengers reported that Hamu's forces were in their turn attacking the royalist Mphangisweni section,<sup>68</sup> and on 22 April Cetshwayo informed Fynn that Hamu had been given permission by John Shepstone to attack the uSuthu supporters.<sup>69</sup> Fynn added in his report that

'Cetshwayo wishes to send messengers to the Govt. to relate by word of mouth what Zibebu and Hamu have done to him, that he cannot restrain himself much longer from resisting against Hamu and Zibebu who have killed so many people, burnt kraals and plundered cattle, women and children in his territory, and he will have to fight in self defence.'<sup>(70)</sup>

On 8 May, Cetshwayo stated that he would now 'go to war' with Zibhebhu and Hamu as they were continually attacking his followers. Fynn reminded Cetshwayo that he mustered forces 'on his own authority'.<sup>71</sup>

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67) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 192.

68) Manuscript, 6 April 1883.

69) Manuscript, 22 April 1883.

70) Manuscript, 25 April 1883.

71) Manuscript, 8 May 1883.

On 11 May, Henrique Shepstone arrived at oNdini.<sup>72</sup> Bulwer had sent him to Zululand to mediate between the uSuthu and their opponents.<sup>73</sup> On 15 May he sent a message to Hamu to 'put down arms, restore cattle, women and children and reverence Cetshwayo's authority.'<sup>74</sup> The conflict had by this stage escalated out of all control and Henrique Shepstone's attempt was clearly hopeless. Colenso regarded it as another gratuitous attempt by the Natal government to meddle in Cetshwayo's affairs.<sup>75</sup>

Colenso then sent his own representative, William Grant, to oNdini to act as Cetshwayo's personal adviser.<sup>76</sup> Fynn complained that Grant constantly circulated rumours that the whole of Zululand was about to be restored to Cetshwayo and also pointed out that Grant's actions were a blatant usurption of the Resident's authority.<sup>77</sup> Bulwer considered Grant's suitability as an adviser highly questionable and commented that it was

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72) Henrique Charles Shepstone (1840-1917) was the eldest son of Theophilus Shepstone. He had held various administrative posts in Natal before accompanying his father to the Transvaal in 1877. He had accompanied Cetshwayo to England in 1882 and later became Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1884 to 1893. (De Kock, Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. I, pp. 658-659).

73) BPP C. 3705, enc. 3 in no. 51: H. Shepstone to Bulwer, 13 May 1883.

74) Manuscript, 15 May 1883.

75) Colenso, Digest, pp. 641, 653-6 and 697.

76) Manuscript, 17 May 1883; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 192. William Grant was a Durban storekeeper and ex-Zululand trader. See Appendix C.

77) Manuscript, 6 June 1883.

'not advisable for Grant to be Cetshwayo's Resident Adviser and counsellor. Mr Grant is not likely to have much influence for the good with Cetshwayo.'(78)

He later commented that 'I do not anticipate anything but mischievous consequences from any interference by him in Zulu affairs.'<sup>79</sup> This attitude did not reflect the government's policy on the resident traders and advisers stationed with other Zulu leaders. Bulwer appears to have overlooked Colenbrander's actions in supplying Zibhebhu with firearms, while both Eckersley and Nunn acted as unofficial informants for the Natal government.<sup>80</sup> As Kemp points out,

'participation by British subjects in these civil disturbances seemed to the Zulus to imply Government approval of their advice and Government approval of Zibhebhu's and Hamu's activities.'(81)

Colenso, on the other hand, maintained that Cetshwayo needed a councillor to act on his behalf with the government as Fynn was impeded by his official appointment. He also pointed out that other Zulu leaders had resident advisers who represented them in communications with the government, and that Cetshwayo had the same right.<sup>82</sup> Henceforth, Colenso received most of his information from Grant. This was supplemented from mid-June by reports from an artist acquaintance of Colenso's, W.A. Walton, who went to oNdini as a representative of the

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78) BPP C. 3705, no. 21: Bulwer to Derby, 2 July 1883.

79) Ibid., no. 48: Bulwer to Derby, 13 August 1883.

80) 3PP C. 3616, enc. 1 in no. 26: Eckersley to Colonial Secretary, 3 April 1883; BPP C. 3705, enc. 1 in no. 35: Nunn to Bulwer, 7 July 1883; no. 105: Dillwyn to Derby, 19 November 1883.

81) Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', p. 36.

82) Colenso, Digest, pp. 696 and 710-718.

British magazine the Pictorial World.<sup>83</sup>

Much of Fynn's information about the northern area of Zululand was brought to him by missionaries. Although their reports were concerned with events particularly pertaining to their specific districts, they did give some idea of the widespread upheavals. Towards the end of May, following the battle of Msebe, Volker had reported that Weber, the Hermannsberg missionary at Emyati, had had his property plundered by Zibhebhu.<sup>84</sup> This was followed in June by the murder of Schroeder, a German missionary who had been stationed near Hlobane in Hamu's district.<sup>85</sup> Paulina Dlamini had taken refuge with other uSuthu adherents in the caves on Hlobane and she also described this murder.<sup>86</sup> Volker reported that, following this tragedy, 'no one can imagine the pain and sorrow with which all were affected. How many of the following nights were spent in fear and horror.'<sup>87</sup> At the time of the murder, Weber reported to Fynn that neither Stillboom nor Herman, missionaries in Zibhebhu's territory, had been heard of for some time, and that Kruik's station in Hamu's district had been plundered by the uSuthu forces.<sup>88</sup>

In mid-June, Mnyamana's Buthelezi adherents attempted to attack Hamu but were effectively beaten off.<sup>89</sup> Cetshwayo appears at this time to have approached the Swazi for assistance. Although Fynn reported

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83) Manuscript, 13 June 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 803-805.

84) Manuscript, 14 May 1883.

85) Manuscript, 12 June 1883.

86) Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, p. 80.

87) Ballard (ed.), 'On a tough missionary post', p. 9.

88) Manuscript, 12 June 1883.

89) Manuscript, 17 June 1883.

this,<sup>90</sup> the government and the Press considered it most unlikely, given Cetshwayo's previous hostility towards Swaziland.<sup>91</sup>

By this stage, it is clear that Cetshwayo was becoming completely disillusioned with Fynn as a potential adviser, and had begun to see him as a tool of the authorities in Natal. Fynn wrote to Bulwer pointing out that Cetshwayo 'had hitherto treated the British Resident more as a spy than as an influential adviser.'<sup>92</sup>

Following the failure to defeat Hamu, uSuthu strategy began instead to concentrate on Zibhebhu. Fynn recorded on 11 July that forces from oNdini were planning to attack Zibhebhu,<sup>93</sup> and on 17 July he reported an attack by the Buthelezi.<sup>94</sup> By this time, though, Zibhebhu had heard of the planned uSuthu attack and was moving his forces towards oNdini. Fynn commented on 18 July that

'Zibebu's forces are coming to Undini, upon information received by Zibebu ... that there were only the Falaza forces at Undini (to defend there).' (95)

Mnyamana had in the meantime made contact with the northern uSuthu and planned to march on oNdini and intercept Zibhebhu. Cetshwayo had presumed that Zibhebhu was moving against Mnyamana, who had been on his

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90) Manuscript, 12 June 1883; BPP C. 3705, enc. 1 in no. 20: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.

91) BPP C. 3705, no. 20: Bulwer to Derby, 2 July 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 658-669.

92) GHZ 683, no. 127: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.

93) Manuscript, 11 July 1883.

94) Manuscript, 17 July 1883.

95) Manuscript, 18 July 1883.

way to attack Hamu.<sup>96</sup> Consequently the royalists at oNdini made no preparations to repel Zibhebhu. On the early morning of 21 July, Zibhebhu's forces, accompanied by some white traders under Colenbrander, surrounded the royal homestead and, taking Cetshwayo's supporters entirely by surprise, utterly defeated them.<sup>97</sup>

Gibson regrets that many valuable potential eye-witnesses were lost in the fighting, but adds that Fynn himself saw the battle. Gibson's account is largely based on Fynn's report to Bulwer on 24 July.<sup>98</sup> Fynn watched the battle from the hills around his camp-site and, after seeing the defeated uSuthu fleeing from the burning homestead, he reported that

'Sukana a half-brother of Cetshwayo's arrived on horse back having fled from Undini and informed me that Mandlakazi had defeated them Cetshwayo's forces and had fired Undini, but I could give no information regarding Cetshwayo.' (99)

Paulina Dlamini recalled that news had been brought to her that Cetshwayo had escaped and that the royal children had not been present at the battle.<sup>100</sup> It was several days before Fynn could establish

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96) Manuscript, 17 July 1883.

97) Fynn's account of the battle is found in the Manuscript entries for 21,22,24 July and 23 August 1883. His official report is in GHZ 685, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 24 July 1883. Other accounts can be found in Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 256-258; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 200-204; Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 76-77; Colenso, Digest, pp. 773-825. An interesting account recently made available is Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, pp. 183-193: evidence of Ndabazewe kaMfuleni.

98) GHZ 685, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 24 July 1883; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 256-258.

99) Manuscript, 21 July 1883.

100) Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, p. 77.

that Cetshwayo was still alive and had taken refuge with the Cube chief Sigananda in the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory.<sup>101</sup> Fynn also noted that contrary to Paulina Dlamini's information, Cetshwayo's youngest son, Nyoniyentaba, had been killed on 21 July, although Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, the heir to the throne, had escaped.<sup>102</sup>

Cetshwayo's followers looked to Fynn and the missionary Dr Oftebro for protection and advice, and Fynn commented on Oftebro's kindness towards the uSuthu left homeless after the battle on 21 July.<sup>103</sup> He also recorded that

'I am experiencing the greatest difficulty as to what is best to be done with Cetshwayo's families under this melancholy state of disaster. They do not want to leave me and I am unable to provide either shelter or food for them.'(104)

Cetshwayo, from his hiding place in the Nkandla Forest, sent messengers to Fynn, acknowledging that he realised that Fynn 'had grieved for him in his troubles.'<sup>105</sup>

By 24 July, the newspapers in Natal were printing confused and contradictory accounts of the battle. Darke and Colenbrander wrote their own

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101) Manuscript, 24 July 1883.

102) Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo was born in 1868. During Cetshwayo's exile he had been placed under the guardianship of the king's full brother, Ndabuko kaMpande. See Appendix C.

103) Manuscript, 24 July 1883.

104) Manuscript, 21 July 1883.

105) Manuscript, 2 August 1883.

accounts as participants,<sup>106</sup> while Grant and Walton sent reports to the Press and to Colenso.<sup>107</sup> Colenso drew attention to the shortcomings of some of these rumours, noting that it was unlikely, as some suggested, that Fynn had taken refuge with Zibhebhu and had failed to warn Cetshwayo of the impending attack.<sup>108</sup>

As Grant had taken refuge with Fynn during the battle on 21 July, it was now necessary for the Colensos to find a replacement to advise Cetshwayo and to bring his appeals to Natal. In mid-September, W.Y. Campbell went to Cetshwayo's hiding place in the Nkandla Forest and sent reports to the Colenso family on events in the Reserve Territory.<sup>109</sup> For information pertaining to the area north of the Reserve, Campbell had to rely on reports from occasional messengers sent out by Cetshwayo. Fynn's manuscript contains a far more comprehensive account of the events in northern Zululand.

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106) Colenso, Digest, pp. 815-820. Darke, calling himself 'special correspondent' wrote a lengthy account for the Natal Mercantile Advertiser which was printed in the issue of 1 August 1883. Reports on the activities of Johan Colenbrander and his white assistants can also be found in F.E. Colenso, Digest of Zulu Affairs, vol. 3 (Bishopstowe, 1888), pp. 1-5.

107) Colenso, Digest, pp. 823-825 (Grant's report); pp. 780-782 and 802-805 (Walton's report).

108) Colenso, Digest, pp. 773-775.

109) William Campbell was a Natal lawyer who was known to the Colensos through their involvement in the trial of Langalibalele. See p. 98 above and Campbell, With Cetshwayo in the Inkandhla and the present state of the Zulu question.



Many royalists had sought temporary refuge with Hlubi following the battle at oNdini,<sup>110</sup> while large numbers fled north to the Ngome Forest under the leadership of the princes Ndabuko and Ziwedu.<sup>111</sup>

Hamu then attacked the Buthelezi adherents of Mnyamana in the northern areas,<sup>112</sup> while Fynn also noted that

'Zibebu (has) forces assembled and was assembling more hastily for the purpose of attacking people in Cetshwayo's territory - Mnyamana and Usuthu forces of Ndabuko and Ziwedu who are at Ngome forest.'(113)

The Mandlakazi then drove all uSuthu who still resisted towards the Reserve Territory, while in the meantime Hamu had been attempting to attack the royalists who had already fled to Hlubi's district.<sup>114</sup>

In mid-August, Zibhebhu launched an attack on the pro-royalist Somkhele, in the north-east of Zibhebhu's territory<sup>115</sup> and, with the assistance of his white traders, inflicted a decisive defeat.<sup>116</sup> Fynn also wrote in detail of Zibhebhu's alliance with the anti-uSuthu chief Siyunguza, who had been appointed chief of the central and southern area after the

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110) Manuscript, 6 August 1883.

111) Manuscript, 7 August 1883.

112) Manuscript, 7 August 1883.

113) Manuscript, 10 August 1883.

114) Manuscript, 7 August 1883.

115) Manuscript, 16 and 27 August 1883.

116) Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 205.

death of his brother Gawozi. Fynn described their combination in the fighting which took place during September and early October.<sup>117</sup> After successfully occupying all of Cetshwayo's restored territory, Zibhebhu began sending him threatening messages in his hiding place in the Nkandla Forest, and moved most of his forces towards the Reserve Territory.<sup>118</sup> He then communicated with Dunn and Osborn through his advisers Colenbrander and Eckersley, telling them that he intended to destroy the remnants of the uSuthu.<sup>119</sup>

Cetshwayo continued to appeal to the Colensos for assistance and was convinced that the British troops which arrived in Zululand in September had come to assist him against Zibhebhu's encroaching army.<sup>120</sup> Fynn in the meantime moved to Osborn's headquarters at Eshowe, as requested by the Resident Commissioner.<sup>121</sup> On 16 October, Fynn met Cetshwayo outside the Nkandla Forest and told him that Osborn would have to use troops to fetch him if he did not consent to accompany Fynn to Eshowe. Fynn recorded that he appealed to Cetshwayo personally, stating that

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117) Manuscript, 15-18 September 1883.

118) Manuscript, 2 November 1883.

119) Manuscript, 13 November 1883.

120) Manuscript, 27 September 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 830-845; BPP C. 3705, no. 30: Bulwer to Derby, 21 August 1883.

121) Manuscript, 4 and 5 October 1883.

'I Gwalagwala am persuading you child of Mpande to consent and accompany me to Etshowe, although I am sorry for you and sympathise with your troubles'.(122)

By the time he made this statement, Fynn had abandoned the authority of his position as a government official and was using his personal influence over Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo's reply was similarly courteous, referring to Fynn as 'child of Mbuyazi' and absolving him of any blame for the tragic circumstances.<sup>123</sup> Cetshwayo eventually agreed to move under Osborn's jurisdiction and, by the end of October, had moved with his few remaining followers to Eshowe.

Fynn's post as Resident with Cetshwayo was then unofficially terminated. He was sent by Bulwer to the north-western districts to deal with incidents of Boer encroachment where, after the battle of oNdini in July, the Boers had been moving their herds for grazing. Fynn had reported in September that

'the Boers are in large numbers occupying with their stock in Sekethwayo's district and carrying off loads of grain from the abandoned kraals there.'(124)

From his position in the north-western area, Fynn reported that although Cetshwayo was under Osborn's protection and Zibhebhu had withdrawn from the Reserve Territory, skirmishing continued in Zululand, particularly between the uSuthu remnants and the chief Siyunguza.<sup>125</sup> Fynn's manuscript

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122) Manuscript, 16 October 1883.

123) Manuscript, 16 October 1883.

124) Manuscript, 10 September 1883.

125) Manuscript, 2-10 November 1883.

ends with the entry dated 22 December 1883. His last few entries are concerned almost entirely with his negotiations with Boer farmers.<sup>126</sup>

In February 1884 Fynn returned to Umsinga as Resident Magistrate.

Below the entry for 22 December he added that 'Cetshwayo died at Etshowe 8th February 1834.'

126) Manuscript, 18-22 December 1883.

EDITING OF THE MANUSCRIPT1. SELECTION OF MATERIAL

The volume of material contained in Fynn's manuscript has made it necessary to eliminate those entries which do not relate specifically to the events of the civil war during 1883:

2 February 1883	Details of a private quarrel between S.M. Samuelson and his son Martin.
7 February 1883	Complaints by Boers. Almost indecipherable.
10 February 1883	Further details concerning Samuelson.
23 February 1883	Minor adultery cases brought to Fynn to judge.
3 March 1883	Matters concerning Umsinga.
7 March 1883	Details about the suicide of Arthur Boast.
8 March 1883	Further details about Boast's suicide.
9 March 1883	Further details about Boast's suicide.
28 March 1883	Minor criminal cases brought to Fynn to judge.
30 March 1883	Missing European, Edward Ingram (eventually reported found in September 1883).
31 March 1883	Minor criminal cases brought before Fynn.
3 April 1883	Complicated rumour about Zibhebhu. Later found to be completely false. Crossed out by Fynn.
5 April 1883	Matters concerning Umsinga.
6 April 1883	Further details about Edward Ingram.
17 April 1883	Europeans asking Fynn for permission to hunt in Zululand.
23 April 1883	Europeans asking Fynn for permission to hunt in Zululand.
27 April 1883	Further details about Edward Ingram.
29 April 1883	Matters concerning Umsinga.

3 May 1883	Traders asking for hunting licenses.
26 May 1883	Minor criminal cases in the Reserve Territory.
1 June 1883	Pass to proceed to the Lower Tugela.
6 June 1883	Hunting accident reported, no names given.
18 June 1883	Pass given to go to Newcastle and claim wife.
25 June 1883	Traders asking for hunting licenses.
13 July 1883	Confused entry concerning minor criminal offences.
18 July 1883	Pass to look for cattle in the Reserve Territory.
28 July 1883	Pass to take cattle to the Reserve Territory.
6 August 1883	Pass to collect cattle from the Reserve Territory.
9 August 1883	Details about stolen cattle.
15 August 1883	Permission to look for cattle in Natal.
22 August 1883	Permission to go to Hamu's district to look for sheep.
23 August 1883	Permission to visit Weenen County.
31 October 1883	Minor criminal offences brought before Fynn.
13 November 1883	Charge of assault brought before Fynn.
16 November 1883	Details concerning missing sheep.
22 December 1883	Details of Boers plundering gardens.

## 2. ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL

The manuscript has been divided chronologically into four parts:

Part I: From Cetshwayo's installation to the battle of Msebe (29 January to 30 March 1883).

Part II: From the battle of Msebe to the battle of oNdini (31 March to 21 July 1883).

Part III: Cetshwayo's flight to the Nkandla Forest (22 July to 16 October 1883).

Part IV: Fynn's position at Eshowe and in the Transvaal (29 October to 22 December 1883).

It should be noted that there are no entries between 17 October and 29 October 1883.

Fynn's personal writing appears in italics. Entries which are duplicated in Government House Zululand (GHZ) despatches appear in normal typescript. The GHZ despatch numbers appear below each entry. Where a page contains more than one despatch, the end of the first despatch is indicated by means of an asterisk (\*). The despatches from Bulwer to Fynn which are contained in the British Parliamentary Papers and the Stuart Papers (Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 23470, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, 1883) are, when mentioned by Fynn, included in the explanatory footnotes. The British Parliamentary Papers and the Stuart Papers are incomplete as some are missing or have not been included in these collections. It is thus not possible to construct a complete chain of command from Bulwer to Fynn.

### 3. TEXT CORRECTIONS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

#### (i) Text corrections

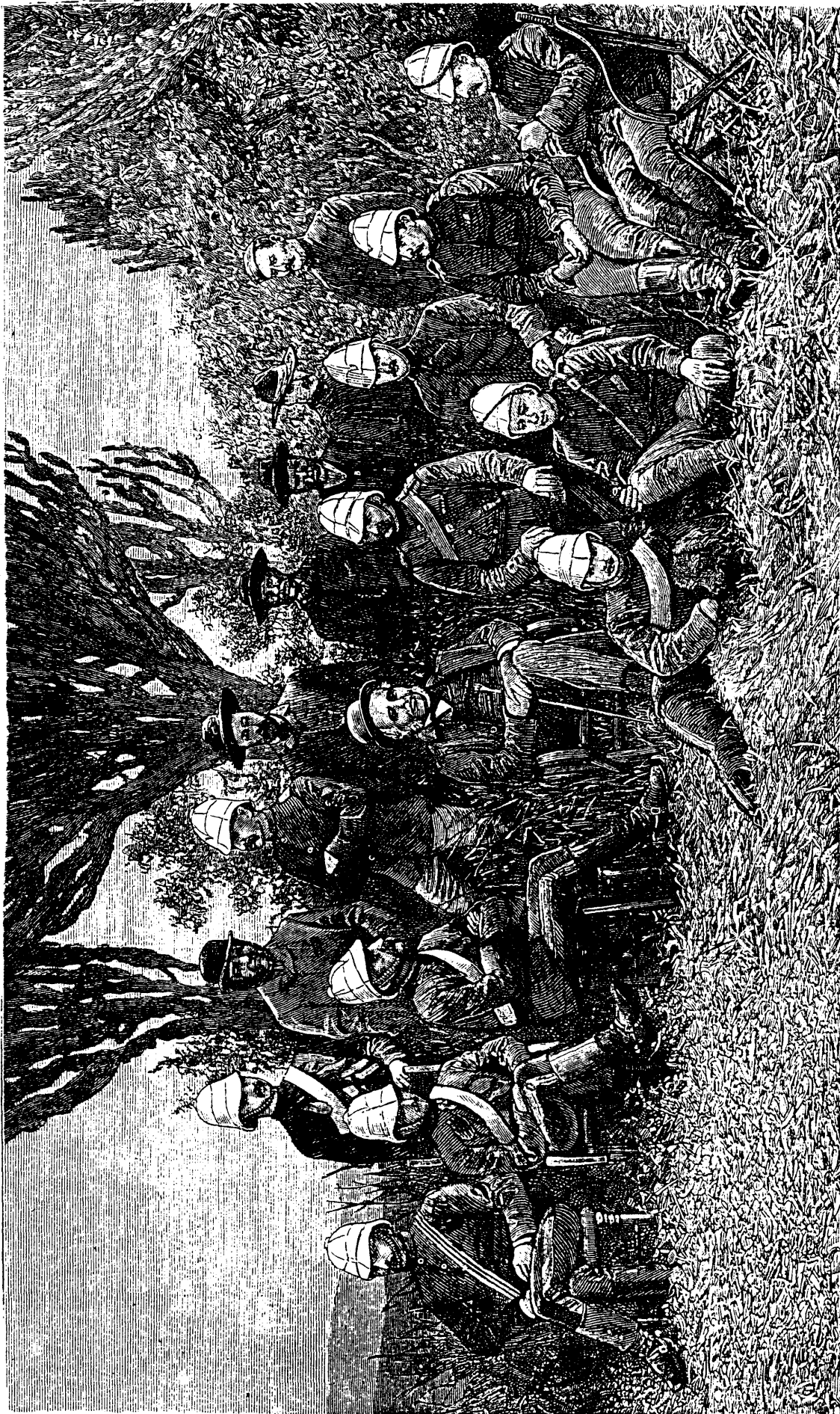
Fynn's punctuation is inconsistent and often incorrect. He has used a dash (-) throughout his handwritten manuscript to indicate either

a comma or a full stop. This has been corrected to standard punctuation where necessary. Where Fynn has used other punctuation signs, the manuscript has not been altered. His capitalisation is also inconsistent and this has not been standardised. Incorrect spelling of English words has been indicated in the usual manner, by means of 'sic'.

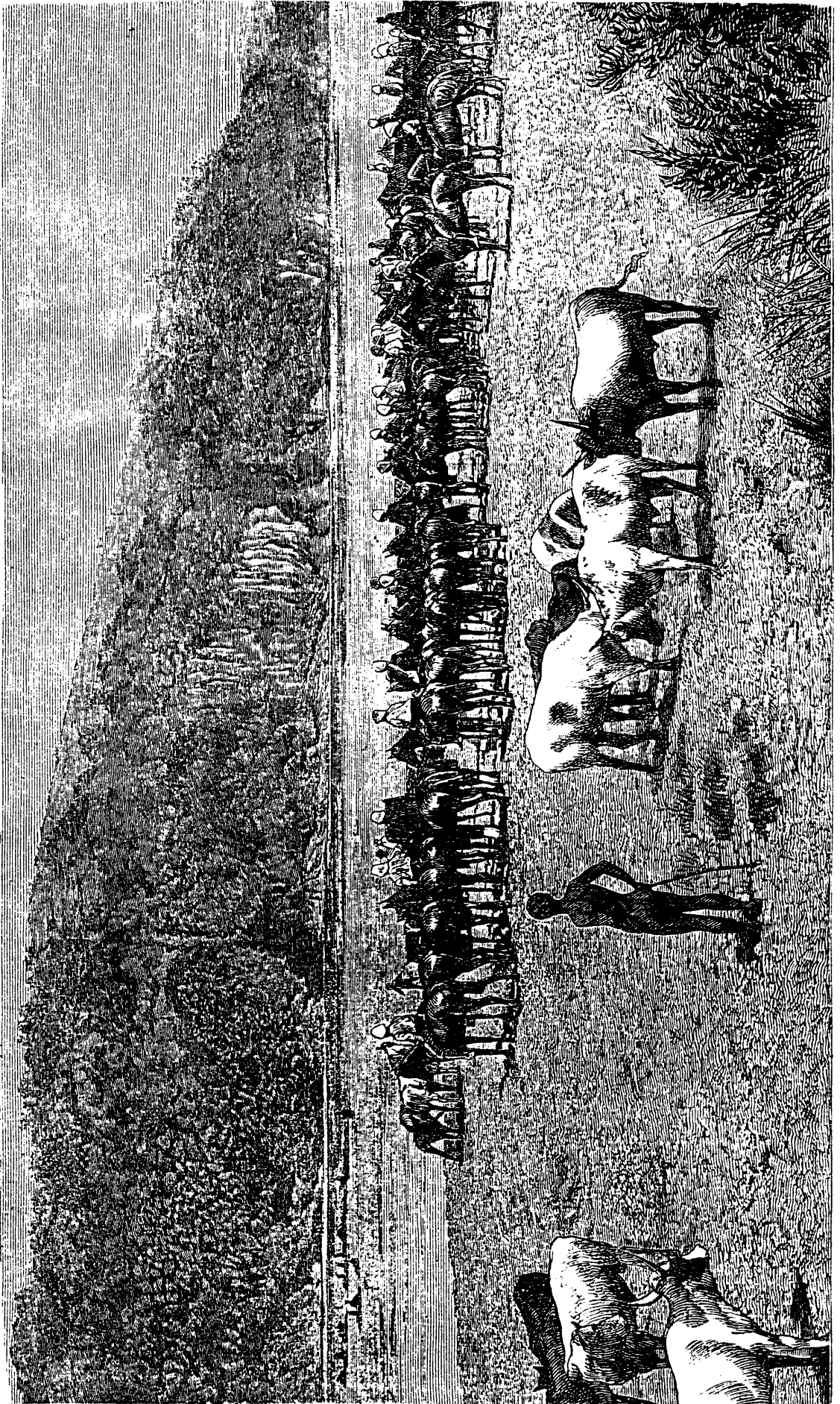
(iii) Orthography

Modern orthography has been used for all Zulu names and terms employed in the footnotes and terms have been indicated in the usual manner, by means of italics. Fynn's Zulu phrases and words in the manuscript have been retained as he spelled them except where he has been inconsistent or a name is indecipherable. In these cases, modern orthography has been used.





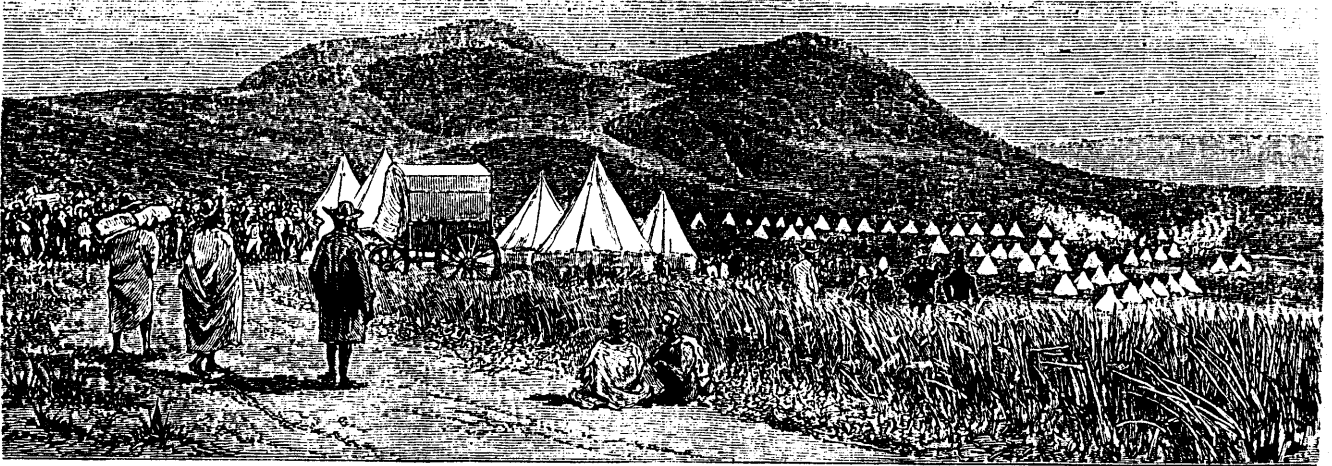
SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, COLONEL CURTIS, AND OFFICERS OF THE MILITARY ESCORT



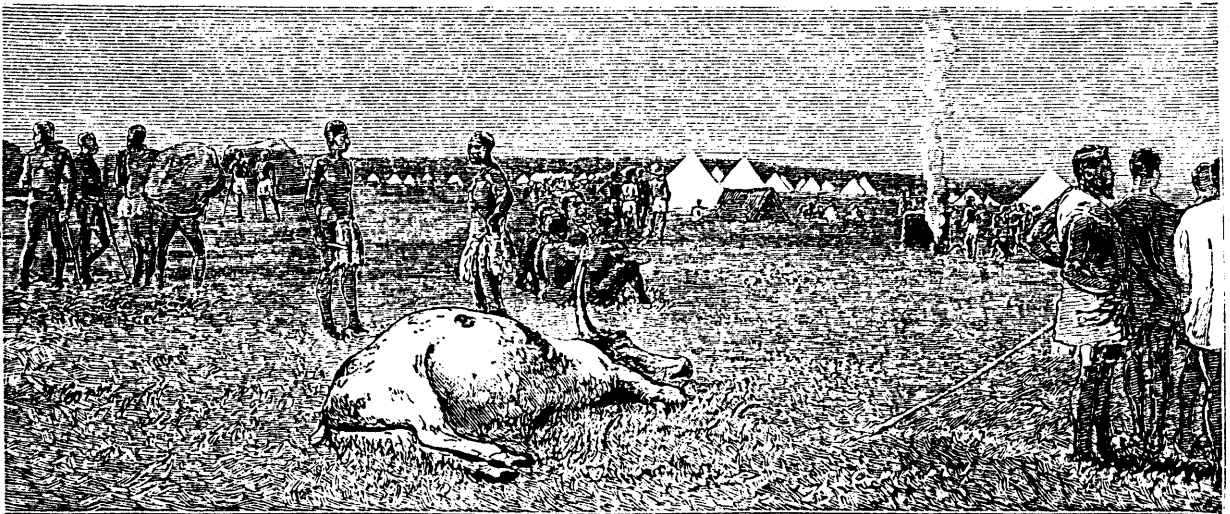
THE SIXTH DRAGOONS PREPARING TO CROSS THE TUGELA RIVER



THE RESTORATION OF CETEWAYO—THE MILITARY ESCORT CROSSING THE TUGELA ON THEIR WAY TO MEET THE KING



CETEWAYO'S CAMP AT ST. PAUL



CETEWAYO'S CAMP, INTONYANENI—AN OX ASSEGAIED FOR FOOD

PART I

FROM THE INSTALLATION OF KING CETSHWAYO TO THE BATTLE OF MSEBE

(29 JANUARY TO 30 MARCH 1883)

Monday, 29 January 1883

By Sir Theophilus Shepstone K.C.M.G. Spec. Commis. Cetshwayo formally reinstalled over the Zulus<sup>1</sup> in the presence of Military Escort of Dragoons, Mounted Infantry etc. under Col. Curtis,<sup>2</sup> and about 5,000 Zulus. H.F. Fynn introduced as British Resident with Cetshwayo.<sup>3</sup> Escort at once retired homewards to Natal. The transport having during the ceremony moved homewards - speeches of Hemlana and Dabulamanzi<sup>4</sup> offensive the latter aluding (sic) to the restoration as another trapping,<sup>5</sup> and he was subdued.

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GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883.

- 1) BPP C. 3616, no. 31: T. Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.
- 2) Lieutenant-Colonel Curtis, Commander of the British garrison in the Reserve Territory and Commander of the Military Escort in January 1883. See BPP C. 3616, enc. 3 in no. 14: Bulwer to Derby, 29 January 1883; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, p. 37.
- 3) BPP C. 3293, enc. 1 in no. 161: Bulwer to Fynn, 8 January 1883.
- 4) Dabulamanzi kaMpande was Cetshwayo's half-brother. Hemulana was induna to Cetshwayo's prime minister, Mnyamana. See Appendix C. Portions of their speeches are contained in Colenso, Digest, pp. 209-212 and 353-355.
- 5) Dabulamanzi pointed out that the division of Zululand into three sections would make it impossible for Cetshwayo to rule effectively. Colenso, Digest, p. 354.

Monday, 29 January 1883

Many speeches, very freely given, but all adverse to Zibhebhu's independence and the severing of the territory between Mhlatuse and Tugela rivers.<sup>6</sup> Also much stress by all, regarding the King's Cattle in possession of Zibebu, Hamu and John Dunn.<sup>7</sup> Cetshwayo only spoke of the Sigohlo<sup>8</sup> continuence (sic) of his wish, and that he well knew the conditions in England under which he was reinstated over the Zulus,<sup>9</sup> and the Zulus had better speak for themselves after this at Cetshwayo's request. I asked Sir Theos. to inform the Zulus they were expected to erect huts for the king forthwith.<sup>10</sup> This was done, and farewell took place and the king etc. moved from Mtonjaneni<sup>11</sup> where reinstalled to Ngehle.<sup>12</sup>

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6) See Appendices A and B.

7) Hamu, Zibhebhu and John Dunn, in their capacities as appointed chiefs under Wolseley's settlement, had confiscated large numbers of royal cattle since 1879. See Introduction, pp. 77-78,

8) On Cetshwayo's return, his isigodlo girls were returned to him from Zibhebhu who had taken them under his custody at the close of hostilities in 1879. See Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 72-77.

9) See Appendix B.

10) BPP C. 3616, no. 31: T. Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883; Colenso, Digest, p. 354.

11) See Appendix A.

12) Ibid.

Monday, 29 January 1883

To Sir Theophilus Shepstone K.C.M.G.

6 pm

Hamu per H.J. Nunn<sup>13</sup> reports, that on 25th inst. Baqulusi took cattle of one of his kraals and killed a foreign native. 26th, 29 cattle taken from kraal of Induna of Hamu's another of his Induna's Magasa<sup>15</sup> threatened.

Rode after Sir Theophilus Shepstone delivered letter<sup>16</sup> and at his request acknowledged and placed the matter before Cetshwayo, for action at Ngehle.<sup>17</sup> And Mnyamana<sup>18</sup> reports having sent to summon the parties (by Makuluma)<sup>19</sup> and reported to Sir Henry enclosing private letter.<sup>20</sup>

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- 13) Herbert Nunn was Hamu's adviser and resident trader. Nunn had moved into Hamu's district in the 1860s. See Introduction, pp. 52-53.
  - 14) The Qulusi were an important royalist group in the north-west of Zululand. Throughout the civil war they fought against Hamu as they had been placed under his jurisdiction in September 1879.
  - 15) Mageza was one of Hamu's headmen. See F.G. Fynney, The Zulu Army and Headmen (Pietermaritzburg, 1879).
  - 16) i.e. the letter from Nunn, reporting from Hamu's district.
  - 17) By the conditions of restoration Cetshwayo was ultimately responsible for Hamu's actions, the latter having been placed under his rule. See Appendix B.
  - 18) Mnyamana kaNgqengelele was chief of the Buthelezi clan and prime minister to Cetshwayo. See Appendix C.
  - 19) Makulumana was a brother of Mgojana, the Ndwandwe chief. Although Mgojana supported Zibhebhu, Makulumana was an uSuthu supporter.
  - 20) GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883.

Tuesday, 30 January 1883

Reported to Sir H. Bulwer K.C.M.G. Spec. Commis and Governor. The events having taken place,<sup>21</sup> and a private letter with particulars.

Moved to ridge of Sixebeni. Cetshwayo near below.<sup>22</sup> Detained by Mnqandi<sup>23</sup> with letter from Sir Theos.<sup>24</sup>

Wednesday, 31 January 1883

Rugs and shawls for Cetshwayo. Earl Kimberley 14/12/82. H. Robinson Cape - 8/1/83 to H. Bulwer 22/1/83 to B. Resd with Cetshwayo to explain why less rugs than shawls presents while in England replied to.<sup>25</sup>

Cetshwayo assuming the rugs referred to are those which overtook him at the Cape<sup>26</sup> is disappointed at fewness of rugs, rendering their distribution by him acward (sic). Sekethwayo<sup>27</sup> on his way to Cetshwayo called and very pleased to see me here with Cetshwayo.

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- 21) The 'events' refer to the restoration ceremony. See GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883.
- 22) See Appendix A.
- 23) See Appendix C.
- 24) In his evidence to James Stuart (Killie Campbell Museum, KCM File 54: Stuart Papers: evidence of H.F. Fynn, 16 April 1912), Fynn recalled that Shepstone told him to take responsibility for ensuring that Cetshwayo kept the restoration conditions. The 'letter' mentioned here possibly refers to this.
- 25) GHZ 605, no. 571: Kimberley to Robinson, 14 December 1882; GHZ 605, no. 6/83: Robinson to Bulwer, 8 January 1883. The despatch from Bulwer to Fynn does not appear in GHZ or in the Stuart Papers Despatches. In his despatch to Robinson, Kimberley explained that the number of rugs given to Cetshwayo as presents while in England had been reduced, owing to a misunderstanding.
- 26) i.e. sent from England to Natal while Cetshwayo was still in Cape Town. See R.C.A. Samuelson, Long, long ago, p. 118.
- 27) Sekethwayo, the Mdlalose chief had been appointed one of the thirteen chiefs in 1879 but remained a loyal royalist supporter. See Appendix C.



Wednesday, 31 January 1883

4 pm

Mfanawanhlela<sup>28</sup> per Dr Oftebro<sup>29</sup> reports, his chief wife and 3 others struck in the hand by Impi lads of Bhejane,<sup>30</sup> Buseni, Matini,<sup>31</sup> plundering kraals and destroying crops. Mnyamana assembled head men and I present at inquiry made.

Told Cetshwayo if he did not put out the spark, the country would get on fire, meaning to check depredations and disturbances in the first instance firmly - went to Cetshwayo who ordered Mnyamana to assemble Indunas of these and enquire into matter. I suggesting that the Impi be called in and a stop be put at once to any further disturbances - or results will become serious. Action taken accordingly and man sent to see damage.

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GHZ 682, no. 8: Fynn to Bulwer, 1 February 1883.

- 28) Mfanawendlela, although a royalist, had accepted a chiefdom from Wolseley in 1879 and was seen as a traitor by many loyal uSuthu supporters. Throughout the civil war he attempted to remain neutral. See Appendix C.
- 29) Dr Ommund Oftebro was in charge of the Norwegian Missionary Society station at Mahlabathini. See Introduction, pp. 46 and 74; Appendix C.
- 30) Bhejane was an induna of the Emangweni royalist section and an important member of Cetshwayo's ibandla. See Appendix C.
- 31) uSuthu adherents under Bhejane.

Thursday, 1 February 1883

Mnyamana and Zulus (6,000) went to thanksgiving<sup>32</sup> at graves of  
Jama and Senzangakhona at Mobambas, Mpembeni river.<sup>33</sup>

Reported to Sir Henry Bulwer, post left 6 pm.<sup>34</sup>

Sihayo<sup>35</sup> called and mentioned that he had been told by Mr Osborn<sup>36</sup>  
to collect his adherents as Chief over them in Hlubi's district<sup>37</sup>  
and while doing so to salute Cetshwayo, Hlubi's impi turned out and  
Sihayo escaping took refuge in the Bishop's house<sup>38</sup> and that the matter  
had been reported to Sir Theophilus.

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GHZ 682, no. 9: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 February 1883.

- 32) To celebrate the return of King Cetshwayo.
- 33) The graves of Jama and Senzangakhona are, according to Bryant, situated close to present-day Melmoth. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 20-22.
- 34) See Appendix D.
- 35) Sihayo kaXongo was a favourite of Cetshwayo. In 1879 he had been ordered to leave his district which was given to Hlubi, a Sotho chief who had moved into Zululand before the war. See Introduction, p. 68; Appendix C.
- 36) Hlubi controlled his district as chief although it was situated in the Reserve Territory under John Shepstone's authority. See Introduction, pp. 86-7.
- 37) Melmoth Osborn had been British Resident in Zululand prior to Fynn, from March 1880 to December 1882. He replaced John Shepstone as Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory in April 1883. See Introduction, pp. 76-77; Appendix C.
- 38) This possibly refers to the Anglican Church Mission station at Kwamagwaza. Archdeacon McKenzie had taken up the post of Bishop of Zululand in 1882. See H.C. Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand (Pietermaritzburg, 1948), pp. 108 and 140; Introduction, p. 74; Appendix A.

Friday, 2 February 1883

Hamu per Somahlozi accompanied by Mgulugulu<sup>39</sup> reports that on 29th January 1883 sheep of his and cattle of the kraals of Msutu, Mveli, Gobinduku, Mafomela, Sankombo, impi of Luqezu and Mabele.<sup>40</sup> Messengers passed on per Zinelana and Bangeni<sup>41</sup> to Mnyamana for his action. Mnyamana per Tshingana<sup>42</sup> reports Somkele<sup>43</sup> while on his way home his boys were while with him attacked and scuffled with and that the parties have been sent for.

To Mfanawanhlela, suggesting per his sons that he cause the lads who interfered with Somkele to appear before Mnyamana and admit their offence in submission. Messenger from Mnyamana reports on his way to summon parties before him. Tell Mnyamana he had better see me about these disturbances, that the present case has arrisen (sic) through inaction in the case of Mfanawanhlela and prompt and severe measures if not taken, delays will increase the troubles to a serious degree - as also in Hamu's cases.<sup>44</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 10: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 February 1883.

- 39) Messengers or adherents of Hamu. See Appendix D.
- 40) Adherents of Hamu. Msutu (Msuthu) was possibly Hamu's brother. See Gibson, Story of the Zulus, Appendix on Zulu Genealogy. 'Impi of Luqezu and Mabele' probably means that Hamu's adherents were attacked by Luqezu and Mabele, who were Qulusi adherents. See BPP C. 3616, enc. 3 in no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.
- 41) Messengers of Fynn. See Appendix D.
- 42) Shingana kaMpande was a brother of Cetshwayo and a prominent uSuthu leader. He joined Cetshwayo at oNdini in January 1883. See Appendix C.
- 43) Somkhele was an isikhulu and strong supporter of Cetshwayo. He had been awarded a chiefdom by Wolseley in 1879 but remained loyal to the uSuthu cause throughout the civil war. See Introduction, p. 68; Appendix C.
- 44) See entry for 29 January 1883.

Saturday, 3 February 1883

Reported to Sir Henry, and that Sihayo may brew mischief and would be better out of Zululand - and is cunning and may influence the king adverse to the peace and good ruling of this country.<sup>45</sup>

Per Minute Paper reported to Sir Henry - return for report of events.<sup>46</sup>

Sunday, 4 February 1883

Cetshwayo through Mnyamana sends messengers from the Baqulusi who report that about the 1st inst. two lots of Impi under Msebe of Mstaka<sup>47</sup> formerly of Baqulusi but now of Hamu<sup>48</sup> were seen at dawn of day approaching Mkosana of Zanqwanzungu<sup>49</sup> but observing they were seen kept away, seven of Tongas of Baqulusi<sup>50</sup> went unarmed after Msebe to enquire and saw them next morning. Msebe's horse was seen on the ridge and the 7 of Tongas went to see and were fired upon by Msebe and his brother a number of shots, doing no harm but causing them to retreat - it was rumoured Msebe was going to plunder cattle and escape with them into the Transvaal.<sup>51</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 9: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 February 1883.

45) See Introduction, pp. 57-58.

46) GHZ 682, no. 9: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 February 1883.

47) Msebe kaMadaka, a Qulusi induna, was Cetshwayo's second cousin. See Introduction, p. 60; Appendix C.

48) Msebe had followed Hamu's lead in surrendering to General Wood during the invasion in 1879. During the civil war he allied himself with Hamu. See Introduction, p. 60.

49) Mkhosana kaMongu was a Zungu lineage head. He had accompanied Cetshwayo into exile in 1879. See Appendix C.

50) Tsonga supporters of the Qulusi from the area north-east of Zululand. See Introduction, pp. 37-38.

51) Hamu's Ngenetsheni followers, as well as the Qulusi in his district, sought temporary refuge in the Transvaal throughout the civil war.

Sunday, 4 February 1883

Per J.W.S.<sup>52</sup> messenger Mcoswana.<sup>53</sup> Sir Henry returns my report of 18 January 1883,<sup>54</sup> observing 27/1/83<sup>55</sup> that it comprises two distinct subjects, a formal report and confidential subject regarding Faku Ziningo's boundary.<sup>56</sup>

J.W. Shepstone 2/2/83 for Sir Theophilus 'If you anticipate any trouble with Mmqandi, order him home at once.'<sup>57</sup>

Monday, 5 February 1883

Mmqandi reports his desire to return to Natal - and leave granted to do so.

Ammended (sic) reports see letter register and letter book page 21.<sup>58</sup>  
Replied to Mcoswana. I told Cetshwayo in presence of Mmqandi not to receive messages by Mmqandi unless accompanied by Zinelana or Bangeni and he will not be sent anywhere unless accompanied in the same way.  
This is to secure Mmqandi from unforeseen troubles.<sup>59</sup>

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52) John Wesley Shepstone was Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory from January to April 1883. See Introduction, p. 87.

53) A messenger of John Shepstone's. See Appendix D.

54) GHZ 682, no. 4: Fynn to Bulwer, 18 January 1883. Confidential.

55) Bulwer's despatch to Fynn of 27 January 1883 has not been traced.

56) Faku was one of the thirteen appointed chiefs. See Appendix A.

57) See entry for 30 January 1883.

58) GHZ 682, no. 12: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 February 1883. Confidential.

59) i.e. from being attacked by either of the opposing groups.

Tuesday, 6 February 1883

Cetshwayo's requests regarding his cattle and Zulu cattle in possession of Zibebu, Hamu and J. Dunn<sup>60</sup> to be restored by the hands of the Govt see letter book p. 24.<sup>61</sup> and regarding adherents in reserve and Zibebu's territory and supported by Mnyamana, Sekethwayo and other Chiefs see letter book pages 25.26.<sup>62</sup> which have this 7th been read over to Cetshwayo to his satisfaction and posted to Sir Henry with list of headmen in the reserve who since actually seeing it is Cetshwayo himself (hence the undeviating salutation 'Who is it, it is him, it is Cetshwayo himself and alive!')<sup>63</sup> and not an image of Mbuyazi<sup>64</sup> desire now to alter their former resolution prior to Cetshwayo's identity here,<sup>65</sup> and now wish to remain where they are in the reserve territory but under Cetshwayo.<sup>66</sup>  
Reported to Sir Henry Bulwer, letter book page 23.<sup>67</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 12: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 February 1883. Confidential.

60) See entry for 29 January 1883.

61) Fynn reported Cetshwayo's request to the Natal government in GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883. He repeated this appeal in GHZ 682, no. 15: Fynn to Bulwer, 7 February 1883.

62) GHZ 682, no. 15: Fynn to Bulwer, 7 February 1883. In this despatch, Fynn listed the headmen resident in the Reserve Territory who wished to be under Cetshwayo's rule. Cetshwayo was also concerned that his adherents in Zibhebhu's district should be allowed to acknowledge him as their ruler without fear of retribution from Zibhebhu.

63) The Reserve Territory chiefs and headmen had left the Reserve, without John Shepstone's permission, to ascertain that Cetshwayo had in fact returned to Zululand. See Introduction, p. 99; Colenso, Digest, pp. 355-356; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, p. 244.

64) Mbuyazi kaMpande was Cetshwayo's younger brother who was defeated and killed by Cetshwayo's uSuthu followers in 1856. Many Zulu believed that Mbuyazi had escaped to Natal. See Introduction, p. 47.

65) They had previously declared their loyalty to John Shepstone.

66) John Shepstone insisted they leave the Reserve if they wished to be under the king's jurisdiction.

67) GHZ 682, no. 12: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 February 1883. Confidential.

Wednesday, 7 February 1883

Cetshwayo through Mnyamana forwards Tzangise, Simelana<sup>68</sup> and others messengers from Nyumbane Simelana<sup>69</sup> residing on the Transvaal side of the Pongolo river, south of Ngwavuma river driven there from Zululand by Hamu after the Zulu War,<sup>70</sup> who states, that the messengers from Cetshwayo's brother Ndabuko<sup>71</sup> arrived to let them know of Cetshwayo's return as their king and at the same time messengers arrived from Mtyakela a Transvaal Boer, a receiver there of taxes;<sup>72</sup> summoning Nyumbane, Sitambe of Masipula<sup>73</sup> Mlangweni, Siwela,<sup>74</sup> Sitambe of Masipula being their senior in position replied he was ill. Mtyakela the Boer authority warned them that any one of them or their people who come to Cetshwayo must there and then with all their belongings quit their present abodes.

Cetshwayo desires me to communicate this to you.<sup>75</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 15: Fynn to Bulwer, 7 February 1883. Confidential.

68) Messengers of Simelana. See Appendix D.

69) Simelana (Sambane Nwayo) was a chief in the Lubombo district. He had been excluded from Zululand in 1879, but remained an uSuthu adherent.

70) Sambane had been attacked by Hamu and Zibhebhu in 1879.

71) Ndabuko kaMpande was Cetshwayo's full brother and played a significant role in the civil war. He had taken custody of Cetshwayo's heir, Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, during his father's exile. In terms of the restoration conditions, Ndabuko was placed in Zibhebhu's territory. See Appendix C.

72) This official is unidentifiable in this context.

73) Masiphula had been a prominent councillor to Mpande. He had died at about the same time as Mpande in 1872. See Appendix C.

74) Adherents of Masiphula.

75) i.e. Fynn to Bulwer.

Thursday, 8 February 1883

Letter from J.W. Shepstone requesting me to move Cetshwayo to direct his adherents in the reserve to proceed to him at once<sup>76</sup> and hear the words of the Govt sent by him. See reply letter book pages 28,29 and 30.<sup>77</sup>

Friday, 9 February 1883

8 am sent off the reply having in their presence warned Mnyamana and reserve people assembled to obey and appear before Mr Shepstone and behave themselves, in a respectful manner and if they have anything to say do it in the form of a prayer and not a demand. Removed, crossed White Mfolozi and camped Beza spruit.<sup>78</sup> Gardens being plundered by Zulus notwithstanding my having requested Mnyamana and Cetshwayo on the evening of the 8th and this morning to keep guards to check damaging crops.<sup>79</sup> Sent Bangeni to report to Cetshwayo, who gave orders for them to be assembled, and made excuse and Mnyamana that the guards had been evaded the crops around plundered and bandits crossed from noon to night continually numbers unknown.

Rev. Samuelson<sup>80</sup> arrived and stayed night.

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GHZ 682, no. 16: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 February 1883.

76) See Introduction p. 101.

77) GHZ 682, no. 16: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 February 1883. Fynn instructed the headmen in the Reserve Territory to obey John Shepstone's instructions.

78) See Appendix A

79) By 'Zulus' Fynn probably means enemies of the uSuthu party, possibly adherents of Hamu or Zibhebhu.

80) The missionary S.M. Samuelson was in charge of the Anglican Mission station at St Paul's. See Introduction, p. 74.



Saturday, 10 February 1883

Gabajana arrived.<sup>81</sup> False post<sup>82</sup> throws regularity of line out and a loss of time. Sent him back for mail. Gabajana then arrived from Nhlazatye with letters. I proceeded to site of new Undini,<sup>83</sup> crossed Mlambongwenya and camped between it and Bilana spruit.<sup>84</sup> Storm came on and continued rain until mid night.

Sunday, 11 February 1883

Cetshwayo per brother of Xwana of the people of Bantubensume<sup>85</sup> of near Pongolo river under Mnyamana, have been warned by Zibebu to remove from where they are to Cetshwayo's country.<sup>86</sup>

Monday, 12 February 1883

Cetshwayo per Hlabantu of Baqulusi,<sup>87</sup> reports that Boza<sup>88</sup> petty chief sec. of Baqulusi residing between Pemvana and Bivana in the Transvaal has been forcibly compelled to go to Utrecht by police in a certain case of a goat.<sup>89</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 17: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

81) A messenger of Fynn's. See Appendix D.

82) See Appendix D.

83) See Appendix A.

84) Ibid.

85) Bantubensumo was a chief of the northern districts near the Dlomodlomo mountains. In 1883 he came under Zibhebhu's rule but continued to support the uSuthu. See Appendix C.

86) Zibhebhu continually expelled uSuthu adherents from his district.

87) A messenger of Boza's. See Appendix D.

88) Boza was a Qulusi headman in north-west Zululand. He had previously been involved in negotiations with the Boers in the Transvaal. See Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 43-45.

89) See entry for 7 February 1883.

Monday, 12 February 1883

My reply, there is a British Resident in the Transvaal<sup>90</sup> - no doubt if Boza was forced to appear at Utrecht by the authorities it was because he had not heeded a previous summons - and if Boza does not wish to remain in the Transvaal, he and others can apply there in a respectful manner for leave to quit the Transvaal, and should he come into Zululand to satisfy me of having received leave to remove.

Boast arrived,<sup>91</sup> and unable to give me necessary information regarding Northern boundaries of Cetshwayo's territory<sup>92</sup> - returned to Dr Oftebro's and called on Cetshwayo. Mfanawanhlela called and presented young bull and past (sic) on to Cetshwayo and returned and reported having been insulted by a lot of lads at Undini, but in turning back, Cetshwayo sent for him and satisfactory meeting, and orders given for the offenders to be punished.<sup>93</sup> Called myself on Cetshwayo (after Mfanawanhlela had called on me going home) and Cetshwayo told me he would have the principal offender found out and punished as an example for others, he spoke about my site<sup>94</sup> and I said I would look where we both indicated near Oftebro's and let him know the spot, he said I must take care not to be near natives to annoy me.

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GHZ 682, no. 17: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

- 90) George Hudson was appointed British Resident in the Transvaal in 1881. See Introduction, p. 83.
- 91) Alfred Boast was clerk and interpreter to Melmoth Osborn. See BPP C. 3616, enc. 1 in no. 19: Osborn to Bulwer, 5 January 1883.
- 92) Fynn had requested this information in mid-January. See entry for 4 February 1883; Appendix B.
- 93) Mfanawendlela was constantly subjected to insults from uSuthu adherents due to his attempts to remain neutral during the civil war. Many loyal royalists saw him as a Mandlakazi sympathiser. See Introduction, p. 100.
- 94) See Appendix A.

Tuesday, 13 February 1833

Heard of some of Undini lads wounded by lads of Mfanawanhlela's while stealing their mealies. Sent to Mnyamana to let him know I had already let the Govt know of the beginning of the destruction of Mfanawanhlela's crops<sup>95</sup> and spoken to him several times and Cetshwayo with the only answer that the offenders were pigs and must take the consequences, but I said that would not do all along that pigs had teeth and bit and blood would be shed and he was to blame for not having the offenders punished at first. He replied that what I said was true and he would take further action to stop the plundering and the thieves had better be caught and brought to me to send to him.<sup>96</sup>

Noon

Rode over to Dr Oftebro's, pleasant meeting, went round and chose a sight for Emsita<sup>97</sup> a mile off his place, pointed out by him. The Dr and his wife exceedingly kind. Nomcobo Tyaka's sister<sup>98</sup> reported died on 12th - Letter book p. 55.<sup>99</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 18: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

- 95) See entry for 9 February 1883. Mfanawendlela had apparently planted his crops over Mpande's grave, thus incurring the anger of the royalists. See Colenso, Digest, pp. 452-453.
- 96) See Appendix B. Clause 4 of the conditions of restoration stated that Fynn should hand over Zulu subjects to Cetshwayo for judgement in criminal matters.
- 97) See Appendix A. 'Emsita' refers to Fynn's camp-site.
- 98) Nomcobo (Nomcoba) was Nandi's second child by Senzangakhona and Shaka's full sister. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 49.
- 99) GHZ 682, no. 18: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

Wednesday, 14 February 1883

Saw Cetshwayo about site I had chosen, he pointed out several other objectionable sites and it was arranged, for the present I encamp at the site I chose.

Saw Mkosana, Nconwana, Ngobozana, Mnyamana, Sekethwayo, Ntuzwa, Ziwe<sup>100</sup> and others on the question of site I chose, they all approved of it being a suitable place for me. Mnyamana spoke of boundaries severing the people, which and Zulus complain about, that the boundaries should have been adjusted to the occupants.<sup>101</sup> I replied the boundaries were clearly defined and that was the decision and people desirous of coming under Cetshwayo's rule must come within his boundary.<sup>102</sup>

Returned to camp - Mfanawanhlela's messengers report messages from Mnyamana demanding assegais (sic) taken (on 9th inst) from (thieves) pigs.<sup>103</sup> Messengers forwarded with Bangeni and Gabajana to Cetshwayo and report matter settled to their satisfaction and Mfanawanhlela reports so. The assegais (sic) to be returned to captors of thieves. Upon enquiry could not ascertain any truth in this information obtained by Gabajana from Mdabula the son of Mfanawanhlela.<sup>104</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 19: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

100) Cetshwayo's leading dignitaries. See Appendix C.,

101) See entry for 29 January 1883 where the uSuthu complained to Theophilus Shepstone about the division of royalists between the three areas.

102) See Appendices A and B.

103) See entry for 13 February 1883.

104) Mdabule kaMfanawendlela followed his father's neutral stance during the course of hostilities, but later became involved in conflict with the uSuthu.

Wednesday, 14 February 1883

Hamu per Mahambana and Somfula<sup>105</sup> reports that Mgulugulu who was returning to him in re the cattle of 5 kraals taken by Baqulusi see 2nd Friday<sup>106</sup> was himself killed by a son of Maboya<sup>107</sup> and by a son of Malindi<sup>108</sup> both of Baqulusi about the 7th Feby 1883. Bangeni and Gabajana sent to present messengers to Cetshwayo. (Mgulugulu was sent in company with Somahlozi)<sup>109</sup> and report that Cetshwayo gave directions through Mnyamana that the case be summoned and Majovoza's son<sup>110</sup> who was a witness to the death of Mgulugulu. Moved my camp to site between Mbilani spruit and Dr Oftebro's residence.<sup>111</sup>

Thursday, 15 February 1883

Reported to Sir Henry see Page 29 and 30 letter book.<sup>112</sup> Reported fully see Letter book page 32 to Sir H. Bulwer.<sup>113</sup> See letter book pages 33,34,35 and 31.<sup>114</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 19: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

105) Messengers of Hamu. See Appendix D.

106) See entry for 2 February 1883.

107) This person is unidentifiable in this context.

108) Qulusi adherents living in Hamu's district.

109) See entry for 2 February 1883.

110) This person is unidentifiable in this context.

111) See Appendix A.

112) GHZ 682, no. 19: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

113) GHZ 682, no. 19: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

114) GHZ 682, no. 19: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

Thursday, 15 February 1883

Post arrived and bag for A. Boast,<sup>115</sup> sent on for him. Mfanawanhlela called and said he intended seeing Cetshwayo about a place to live and thought of removing to reserve territory.<sup>116</sup> Sekethwayo presented me with a young beast and would present a better one another time worthy of himself. Sent to Cetshwayo Ndida<sup>117</sup> to ask for meeting to remind Cetshwayo of Conditions of Restoration to fix day and time.

Mgojana per Bimbi and Nomcumbi<sup>118</sup> reports Cetshwayo desires him to present himself for an interview and that he informed Mr Osborn and Sir Theos Shepstone he would go to Cetshwayo who has again sent for him, but before doing so reports that he is called upon by the king to do so.<sup>119</sup>

Cetshwayo (per Mapeli of Mkosana Zungu)<sup>120</sup> reports three hides stolen from tops of huts upper portion of Undini this morning and seen by traders being carried past early by two persons going northwards and not seen by Dr Oftebro passing his place.

9 pm

Heavy storm carrying away tent.

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GHZ 682, no. 20: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 February 1883.

- 115) Arthur Boast was resident at Nhlazatshe at this time. See entry for 6 March 1883.
- 116) Probably because of the uSuthu attitude towards him.
- 117) A messenger of Fynn's. See Appendix D.
- 118) Messengers of Mgojana. See Appendix D.
- 119) Mgojana had not visited Cetshwayo at the time of the restoration in January 1883.
- 120) Mapeli (Maphelu) kaMkhosana was an uSuthu adherent.

Friday, 16 February 1883

Light rain, 8. 30 sent off post to Pomeroy. Rain cleared off at noon. Went to Oftebro, to ask leave to grind mealies in his mill.

Saturday, 17 February 1883

Damp morning, cleared up 9 am and went to Oftebro's on my way to Undini, saw Cetshwayo and had long interview with him, explaining the conditions of restoration and defining his boundaries, Reserve Territory and Zibebu's<sup>121</sup> and traced boundary on Capt. Alleyne's map<sup>122</sup> borrowed from A. Boast. Cetshwayo remarks, 'The conditions clause by clause say "I will" as if I had made those conditions, it should have been "we (the English) stipulate you Cetshwayo and Zulus shall" and to these my replies I see are not added. This is like a knife having only a sharpened edge on one side. I wish to do what is correct and pleasing to the English government but the difficulties are great. Shame to contend with; the division of the people which has led to great complications. At the close of the Boer War General Wood came to Nhlazatye<sup>123</sup> the Zulus collected there to ask for my restoration,<sup>124</sup> Sotondose, the induna of Mr Osborn<sup>125</sup> told them not to dare

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GHZ 682, no. 22: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 February 1883.

121) See Appendix B.

122) Alleyne's map, drawn in December 1879 is included in BPP C. 2505. It has been used to identify the boundaries of the thirteen chiefs, and the boundaries laid down in 1883.

123) See Introduction, pp. 80-81.

124) The uSuthu were disappointed on this occasion in their attempts to appeal for Cetshwayo's restoration and were forced to appeal directly to the Natal government the following April. See Introduction, p. 82.

125) Sotondose was a hereditary chief of the Nxumalo clan. He had fled to Natal during Mpande's reign. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 214-216.

Saturday, 17 February 1883

to ask me Cetshwayo or the soldiers close at hand would kill them, this act intimidated the people and closed their mouths. The receiving of each chief alone at Rorke's Drift<sup>126</sup> had the effect of separating the people and now there is no union which is necessary for the preservation of peace.

What they spoke on that occasion was governed by their belief that I should not be brought back, but an image of Mbuyazi instead of me.<sup>127</sup> Had the chiefs been all assembled and openly interviewed, there would have been no secrecy which secrecy of interviewing each chief alone made them suspicious of something in the background. The severing of my personal adherents in the Reserve, Transvaal and Zibebu's boundaries<sup>128</sup> will unavoidably bring about bloodshed - through rivalry and the smallness of the country allotted to me.

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GHZ 682, no. 22: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 February 1883.

126) In September 1882, Bulwer and Osborn had met the Zulu chiefs at Rorke's Drift to discuss the return of Cetshwayo to Zululand. Bulwer had been particularly impressed by Zibhebhu's desire for independence. This meeting convinced Bulwer that there was a large element in Zululand who did not wish to be ruled by Cetshwayo. See Introduction, pp. 84-86; BPP C. 3466, enc. in no. 79: Report by Bulwer on the Settlement of the Zulu country, 2 August 1882.

127) See entry for 6 February 1883.

128) See entries for 29 January, 6 and 14 February 1883.



Sunday, 18 February 1883

Ntyingwayo<sup>129</sup> per Ngu and Skonyana<sup>130</sup> reports his desire to see Cetshwayo but that the Sutu has prevented his doing so and threatened him and looted him at Mtonjaneni the day before installation.<sup>131</sup> That he had received since three messages from Mnyamana requesting his appearance before Cetshwayo but feared doing so.

Monday, 19 February 1883

Bangeni and Gabajana sent to present these two messengers of Ntyingwayo's to the king and these four messengers report favourable result of interview and that Cetshwayo was anxious to see Ntyingwayo and to hear his complaints. Ntyingwayo's messengers told Cetshwayo that Ntyingwayo's people<sup>132</sup> wished him to go to Cetshwayo.

Ngondi Giminizi<sup>133</sup> with letter from J.W. Shepstone dated the 13/2/83 Etshowe 'The bearer is a messenger from Batonyile half sister to Cetshwayo<sup>134</sup> who with others is desirous of moving into this Reserve

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GHZ 682, no. 23: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 February 1883.

- 129) Ntshingwayo had been appointed chief over the area originally set aside for Mnyamana in 1879. He was regarded with contempt by many loyal uSuthu after restoration and failed to visit Cetshwayo after the king's return in January. See Introduction, p. 100; Colenso, Digest, p. 422; Appendix C.
- 130) Messengers of Ntshingwayo. See Appendix C.
- 131) Their actions were possibly explained by the fact that they considered Ntshingwayo, like Mfanawendlela, to be a traitor to the royal cause.
- 132) Ntshingwayo was a Khoza lineage head. 'Ntshingwayo's people' in this context probably refers to the people placed under his rule in 1879, in central Zululand. See Appendix A.
- 133) A messenger of John Shepstone's. See Appendix A.
- 134) Batonyile was the daughter of Mpande and Monase kaMntungwa. See Webb, The James Stuart Archive, vol. III, p. 105: evidence of Mgidhlana kaMpande; Appendix C.

Monday, 19 February 1883

with their people, the names of the applicants are, Sinkwasomatu, Sukani, Mnqandi, Mtshabane, Baleni, Hlangamiso, Mhlungo, Mhlaba, and Mzwakali also Mabobo<sup>135</sup> though it will be difficult for me to find room for these people yet I cannot refuse their application and must leave to you to take the necessary steps to see that these people leave their kraals, and cross the Mhlatuse river unmolested.'

I am, etc, J.W. Shepstone. British Commissioner.

Messengers report Bathonyile and adherents do not wish to remove, but if the Govt wish she will move under their protection, but wants her courage strengthened to give her rest where she now lives.<sup>136</sup>

Tuesday, 20 February 1883

Zibebu per Mhlazana, Neubane and Swelabantu<sup>137</sup> reports that about 15 days ago three companies (3 amaviyo) Impi of the people of Somkwana<sup>138</sup> south of Hluhluwe junction (False bay) with Cwebeni under Somkele<sup>139</sup> seized cattle across the Hluhluwe from the kraals of people under Zibebu.<sup>140</sup> This impi force slaughtered one red heifer alleging they were certain it was Zibebu's and restored all the rest of the

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GHZ 682, no. 23: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 February 1883.

135) uSuthu adherents who were resident with Bathonyile at oNdini.

136) Bathonyile was possibly afraid of an attack by Cetshwayo's enemies, given the situation in Zululand.'

137) Messengers of Zibhebhu. See Appendix D.

138) These were uSuthu supporters, probably consisting of Cetshwayo's regiments. A company (*iviyo*) consisted of between 50 and 200 men. See J. Laband, 'The Zulu Army in the War of 1879: some cautionary notes' in Journal of Natal and Zulu History, 2 (1979), p.32.

139) See entry for 2 February 1883.

140) Mandlakazi adherents, rather than uSuthu living in Zibhebhu's district.

Tuesday, 20 February 1883

cattle. A day or two after the above event Kwela (son of Mdekiza Ncwangeni who accompanied Cetshwayo across the sea and back)<sup>141</sup> in company with three others were at the kraal of late Nqumbose, Cetshwayo's mother<sup>142</sup> situated between the Tivuna river and Black Mfolozi river and informed Raqabi (Zibebu, who had led them to believe he belonged to Zulu Tongas of Mangaiso<sup>143</sup> between Mkuze and Pongola river) that they were sent by Cetshwayo to spy out Zibebu's cattle and had done so at Zibebu's chief kraal Mkangweni<sup>144</sup> and Ponyekweni<sup>145</sup> and in returning from there they stabbed the pumpkins and cut down mealies in the gardens of Neubane (here present)<sup>146</sup> and that this would be a sign to the owner of the garden that the regiment of Ndabuko had been there.<sup>147</sup>

Went to Cetshwayo and read over to him his remarks of the 17th<sup>148</sup> to which he added a little and said they were correct. During this Zibebu's messengers outside the enclosure left there by me were surrounded by Zulus I had to go and protect them and put them under cover of my horses but realising that matters were becoming more serious I had these messengers under my guard sent away. I read over their report from Zibebu to me, for

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GHZ 682, no. 24: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 February 1883.

141) Ncwangeni (Ngcongswana) was Cetshwayo's adviser in England and a strong uSuthu supporter.

142) Nqumbose (Nqumbasi) was the daughter of Mbondwe, a prominent chief of the Zungu clan. See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 680.

143) The Mangazi clan to the north-east of Zululand. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 282-283.

144) See Appendix A.

145) See Appendix A.

146) An adherent of Zibhebhu's.

147) Ndabuko was a commander of the isaNgqu regiment.

148) See entry for 17 February 1883.

Tuesday, 20 February 1883

Cetshwayo's information,<sup>149</sup> while this was going on a Basutu doctor sprinkled medicine with an ox tail round about the tent we were in and within and about the enclosure.<sup>150</sup> Cetshwayo, much excited, objected to any of Zibebu's people coming into the country, he feared they would bring evil upon him by their witchcraft, that Zibebu had collected innumerable doctors about him, to act upon him Cetshwayo, a lot of dogs had collected together and barked.<sup>151</sup>

That Zibebu publicly proclaimed that Cetshwayo his equal had arrived and he Zibebu had been given the land of Cetshwayo and this very kraal of his families,<sup>152</sup> that all these acts of Zibebu were brewing bloodshed and the Zulus could not submit to all these things, it was his Cetshwayo's own determination to adhere to the conditions and respect (hlonpa) them.<sup>153</sup> Zibebu was his Cetshwayo's dog and now land of the Zulus had been given to him and he was bragging over Cetshwayo, how could this continue, the people could not stand all this, nothing could have been done more likely to cause more bloodshed, than to deprive the Zulus and their king of their own land and give it to the king's dog, now his bitterest enemy.

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GHZ 682, no. 24: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 February 1883.

149) i.e. Zibhebhu's report on Qulusi attacks on his cattle, under Somkhele's leadership.

150) For protection against evil.

151) A howling or barking dog was a portent of death. A dog was also seen as the messenger of an umThakathi. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 325.

152) i.e. the homesteads of Ziwedu and Ndabuko, Cetshwayo's brothers, living in Zibhebhu's territory.

153) ukuhlonipa was to show respect through formal avoidance of a specific subject when speaking. See Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, p. xix.

Wednesday, 21 February 1883

Reported to Sir H. Bulwer. Letter Book Page 35 and Page 254. Also page 36.<sup>154</sup>

Sixabu, Mgovu and Gininiza<sup>155</sup> from Batonyile state she wishes the Natal Government to send messengers for her as was done before by Sir Theos. Shepstone some years ago after the battle between Cetshwayo and brother Mbuyazi at Tugela mouth.<sup>156</sup> and then she and her adherents could remove with all their cattle etc.<sup>157</sup>

Cetshwayo informs me that Tungase, one of Mpande's wives of the Undini kraal<sup>158</sup> who during the Zulu war was with the Baqulusi but there disturbed by Hamu in the fight with the Baqulusi<sup>159</sup> when a large number of her male adherents were killed, fled with the rest of her adherents and cattle across the Bivana river into Transvaal has now come to Cetshwayo and he is sending to the Transvaal a request that she, her followers and cattle be allowed to return home here.

Thursday, 22 February 1883

Post of Pomeroy 2 pm 20/1/83 arrived here 2 pm.

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GHZ 682, no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 February 1883.

154) GHZ 682, no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 February 1883.

155) Messengers or adherents of Batonyile.

156) When Mthonga and Mkhungo sought refuge in Natal, their relations were permitted by Shepstone to visit them in the Colony. See Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 105: evidence of MgidhIana kaMpande; Introduction, p. 48; Appendix C.

157) See entry for 19 February 1883.

158) i.e. the first oNdini, about four kilometres south-west of the 1883 homestead. 'Tungase' is unidentifiable in this context.

159) This probably refers to the upheavals in Hamu's district following Wolseley's settlement in September 1879.

Friday, 23 February 1883

Reported to Sir Henry Bulwer, letter book page 38.<sup>160</sup>

Dear Sir Henry,

Assuming the question of an assistant to me here is still under consideration<sup>161</sup> and that in all probability the main point might be the question of a Salary for such an officer and that Mr Boast's<sup>162</sup> present salary being more than can be granted and probably he would not be content with less stipend, this difficulty could be overcome by a less salary to some person fitted for the office of Secretary or Clerk to the B.R. in which case if I were permitted to make a suggestion I would recommend Capt. A.M. Smith whom I am well acquainted with, he having been in my office for over 3 years.<sup>163</sup> Major Dartnell<sup>164</sup> knows him. I sincerely hope Your Excy will see the necessity for my having an assistant or Secy and that you will pardon my thus again addressing you on this subject.

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GHZ 682, no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 February 1883.

160) GHZ 682, no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 February 1883.

161) See Introduction, p. 4.

162) Alfred Boast was Melmoth Osborn's clerk.

163) Arthur Monroe Smith was prison officer at Umsinga. See Natal Blue Books, 1883: Civil Establishment Returns.

164) J.G. Dartnell was Commander of the Natal Mounted Police at this time. Fynn had known Dartnell during the Anglo-Zulu war. See Natal Blue Books, 1883: Civil Establishment Returns; H.P. Holt, The Mounted Police of Natal (London, 1913); Introduction, pp. 20-21.

Friday, 23 February 1883

Mnyamana per Marubulwana, Sinqwazana and Mnyame<sup>165</sup> reports the want of food by Cetshwayo to support those about him when Zibebu and Dunn have his cattle and the people.<sup>166</sup> \* Reply as regards the cattle alleged to be possessed by Zibebu, Hamu and Dunn I reported that to the Govt.<sup>167</sup>

Saturday, 24 February 1883

To Undini at Cetshwayo's request, interviewed Mnyamana, and a number of the chief men, Tyingana, Ntuzwa, Sekethwayo, Sityaluza, Marubulwana, Mkwaimba, Vumandaba, Hemulana, Mbopa, Godidi<sup>168</sup> and others who desire to have steps taken to recover cattle for the support of the king and household, which were collected by the 13 appointed chiefs from the nation during Cetshwayo's absence,<sup>169</sup> that a Deputation be sent to the Govt. I suggested that first the Governor be asked to receive a deputation. They agreed - that I write by post this was not liked. Osborn did that and no good results<sup>170</sup> and the deputation better follow the application; agreed to my suggestion, to wait reply to application.

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GHZ 682, no. 25: Fynn to Bulwer, 25 February 1883.

GHZ 682, no. 26: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 February 1883.

165) Messengers or adherents of Mnyamana. See Appendix D.

166) The reference to 'the people' in this context probably refers to Cetshwayo's adherents being under Zibhebhu's and Dunn's jurisdiction, thus preventing them from serving Cetshwayo's homestead and returning any cattle lent out to them by the king, prior to his exile.

167) See entries for 29 January and 6 February 1883.

168) See Appendix C.

169) See Introduction, p. 77.

170) See Introduction, pp. 77-80.

Saturday, 24 February 1883

Zibebu per John Eckersley<sup>171</sup> and Malinga Sibiya and Tikajika Kumalo<sup>172</sup> (see Zibebu 20 February 1883)<sup>173</sup> regrets those messengers were struck and ill treated in my presence for my sake, as being an insult to me - that the leader of the offenders Magonondo (Zibebu's first cousin) accused Zibebu of being an Mtakale<sup>174</sup> and other offences uttered and therefore he (Zibebu) intends turning his family out of his (Zibebu's) district, which kraal is situate E. of Manimlope river and is junction of Mkuze river.<sup>175</sup>

Reply written, 'I thank Zibebu for his communication - his former messengers however were not hurt in the least and have apparently exaggerated matters when reporting to Zibebu, I recommend Zibebu and wrote also not to molest Magonondo's family or others or property or crops in the least, and if he does not wish them to remain in his district, he might warn them quietly to move out, after harvesting their own crops.'

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GHZ 682, no. 27: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.

171) John Eckersley ('Dambuza') was Zibhebhu's resident trader and adviser. See Introduction, p. 72; Appendix C.

172) Messengers of Zibhebhu. See Appendix D.

173) See entry for 20 February 1883.

174) An umThakathi was someone who practised witchcraft. See Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. 4, p. xxi.

175) i.e. in the north-east of Zibhebhu's territory. See Appendix A.



Sunday, 25 February 1883

At Undini by Cetshwayo's request and in the presence of Mnyamana and council assembled to hear report of Sekethwayo son of Madinani<sup>176</sup> reports J.W. Shepstone fining Matyana Sikyakuza,<sup>177</sup> 5 large cattle and seizing by impi cattle.<sup>178</sup> 10 Sigananda, 10 Ndwandwe<sup>179</sup> for not appearing when ordered and that J.W. Shepstone sprang at the people<sup>180</sup> who fled but no one actually received any blow. I explained how I had repeatedly urged on Cetshwayo, Mnyamana and Council at Sixebeni assembled that the headmen of Reserve should obey the summons and hear the words of the Govt through J.W. Shepstone and in a respectful way and then make any request or statement in a humble and proper way.<sup>181</sup> That these were fines inflicted for disregard of the repeated summonses, that the term Impi of J.W.S. was untrue, and if messengers or police were sent to confiscate or recover fines, that was not an impi and this messenger deserved punishment for exaggerating he had first alleged, people were injured, had been struck by J.W.S. and that his impi were eating up cattle.<sup>182</sup> But when I questioned him he admitted that he was not present and no one was hurt, and fines were inflicted and messengers sent to fetch the cattle and the case was therefore clear enough.

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GHZ 682, no. 31: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

176) A headman of the Reserve Territory.

177) Possibly Siyunguza, a headman of the Reserve Territory who had originally professed loyalty to John Shepstone. See entry for 7 February 1883.

178) 'Impi' referring here to John Shepstone's police force. See Introduction, p. 87.

179) Sigananda and Ndwandwe were uSuthu supporters. They were chiefs in the Nkandla Forest district of the Reserve Territory.

180) See Introduction, pp. 101-102; Colenso, Digest, pp. 589-599.

181) See entry for 8 February 1883.

182) i.e. confiscating cattle.

Monday, 26 February 1883

Cetshwayo through Mnyamana per Ngogo forwards Marelane and Rubu<sup>183</sup> both of headman or chief Godidi<sup>184</sup> of Reserve Territory to report as follows: That five days ago inclusive (22nd) at Martin Oftebro's, Undini<sup>185</sup> before J.W. Shepstone were assembled a large number of the residents of the Reserve and many headmen still here of the Reserve were represented by substitutes, the assembled people were removed fresh men arriving seated themselves where the others had been previously removed from, and Mr Shepstone springing up, seized a stick near him and struck Magegeba<sup>186</sup> across the arm calling upon his police and people to beat these people, this was done by an attack, the Zulus<sup>187</sup> escaping out of the enclosure, of this office<sup>188</sup>, Kozana, Sunga, Msindo, Zungebeni wounded on their heads, bleeding, Madwaba Mgozini injured on the back, bled from the mouth, Nhlukziswa Ntuli three blows, Sancome Mambata injured on leg by falling. Mafohlozi Gaza whip blow on back, Zabo Xula blow on arm, Mange Nxumalo blow on loin, Somhlovu Nala blow on hip joint, Nohlohlo Nxumalo blow on body.

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GHZ 682, no. 30: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

- 183) Messengers of Cetshwayo and Godide. See Appendix D.
- 184) Godide was an isikhulu and important adviser of Cetshwayo before being placed under Dunn's rule in 1879. He remained an uSuthu supporter. See Appendix C.
- 185) Martin Oftebro was Dr Ommund Oftebro's eldest son. At this time he was possibly resident at his father's mission station at Mahlabathini, north of oNdini. See Appendices A and C.
- 186) A headman of the Reserve Territory.
- 187) i.e. the Reserve Territory chiefs and headmen.
- 188) The list following consists of the Reserve Territory headmen who refused to acknowledge John Shepstone's authority, preferring to be ruled by Cetshwayo while remaining resident in the Reserve. See Introduction, pp. 100-102.

Monday, 26 February 1883

After the flight, all were called back and Mr Shepstone fined Matyana Sikyakuza 5 cattle for delaying to appear sooner,<sup>189</sup> and Mhlukuziswa retained in custody for Godidi whom he represents and who is fined 10 cattle for non-appearance. Sonconco retained for Milise whom he represents and who is fined 10 head. Bahlolozzi retained for Nobiya whom he represents and who is fined 10 head. Muntampofa retained for Zutaka who he represents and who is fined 10 head. Bungane retained for Nongena who he represents and who is fined 10 head.<sup>190</sup> Mr Shepstone informed all the people the Mhlatuse river was the boundary between the Reserve and Zululand<sup>191</sup> and that those who wished to be under Cetshwayo's rule must cross over Mhlatuse with their cattle and the women remaining to them. Their crops will be protected. Siganda, Ndwandwe, fined 10 head each. The foregoing read over and adhered to by Marelane and Rubu before me.

H.F. Fynn. 26/2/83.

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GHZ 682, no. 31: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

189) Shepstone had originally asked that these chiefs meet him on 8 February 1883. See entries for 6 and 8 February 1883.

190) Headmen and chiefs of the Reserve Territory.

191) See Appendices A and B. Colenso noted that Shepstone had already informed the people in the Reserve Territory of these boundaries, prior to Cetshwayo's return. See Colenso, Digest, pp. 423-424.

Monday, 26 February 1883

Zibebu per Mahanjana<sup>192</sup> reports that about 20th inst disappeared 2 bay mares, 2 bay geldings from near his kraal 'Sokuvukini' S.W. of Tuvana drift in his territory<sup>193</sup> and that these horses have been traced across the Black Mfolozi river Zulu country<sup>194</sup> and supposed to be stolen by 2 boys of Magedama of near Maiwana neck.<sup>195</sup> As those boys disappeared at the same time from Giwu's kraal<sup>196</sup> and under suspicious circumstances: these four horses are in addition to the 6 stolen beforeby Magedama's boys which case was reported to Mr Osborn at Rorke's Drift.<sup>197</sup> Meeting Sir H. Bulwer - when Mr Osborn ordered the restoration of the horses but it was never done, Magedama defying Mr Osborn to take them so long as they (Magedama) were alive.

Bangeni to report to Cetshwayo the 4 horses stolen and trace across the Mfolozi that I recommend Cetshwayo provide Police to trace the horses and I will furnish one to help to trace them.

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GHZ 682, no. 28: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.

192) Messenger of Zibhebhu's. See Appendix D.

193) See Appendix A.

194) i.e. near Cetshwayo's territory.

195) 'Magedama' is unidentifiable in this context.

196) 'Giwu' is unidentifiable in this context.

197) See entry for 17 February 1883.

Tuesday, 27 February 1883

Reported, see letter book p. 40/Z28.<sup>198</sup> Mhilwafa<sup>199</sup> arrived and made deposition vide letter book p. 41. copy. Reported letter book page 39 Z27.<sup>200</sup> Read over and translated to Ngogo, Marulane and Rubu in presence of Cetshwayo at Undini and adhered to this 27 Feby 1883.  
Henry F. Fynn. B.R.

Cetshwayo remarks that much has been ommitted in the above<sup>201</sup> the messengers reported to him that Mr Shepstone made allusions to him Cetshwayo and how it it none of this appears in the written report.<sup>202</sup> Rubu states I forgot to give these particulars and will now give them. After we were called back, Mhlukuzisa said to Mr Shepstone, 'Did not your brother say we were to build huts for him (Cetshwayo) when at Mtonjaneni,<sup>203</sup> and now we are being injured. Muntompofa brother of Zutuka also said this. Mr Shepstone said 'you are doing this to yourselves, and so have become injured. You are cheated by that insignificant mad one that Cetshwayo, then has he a country? When

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198) GHZ 682, no. 28: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.

199) A messenger of Fynn. See Appendix D.

200) GHZ 682, no. 28: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 February 1883.

201) Fynn was reporting the statements made by Godide's messengers.

202) The written report encompasses some of the material in entries for 26 and 27 February 1883.

203) BPP C. 3616, enc. in no. 31: T. Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883; Colenso, Digest, pp. 353-354.

Tuesday, 27 February 1883

the country belongs to us? Whom did you overpower and give the country to? Cetshwayo was told and he admitted the boundaries of the Mhlatuse. Is he still king? Is he not then a chief like myself?'  
Read over to Rubu and adhered to and corroborated (sic) by Cetshwayo as being the words given by Rubu.

Marelane states, 'When Mr Shepstone said all those who wished to be adherents of Cetshwayo's must move across the Mhlatuse to him, I said to Mr Shepstone are there then to be two countries, is not the whole country the Queen's and has not the Queen given birth to Cetshwayo bringing him back home.' Mr Shepstone said, 'I will not crouch for Cetshwayo, it is his to crouch for me. I am greater than he is to the Queen.'<sup>204</sup>

Read over and adhered to in presence of Cetshwayo this 27th February 1883 at Undini.

H.F. Fynn. B.R.

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GHZ 682, no. 28: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 February 1883.

204) See Introduction, p. 87.

Tuesday, 27 February 1883

Mhilwafa arrived and made deposition regarding the seizing of 5 horses and 4 cattle from him and those with him in all six by a party of Zugi's people of Baqulusi under Magonodo<sup>205</sup> who also murdered Mahlatini on 22/2/83 and Ndukwana 23/2/83 of Hamu<sup>206</sup> who were provided to drive the four cattle. Myakoyaka Constable of Umsinga<sup>207</sup> was with Mhilwafa whom he had been sent to summon, and is supposed (sic) to have made his escape from Rev. Weber's<sup>208</sup> where he took refuge for concealment.  
See Z29/83 3/3/83.<sup>209</sup>

Wednesday, 28 February 1883

Bangeni sent with Mhilwafa to report the case to Cetshwayo for his action. Bangeni reports Cetshwayo having sent for the parties to appear.

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GHZ 682, no. 29: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

205) See entry for 24 February 1883.

206) Ngenetsheni adherents of Hamu.

207) Eight 'native constables' were employed at Umsinga. See Natal Blue Books, 1883: Civil Establishment Returns.

208) See Introduction, p. 109; Appendix C. Weber was stationed in Zibhebhu's territory with the Hermannsberg Missionary Society.

209) GHZ 682, no. 29: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

Thursday, 1 March 1883

Ntyingwayo reports the above case and that Ndukwana's body was placed near his kraal.

Reply, the case has been put in Cetshwayo's hands and he has taken action.<sup>210</sup> Ntyingwayo should make friends with Cetshwayo, as he is within Cetshwayo's boundary and power.<sup>211</sup>

Friday, 2 March 1883

Bangeni sent to report to Cetshwayo the preceeding and reply.  
Cetshwayo sends 3 more messengers to report themselves to me and proceed to collect the parties in the above murder case. Gabajana's horse died of snake bite.

Saturday, 3 March 1883

Post arrived 10 am from Pomeroy 3 pm 27/2/83. Delayed by rain and rivers.

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GHZ 682, no. 29: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

210) By the conditions of restoration, Cetshwayo was empowered to deal with all criminal matters pertaining to the Zulu under his jurisdiction. See Appendix B.

211) Ntshingwayo had been awarded the territory originally intended for Mnyamana in 1879. In 1883 he was once more under Cetshwayo's jurisdiction.



Saturday, 3 March 1883

Ndida<sup>212</sup> despatched with letters for Pomeroy Post and home.<sup>213</sup> Wrote to Dartnell asking him to send deposition of Myakoyaka<sup>214</sup> to his Excy the Commissioner in conjunction with my despatch no. 29.<sup>215</sup>

Sunday, 4 March 1883

Rain continuous day and night.

Monday, 5 March 1883

Rain continuous day and night. Gabajana's 2nd horse died of horse sickness.

Tuesday, 6 March 1883

Wrote note to Boast,<sup>216</sup> sent Bangeni to Cetshwayo to ask for natives to cut wattles etc. for huts<sup>217</sup> and to find out news. Dr Oftebro forwards Ntyoty<sup>218</sup> who reports the suicide of Mr Arthur Boast at Nhlazatye<sup>219</sup> last evening about 8 pm the 5 March 1883.

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- 212) A messenger of Fynn's. See Appendix D.
- 213) Fynn's family were living at Umsinga during his absence from his post there as Resident Magistrate. See Introduction, p. 16.
- 214) See entry for 27 February 1883.
- 215) GHZ 682, no. 29: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883; See entries for 27 February, 1 and 2 March 1883.
- 216) Arthur Boast, who was living at Nhlazatshe with the missionary Larsen.
- 217) Presumably for Fynn to live in while he was stationed at oNdini. Fynn had up until this time been living under canvas but this became impracticable in the wet conditions.
- 218) A messenger of Oftebro's. See Appendix D.
- 219) See entry for 15 February 1883.

Friday, 9 March 1883

6 am wrote officials,<sup>220</sup> and to Wheelwright<sup>221</sup> to let Dr Boast<sup>222</sup> know giving particulars in case letter to Osborn was delayed, wrote home and to Smith<sup>223</sup> and to Governor about king's cattle and deputation<sup>224</sup> hoping he would receive it so as to understand the case - wrote about poor Boast too and that I would forward depositions next post, not all taken yet, despatched post, told Governor I wanted Smith for sec. but not able to pay his salary.<sup>225</sup> Roda my mare dying of horse sickness.

Heavy rain, tent swamped - drains overflowing. Referred native of reserve (at Undini) to Commissioner<sup>226</sup> at Cetshwayo's request claiming back his cattle seized during his absence through or by Hlubi.<sup>227</sup> Mfanawanhlela reports his mealies being stolen by the Sutu<sup>228</sup> at night, reply, 'report to Cetshwayo and ask his protection.'

Roda unable to return to camp - dying fast and rain continuing steadily.

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GHZ 682, no. 33: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 March 1883.

220) Despatches to Bulwer.

221) W.D. Wheelwright was British Resident in Zululand from September 1879 until March 1880. At this time he was Resident Magistrate of Umvoti County. See Introduction, p. 75.

222) Dr Charles Boast, father of Arthur Boast.

223) See entry for 23 February 1883. Fynn hoped to employ Smith as his clerk.

224) See entry for 24 February 1883.

225) See entry for 25 February 1883.

226) John Shepstone, the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory.

227) Hlubi, like the other appointed chiefs, had confiscated cattle from the royalists in his district. See Introduction, p. 77.

228) i.e. the uSuthu.

Saturday, 10 March 1883

Roda dead and Zinelana's horse. Hamu per Maqabi and Nkutamba<sup>229</sup> reports the murder of Mahlatini and Ndukwana (who were with Mhilwafa)<sup>230</sup> by Baqulusi people, who since have come to attack the kraal of Mcwayo of Hamu<sup>231</sup> near the Baqulusi,<sup>232</sup> but the people of this kraal had fled with the exception of an old man whom they killed and they destroyed the crops. The Baqulusi forces were assembling to attack headmen Mkeza, Nciwana, Msuthu, Sigide<sup>233</sup> and Msebe's people of Hamu at the Hlobane, and Hamu states Sir E. Wood came and the Baqulusi attacked him.<sup>234</sup> Mkosana came back from Cetshwayo and the Baqulusi again attacked him,<sup>235</sup> Cetshwayo came back again and the Baqulusi attack him, it must therefore be true all this is being done by Cetshwayo and now Hamu and his people do not know what to do or where to go and his people wish to defend themselves.

Maqabi and Nkutamba report they heard on their way here that a Boer carriage had come to fetch Hamu to the Transvaal - but they doubt this report, circulated and consider it a Baqulusi excuse for which to attack Hamu.

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GHZ 682, no. 34: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 March 1883.

229) Messengers of Hamu. See Appendix D.

230) See entries for 27 February and 1 and 2 March 1883.

231) Mcwayo kaMangeda had followed Hamu in defecting to the British during the Anglo-Zulu war. See Introduction, p. 60; Appendix C.

232) Situated near the Qulusi resident in Hamu's district.

233) See Appendix C.

234) This refers to the battle of Hlobane on 29 March 1879. See also Introduction, p. 60.

235) Mkhosana had accompanied Cetshwayo into exile but returned to Zululand in February 1881.

Saturday, 10 March 1883

Per Bangeni messengers to report to Cetshwayo through Ngobozana<sup>236</sup> and Mnyamana, to state circumstances - return and report. Mnyamana replies Hamu not to keep aloof, but give up the people to him Cetshwayo now placed by the Queen over them,<sup>237</sup> and come to him himself or by representative. Hamu's action causes blood shed, those concerned in Mhilwafa case<sup>238</sup> to come before Cetshwayo and have case heard and so check further bloodshedding.

11 am

Despatches Z34<sup>239</sup> sent by Mhlabingubo of Hlubi<sup>240</sup> to give to Putine<sup>241</sup> Rorke's Drift to take to Capt Smith as enclosed to him and asking him for envelopes and ink and to send on despatch by first post (letter home). Re Hamu's messengers - Cetshwayo states the people keeping away from him, show they do not recognise him, why is Hamu frightened, Cetshwayo never did him any harm.

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236) Ngobozana was one of Cetshwayo's advisers. See Appendix C.

237) i.e. over Hamu and Mnyamana. This is a pointed reference on Mnyamana's part to the fact that Cetshwayo now had jurisdiction over Hamu.

238) See entries for 27 February and 1 and 2 March 1883.

239) GHZ 682, no. 34: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 March 1883.

240) A messenger or adherent of Hlubi. See Appendix D.

241) A postal runner stationed at Rorke's Drift. See Appendix D.

Sunday, 11 March 1883

Cetshwayo sends these messengers to Hamu to ask Hamu to come and so enable him to preserve peace; or send the people to recognise him Cetshwayo as their king - and also those concerned in the Mhilwafa case to come and the case to be heard. That Hamu's keeping the people away has caused bloodshed, and this will increase, if the people keep aloof from Cetshwayo.

Gabajana sent to accompany these messengers to Hamu - and hear all that takes place - and tell Hamu he is under Cetshwayo's jurisdiction, see Z no. 15<sup>242</sup> to Sir H. Bulwer and Z59,<sup>243</sup> and must therefore recognise him and report to him and preserve peace - and he is responsible for all that goes wrong amongst his people. Vide letter book page 55 12 March 1883<sup>244</sup> forwarded by Makalima<sup>245</sup> at 6 am 12/3/83.

Monday, 12 March 1883

Went to Undini and explained despatch no. 14/83 of 21 February 1883<sup>246</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 34: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 March 1883.

242) GHZ 682, no. 15: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 February 1883, in which Fynn discusses Cetshwayo's jurisdiction over Hamu's territory.

243) GHZ 683, no. 59: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 March 1883, in which Fynn states: 'On the 11th inst (March) I sent a message to Hamu advising him to acknowledge Cetshwayo's authority so long as he remains within his Cetshwayo's district - he replied he had gone over to the English but was willing to acknowledge Cetshwayo's authority.'

244) GHZ 682, no. 35: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 March 1883.

245) One of Fynn's postal runners. See Appendix D.

246) Stuart Papers, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, no. 14: 21 February 1883, in which Bulwer refers to the question of cattle taken from Cetshwayo by Dunn, Hamu and Zibhebhu.

Monday, 12 March 1883

and documents reports<sup>247</sup> conveyed to Cetshwayo and Prime Minister Mnyamana, Cetshwayo said that the half of the cattle of the king's viz Ndaba, Zulu, Malandela, Jama, Senzangakhona, Tyaka, Dingan and Mpande, and Cetshwayo's own taken from Ndabuko<sup>248</sup> had not been taken by the English and were the other side of Bombo Mts,<sup>249</sup> behind Zibebu and collected by him and placed with the Tonga chief Mangaliso,<sup>250</sup> that the proportion of all these were but few which Zibebu gave up to Mr Osborn and others collected by John Dunn when Cetshwayo was in the Cape from Zibebu and Mfanawanhlela<sup>251</sup> - other Zulu people are now without cattle.

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GHZ 682, no. 35: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 March 1883.

- 247) ZA 36, Osborn to Bulwer, 18 February 1883; ZA 37, Osborn to Bulwer, 6 January 1883; Shepstone Papers, 49: Bulwer to Shepstone, 8 January 1883; Shepstone Papers, 49: Bulwer to Shepstone, 28 December 1882; Shepstone Papers, 50: Bulwer to Shepstone, 16 January 1883.
- 248) See Introduction, pp. 36-37. Cetshwayo had inherited these royal cattle on his accession in 1873. He had clearly appropriated some of Ndabuko's herds as well.
- 249) i.e. the Lubombo Mountains to the north-east of Zibhebhu's district. See Appendix A.
- 250) Zibhebhu had taken Cetshwayo's cattle for safe-keeping during the war. See Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 72-75.
- 251) Dunn in his capacity as an appointed chief, had collected large numbers of cattle, theoretically to hand over to the British Resident. See entry for 29 January 1883.

Monday, 12 March 1883

Sekethwayo, Vumandaba, Ntuywa, Mbopa, Mtyapane, Hemlane, Sityaluza.<sup>252</sup>  
Mnyamana explained having given up the cattle he had collected in (Hlubi's) Sihayo's district<sup>253</sup> - Hamu has never given up the cattle as ordered by Sir E. Wood<sup>254</sup> - Cetshwayo and these chiefs alleged that since the Military had left the Zulu country over three years ago,<sup>255</sup> the appointed chiefs and more especially Dunn, Zibebu and Hamu had constantly been collecting cattle from the Zulu people, under various forms, such as surrender of king's cattle, fines and confiscations, eating up, cattle from each head of kraal, as representing an oath, that such person thereby declared he had disgorged all king's cattle.<sup>256</sup> That these collections amount to some thousands, and of the king's cattle only a few had been given up by these chiefs, to Mr Wheelwright and Mr Osborn.<sup>257</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 35: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 March 1883.

252) See Appendix C.

253) Mnyamana had refused an appointment as one of Wolseley's chiefs in 1879 but had assisted in collecting royal cattle to hand over to the British Resident, Melmoth Osborn. See Introduction, p. 77.

254) At the meeting at Nhlazatshe in August 1881, Wood had ordered Hamu to give up the 700 head of royal cattle he had collected to the British Resident. See BPP C. 3182, enc. E in no. 65: Wood to Kimberley, 31 August 1881; GHZ 677, no. 108: Osborn to Wood, 19 September 1881. Following this request, there were constant demands that Hamu give up these cattle. See BPP C. 3466, no. 93: Bulwer to Kimberley, 8 September 1882; BPP C. 3466, enc. in no. 93: Osborn to Bulwer, 19 August 1882; BPP C. 3616, no. 10: Osborn to Bulwer, 6 January 1883.

255) BPP C. 2482, enc. in no. 104: Wolseley to the War Office, 11 September, 1879.

256) See entry for 29 January 1883 and Introduction, pp. 77-78.

257) In their respective capacities as British Resident in Zululand from September 1879 to January 1883.

Monday, 12 March 1883

Went to Undini with Despatch no. 14 again.<sup>258</sup> Result corrected see letter book p. 56.<sup>259</sup> Cetshwayo reports 3 Boers having arrived come to see him. Reply thank Cetshwayo.

Tuesday, 13 March 1883

Went to Dr Oftebro's. Sent Bangeni to invite Boers. Boers had gone before Bangeni got to Undini. Left Oftebro's to return home at dusk, signed deposition .<sup>260</sup>

Cetshwayo per Mpukwana<sup>261</sup> forwards Putaza and Nvunyatwa (of late Masipula)<sup>262</sup> as sent by Maboko (Masipula's son)<sup>263</sup> to tell Cetshwayo Mbopa and Mkontofala<sup>264</sup> came to Gambutya a son of Masipula residing at the Magudu Mts near Pongolo river (Zibebu's district) said Zibebu sent them to say all Masipula's people and the Bantubensome people near the Vunhla mt<sup>265</sup> are to remove out of Zibebu's district, and go into Cetshwayo's. That Zibebu is going to occupy the country about the Magudu and Vunhla mt in a month. It was given to him as Cetshwayo's district was given to him.<sup>266</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 35: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 March 1883.

258) See Footnote 226 above.

259) GHZ 682, no. 35: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 March 1883.

260) See entry for 11 March 1883.

261) A messenger of Cetshwayo's. See Appendix D.

262) See Appendix C.

263) Mabhoko kaMasiphula was an Emgazini chief and an uSuthu supporter who was placed under Zibhebhu's rule in 1883. See Appendix C.

264) Mbopha kaWolizibi was an uSuthu supporter living in Zibhebhu's district. See Appendix C.

265) See Appendix A.

266) See Appendices A and B.



Tuesday, 13 March 1883

Mbopa and Mkontofala also said that Zibebu said Cetshwayo's impi was not to come to Zibebu first one side and then the other, but come direct and face him, Zibebu would fight Cetshwayo, and the unborn child would only be left to say 'I said so Zibebu told you the Country was his and Zululand would be traversed by the Mtonga people.'<sup>267</sup>

Mbopa and Mkontofala said also, that it was the Zulus Cetshwayo's adherents<sup>268</sup> who said he Zibebu was going to Ngila of Setyangana's and to the Boers. Maboko denied this and replied it was Zibebu's people said this and not Zulus (Zibebu and Ngila of Setyangana are on very friendly terms, and mixed up in trading).<sup>269</sup>

Read over and interpreted and adhered to by Nvunyatwa, Putaza and Mungelwa<sup>270</sup> before me this 14/3/83.<sup>271</sup> H.F. Fynn. B.R.

Witness Bangeni/Zinelana.

Reply per Bangeni and messengers - I thank Cetshwayo for forwarding the messengers to me and I will acquaint His Excellency. Zibebu has a right to warn people to remove out of his district he has been given the charge of by Her Majesty's Govt. The rest of the information regarding

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GHZ 682, no. 37: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 March 1883.

267) i.e. the Tsonga tributary tribes to the north-east of Zululand.

268) i.e. the uSuthu supporters.

269) 'Ngila of Setyangana' is unidentifiable in this context.

270) Mabhoko's messengers. See previous page.

271) Fynn wrote the above entry on 13 March but added the signature and witnesses on 14 March.

Tuesday, 13 March 1883

threats etc I consider has been exaggerated by people themselves for ill purposes, and I hope Cetshwayo will be of the same opinion, and discourage (sic) such acts, done to provoke disturbances. The people warned to quit should solicit Zibebu to permit them to harvest their crops before leaving his country.

Wednesday, 14 March 1883

Went to Undini. Special messenger Basobenyoni<sup>272</sup> arrived with despatches.

Thursday, 15 March 1883

Messenger Basobenyoni sent back with despatches to Pomeroy/Umsinga (noon).

Wrote to Dartnell and Knight in re Mhilwafa and Smith.<sup>273</sup>

Went to Cetshwayo with Despatches 20.21.22.23.24.26.28.29 and Confidential.<sup>274</sup>

No. 26 not mentioned to Cetshwayo as referring to anyone but to all, see paragraph 4 of Z43.<sup>275</sup> See replies letter register 40.41.42.43.44.<sup>276</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 37: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 March 1883.

272) See Appendix D.

273) See entries for 27 February, 1 and 2 March 1883.

274) Despatches from Bulwer to Fynn. Only no. 28 appears in the Stuart Papers in which Bulwer mentions the plundering of Mfanawendlela's crops by the uSuthu. Stuart Papers, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, no. 23: 2 March 1883.

275) GHZ 682, no. 43: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883. Paragraph 4 states: 'I explained to Cetshwayo that all people desirous of entering his district from the Reserve or elsewhere, are freely permitted to do so with all their property, and he Cetshwayo by the conditions under which he has been restored is required to allow persons to remove out of his district with their property freely and without interference.'

276) GHZ 683, no. 40: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883; no. 41: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883; no. 42: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883; no. 43: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883; no. 44: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883.

Friday, 16 March 1883

Post arrived at noon, Barry dead.<sup>277</sup> Sent to Cetshwayo for any to come and hear Zibebu boundry (sic) explained.<sup>278</sup>

Cetshwayo per Maqandela and Bangambi<sup>279</sup> reporting that Maqabi, Ngatsha, Siunyaka of Baqulusi<sup>280</sup> came to report. That about a few days ago the Chief Msebe formerly of the Baqulusi but now of Hamu came with an armed force and seized cattle from three kraals - Mlandela, Zwangendaba and Mzenya<sup>281</sup> (25 and calves) of Baqulusi.

Reply - Cetshwayo to preserve peace and prevent depredations, which began to be reported the very day of his installation 29 Jany 1883<sup>282</sup> and should have been stopped then in between Baqulusi and Hamu on 26 Jany 1883 (27).<sup>283</sup> This report not credited on enquiry, but supposed (sic) to be reported so as to make an excuse for attacking Hamu.

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GHZ 533, no. 45: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883. Confidential.

277) One of Fynn's horses.

278) See entry for 15 March 1883.

279) Messengers of Cetshwayo. See Appenidix D.

280) Qulusi adherents.

281) Adherents of Mlandela. See Appendix C.

282) See entries for 29 and 30 January 1883.

283) See entry for 29 January 1883; GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 January 1883.

Saturday, 17 March 1883

Gabajana returned.<sup>284</sup> 8.45 am post sent off with despatches 40.41.42.  
43. 44.45.<sup>285</sup> and long private letter to Governor as to my views of  
state of Zulu affairs and asking them for £200 for Sec. (Smith)<sup>286</sup>  
and sent him copy to read and return in strict confidence.<sup>287</sup>

Cetshwayo per Marubulwana and Nhuku<sup>288</sup> reports and sends his informants Tamletshi and Tyatya of Baqulusi<sup>289</sup> that 4 armed forces of Hamu's from his kraal had attacked 4 kraals of Baqulusi - killing 6 and wounding 2 persons, those of Mkosana, Nglana, Holozana<sup>290</sup> fled in time. One kraal burnt and perhaps persons in the huts, this force at Hlobane, and against the Baqulusi.<sup>291</sup> That Cetshwayo says he was brought back to rule over where Hamu is but Hamu is acting against him and he Cetshwayo will remain still as he was told to do, but reports the spilling of the blood of his people - who were killed by Hamu for asking for Cetshwayo's return and he Cetshwayo wanted to bring back the Transvaal Zulus back to their homes peacibly (sic) and from where Hamu drove them.<sup>292</sup>

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GHZ 682, no. 46: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883.

284) Gabajana had been sent to Cetshwayo the previous day.

285) See entry for 15 March 1883. GHZ 682, nos 40-44: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883 and no. 45: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 March 1883. Confidential.

286) See entry for 23 February 1883.

287) i.e. sent a copy to Smith.

288) Messengers of Cetshwayo. See Appendix D.

289) Qulusi messengers reporting to Cetshwayo.

290) uSuthu adherents. See Appendix C on Mkhosana.

291) Many Qulusi adherents lived in the area of Hlobane Mountain.

292) The Qulusi had been driven into the Transvaal since late 1879.

Saturday, 17 March 1883

Reply. I will report to the Governor. I remind him of what I told him within a day or two after his installation in re Z7 <sup>293</sup> and other depredations, that troubles began by words, and if they were not stopped sharp they grew and spread like a spark in dry grass, when he said it was very true what I said 'a frown bred words of anger'. Cetshwayo must make his adherents remain quiet and keep to his conditions. People are to be allowed peaceably (sic) to remove with their property into or out of Cetshwayo's boundaries.

About 11 am

See Z46 Hamu and Baqulusi.<sup>294</sup> Cetshwayo's report and my reply. Letter book p. 68 and Z49 meeting with Ultra Sutus.<sup>295</sup> Boundaries and restoration Laws explained. Full report sent see Letter book p. 70.<sup>296</sup>

Sunday, 18 March 1883

10 am

The forgoing sent off by messenger Malinga furnished by Cetshwayo to Matyana to forward speedily to RM office Umsinga;<sup>297</sup> address to Capt Smith, wrote home.

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GHZ 683, no. 46: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883.

293) See entries for 29 January, and 1 February 1883.

294) See details on previous page, entry for 17 March 1883.

295) On 17 March, Fynn met the uSuthu leaders at oNdini and explained the restoration laws and boundaries to them.

296) GHZ 683, no. 49: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883.

297) See Appendix D.

Sunday, 18 March 1883

Ntyingwayo reports by two messengers.<sup>298</sup> Sutu of Hlezibane<sup>299</sup>

Impi seizing cattle of 12 kraals near him on the plea they said 'that he Ntyingwayo was going away with the king's cattle' but this is not true, they further said that they were on the lookout for Hamu to prevent his departure with the king's cattle.

Reply, report to Cetshwayo and the ruler of the district in which Ntyingwayo is at present and all I said in Z47.<sup>300</sup> Told them Ntyingwayo was going along the crooked paths in the long grass like an Insingisi hen saying as they do 'Ngi ya hamba' (I am going), in place of reverencing the ruler under whom he was at present, and now Cetshwayo as the male Insingisi says to him, 'Kade u tsho' (Why don't you go?)<sup>301</sup> He must at once acknowledge Cetshwayo as his ruler so long as he is in his district and seek redress from him, and solicit leave to go when he wishes to go, and with his property as provided.

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GHZ 683, no. 48: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883.

298) See Appendix D.

299) Hlezibane was head of the Emgazini lineage and a strong uSuthu supporter. See Appendix C.

300) GHZ 683, no. 47: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883; See entry for 17 March 1883.

301) This is a reference to the cry of the ground hornbill. See R.G. Dunning, Two hundred and sixty-four Zulu proverbs, and the cries of thirty seven birds (Durban, 1946).

Sunday, 18 March 1883

The forgoing and what I said in Z47 told also to messenger from Hlangamiso and Mmqandi and Mtshupane and Mhengu and Baleni of Ziqosa party.<sup>302</sup> Called upon to help build the king's kraal - and Zinelana sent to explain my address in Z47.<sup>303</sup>

Bangeni sent to Cetshwayo (usual compliments) and asking that if he and all at Undini will favour me with their ears and hearts without arguing I desire to repeat all I said to Ultra Sutu vide Z47.<sup>304</sup> Bangeni reports willingness to hear - and being present at interview between Kamgana of Ntyingwayo with Cetshwayo who ordered the restoration of the cattle to Ntyingwayo and the replacing of any difficiency (sic) after explaining goodwill towards Ntyingwayo.<sup>305</sup>

Monday, 19 March 1883

Went in with Dr Oftebro's cart to Undini to address Cetshwayo and then the people see Z49 letter book p. 78.<sup>306</sup> Mfanawanhlela's corn at Mpande's grave<sup>307</sup> reported destroyed by Impi and Mfanawanhlela intermates (sic) fear of being attacked and will flee to me for safety of life.

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GHZ 683, no. 48: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883.

302) uSuthu adherents.

303) i.e. the conditions of restoration and the boundaries of Cetshwayo's territory. See entry for 17 March 1883.

304) See entry for 17 March 1883.

305) See entry for 19 February 1883.

306) GHZ 683, no. 49: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883.

307) See entry for 13 February 1883.

Tuesday, 20 March 1883

Bangeni sent to Cetshwayo to say I hear of the forgoing and await his action.

Bangeni reports, Cetshwayo gave orders that Mnyamana enquire into the matter. Bangeni watched and saw the Nqakamatye<sup>308</sup> bringing up bundles of mealies from concealment and called upon Mnyamana and the other chiefs to see for themselves the truth of the mealies having been plundered, and saw it was true. The Nqakamatye were then called up and were attending to the matter having been to Cetshwayo after seeing the stolen mealies. Mnyamana said to Bangeni, how true those words were yesterday of the child of the whiteman 'That a child was punished by a father and when the child was obedient to his father's requirements then a father listened to his child's requests.'<sup>309</sup>

Per Gabajana and Lucisa<sup>310</sup> - to Hamu and all others - General Notice -  
Unto whomsoever it may concern - under and by virtue of authority duly vested - I hereby require that all persons in possession of cattle known as 'the king's cattle' shall forthwith deliver the same to the British Resident (with Cetshwayo) as the lawful property of Her Majesty's Government (also all firearms) and to be dealt with in accordance with instructions.<sup>311</sup>

Henry F. Fynn. British Resident with Cetshwayo.

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GHZ 683, no. 50: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 March 1883.

308) Possibly refers to the Nqakamatshe regiment, founded by Mpande in 1867. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 406.

309) The source of this is unclear.

310) Fynn's messengers. See Appendix D.

311) See entry for 12 March 1883.



Tuesday, 20 March 1883

Letter book p. 70.<sup>312</sup> Gabajana to explain to Hamu all I had said to the Ultra Sutu 17/3/83 Z47<sup>313</sup> and to Cetshwayo and then the headmen at Undini Z49 19 March 1883. Letter book p. 78.<sup>314</sup>

Information that people of Maru see list Z47<sup>315</sup> had seized cattle in Zibebu's district, but that Maru (one of a large number I had spoken to 31 January 1883 at Sixebeni regarding depredations),<sup>316</sup> at once restored the cattle saying he had heard the law and would not be mixed up in depredation and boundary questions.

Thursday, 22 March 1883

Received Letter and copies of lease from H.J. Nunn 7/3/83 acknowledging my letter 30 Jany 1883<sup>317</sup> and reporting his immediately in terms of same, advised Hamu of the necessity and advisability of keeping quiet and peaceable. Baqulusi however not ceased their robberies and murders.

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GHZ 683, no. 50: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 March 1883.

312) GHZ 683, no. 49: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883 and enclosures.

313) See entry for 17 March 1883.

314) See entries for 17, 18 and 19 March 1883.

315) See GHZ 683, no. 47: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883.

316) See entry for 31 January 1883; GHZ 682, no. 7: Fynn to Bulwer, 1 February 1883.

317) See entry for 29 January 1883.

Thursday, 22 March 1883

Enclose copies of agreement Hamu leasing a farm on Pemvana for £20 per annum without further right or title to said farm or by reason of further title from Transvaal Govt to Gert Wilhelm as exclusive compensation from Transvaal.<sup>318</sup> Also leave lease to J.H. Robberts and to Henry Carle near Pemvana and Bivana 20 April 1882.<sup>319</sup> And reporting trespass by Boers and damage done by them.\*

Read letter from J. Eckersley, Dambuza reporting Sutu people had surrounded a bush suposing (sic) Zibebu to be inside - subsequently surrounded a kraal Tokotoko's<sup>320</sup> and fired into the huts, the people had fled, a shot killed a goat in the hut. The offenders belong to Maru. Cattle from kraal of Tokotoko were seized by this impi who also attacked 5 men (of Eckersley's)<sup>321</sup> killed one and wounded another, another they took to herd the captured cattle. This took place in Zibebu's district.

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GHZ 683, no. 51: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 52: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 March 1883.

- 318) Gert Wilhelm was a Transvaal Boer, farming illegally in Hamu's district. In his letter Nunn included a copy of the agreement between Hamu and Wilhelm which stated: 'The chief Hamu agrees to let and Mr Gert Wilhelm agrees to hire the farm on the Umpomfo River Zulu side on which the said Wilhelm has erected a store at the yearly rental of twenty pounds sterling and that this hiring gives no right or title to the land in question, and does not affect any right the aforesaid Wilhelm may have to compensation from the English or Transvaal governments in consequence of his original title from the Transvaal govt embracing any of the land in question.'
- 319) Contained in GHZ 683, no. 51: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 March 1883.
- 320) Tokotoko was related to Zibhebhu, and was possibly a brother of Maphitha. See Appendix C.
- 321) In his manuscript, Fynn has put question marks next to this sentence, indicating that the information is uncertain.

Friday, 23 March 1883

See 2 April 1883 and Z58 for report sent.<sup>322</sup> Zinelana, Sikwatshu and Mhilwafa<sup>323</sup> left for Umsinga. Orders given by Cetshwayo for 4 cattle and 3 horses to be restored to Mhilwafa.<sup>324</sup>

Saturday, 24 March 1883

10 am post arrived, left Pomeroy 11.30 pm 21 March 1883. Sent to Cetshwayo to ask him to give up the 2 wagons as soon as possible and let J.W. Godfrey start<sup>325</sup> - orders given to Godfrey written (and copy sent to Sir H.B.) to start and report himself to officer at Etshowe<sup>326</sup> and deliver my orders. Cetshwayo says in 3 days he will discharge the wagons.

Bangeni to tell Cetshwayo Governor glad he has sent for offenders or murderers of Ndukwana and Mahlatini<sup>327</sup> and I hope he will punish them. Bangeni reports - no reply.

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322) GHZ 683, no. 58: Fynn to Bulwer, 29 March 1833; entry for 2 April 1883.

323) See Appendix D.

324) See entry for 2 April 1883.

325) Wagons were lent to Cetshwayo by the British government in January 1883. See BPP C. 3616, enc. in no. 31: T. Shepstone to Bulwer, 27 February 1883. J.W. Godfrey was possibly a carpenter from Pietermaritzburg. See Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1883.

326) Possibly referring to the Resident Commissioner, John Shepstone.

327) See entries for 27 February, 1 and 2 March 1883.

Sunday, 25 March 1883

Post sent off 5 am.

Cetshwayo forwards Tyalimana of Maboko son of late Masipula<sup>328</sup> of kraal near Dhlomohlomo in Zibebu's territory who reports that Zibebu with an armed force was on Friday 23rd March 1883 near Kumbentele kraal of Maboko<sup>329</sup> and said he did not wish to fight, but to assert his authority within his district, and to deal with Maru who's (sic) people resist his authority<sup>330</sup> and have plundered cattle of Manipa son of late Tokotoko uncle of Zibebu, Mapita family and warns Maboko against any attempt to resist his authority - Maru's crops damaged by Zibebu's force. Maru has restored all cattle to Manipu son of late Tokotoko.<sup>331</sup> Faku, Cetshwayo's messenger<sup>332</sup> informs me, a report has arrived to the effect Zibebu and his force returned to their homes on Friday 23rd.

Remark - retire most probably consequent to my reply to Zibebu on 22nd-see Z52 letter book p.88 and 89.<sup>333</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 53: Fynn to Bulwer, 25 March 1883.

328) See Appendix C on Masiphula.

329) In the north of Zibhebhu's territory. See Appendix A.

330) See entry for 20 March 1883.

331) See Appendix C on Tokotoko.

332) See Appendix D.

333) GHZ 683, no. 52: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 March 1883. Fynn reported that he had sent a message to Zibhebhu telling him not to force uSuthu adherents to leave his district.

Sunday, 25 March 1883

Reply - Zibebu has been graciously appointed to rule over a district the boundaries of which are well known and all within must reverence his authority so long as they choose to remain in his district and will be allowed to remove if they wish, and with all their property or 'valisa'.<sup>334</sup> Zibebu is bound to preserve order and will punish those who commit offences in his district and is responsible to the Queen for proper Rule, in the same way as the European ruler in the Reserve<sup>335</sup> and Cetshwayo is within his district. Those who resist the Laws are injuring Cetshwayo.

Makalina returned<sup>336</sup> with letter from Knight accompanied by Fuzinhlu.<sup>337</sup>

Monday, 26 March 1883

Gabajana returned from Hamu, see 20/3/83. No cattle.<sup>338</sup> An Impi from Baqulusi with those in charge of Magondo of Pongiso and in charge of Mahonanhana<sup>339</sup> in charge of Buthelezi sec. Mnyamana<sup>340</sup> had been about to pounce upon Hamu on the plea he was escaping with the king's cattle,<sup>341</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 53: Fynn to Bulwer, 25 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883.

334) Valelisa is to bade farewell. Fynn's meaning in this context is slightly obscure.

335) The Resident Commissioner, John Shepstone.

336) See entry for 18 March 1883.

337) See Appendix D.

338) See entry for 20 March 1883.

339) See Appendix C on Mahanana kaMpande.

340) Mnyamana was chief of the Buthelezi clan.

341) See entry for 11 March 1883.

Monday, 26 March 1883

but he presented himself (his families having fled) and the Impi retired. Hamu acknowledges Cetshwayo - he says (when it is convenient). An Impi consisting of Mnyamana's people under a son of Mnyamana's and of Hlezibane<sup>342</sup> are watching Ntyingwayo on the plea he is going to escape with Cetshwayo's cattle,<sup>343</sup> but he reports he has none and does not know of any. An Impi consisting of the young men of Mnyamana are on their way to Ziweddu for orders to act upon Zibebu on the plea he is fleeing to join Hamu.

Bangeni sent off at once to Cetshwayo to say I have intimation of the 3 armed forces being out and if this information be untrue I will know by hearing there is no such force out for I shall hear of them if anything happens and I warn him against there being any armed forces out. Also Bangeni to request that Cetshwayo will be good enough to recover the horses stolen from Zibebu<sup>344</sup> and if he sends five men I will endeavour to point them out, and if he will restore these horses to Zibebu, it will give me great pleasure to report such good action to the Government.

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GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883.

342) See Appendix C on Hlezibane.

343) See entry for 18 March 1883.

344) See entry for 26 February 1883.

Monday, 26 March 1883

Replies - Cetshwayo asserts that there is no Impi, armed force out as I state, and will see about the matter of the 10 horses.

Reported private note in re Impi.<sup>345</sup> Wrote to Sir H. Bulwer in re jurisdiction of B.R. under 1st and 2nd paragraph of clause 10 of terms of restoration.<sup>346</sup>

Tuesday, 27 March 1883

J.W. Godfrey and Govt wagons started from Undini.<sup>347</sup> Ncomane<sup>348</sup> with letter to H.J. Nunn acknowledging his of the 7th recd on the 22nd<sup>349</sup> and sent on to Spec. Commis.<sup>350</sup> and suggesting Nunn see Cetshwayo himself about his own affairs. Forest etc.<sup>351</sup> Ncomane to observe what is going on,<sup>352</sup> call at Mgojana's, tell him I have been expecting him.<sup>353</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883.

345) i.e. the forces mentioned earlier in the entry for 26 March 1883.

346) Clause 10 of the conditions of restoration stated that Cetshwayo should, in all cases concerning British subjects, 'appeal to and abide by the decision of the British Resident; and in all cases where accusations of offences or crimes committed in my territory are brought against British subjects or against my people in relation to British subjects, I will hold no trial and pass no sentence except with the approval of such British Resident.' See Appendix B.

347) See entry for 24 March 1883.

348) See Appendix D.

349) See entry for 22 March 1883.

350) i.e. Sir Henry Bulwer.

351) In his letter of 7 March, Nunn stated: 'I wish to know how I shall stand as regards the Ngome forest - I have had the exclusive right of sawing under Hamu.' This letter is contained in GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883.

352) i.e. the situation in Hamu's territory where Nunn lived.

353) See entry for 15 February 1883.

Wednesday, 28 March 1883

Despatches 54.55.56.<sup>353</sup> sent off by Fuzenhla of Zinelana 5.30 am.

Bangeni (and Makaliwa) sent to Mnyamana and Cetshwayo (see Z56 clause 7 page 94)<sup>354</sup> to say I again tell him Cetshwayo of the three Impi, and I warn him of his being responsible for these forces being out, and for any breach of the Peace and to remember this warning is to save him from trouble.

In reply to my message per Bangeni in re Impi - Cetshwayo per Bangeni, Tyebilika and Ngwegweni,<sup>355</sup> replies that Ndabuko and Tyankiezwe Mnyamana's son<sup>356</sup> fled in the night of 26th, that Mnyamana was ordered to report to me this escape and that Ndabuko and Tyankiezwe have been sent after.

Reply - I repeat my warning of this morning to Cetshwayo. That the Government hold Cetshwayo personally responsible for any disturbance committed in or beyond his district by his subjects including all persons within his district, he is held responsible for the preservation of peacefulness - my warning is done in kindness and for his future prosperity and I trust he will at once take action to stop any disturbance - Ndabuko is his child and Tyankiezwe is the child of his Prime Minister Mnyamana - I have not received any intimation of Ndabuko and Tyankiezwe

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GHZ 683, no. 57: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 March 1883.

353) GHZ 683, no. 54: Fynn to Bulwer, 25 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 55: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883.

354) GHZ 683, no. 56: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 March 1883, Clause 7 states: 'I have sent a messenger to Hamu's, pass at Mgojana's to see what is going on, and will warn Cetshwayo tomorrow morning of his responsibility for any armed forces existing in his district, and for the preservation of peace.'

355) See Appendix D.

356) See Appendix C on Tshanibezwe kaMnyamana.



Wednesday, 28 March 1883

having fled - and this (childish affair or nursery tale) plan will not do - people have been mustered by orders from Undini for days and to join at Ziwedus and when ready Ndabuko and Tyankiezwe go to join them, time will soon show if this is not true, what I say is well known at Undini by all, I hope it will turn out that I am misinformed and cannot see.<sup>357</sup>\*

Thursday, 29 March 1883

Despatches of 23rd arrived per boy of Matyana Mondisa<sup>358</sup> 6 pm.

Cetshwayo sends two messengers to say that they are on their way to call back the Impi from going towards Zibebu, and desire I should send a man with them - that Cetshwayo has sent off seven times and this is the eighth time to call back the Impi from going to Zibebu.

Reply - I cannot send a messenger,<sup>359</sup> it is Cetshwayo's business to prevent the Impi going or even to have assembled, and he is responsible for every action of his people.

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GHZ 683, no. 57: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 58: Fynn to Bulwer, 29 March 1883.

357) Ndabuko was Cetshwayo's full brother. Fynn's meaning here is that Ndabuko is Cetshwayo's responsibility.

358) See Appendix D.

359) Fynn's messengers were already gathering information elsewhere at this time. Fynn was also reluctant to interfere in a matter which he considered was entirely Cetshwayo's responsibility.

Friday, 30 March 1883

Cetshwayo per Ngwegweni states he knows nothing of the Impi armed forces - acting on their own responsibility, they were, and have been fighting, Zibebu against them, before he Cetshwayo returned to the Zulu Country,<sup>360</sup> and that the people who are not Zibebu's were never shown the boundary, made by Zibebu and a white man<sup>361</sup> - that he Cetshwayo has said all along Zulus object to have more than one Chief to rule over them. That at Mtonjaneni installation the Zulus told Sir Theophilus Shepstone they did not know Zibebu's boundary and that Zibebu had killed a man<sup>362</sup> but Sir Theo. Shepstone gave no reply to these two points, and that I (Mr Fynn) was telling him Cetshwayo he was responsible for the Impi, in the same way as was done when Mhlokazulu crossed the Buffalo river with an Impi, without his knowledge<sup>363</sup> and begs me not to report against him to the Government, as he still hopes I came to protect and stand by him. To whom did I come, him Cetshwayo the lesser at Undini, or Zibebu the Greater, that I should say Zibebu had a Country - and give way to Zibebu and favor (sic) him. He Cetshwayo has sent 10 messengers to call back the Impi, which acts without his knowledge but they pay no attention and he wishes the Govt. to be informed of this and he swears he has no knowledge of this Impi.

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GHZ 683, no. 60: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 March 1883.

360) See Introduction, pp. 77-82.

361) Fynn had explained the boundaries to the uSuthu leaders on 17 and 18 March. J.E. Fannin had originally marked out these new boundaries in January 1883, having been appointed to do so by Bulwer. See BPP C. 3466, no. 153: Bulwer to Fannin, 21 December 1882. The uSuthu leaders had refused to be present when Fannin showed Zibhebhu the boundary beacons in January 1883.

362) This does not appear in the installation reports. See entries for 29 and 30 January 1883.

363) This refers to Mehlokazulu kaSihayo, who crossed illegally into Natal in July 1878 to arrest his father's wives. See Laband and Thompson, The Buffalo Border, p. 31.

Friday, 30 March 1883

Cetshwayo replies per my messenger Bangeni that he has heard from Ndabuko and Tyankiezwe that they will try and bring back the Impi. Cetshwayo says the Impi consists of people of Mnyamana, Gazini of Cetshwayo, Masipula and Mgojana,<sup>364</sup> and that he has heard these forces and Zibebu's had faced each other, but Zibebu's had retired but his mounted men had fired upon the Sutu forces - and he thinks that by today a battle will have taken place.<sup>365</sup> That he Cetshwayo has all along told me (the B.R.) that blood would be shed and that it began while he Cetshwayo was away and the Impi of Zibebu had mowed down Maru's corn in Masipula's country<sup>366</sup> and the people are defending their crops - and Zibebu is constantly saying insulting things about him Cetshwayo.

Bangeni sent to Cetshwayo to say I have explained the boundary between him and Zibebu and the other boundaries between him and the new Reserve to the Sutu, and other men assembled at Undini.<sup>367</sup> That boundary is beacons off by the Government<sup>368</sup> and he Cetshwayo bound himself to respect the boundaries of the 3 districts of Zulu Country - and to

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GHZ 683, no. 60: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 March 1883.

364) These contingents probably consisted of components of Cetshwayo's regiments. The 'Gazini' are the Egazini, an important royal section, headed by Hlezibane.

365) The battle of Msebe did in fact take place on 30 March 1883. Fynn received most of his information at the beginning of April. See entries for 4 and 5 April 1883; Introduction, p. 105.

366) Maru had been in conflict with the Mandlakazi for some time. See entry for 20 March 1883.

367) See entries for 17 and 18 March 1883.

368) See entry for 30 March 1883, Footnote 361 above.

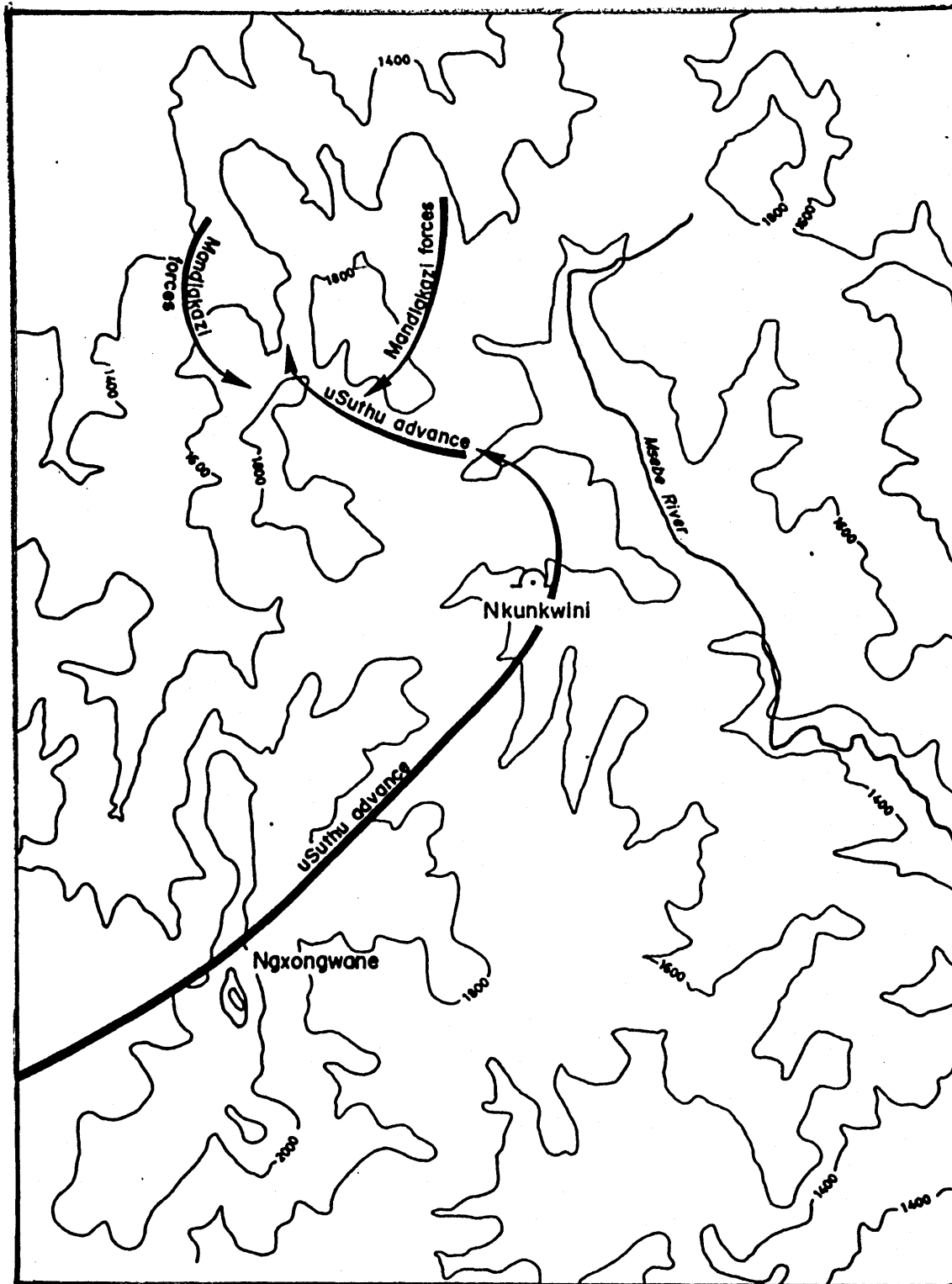
Friday, 30 March 1883

keep all conditions under which Her Majesty's Government graciously brought him back - and which I have so constantly explained to him from the documents themselves and I am sent by the Government to do this, I have done so and continue to urge upon him to adhere to all the terms (laws) of his restoration, and I am doing my duty as his friend - and I tell him again and again the Government hold him personally responsible for any breach or breaking of the laws of his restoration, including any disturbance committed in or beyond his district by his adherents or people within his district. It is his own people now in force against Zibebu he cannot find fault and argue with the Government, for what they have done, he accepted their terms and great kindness has been done for him, than was ever done by Tyaka to any he conquered - he and his councillors assistance to him can keep the peace and respect the Laws and boundaries if he is determined to do so. All people must respect the Ruler appointed by Government over the district in which they choose to remain.

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THE BATTLE OF MSEBE

30 MARCH 1883



PART II

FROM THE BATTLE OF MSEBE TO THE BATTLE OF ONDINI

(31 MARCH TO 21 JULY 1883)

Saturday, 31 March 1883

Gabajana sent to Hamu to induce him to be friendly with and recognise Cetshwayo as per instructions in Despatch no. 41 17/3/83<sup>1</sup> and failing which he may go to the Reserve see Z48.<sup>2</sup> Also to warn Hamu that the Transvaal Govt communicate through the English Govt that the Transvaal Govt strongly object to his taking refuge there, as per minute 22/3/83 and telegram from Cape 20/3/83 received from B.R. of Transvaal 17th March 1883.<sup>3</sup>

Cetshwayo reports per Ngwegweni that Tadafada a brother of Zibebu's<sup>4</sup> has been to Mr J.W. Shepstone for leave to attack Cetshwayo and destroy Undini, and that this leave has been granted and that Mr J.W. Shepstone has told all those people in the Reserve who do not wish to recognise Cetshwayo that they are to be prepared and support (sic) Zibebu as soon as they hear he is attacking, but that none of the people in the Reserve who recognise him Cetshwayo have been told of this, and Cetshwayo desires me to report this to your Excellency and to say he has nothing to do with the Impi against Zibebu.

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GHZ 683, no. 61: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 March 1883.

- 1) See GHZ 683, no. 41: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883; entry for 17 March 1883.
- 2) See entries for 17, 18 and 19 March 1883.
- 3) BPP C. 3616, enc. A in no. 43: Hudson to Robinson, 20 March 1883.
- 4) See Appendix C.

Saturday, 31 March 1883

Reply - I will inform His Excellency what Cetshwayo says but I do not believe it, and consider that it is mischief making by those who first said it.

Ncomane returns sent 27th (Z59) with letter from H. Nunn dated 29th.<sup>5</sup> Ncomne reports he had a narrow escape of being killed by Sutu impi, that Hamu in fear of being attacked by Sutu, Baqulusi impi out to join Sutu, Zibebu in position of stronghold - no news of actual serious fight yet. Mgojana's Impi joined Sutu. Also Sekethwayo, Hlezebane, the whole Country and 8 whitemen with Zibebu.<sup>6</sup>

Nkomonpondo and Mablukwesa sent by Mnyamana<sup>7</sup> that Cetshwayo says he has come across the sea and finds the country in a disturbed state and does not know what is going on and is in fear of the disturbances going on and requests that he may assemble people to protect himself at Undini.<sup>8</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 61: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 March 1883.

- 5) See GHZ 683, no. 59: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 March 1883; entry for 30 March 1883.
- 6) See Introduction, p. 72; Appendix C. The 'Sutu' forces were the uSuthu forces under Ndabuko and Ziweddu. The various leaders joined the uSuthu adherents and added troops from other royal regiments.
- 7) Messengers or adherents of Mnyamana. See Appendix D.
- 8) The Restoration Conditions stated that Cetshwayo was not to permit 'the existence of the Zulu military system or the existence of any military system whatsoever.' See Appendix B.

Saturday, 31 March 1883

Reply - I will forward this request to His Excellency if he assembles people it will be on his own responsibility (I remind him of clause 6 of his restoration)<sup>9</sup>. I warn him again that he is responsible for all disturbances committed by his people in or beyond his district, he is bound not to make war upon any Chief or Chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British Government, and he is bound not to permit the existance (sic) of the Zulu Military System or the existance (sic) of any Military System or organisation whatsoever in his territory.

Sunday, 1 April 1883

Cetshwayo reports per Nkomopondo he has not received any reliable information of circumstances of fight between Sutu and Zibebu on 30th<sup>10</sup> because the Sutu fear to report to him, having acted against his orders, but he hears the Sutu have been beaten, routed in Zibebu's Country with very heavy loss even of carrier boys - that I the B.R. insult him by saying he knows of the Sutu Impi going out and that he is responsible. He Cetshwayo declares he knows nothing of the Impi going out against Zibebu, had the whole Country and all the people been given back to him, this would not have happened, he has observed the laws - and kept quiet at Undini and he will just look on either side what happens.

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GHZ 683, no. 62: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 63: Fynn to Bulwer, 1 April 1883. Confidential.

9) Clause 6 stated that: 'I will not make war upon any chief or chiefs or people without the sanction of the British Government'. See Appendix B.

10) For full details of the battle of Msebe, see entry for 4 April 1883.



Sunday, 1 April 1883

Reply - I will forward Cetshwayo's words to His Excy, I have only been explaining to him his responsibilities of restoration and have all along been giving him good advice in a friendly way and do not insult him . Makalina sent with despatches to Pomeroy at noon and paid pay up to date also Magozi and Ngogo posted details of any pay.<sup>11</sup>  
Ngogo struck off - Magozi to carry to Mlingane<sup>12</sup> and he on to Pomeroy in future, only two runners.

I informed Cetshwayo that I was informing Mlandela, Hamu and Ntyingwayo,<sup>13</sup> Governor says if they remain where they are, they must acknowledge Cetshwayo or freely go to Reserve.

Monday, 2 April 1883

Mgamule accompanied by Ndidi<sup>14</sup> sent to Mlandela in terms of Z44,<sup>15</sup> and he will send men and I will explain fully. Cetshwayo's messenger Giweza accompanies.<sup>16</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 63: Fynn to Bulwer, 1 April 1883. Confidential.

11) See Appendix D.

12) See Appendix D.

13) See entry for 26 March 1883.

14) See Appendix D.

15) Stuart Papers, Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, no. 44: 24 March 1883, in which Bulwer requested Fynn to explain 'to Mlandela that the authority of Cetewayo has been restored over that part of the country in which he is residing.'

16) See Appendix D.

Tuesday, 3 April 1883

Ntyingwayo says he has been hemmed in by Mnyamana and Hlezibane who have now gone to attack Hamu<sup>17</sup> and he Ntyingwayo has been deprived of cattle and he is going to Cetshwayo to represent matters. I have before clearly explained to him not to continue wavering<sup>18</sup> - do one thing or the other - wavering must get him into difficulties - he had much better have gone before Cetshwayo came if as he says he decided to go.

Division between headmen at Undini viz Mnyamana, Sityaluza, opposed in their actions of this war by Sekethwayo, Ntuzwa and Nsungulu.<sup>19</sup>

Baqulusi against Hamu in warfare.<sup>20</sup> Messengers from Cetshwayo and headmen to ask about Hamu in force in the face of my messenger Gabajana being there are what does this mean<sup>21</sup> - note this implies I have moved Hamu into movements of his actions.  
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Messages to Cetshwayo per Bangeni for His Excy's information. Minute 22/3/83.<sup>22</sup>

(A) I desire to know in what way he has punished any of the Baqulusi people for their atrocities.<sup>23</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 67: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 68: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 April 1883.

17) See entry for 31 March 1883.

18) See entry for 18 March 1883.

19) See Appendix C.

20) See entry for 26 March 1883.

21) See entry for 31 March 1883. Gabajana had been sent to Hamu in accordance with Bulwer's instructions.

22) BPP C. 3616, enc. 5 in no. 66: Osborn to Bulwer, 22 March 1883.

23) See entry for 31 March 1883. This refers to the battle of Msebe.

Tuesday, 3 April 1883

(B) The Transvaal Govt have given full liberty to the Baqulusi refugees to return to Cetshwayo so he can now protect them.<sup>24</sup>

(C) His Excellency has acknowledged receipt of Despatches Z46 and 47 - no reply yet but expected.<sup>25</sup>

(D) As instructed<sup>26</sup> I have been and have again sent to Hamu and to Mlandela and have sent to Ntyingwayo to recognise him Cetshwayo as their ruler if they choose to remain in his Cetshwayo's territory<sup>27</sup> if not they are at liberty to remove freely unmolested and with all their property to the Reserve Territory for such as do not wish his rule.

(E) As he Cetshwayo decries any knowledge of the forces going into Zibebu's territory and fighting there,<sup>28</sup> the Govt will require to know upon whose authority they went, and what punishment has been inflicted upon those who assembled that force and proceeded to war.

(F) I have not yet received from Cetshwayo information as to what has taken place in this fight and would be glad to hear the facts.<sup>29</sup>

(G) I am sorry to hear from report uncertain that so many of his principal men have with large numbers been killed in this war in Zibebu's district.

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GHZ 683, no. 68: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 April 1883.

24) See BPP C. 3616, no. 43: Robinson to Derby, 20 March 1883; enc. A in no. 43: Hudson to Robinson, 17 March 1883; entry for 31 March 1883.

25) See entries for 17 and 18 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 46: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 47: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883.

26) See entry for 2 April 1883.

27) Ibid.

28) See entry for 1 April 1883.

29) Fynn had not yet received reliable reports on the battle of Msebe which had taken place on 30 March 1883.

Wednesday, 4 April 1883

Cetshwayo and headmen report per Mpense and Ntoyobaze<sup>30</sup> that on the 2nd<sup>31</sup> Hamu's forces came in and burnt Mnyamana's kraals and killed 2 men and plundered cattle everywhere - and have retreated - and requests I will go and see for myself. Messengers report no forces are out against Hamu's forces and Cetshwayo knows nothing of any authority of these forces' actions.

Reply - my men are out, they are sent to Hamu six days ago<sup>32</sup> not returned yet with any information if Cetshwayo will provide express messengers I will send report to catch Post from Umsinga to His Excellency. I have done all I can to induce Hamu to recognise Cetshwayo as his ruler so long as he Hamu chooses to remain in his territory, and Hamu is Cetshwayo's subject so long as he remains in Cetshwayo's territory. I heard Hamu had sent several messengers to express his recognition of Cetshwayo's authority over him. Messengers admit this was the case.

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GHZ 683, no. 67: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 April 1883.

30) See Appendix D.

31) i.e. 2 April 1883.

32) See entry for 31 March 1883, on which date Gabajana had been sent to Hamu's district.

Wednesday, 4 April 1883

Statement of Ntangweni son of Nobengula S. of Black Mfolozi and under headman Mfokozana<sup>33</sup> states:

I took part in the war against Zibebu 6 days ago, we assembled tribally and not in regiments,<sup>34</sup> and by order of Mdabuko, who appointed Makoba (kaMapita)<sup>35</sup> brother of Zibebu to command the force consisting of Sutu, Mgazini<sup>36</sup> and Butelezi of Mnyamana, we mustered in full force at the Takazi in Zibebu's district.

Makoba was killed and I saw him dead after the fight. Then we proceeded to Zibebu's kraal Nkungweni Nxongwana hill between Msebe and Mkuze rivers. At Ndabuko's orders this kraal was fired the people having fled, and then Zibebu's kraal Punyekweni and we saw horses on ridges we had been and were then eating mealies of Zibebu's gardens when we were fired upon by Zibebu's mounted men and we followed them as they continued to retire and while we were all in form standing by reason of seeing Zibebu, his forces and six mounted men who came and attacked our left front, the Mgazini who fled, and then the Butelezi fled and the rear Sutu after a short resistance fled and we got mixed up in the flight, and were pursued

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GHZ 683, no. 69: Fynn to Bulwer, 4 April 1883.

33) An uSuthu adherent.

34) The various tribal groups consisted of members of most of Cetshwayo's regiments.

35) Makhoba kaMaphitha, a half-brother of Zibhebhu, supported the royalists during the civil war. See Appendix C.

36) i.e. the Emgazini, a clan closely related to the royal family.

Wednesday, 4 April 1883

and stabbed and shot down, only one company of Sutu made any resistance in the commencement our force covered in marching nearly 30 men or so in breadth and as far as from here 3 miles S. of Undini back to across the white Mfolozi, (6 miles). Ndabuko was with us and Tyankiezwe, nearly the whole of us were killed we fought on the 8th day, 30th after leaving home 22nd March.

I joined in with Zibebu's forces as if one of them and so eventually escaped from them that night, I only saw one European amongst Zibebu's forces names Tozana<sup>37</sup> who lives there. I saw Zibebu late in the evening dusk of the day of the fight. Very few of Zibebu's men were killed, I joined in the assembling of forces, on hearing Ndabuko had given the order, to fight Zibebu for eating Ndabuko's cattle since the war with the English.<sup>38</sup> We fled because when on our way we got to understand Ndabuko had for his own purposes mustered us and we had not courage to fight, as were not sent by Cetshwayo. Both forces had large numbers of guns and Zibebu got possession of the guns and assegais of the fallen men of our forces. Zibebu's forces consisted of 37 companies and only 6 horses.<sup>39</sup> Zibebu fell by accident from his horse and was assisted in

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GHZ 683, no. 69: Fynn to Bulwer, 4 April 1883.

37) Possibly Johan Colenbrander. See Appendix C.

38) i.e. since the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879. See Introduction, pp. 77-78.

39) It was later estimated that Zibhebhu had about 5 000 Mandlakazi forces under his command in this battle. He was assisted by some five or six white mercenaries under the command of Johan Colenbrander. See Introduction, p. 105.

Wednesday, 4 April 1883

soon remounting again and came in amongst our forces shooting us down.

4 men and one young man of our kraal were killed out of 10 who went. The next kraal to ours 3 killed, 4 returned, at another, 4 killed, 5 returned, at another 2 killed, 4 returned. Of some kraals everyone killed but I know of a kraal of 10 went, all returned. None of Somkele's people were out, our forces consisted of all the people along this S. side of the Black Mfolozi, and across and the Sutu (Mgazini) in Zibebu's district.<sup>40</sup>

Zibebu prevented a son of Mnyamana's from being killed and protected him himself and allowed him to escape. Zibebu said he had not quarrelled with Mnyamana but with his own cousin Maru and Makoba, Zibebu's brother and others who have joined Masipula's people<sup>41</sup> all of which are in Zibebu's district.

Thursday, 5 April 1883

Cetshwayo requests that I will be good enough to solicit His Excellency for permission to send his representatives about three men to Your Excy for the purpose of verbally relating to Your Excy the circumstances of the fighting with Zibebu and the loss of so many lives,<sup>42</sup> and also

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GHZ 683, no. 69: Fynn to Bulwer, 4 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 70: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 April 1883.

40) Many Emgazini people, who were strong uSuthu supporters, lived in Zibhebhu's district.

41) See Appendix C.

42) Apart from the report given above, descriptions of the battle can be found in Colenso, Digest, pp. 527-531; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 243-244; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 191-193; Binns, The Last Zulu King, pp. 204-205.

Thursday, 5 April 1883

to relate by word of mouth to your Excy the circumstances of Hamu having with an armed force come in amongst the people of Mnyamana and there burnt down six kraals and plundering the cattle of those six kraals and killing 2 men and one girl,<sup>43</sup> he Hamu being a subject of his Cetshwayo's by reason of residing within his Cetshwayo's own territory over which the English Govt have appointed him to rule, at the Mtonjaneni;<sup>44</sup> and Cetshwayo requests that your Excy will grant him permission to muster sufficient armed forces to suppress and punish Hamu for what he has done, and that without a sufficient armed force he is rendered unable to suppress in such cases, or keep order, or defend himself from attacks as in Hamu's case and he requests that his messengers convey this present application to His Excy.

Reply, I will forward the request by Post to His Excellency, and cannot permit any of Cetshwayo's messengers to go to the seat of Govt without first obtaining His Excellency's consent.

Friday, 6 April 1883

Cetshwayo says he wishes his messengers to accompany the Post to P.M. Burg and asks if I reported that Fada the brother of Zibebu had been to Mr John in the reserve and obtained leave to attack

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GHZ 683, no. 70: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 April 1883.

43) See entry for 31 March 1883.

44) See Appendix B.



Friday, 6 April 1883

his Cetshwayo's people<sup>45</sup> and now Fada and a European Dambuza<sup>46</sup> were at Hamu's on a mission from Zibebu, and Hamu and Zibebu have now combined in warfare against him Cetshwayo. That Cetshwayo has no faith in the Postal Communication, as Zibebu and Hamu attack him and I the British Resident take no steps to prevent this hapening (sic), when he Cetshwayo understood I was here to shield or protect him but I had not done so.

Reply, I cannot permit Cetshwayo's messengers to go to Govt without leave from the Govt. I have reported what he Cetshwayo said about Fada going to Mr John and my reply to him and will inform Govt of Fada going to Hamu with European Dambuza and all information I can get I have reported about the fight with Zibebu.

Gabajana states seven days ago (31 March) I was sent to Hamu to inform him of the communication through the English Govt that the Transvaal Govt strongly object to Hamu entering or taking refuge in the Transvaal<sup>47</sup> and also for the purpose of inducing Hamu to be friendly with Cetshwayo and recognise him so long as he chooses to remain within his territory, failing which a place will be found for him in the Reserve. As I did

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GHZ 683, no. 70: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 April 1883.

45) i.e. Tadafada. See entry for 31 March 1883.

46) John Eckersley.

47) See entry for 31 March 1883.

Friday, 6 April 1883

on two previous occasions<sup>48</sup> - he said he would not go to Transvaal, Hamu said he sent messengers to Cetshwayo and wished to recognise him,<sup>49</sup> but his messengers were driven away by Mnyamana at Undini saying they were bringing medicine to perpetrate witchcraft,<sup>50</sup> and was hemmed in from going to the reserve by the Baqulusi and Pangisiveni people.<sup>51</sup> That he Hamu had become a British subject but I had told him to acknowledge Cetshwayo as long as he Hamu remained in Cetshwayo's district and to communicate directly to Cetshwayo. He did so and Mnyamana had his messengers at Undini surrounded by Baqulusi people there and were driven away and also from sleeping at Mfanawanhlela's kraal. I saw at Hamu's a brother of Zibebu's (described as Fada) and a European with him, Dambuza Eckersley. Hamu said the district he occupied is his, given to him by the English conquerers of the land as an award for his assistance in fighting against Cetshwayo.<sup>52</sup> That the Pangisiveni were practising witchcraft upon him and his people. Hamu had assembled his forces, on the 1st inst Sunday. I was at the Pangisiveni kraal of Cetshwayo's. The Pangisiveni forces were there assembled, and Hlezibane forces<sup>53</sup> who objected to take part in any disturbance to defend themselves from Hamu's forces who had burnt 4 kraals of Mnyamana's. On the 2nd, Hamu's forces burnt a kraal of

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GHZ 683, no. 70: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 April 1883.

48) See entries for 20 and 26 March 1883.

49) See entry for 26 March 1883.

50) See entry for 20 February 1883.

51) The Mphangisweni were a royalist section, living in Hamu's district.

52) See Introduction, pp. 67-68.

53) Hlezibane headed the Egazini section in north-west Zululand. See Appendix C.

Friday, 6 April 1883

Mnyamana's and several more, 3 I believe and captured the cattle and plundered the good but did not kill anyone.

Hamu told me he had hoped by the return of his brother Cetshwayo there would be peace but he had mustered his people in defence from attack by the Pangisiveni, Baqulusi, Mnyamana and Gazini of Hlezibane. A fight is sure to take place if it has not already done so for the scouts on both sides are watching each other. My delay has been caused by the danger of the disturbances going on.

One of Hamu's young men kicked me saying I was a spy, I reported to Hamu, he said this man ought to be punished, but he had disappeared, I believe Hamu would have punished him.

Taken by me at Mbilane spruit, Zululand. 6 April 1883.

Henry F. Fynn. B.R. with Cetshwayo.

Bangeni to accompany Gabajana who is to explain to Cetshwayo what he saw regarding his assembled forces and what kraals have been burnt and who by.

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GHZ 683, no. 70: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 April 1883.

Sunday, 8 April 1883

Cetshwayo forwards messengers from Mnyamana to report that on the 6th inst Hamu's impi killed Mpenzu, Nkentye, Bakana and Muntuwpenzi<sup>54</sup> that this took place after Mnyamana had sent to ask Hamu why he was burning his Mnyamana's kraals and seizing cattle,<sup>55</sup> but meeting a messenger from Hamu to say he knew nothing of what some of his people and some of Zibebu's had done in burning kraals and plundering cattle, these messengers exchanged messages, with a stipulation that Mnyamana's men remain where they met until reply from Hamu and then Hamu's forces killed the 4 men. Cetshwayo requests that I will send a man to see what is going on, and the cattle which have been captured by Hamu and enclosed in 4 enclosures of Uforbia (sic) fence.<sup>56</sup>

Message to Cetshwayo, as these disturbances have been increasing through not acting on my advice to him on the 30th January viz to check firmly the atrocities committed by the Baqulusi, when I told him if he did not put out the spark at once the country would get on fire but nothing was done to punish offenders.<sup>57</sup> I will send a man to Hamu and will report to His Excellency. As regards mustering forces, I remind him that he cannot make war upon any Chiefs or people without the sanction of the Govt and must wait sanction<sup>58</sup> and the restoration terms provide that he shall in no way interfere with people in the Reserve or beyond his own

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GHZ 683, no. 72: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 April 1883.

54) Qulusi adherents living in Hamu's territory.

55) See entry for 5 April 1883 where this incident was described.

56) i.e. Euphorbia.

57) See entry for 31 January 1883.

58) See entry for 31 March 1883.

Sunday, 8 April 1883

district. If he musters forces he does so entirely upon his own responsibility. I continue to advise him to keep to the terms under which Her Majesty restored him.\*

Monday, 9 April 1883

5.30 am post despatched by Mgozi. 2.30 pm Ngogo arrived with extra post.

Cetshwayo per Ngwegweni forwards Maselala of Sekethwayo<sup>59</sup> to report that 6 companies of Msebe of Hamu on the night of the 5th surrounded the kraal of Kwini of Sekethwayo close to Kambule fort<sup>60</sup> and there killed women and he Cetshwayo requests His Excellency will permit him to assemble the people from the Reserve to assist in his defence from attacks.

Reply, I will forward the request as asked to do but give him no hopes of such a request being granted and I warn him not to interfere with any people in the reserve, so long as they choose to reside there.

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GHZ 683, no. 72: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 74: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 April 1883.

59) A messenger or adherent of Sekethwayo. See Appendix D.

60) See Appendix A.

Tuesday, 10 April 1883

Post despatched 5.30 am by Ngogo.

Wednesday, 11 April 1883

See 2nd April.<sup>61</sup> Mgamule and 2 men and Cetshwayo's witness Gaveza<sup>62</sup> return and four men of Mlandela's to whom I explained instructions of His Excellency in terms of Despatch 44 and my address to Sutu on 17th March<sup>63</sup> and to Cetshwayo and 200 headmen at Undini on 19th March.<sup>64</sup> Mlandela's messengers acknowledge that the communication given by Mgamule is as now repeated by me to them, and that Mlandela thanks for information and says, he is as the father of Cetshwayo and acknowledges the authority of Cetshwayo and his rule over the district he has been appointed and in which he Mlandela resides - it was Sitemela's insurrection which did him and his people injury.<sup>65</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 75: Fynn to Bulwer, 11 April 1883.

- 61) See entry for 2 April 1883, on which date Mgamule was sent to Mlandela with instructions to explain Despatch 44.
- 62) Messengers sent to Mlandela on 2 April 1883.
- 63) See entry for 17 March 1883.
- 64) See entries for 17 and 18 March 1883.
- 65) See Introduction, pp. 80-82.

Thursday, 12 April 1883

Went over to Undini and had a long friendly interview with Cetshwayo on matters generally. He suggested that to save much loss of life he and Hamu should meet alone and fight and so settle matters between them. That the country will never be in peacefulness until all given to him to govern.

Friday, 13 April 1883

Cetshwayo reports, Hamu's forces a day or two after the defeat of the Sutu forces by Zibebu<sup>66</sup> plundered cattle from the kraals of Mnyamana's people and Bantubensome's near the Pongolo river<sup>67</sup> and that many of the people there fled across the Pongolo river fearing Zibebu on one side and Hamu on the other, but that some have since come home with their cattle.

\*

Reply, I will inform His Excellency of this report.

Saturday, 14 April 1883

Cetshwayo forwards Zondo and Maguluhlana of Sekethwayo<sup>68</sup> to report that Msebe in charge of Hamu's armed forces, sent a message 11th to Sekethwayo and his brother Ntuzwa, to warn them that by reason of their people having on three occasions presented themselves in warlike form against Hamu,

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GHZ 683, no. 76: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 77: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 April 1883.

66) At the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

67) See Appendix A.

68) Messengers or adherents of Sekethwayo. See Appendix D.

Saturday, 14 April 1883

he Hamu was going to war with them, burn kraals of Ntuzwa and plunder the cattle. Sekethwayo's men admit they did on three occasions assemble in defence,<sup>69</sup> and are now in force for defence if attacked. Forwards also Mayana and Tekela of Pangisiveni under Mahanana<sup>70</sup> to report that on 11th Hamu's armed forces, 12 companies under his son Kambi<sup>71</sup> approached the Pangisiveni kraal and then plundered and destroyed the crops between the Pangisiveni kraal near Black Mfolozi and burnt down 5 kraals and retired. \*

Sunday, 15 April 1883

Cetshwayo informs me that Sekethwayo's messengers yesterday omitted (sic) to say Hamu also threatened to come and burn down Undini and he Cetshwayo desires me to assemble his people to defend himself.<sup>72</sup>

Reply, I will add this message to Cetshwayo's report yesterday,<sup>73</sup> I will not take part in assembling armed forces for warfare, Cetshwayo has asked leave from His Excy to do so, and I await reply, and in the meantime he is assembling on his own responsibility, not mine, or upon any authority from me.

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GHZ 683, no. 77: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 78: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 April 1883.

69) See entry for 6 April 1883.

70) Mphangisweni adherents of Mahanana.

71) See Appendix C on Kambi kaHamu.

72) See entries for 31 March and 8 April 1883.

73) GHZ 683, no. 77: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 April 1883.



Monday, 16 April 1883

Cetshwayo (in the night) reports Zibebu has assembled his forces and are near the Mona river sources and he believes for the purpose of proceeding to attack Mnyamana, to burn Undini.

Reply, I will send and see for myself. Mkonokomo<sup>74</sup> informs me Cetshwayo has sent men to see. Mkonokomo is of the opinion it is a burial party to bury Zibebu's relatives who fought against him and were killed.<sup>75</sup>

I am of the opinion Zibebu is building up new kraals in place of those destroyed by Sutu forces.

Gabajana and Ncomane sent to Zibebu if possible to see what is going on, and enquire about Europeans there and get any information.

Post per Mgozi arrived afternoon - left Pomeroy noon 13th inst. Mlingane, Pipela and Mlambo arrived to join staff of messengers.<sup>76</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 79: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 April 1883.

74) A messenger of Cetshwayo's. See Appendix D.

75) At the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

76) See Appendix D.

Tuesday, 17 April 1883

Note to Osborn<sup>77</sup> per Dr Oftebro's wagon to Etshowe, giving briefly depredations of Hamu's and Msebe's on Mnyamana and Sekethwayo burning kraals and plundering cattle and Zibebu in force at Mona sources, said for attacking Undini, Mnyamana's but believe to rebuild destroyed kraal.<sup>78</sup>

Wednesday, 18 April 1883

5.30 am post per Mgozi despatched - 7 letters.

Women, children and cattle fleeing from B.Mfolozi towards W. Mfolozi from Zibebu's impi burning kraals and capturing cattle from those only who had been at war with him 30/3/83.<sup>79</sup> Up both sides of W. Mfolozi and impi turning homewards. No one killed.

Two messengers from Cetshwayo to get me to summon forces. Reply, no, he is doing so on his own responsibility not mine, I cannot give any authority to muster forces - Cetshwayo's request to do so has been sent to His Excy but Cetshwayo's messenger delayed it and left it at Matyona's place instead of taking it to Pomeroy where it was taken to eventually by my post runners.<sup>80</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 81: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 April 1883. Confidential.

77) Melmoth Osborn had replaced John Shepstone as Resident Commissioner of the Reserve Territory at the beginning of April 1883.

78) See entry for 16 April 1883.

79) At the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

80) See Appendix D.

Thursday, 19 April 1883

Gabajana and Ncomane returned<sup>81</sup> and Ngicla<sup>82</sup> arrived from Osborn with letter of 18th inst and reports more impi coming to Cetshwayo's call. Went over to Oftebro.

Friday, 20 April 1883

Took Gabajana's statement and wrote report on Zibebu's raid on 17th and 18th inst<sup>83</sup> and Bixabixa Cetshwayo's sister, Mgojana's wife<sup>84</sup> and attendants while on her way to Undini thrown at with assegais.

Wrote to Osborn (per Ngicla) and letters and medicine from Oftebro.<sup>85</sup>

Bangeni sent to Undini for news - see in despatch 81.<sup>86</sup>

Saturday, 21 April 1883

Went to Undini and said that I would be willing to take statements<sup>87</sup> but want of clerical aid in such a matter tied me down, in the pressure of present affairs, I had been trying to get a clerk.<sup>88</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 81: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 April 1883. Confidential.

81) Gabajana and Ncomane had been sent to Zibhehbu on 16 April.

82) A messenger of Osborn's. See Appendix D.

83) See entries for 17 and 18 April 1883.

84) See Appendix C.

85) The missionary Oftebro was a medical doctor.

86) GHZ 683, no. 81: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 April 1883. Confidential, in which Fynn states: 'From enquiries I have made today there are assembled at Undini 10 companies of Ngobmakosi, 4 of Mcijo, 3 of Banambi, 7 of Tulwana, and several of Msizi.' These regiments later fought in the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883. See entry for 21 July 1883.

87) i.e. statements to be passed on to Sir Henry Bulwer.

88) See entries for 23 February and 9 March 1883.

Sunday, 22 April 1883

Bangeni and Mlingane sent to tell Cetshwayo if he would send me evidence tomorrow I would try and take it down - cattle claimed from Dunn.<sup>89</sup>

I would send statements of Osborn and from Zibebu to the Governor (as directed).

Reply, the taking of evidence had better be put off a little, by reasons of the war going on.

Cetshwayo per Mabijana and 4 others sends to ask me what is the meaning of my messengers Gabajana and Ncomane when returning from Zibebu<sup>90</sup> telling his Cetshwayo's scouts that Hamu and Zibebu had joined against him Cetshwayo in warfare, on alleged authority.<sup>91</sup>

Reply, immediately on the return of my messengers I let Cetshwayo know I had heard of this union,<sup>92</sup> and it was I consider prudent to put his Cetshwayo's scouts on their guard for his own safety. I cannot see why he Cetshwayo should find fault in my doing this. It is false that they have any authority as far as I am aware. Cetshwayo reports that Sirayo's son has come from Hlubi's<sup>93</sup> and reports a force of Basuthus and

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GHZ 683, no. 83: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 April 1883.

89) See entry for 12 March 1883.

90) See entry for 16 April 1883.

91) See entry for 24 April 1883. Cetshwayo believed that John Shepstone had encouraged Hamu and Zibhebhu to attack him.

92) i.e. between Hamu and Zibhebhu.

93) See entry for 30 January 1883 and Appendix C.

Sunday, 22 April 1883

Puteni people<sup>94</sup> and 4 men of Hamu's are in force to war for Hamu against Cetshwayo and will I send a messenger with one of his to see.

Reply, I will do so.

Cetshwayo says he sent Mnyamana's messenger to ask Hamu why he was making war with Cetshwayo and Hamu replied he was not doing so by stealth, he had been given the authority to do so by Mr John Shepstone and he Cetshwayo wishes to send his messengers to the Govt to relate by word of mouth what Zibebu and Hamu have now done to him, that he cannot restrain himself much longer from resisting against Hamu and Zibebu who have killed so many people, burnt kraals and plundered cattle, women and children in his territory, and he will have to fight them in self defence.

Reply, I will forward statements to the Govt but cannot allow messenger to go.

Cetshwayo says in addition that Hamu said he had heard from Zibebu that he had authority from Mr John Shepstone and Mr Fynn to attack Cetshwayo and he Hamu received this authority through Zibebu.

I reply this is all concocted lies to make mischief in making use of both Mr John Shepstone's name and mine.

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GHZ 683, no. 83: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 April 1883.

94) Adherents of Hlubi. See Appendix C.

Monday, 23 April 1883

Cetshwayo wishes me to send letter to Hlubi. Gomfe<sup>95</sup> states he is sent by Sirayo at the order of Cetshwayo to bring Zema, a lad, son of Vaka of Sirayo and residing near Hlubi<sup>96</sup> who states: 'I left home on 21st inst, I heard that 4 men of Hamu's were seen at Hlubi's, there for the purpose of soliciting Hlubi to help Hamu by coming to meet and fetch him. I saw Hlubi with a mounted and a foot force armed, proceeding past our kraal. Many have been prevented by Hlubi's people from returning home. Read over and adhered to and nothing to add. As witness Gomfe.

Reply, I will upon being supplied with a messenger forward this to Mr Osborn to deal with as Hlubi is under his rule and Zema had better accompany . to Mr Osborn - no messenger yet.\*

Tuesday, 24 April 1883

Cetshwayo sends for pass for witness in the alleged assaults by Mr John and his Police,<sup>97</sup> Makewu<sup>98</sup> states the Governor told him to bring the witness to him at P.M. Burg and with a pass from me.

I reply I have the Governor's acknowledgment of my despatch 31<sup>99</sup>

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GHZ 683, no. 85: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 April 1883; GHZ 683, no. 86: Fynn to Bulwer, 24 April 1883.

95) 'Gomfe' is unidentifiable in this context. Possibly a messenger of Sihayo's.

96) i.e. in the Reserve Territory.

97) See entries for 26 and 27 February 1883.

98) An adherent of the uSuthu.

99) GHZ 683, no. 31: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 March 1883.

Tuesday, 24 April 1883

enclosing statements of Sekethwayo, Cetshwayo and Rubu of the occurances, and have told Cetshwayo that his Excy replied he would enquire of Mr John and it cannot be true that witnesses are sent for by the Governor without a letter, there must be a mistake, His Excy cannot speak Zulu, and I wish to know the individual's name or description who spoke.

Makewu replies, 'I say the Governor.' I reply, that won't do, describe the individual, I wish to know him and ask the Governor if it is true he sends for witnesses. Eventually Makewu replies 'I say it is the Government as it is Sobantu who spoke.'<sup>100</sup>

My reply, I will take down any statements or message and forward it to His Excy but I cannot send people to Natal to give evidence without His Excellency's authority.

Post arrived 9 pm 24/4/83 per Mgozi.

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GHZ 683, no. 86: Fynn to Bulwer, 24 April 1883.

100) John William Colenso (1814-1883) was Bishop of Natal from 1850 until his death in 1883. For details on his role in the civil war see Introduction, pp. 71-72; Appendix C.

Wednesday, 25 April 1883

Went to Cetshwayo in re Z63.<sup>101</sup> Cetshwayo stated Zibebu was befriended by the Government and he was not, and his view of circumstances was not listened to - viz that Zibebu began the fight of the 30th March<sup>102</sup> in that with an armed force he came into Masipula's country and then attacked them by destroying Maru's crops<sup>103</sup> and his Cetshwayo's people defended themselves but in doing so were defeated and killed. That the alleged boundaries were made by a white man (Mr Fannin)<sup>104</sup> and Zibebu and Cetshwayo's people were not present. This boundary is not one dividing his people from Zibebu but cutting off a large country occupied by Cetshwayo's people.

Thursday, 26 April 1883

Cetshwayo reports petty chiefs having crossed with their cattle to Hlubi who fetched them out of Cetshwayo's territory, without his consent and asks if this is the law, will I send to Hlubi to question him for this action.

Reply, the law is people shall be allowed freely with all their property to remove in or out of Cetshwayo's territory and uninterrupted.<sup>105</sup>

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GHZ 684, no. 87: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 April 1883.

101) GHZ 683, no. 63: Fynn to Bulwer, 1 April 1883. Confidential, in which Fynn discusses Cetshwayo's lack of control over the impi which fought Zibhebhu on 30 March 1883.

102) The battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

103) See entry for 25 March 1883.

104) See entry for 20 March 1883.

105) See Appendix B.



Thursday, 26 April 1883

If Cetshwayo wishes I will send the forgoing to the Commissioner in the Reserve under whom Hlubi is, I cannot communicate with Hlubi, but through the Commissioner, on any complaint against a resident in the Reserve. I have not given any passes for removal - none applied for - I will communicate forgoing to His Excellency. \*

Friday, 27 April 1883

5.30 am post sent off. Letter to Osborn per Cetshwayo's messenger in re reports about Hlubi and a few notes on affairs.

Saturday, 28 April 1883

An induna of the Baqulusi states: I know of the occasion of Hamu's forces who were joined by some of his people from Transvaal side of Pemvana attacking Baqulusi. None of Hamu's forces have gone into Transvaal or interfered with Baqulusi there, had there been any disturbances between Hamu's people of this side and Baqulusi people in the Transvaal I should have heard of it, and I therefore say no disturbances have taken place.

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GHZ 684, no. 87: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 April 1883; GHZ 684, no. 89: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 April 1883.

Sunday, 29 April 1883

Cetshwayo asks for a pass with his name on and that of (mine) B.R. to proceed to the Government to speak by word of mouth.

Reply, I cannot grant a pass for his messengers to proceed to the seat of Government without the consent of the Government, I will write down and forward any request or statement.

5 pm Pepela arrived with special post.

Tuesday, 1 May 1883

Cetshwayo complains cattle and people taken on 18th April by Hlangamiso to Hlubi's. Also Hlangamiso took cattle of Cetshwayo's 30 head out of 50 and increase since coronation.<sup>106</sup>

Wednesday, 2 May 1883

6 am Pepela sent off with despatches . Osborn's 2 wagons passed here for Etshowe about 9 am.

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GHZ 684, no. 89: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 April 1883.

106) This possibly refers to the 'coronation' in 1873. See Appendix C on Hlangamiso.

Friday, 4 May 1883

Letter arrived from Osborn 1 May<sup>107</sup> to send man to Zibebu to stop his committing depredations in Cetshwayo's territory and I send to Hamu imperative message to stop him and order his withdrawing his forces. Ncomane sent with Mzitshina and Gohezu<sup>108</sup> to Zibebu accordingly.

Bangeni sent to inform Cetshwayo of His Excellency's message to Zibebu,<sup>109</sup> and requesting Cetshwayo to provide a good man to accompany mine to Hamu to stop his men, and requesting Cetshwayo not to have any forces out and that he will sent to Somkele and that direction an order for all women and children taken from Zibebu<sup>110</sup> to be allowed to return home, and that I believe Zibebu has released all who were captured by his people.

Mr Cecil Davey arrived 5.30pm.<sup>111</sup>

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GHZ 684, no. 91: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 May 1883.

- 107) This despatch does not appear in Government House Zululand or in the Zululand Archives.
- 108) Osborn's messengers. See Appendix D.
- 109) Possibly sent from Bulwer to Osborn and then passed on to Fynn. This despatch does not appear in Zululand Archives.
- 110) Captured in the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.
- 111) Cecil Davey was Fynn's clerk. See Appendix C.

Saturday, 5 May 1883

Post arrived per Mgozi 8 am. Left Pomeroy 1st inst. Wrote to Osborn acknowledging his of 1st yesterday letting him know I had sent a man Ncomane to Zibebu and that Cetshwayo was planning to give a man to go with Mlingane to Hamu.

6 Butelezi and about 40 companies at Undini.<sup>112</sup> Pangisiveni, Mgazi, Mhlalose, Baqulusi<sup>113</sup> are mustered at their respective places but it is said with their families fearing Hamu attacking.

Mlingane to tell Hamu His Excy directs he stop all his men from arming or acting in warfare or against Cetshwayo who is Ruler appointed by (the) Queen over the district in which he Hamu is and he is to blame for taking up arms, burning kraals and plundering and killing people, against Cetshwayo, whom ultimately he must reverence so long as he desires to remain within his district.

Sunday, 6 May 1883

Went to Dr Oftebro's with Davey.

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112) Fynn's meaning is obscure here. He possibly means that there were 6 companies of Buthelezi and 40 companies of other sections at Undini.

113) The Mphangisweni, Egazini, Mdlalose and Qulusi sections were all resident mostly in Hamu's district.

Monday, 7 May 1883

Sent off post to Pomeroy per Mgozi 5.30 am. Wrote to Osborn news up to date - per messenger of Oftebro to Etshowe.

Went to Undini, explained subject of despatches 73 and 78,<sup>114</sup> no remark or reply made by Cetshwayo, he appeared to be in great trouble about state of affairs.

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GHZ 684; no. 94: Fynn to-Bulwer, 7 May 1883.

- 114) Stuart Papers Despatches Bulwer to Fynn, no. 73: 26 April 1883, in which Bulwer replies to Fynn's despatch of 23 April 1883: 'I am not surprised to hear that Cetewayo does not appear to be favourably disposed towards Mr Nunn who has been, I am given to understand, a sort of adviser to Uhamu, and whose object in the present correspondence seems to be to save his own interests in the country.' See entries for 22 and 23 April 1883.

Despatch 78 is possibly BPP C. 3705, enc. in no. 24: Bulwer to Fynn, 1 May 1883, in which Bulwer condemns Zibhebhu's actions on 30 March 1883 but points out that Zibhebhu was provoked by an 'outrageous Usutu attack'. Bulwer instructs Fynn to tell Cetshwayo he is to 'avoid further aggression'.

Tuesday, 8 May 1883

Cetshwayo reports that Zibebu was on the 6th and 7th burning down kraals and plundering cattle of Masipula's people but on going to him Cetshwayo was not told of this, and was enraged,<sup>115</sup> and that he can no longer continue looking on seeing his people subjected to this and being killed as has already taken place twice recently.<sup>116</sup> And that Hamu's forces and Zibebu's are acting together against him Cetshwayo and he Cetshwayo says what is this, saying they are retaliating who are they that should presume to retaliate, knowing him to be their king or ruler, and he Cetshwayo will now go to war with them, that Zibebu has crossed his boundary as he has come beyond his own people and attacked the people of Masipula belonging to him Cetshwayo.

I replied, Cetshwayo has been twice informed by me with message from the Governor to inform Zibebu not to cross his boundary and the two messengers I sent to Hamu on Saturday 5th (Cetshwayo refusing to send a man of his in company)<sup>117</sup> have returned and report Hlezibane warned them against proceeding beyond him to Hamu owing to a fight about to take place and were in this way prevented from taking the important messages to Hamu. And I warn Cetshwayo against his forces crossing Zibebu's boundary.

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GHZ 684, no. 96: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 May 1883.

115) i.e. he was not informed by his messengers.

116) The two major conflicts were the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883 and Mnyamana's fight with Hamu's forces on 6 April 1883.

117) See entry for 5 May 1883.

Tuesday, 8 May 1883

Mlingane returns<sup>118</sup> and reports Hlezebane having first appeared willing to allow him to pass but then warned him against doing so as his life would be endangered by getting into the fighting then commencing between Hamu's forces and those of Mgazi, Butelezi, Baqulusi, Mhlalose of Sekethwayo who were in respective positions prepared<sup>119</sup> and that Hamu had gone to the Pongola for his own safety<sup>120</sup> and that the fight would take place today.

Wednesday, 9 May 1883

Mzitshina and Gohezu returned from Zibebu<sup>121</sup> and I sent despatches to Osborn and letter to him of information to date and to ask for post runner. Bangeni sent with Ncomane to tell Cetshwayo what message they delivered to Zibebu and his representatives.<sup>122</sup>

Pepela returned with post from Pomeroy 5 pm.

Thursday, 10 May 1883

Went to see Cetshwayo see despatch 97.<sup>123</sup> Osborn's messengers with Davey's things.

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113) Mlingane had been sent on Zibhebhu on 5 May 1883.

119) See entry for 5 May 1883.

120) i.e. to the Pongola border in the north of his district. See Appendix A.

121) See entry for 5 May 1883.

122) See entry for 5 May 1883.

123) GHZ 684, no. 97: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 May 1883, in which Fynn emphasises Cetshwayo's insistence that John Shepstone was responsible for the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

Friday, 11 May 1883

Letter to Osborn on state of affairs sent by his messenger who brought Davey's things. Messengers arrived with letter from Osborn to say Henrique Shepstone<sup>124</sup> would arrive here today Friday 11th - Osborn's letter dated 10th. Bangeni sent to let Cetshwayo know. H.C. Shepstone arrived 4 pm and sent messengers to inform Cetshwayo of his arrival, killed young ox.

Saturday, 12 May 1883

H.C. Shepstone and I went to Undini and held long interview.

Letters came from home 10.30 am 6th.<sup>125</sup>

Monday, 14 May 1883

Cetshwayo reports that a few days ago, Hamu's and Zibebu's forces attacked sections of Mgazi of Sekethwayo<sup>126</sup> all in the vicinity of Ndabankulu and B. Mfolozi rivers<sup>127</sup> and plundered the cattle and women and children.

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GHZ 684, no. 100: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 May 1883. Confidential.

- 124) Henrique Charles Shepstone (1840-1917) was the eldest son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. He was sent to oNdini in May 1883 with instructions from Sir Henry Bulwer to try and stop the hostilities between Cetshwayo and Hamu. See Introduction, p. 107; Appendix C.
- 125) i.e. letters posted in Pomeroy on 6 May 1883 at 10.30 am.
- 126) Emgazini under Sekethwayo in north-west Zululand.
- 127) See Appendix A.



Monday, 14 May 1883

And he hears the Mgazi were defeated by forces of Hamu's and Zibebu's about 11th inst and that Rev. F. Weber's property<sup>128</sup> was plundered by Hamu's and Zibebu's forces.

Cetshwayo requests H.C. Shepstone and I come to Undini for interview per Dabulamanzi.<sup>129</sup> From inquiries made by my messenger Mlingane he informs me that on or about the 11th the Mgazi 4 companies under Hlezibane were unexpectedly and suddenly attacked by 4 companies of Hamu, whom the Mgazi people had on approaching mistaken initially for Baqulusi forces; that these 4 of Mgazi were utterly defeated and forced over a precipice near Ngoye<sup>130</sup> in their flight, and Hlezibane amongst the killed, these forces of Hamu's captured cattle of the Mgazi people.

My messengers report they made enquiries as directed but could not hear of any of Zibebu's people being with these forces of Hamu's, that the Baqulusi and Mhlalose of Sekethwayo were repulsed by another small force of Hamu's who followed them up. That Mnyamana has reported to Cetshwayo that he has not forces to go against Hamu's forces. That Cetshwayo finds fault with Mnyamana for his delay and directs him to proceed against Hamu.

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GHZ 684, no. 100: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 May 1883. Confidential.

128) F. Weber was a Hermannsburg Missionary Society leader, stationed in Zibhebhu's district. See Appendix C.

129) i.e. Dabulamanzi brought this request to Fynn and Shepstone.

130) Possibly a reference to the Ngome Forest. See Appendix A.

Monday, 14 May 1883

My messengers heard that on the 12th inst 2 messengers from the Boers had been to Cetshwayo to say the Boers were prepared to receive him, but he replied he was as yet delayed by reasons of the arrival of H.C. Shepstone and his having sent to Zibebu but it would be well if the Boers approach their borders, facing Hamu.\*

Tuesday, 15 May 1883

Bangeni hears Zibebu has people with Hamu's forces. H.C. Shepstone (and I) send message imperative at my suggestion, message written, per Mlambo<sup>131</sup> to Hamu, to put down arms, restore cattle, women and children and reverence Cetshwayo's authority as sent by me repeatedly and in presence of Dabulamanzi and Tshingana (Cetshwayo's 4 men go as far as Mnyamana's and he passes men on). Cetshwayo per Dabulamanzi and Tshingana sends to say Shepstone and I need not go to Undini as he finds his message was fully delivered yesterday, Dabulamanzi and Tshingana desire to interview Shepstone privately and I retire.

Cetshwayo reports that a force of Zibebu's was heard of yesterday between Ndabankulu and Black Mfolozi east of Undini,<sup>132</sup> and he had that night sent off 3 companies of the Indunyengwe<sup>133</sup> to obtain information, they had returned at noon today and inform him Zibebu's force had killed a man and that Zibebu's force had retreated with captured cattle, women

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GHZ 684, no. 100: Fynn to Bulwer, 14 May 1883. Confidential; GHZ 684, no. 101: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 May 1883. Confidential.

131) A messenger of Fynn's. See Appendix D.

132) See Appendix A.

133) The indluyengwe regiment was formed by Mpande in 1866. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 406.

Tuesday, 15 May 1883

and children, and had said they were clearing people away from their line of communication with Mr Osborn.

Reply, I will send two men Mlingane and Ncomane to see and request Cetshwayo to send a man with them to find out particulars. Sent men to call at Undini for Cetshwayo's men.

Wednesday, 16 May 1883

Statement of Gabajana.

The result of my enquiries on my return from the upper part of Sekethwayo district,<sup>134</sup> is that after the defeat of the Mgazi about the 11th inst<sup>135</sup>, by some of Hamu's forces, it was uncertain whether any of Zibebu's people were amongst those of Hamu. Hamu's forces captured women and children and cattle of Hlezebane's people and cattle belonging to Sekethwayo.

Umkulugulu<sup>136</sup> with a force of Sekethwayo's people followed up the retiring forces of Hamu and recovered all the captured women and children and cattle; the cattle which had been recovered were seized by about 30 companies of the Baqulusi. Heard that yesterday morning the Baqulusi were proceeding against Hamu and from some of Sekethwayo's people that

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GHZ 684, no. 101: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 May 1883. Confidential.

134) Gabajana had been sent to make enquiries on 28 April 1883.

135) See entry for 14 May 1883.

136) Possibly Ndabankulu kaLukwazi, an uSuthu supporter from Hamu's district. See Appendix C.

Wednesday, 16 May 1883

there came some of Zibebu's people mixed up with Hamu's forces on the 11th inst. I heard that Hlubi was ejecting people in his district belonging to Sekethwayo by reason of their having gone to fight beyond his boundaries. About the 1st inst, mounted men of Sekethwayo and Baqulusi proceeded to Hamu's kraal<sup>137</sup> and there killed a young man, a lad and three little boys and captured about 10 girls and about 90 head of cattle and returned.

I heard that Zulus residing near the Blood river<sup>138</sup> had been sent by Cetshwayo to the Boers during the latter part of April asking for their aid as Hamu and Zibebu were at war with him<sup>139</sup> and that I (H.F. Fynn) and Mr John<sup>140</sup> were the cause of this having sent to Hamu and to Zibebu authority to attack him Cetshwayo and that he (Cetshwayo) had duly signed the conditions while a prisoner and in order that he might be released<sup>141</sup> and that he (Cetshwayo) offered the Boers for their assistance the country beyond Zugeni and Hlobane.<sup>142</sup>

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GHZ 684, no. 101: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 May 1883. Confidential.

137) See Appendix A.

138) The Ncome (Blood) river formed the north-western boundary of Zululand. See Appendix A.

139) See entry for 22 April 1883.

140) i.e. John Shepstone. See entry for 22 April 1883.

141) See Introduction, p. 88.

142) This area was eventually ceded to the Boers by Cetshwayo's successor, Dinuzulu. See Binns, Dinuzulu, pp. 22-23.

Wednesday, 16 May 1883

A relation of mine<sup>143</sup> who had bought a wagon from a Boer residing between the junction of Blood river and Buffalo river informed me that he had asked a Boer if it was true that the Boers were going to help Cetshwayo against those who are at war with him. The Boer replied that there might be some unknown to him, but the real Boers had suffered too much since Cetshwayo's coronation through him<sup>144</sup> to help him in any way.

I heard that Martin Oftebro had been up to Hlubi's district and warned the people against proceeding to join Cetshwayo in arms. Umkulugulu sent J. Eckersley and another messenger declining to come to Cetshwayo to join him in arms as he had been forbidden by order through Martin Oftebro.

That Cetshwayo had replied that if Umkulugulu was taking his people away and giving them to Hlubi, Umkulugulu had better plait a long rope to climb up and escape to heaven by or otherwise after defeating Zibebu and Hamu he was coming round his way to kill him.

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GHZ 684, no. 101: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 May 1883. Confidential.

143) i.e. Gabajana's.

144) See Introduction, pp. 57-58.

Thursday, 17 May 1883

Mgozi sent off with post 5.30 am or 6 am, and despatch and letters of H.C. Shepstone.

Friday, 18 May 1883

Cetshwayo reports that on the 18th April 1883 the people of Zibebu's raiding forces killed Ncomana, residing in the kraal near Magesa of Seteku, half brother of Cetshwayo, <sup>145</sup> she being of the Royal household. The circumstances of her death were: she in company with a woman and two children were fleeing from Zibebu's forces burning their kraals and were overtaken by some of Zibebu's people as far as the Nongoma range (about Zibebu's boundary) <sup>147</sup> and there allowed the woman and her two children to return and two young men then killed Ncomana.

Reply, will report to His Excellency.

H.C. Shepstone and I went to Undini and had interview with Cetshwayo.

H.C. Shepstone decided not to leave until return of messengers from Zibebu. <sup>148</sup> Mlingane and Ncomane returned having reported to Cetshwayo. <sup>149</sup>

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GHZ 684, no. 102: Fynn to Bulwer, 18 May 1883.

145) 'Ncomana' is unidentifiable in this context.

146) Sitheku kaMpande was Cetshwayo's half-brother and a strong uSuthu supporter. See Appendix C.

147) See Appendix A.

148) See entry for 13 May 1883.

149) The messengers who had been sent to Zibhebhu on 13 May 1883.

Saturday, 19 May 1883

H.C. Shepstone and I went to Undini and there Cetshwayo's messenger reported to Cetshwayo and men result of mission to Zibebu. H.C. Shepstone from there went back to Natal. Mlingane's statement:<sup>150</sup>

Under instructions from Mr Fynn I, accompanied by Ncomane and 3 men of Undini, provided by Cetshwayo proceeded and ascertained that 4 companies of Zibebu's had on or about 14th inst come across the B. Mfolozi E. of Undini and had wounded a man by two assegai stabs, but he will recover. This force plundered articles of six kraals. They captured 7 cattle belonging to 2 kraals, 18 goats of several kraals, a woman, her daughter and a lad, that a son of this woman followed and under cover fired into this force wounding a man in the neck and the force fled with the cattle and goats but the woman and girl made their escape. The lad was about to be killed but the headman in charge of these forces protected him and he was released, told to tell his father Ndukweni<sup>151</sup> to tell Cetshwayo that in four or five days they Zibebu's forces would drive to Cetshwayo at Undini and switch him with switches.

I reported the forgoing, these particulars to Cetshwayo last evening, Cetshwayo laughed and said he had sent 7 companies to guard against this threatened attack and I heard of this force being out, of a rumour that traces of forces from Zibebu's had been seen towards the junction of the W and B Mfolozi rivers, but this rumour was not believed.

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GHZ 684, no. 104: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 May 1883.

150) See entry for 18 May 1883. Mlingane had returned from Zibhebhu's district.

151) An uSuthu adherent.

Sunday, 20 May 1883

Mlambo and H.C. Shepstone's messenger returned with message put to Hamu on 15th inst<sup>152</sup> and report. Mnyamana and forces had gone in pursuit of Hamu who it is believed, had gone across the Pongolo,<sup>153</sup> Hamu with his people, women and children and cattle. They had left their kraals and Mnyamana's forces had in their pursuit burnt Hamu's own kraals<sup>154</sup> and other kraals of Hamu's people.

Monday, 21 May 1883

Bangeni sent with Mlambo and Mr Shepstone's messenger<sup>155</sup> to Cetshwayo and to gather any information regarding the report of Mlambo's that Hamu had fled and the forces under Mnyamana were in pursuit.

5 horses were seen going to Undini and Bangeni saw them near there, they had come from Transvaal on mission to Cetshwayo.<sup>156</sup>

Tuesday, 22 May 1883

Cetshwayo reports arrival of Steerman, a Boer from the Transvaal, on a friendly visit and that he Cetshwayo has asked Steerman to look after or see about the cattle, taken from time to time by refugees of Baqulusi and Hamu to Transvaal and that he Cetshwayo will, as soon as the country gets more settled, ask leave from the English government to send for such cattle.

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GHZ 684, no. 105: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 May 1883. Confidential.

152) See entry for 15 May 1883.

153) See entry for 8 May 1883.

154) See Appendix A.

155) This probably refers to H.C. Shepstone who had left Zululand on 19 May 1883.

156) See entry for 16 May 1883.



Tuesday, 22 May 1883

Information that the Boers wished to befriend Cetshwayo against Hamu, Zibebu and others. That the Boers sympathised with Cetshwayo in his troubles and treatment by the English who severed his Cetshwayo's country.

Letters from Mr Osborn per post runner who carries between this and Etshowe.<sup>157</sup> \*

Wednesday, 23 May 1883

Post sent off 9 am to Osborn and letters for him and despatch to His Excy.

Sent Bangeni to inform Cetshwayo that I hear from Mr Osborn that cattle taken by Hlangamiso and others on 18th April to Hlubi's direction<sup>158</sup> have been restored to ten claimants, but the letter of Cetshwayo's claim had not been delivered until 13th May<sup>159</sup> and this claim will be attended to.

Bangeni to inform Cetshwayo that I hear (from Mr Osborn) he Cetshwayo has ten companies near the Mhlatuse that are hunting on the border<sup>160</sup> and threatening people across the Mhlatuse and I request he will at once put a stop to these various disturbances.

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GHZ 684, no. 105: Fynn to Bulwer, 22 May 1883. Confidential; GHZ 684, no. 106: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 May 1883.

157) See Appendix D.

158) See entry for 1 May 1883.

159) Fynn reported this in early May.

160) See Appendix A.

Thursday, 24 May 1883

Dabulamanzi, Sirayo, Ntuzwa appeal on behalf of Zulus and Cetshwayo to do away with his signature to conditions as regards Reserve and Zibebu boundary. \*

Umsinga post per Mgozi arrived 4 pm.

Despatches by Osborn's messenger 6 am and private letter to Sir H. Bulwer.

Friday, 25 May 1883

My messenger Bangeni states:

I have gathered the following information. A few days ago the Msizi division under Mnyamana<sup>161</sup> fought with Hamu's forces who were repulsed with heavy loss, Msebe killed and Kambi (Hamu's son) and loss of a large number of cattle captured by Mnyamana's forces. That Hamu and forces are in a stronghold on both sides the Pongolo river below the junction with Bivana river, where they are hemmed in by Mnyamana's forces beyond northside Pongolo and south side as well. That Hamu is supported (sic) by his people and Mgojana's people on behalf of Zibebu, that a force of Swazis<sup>162</sup> have been expected by Mnyamana for the purpose of going into caves, rocks or strongholds in which Hamu and people and cattle have taken refuge and probably the routing attack will take place today.

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GHZ 684, no. 108: Fynn to Bulwer, 24 May 1883; GHZ 684, no. 109: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 May 1883.

161) The umSizi regiment, also known as the Falaza regiment, was formed by Cetshwayo in 1877. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 407.

162) See Introduction, p. 75.

Saturday, 26 May 1883

Dabulamanzi obtained letter from British Commissioner, Reserve to claim 148 cattle and 3 girls from J. Dunn.<sup>163</sup>

From Mlambo information that 8 companies consisting of Msizi now called Falaza and Ngobamakosi<sup>164</sup> attacked and killed a few days ago, a large number of women and children of Hamu's people while they had taken refuge in rocks and caves near Pongola river and a force of 20 companies of Hamu's had then attacked the 8 companies of Mnyamana's forces and defeated them with heavy loss.

That Hamu's forces are in possession of two strongholds, that Mnyamana's forces were making an attack but were prevented by Hamu's forces there setting light to the grass and on their approach and the smoke and fire checked the attack. That Hamu's cattle are in the stronghold kloofs.

Sunday, 27 May 1883

Post, 5 letters and parcel sent off 6 am per Mgozi.

Monday, 28 May 1883

Per Dr Oftebro's messenger to Osborn despatch and letter mentioning Zulu petition.<sup>165</sup> 9.30 am cold rain came on preventing my going to Undini. Wind very heavy all afternoon and a gale all night.

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GHZ 684, no. 109: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 May 1883.

163) See entry for 31 January 1883.

164) The inGobamakhosi regiment had been formed by Cetshwayo in 1873. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 407.

165) See entry for 24 May 1883.

Tuesday, 29 May 1883

Per Pepela.<sup>166</sup>

On 25th companies of Falaza were drawn by companies of Hamu's making point retreats until all the forces of Mnyamana were drawn on and then forces of Hamu attacked Mnyamana's forces from one side, with the result of entire defeat of Mnyamana's forces. Brother of Mbilini son of Mswazi<sup>167</sup> with 5 others carrying guns were seen going to Undini either from Transvaal or Swazi country but would give no information.

I hear a report to the effect that a few days ago some companies of Hamu's drew Mnyamana's forces and then forces of Hamu's attacked Mnyamana's forces, many of whom were in their flight forced over precipice near Pongola. That while Mnyamana's forces were being pursued 10 Boers fired upon Hamu's forces, the Boers then fled and Mnyamana's were then pursued by Hamu's forces who drove them across the Pongola.

Etshowe post arrived 6 pm.

Wednesday, 30 May 1883

Etshowe post sent off 6 am with despatches and letter to Sir Henry Bulwer explaining difficulty of obtaining any reliable information.

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GHZ 684, no. 111: Fynn to Bulwer, 29 May 1883.

166) i.e. sent by Pepela to Natal. Fynn does not state the source of this report.

167) Mbilini kaMswati was a rebel Swazi prince who had fled to the Zulu kingdom during the reign of Mpande. During the later 1870s, Cetshwayo had tried to install him as a pro-Zulu Swazi ruler. See Introduction, p. 56; Appendix C.

Wednesday, 30 May 1883

Went to Undini and saw Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo went into a fit of uncontrolled laughter on my explaining that Mr John had not assisted but had interposed personally between Sutu party and opponents.<sup>168</sup> \*

Cetshwayo affirmed that Mbilini's brother was his subject and had the guns as his company raided across the Pongola only since driven out by disturbances between Hamu and Baqulusi. I explained to him that the terms of his restoration required these guns to be seized and confiscated by the Govt.<sup>169</sup> He however argued, Mbilini's brother was his subject and should not be deprived or any others of his Cetshwayo's subjects of guns retained after close of war. That Zibebu and Hamu were given guns by Osborn and their people were in possession of large numbers of firearms with Mr Osborn's knowledge<sup>170</sup> and why should they be allowed to retain arms from prior to his Cetshwayo's return.

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GHZ 684, no. 112: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 May 1883; GHZ 684, no. 113: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 May 1883.

168) See entries for 22 April and 10 May 1883.

169) By the conditions of restoration, Cetshwayo was expected to 'confiscate and hand over to the Natal Government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into his territory.' See Appendix B.

170) There is no evidence of Osborn allowing Zibhebhu or Hamu to retain firearms. However, during Osborn's period as British Resident in Zululand from March 1880 to December 1882, both Hamu and Zibhebhu were supplied with firearms by the traders Nunn and Colenbrander. See Introduction, pp. 72-74.

Thursday, 31 May 1883

Moved over to Dr Oftebro's.

Mabijana and Ngwegweni from Cetshwayo report 8 companies of Mnyamana attacked at night, and all killed by Hamu's forces. Mnyamana sent two companies of Falaza which came in contact with 3 of Hamu's and repulsed them with loss of 10 men, and Falaza lost 6 men. That Hamu and forces are hemmed in in stronghold. Msebe killed by Baqulusi. Cetshwayo not responsible.

I reply, he is for any aggressions by those under his rule. \*

Friday, 1 June 1883

Gabajana and Ncomane returned from procuring information regarding Hamu and Mnyamana.

Saturday, 2 June 1883

Despatches sent to Pomeroy by Pepela.

Ndabankulu<sup>171</sup> passed here on 31st May on his way to Mnyamana from Cetshwayo, also brother of late Mbilini, and a son of Masipula to tell Mnyamana the forces are not to retire or disperse but to attack Hamu in his stronghold at once. Ndabankulu had come to tell Cetshwayo that Mnyamana reports, the forces failed to attack Hamu's stronghold and are inclining to disperse.

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GHZ 684, no. 113: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 May 1883; GHZ 684, no. 115: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 June 1883.

171) Ndabankulu kaLukwazi. See Appendix C.

Sunday, 3 June 1883

Gabajana obtains information, that on 30 May a force of Mhlalose of Sekethwayo's attacked people of Hamu in the crags in which they had fled North East of sources of Black Mfolozi. Mhlalose party were repulsed, 6 wounded and one killed. Mcwayo and people and cattle fled from Hlobane across Blood river to Transvaal, Mcwayo formerly belonged to Baqulusi, with late Msebe joined Hamu after the Zulu War.<sup>172</sup> Mnyamana's forces had diminished, but are mustering for an attack upon Hamu's stronghold. That the cattle of which they have a large number affected with lung-sickness<sup>173</sup> captured by Mnyamana's forces from Hamu, are to be brought to Cetshwayo's. That the sheep and goats captured by Mhlalose of Sekethwayo at Hlobane from Msebe's people are to be given up by the captors to Cetshwayo.

Monday, 4 June 1883

Cetshwayo per Mbijana reports Mr Grant (Mqukaya)<sup>174</sup> has come to ascertain whether he Cetshwayo is in trouble or not. I went to Undini on horse-back with Davey.

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GHZ 684, no. 115: Fynn to Bulwer, 3 June 1883.

- 172) Mcwayo kaMangeda followed Hamu in defecting to General Wood during the Anglo-Zulu war. During the civil war, he fought on Hamu's side. See Appendix C.
- 173) Lung-sickness (bovine pleuro-pneumonia) had been brought into Zululand in the 1850s. See Introduction, p. 52; Bryant, The Zulu People, p. 336.
- 174) William Grant had been sent by the Colenso family to act as Cetshwayo's adviser. See Introduction, pp. 107-108; Appendix C.

Monday, 4 June 1883

Cetshwayo per Ngwegweni that Mnyamana's and the Sutu forces attacked one of Hamu's strongholds capturing all the cattle there and defeating Hamu's forces with heavy loss. They then attacked two other strongholds of Hamu's with the same result. Mnyamana sent out 8 companies as scouts and while in a kraal at night they were attacked, the kraal set fire to and most of them were killed or burnt to death.

Five companies of Falaza were then sent out and were met by 3 companies of Hamu's who were reputed with a loss of 16 men. The Falaza loss being 5. Msebe was killed by the Baqulusi who then accompanied by the Mhlalose people attacked Msebe's people at the Hlobane and captured all the cattle: 4 men killed and 9 wounded of Mhlalose people, 2 killed on Msebe's side, the rest having concealed themselves in caves and crags. That all this took place some days ago.

Mr Grant has encamped near Undini, three wagons and tent, and I believe he has one or two Europeans with him and a number of natives.

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GHZ 684, no. 116: Fynn to Bulwer, 4 June 1883.



Tuesday, 5 June 1883

Mlambo and Ncomane sent to Zibebu to observe what is going on there and obtain any information in re Hamu or Zibebu.

Post from Umsinga and from Etshowe arrived.

Wednesday, 6 June 1883

Marululu and Ngwegweni<sup>175</sup> report that they are sent by the headmen of Undini to inform me that they have brought Mqukaya (Mr Grant) to stay here in Zululand to write in the same way that I write matters of Zulu country and to act with me on behalf of the Zulus.

I replied, Cetshwayo informed me he had sent for Mqukaya (Mr Grant) and now they the headmen of Undini inform me they sent for Mqukaya. I will report this to the Government, and that it has been done by stealth without my knowledge and I disapprove of what has been done. I received information this morning that it was circulated that Mqukaya (Mr Grant) the white man at Undini had come to recover for Cetshwayo the cattle he claimed from Hamu, Zibebu and Dunn and others, and to restore all the Zulu country to Cetshwayo and to return Gwalagwala (Mr Fynn) and Malumata (Mr Osborn)<sup>176</sup> to Natal, that the boundary between Zululand and Natal Govt be the same river across the Tugela (south of Tugela). I explained to the informant that there was no truth in the rumour - that Mqukaya had not been sent by the Govt and was brought here by stealth without my knowledge or approval.

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GHZ 684, no. 117: Fynn to Bulwer, 6 June 1883. Confidential.

175) See Appendix D.

176) Malemate was Osborn's Zulu name. See Appendix C.

Wednesday, 6 June 1883

Wrote to Mr Osborn, general subjects up to present time and asking for European names of Boers, have several Zulu names.

2 pm Etshowe post sent off despatches.

Thursday, 7 June 1883

Mgozi sent off with Umsinga post and letter to Sir Henry. 6 am.

Friday, 8 June 1883

Heard last night by 2 men that it was rumoured Zibebu's forces were at B. Mfolozi.

Dr Oftebro left for Etshowe.

Gabajana informs me a man is able to give an account of the actions which have taken place between Hamu and Mnyamana forces and that the latter have had many heavy losses. Mnyamana and forces disinclined to fight but ordered to attack.

Saturday, 9 June 1883

Cetshwayo reports that the spirits of the departed kings had been seen<sup>177</sup> and he has this morning sent companies to perform ceremonies

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177) Spirits were sometimes thought to appear in the form of snakes. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 285-286.

Saturday, 9 June 1883

(offerings)<sup>178</sup> and he lets me know in case any people should become alarmed and flee to me with a report that there was a warlike force out.

Reply, if no one is injured or deprived of anything, there will be no complaint. I thank Cetshwayo for the intimation.

Tuesday, 12 June 1883

2 messengers with letter of 9th June from Weber, reporting the murder of Rev. Schroeder<sup>179</sup> near Hlobane on 6th June at night, alone at the time, and before going to bed. 6 assegai wounds and he was buried on 8th by Weber. About 3 weeks ago Rev. Kruik in Hamu's territory<sup>180</sup> had all his things plundered by Sutu party, save the cattle, and Herman at Zibebu's<sup>181</sup> not heard from for considerable time and asks for advice, and sends messengers to report to Cetshwayo.

Sent Bangeni with messengers to Cetshwayo to make report.

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GHZ 684, no. 120: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 June 1883.

178) Sacrifices were usually made to ancestral spirit-snakes. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 285.

179) Schroeder was a Hermannsburg missionary stationed at Hlobane mountain in Hamu's district. See Appendix A.

180) Kruik was a Hermannsburg missionary stationed near Fort George in Hamu's district. See Appendix A.

181) Herman was a Hermannsburg missionary stationed at the Dlomdlo mo mountain in Zibhebhu's territory. See Appendix A.

Tuesday, 12 June 1883

Mlambo and Ncomane sent on 5th inst to Zibebu return and make statement.<sup>182</sup>

Mlingane returns from patrol with information that a party of Swazis passed to Undini from Mbandini the Swazi Chief<sup>183</sup> with girl and two maids to betrothe her to Cetshwayo.

Etshowe post arrived 6 pm.

Wednesday, 13 June 1883

Went to Undini. Mr Walton, artist, arrived at Undini.<sup>184</sup>

Friday, 15 June 1883

Postal - Etshowe post left here 6 am 14th Thursday.

Mr W. Grant called, private visit of etiquette. I explained that I had heard he had been saying many things to the Zulus which rumours were doing much harm in causing Cetshwayo and the Zulus to be opposed to the Govt. His visit had in my opinion done more harm to Cetshwayo than good. I could not either officially or otherwise recognise him as it would only lead to complicate matters and mislead Zulus, seeing

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GHZ 684, no. 121: Fynn to Bulwer, 13 June 1883.

182) This appears in GHZ 684, no. 120: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 June 1883. Mlambo told Fynn that Zibhebhu 'informed me he had forces assembled for defence purposes, by reason of hearing that Cetshwayo's forces would, after defeating Hamu, attack him.'

183) Mbandini later assisted Zibhebhu against Mabhoko. See Appendix C.

184) W.A. Walton was an artist for the British magazine, the Pictorial World. See Appendix C.

Friday, 15 June 1883

he was supporting them in encouraging them against the arrangements made by the Govt, the terms of restoration and I was here representing the Govt and for the purpose of inducing Cetshwayo to comply with the terms. That Cetshwayo should abide by the terms and recognise the boundaries, which he could well do without interfering with his appeals, it was a mistake his having the people from the Reserve<sup>185</sup> (he remarked on the numbers that were here from there as having astonished him).

I explained it had been considered necessary to withhold the Reserve for such as were not disposed from fear or otherwise to remain under Cetshwayo's rule.<sup>186</sup>

The settlement no doubt was made as it was done in the hopes of being for the benefit of the Zulu people generally. I had always forwarded Cetshwayo's words to the Govt and no effort on my part was lost in doing my duty as regards the Govt and Cetshwayo. It would have been a pleasure to me to have seen Zululand and Cetshwayo prospering and I here with him, and it is a miserable state of affairs as matters were at present.

Saturday, 16 June 1883

Mgozi arrived with Umsinga post of 12th.

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185) Many people moved from the Reserve Territory to central Zululand, under Cetshwayo's jurisdiction, on his return at the end of January. See entries for 8, 19, 25 and 26 February 1883 for details on the problems incurred by this action.

186) See Introduction, p. 87; Appendix B.

Sunday, 17 June 1883

Information that a woman who was captured by Zibebu has returned, and reports 5 women of Mhlalose cousins of Zibebu have been killed by Masipula's people and that Zibebu said he would also kill women in retaliation.

Mhlalose people report that Hamu has sent to ask Hlubi to send conveyance for him to take refuge with Hlubi and to send people to meet him. During 14th and 15th firing heard in Hamu's direction, Ndabuko and Ziwezu have hindered attack on Hamu because some time ago he gave them money. Mdabuli son of Mfanwanhlela<sup>187</sup> sent a man to Zibebu representing himself as sent by Mfanawanhlela to exchange information and he found Zibebu's people at their homes and marriages going on.

Monday, 18 June 1883

Mgozi sent off with post to Pomeroy 6 am.

Wednesday, 20 June 1883

Post from Etshowe arrived 10 am.

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GHZ 684, no. 125: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.

187) Mdabule kaMfanawanhlela followed his father's stance during the civil war and attempted to remain neutral. See Appendix C.

Wednesday, 20 June 1883

Cetshwayo per Ngwegweni forwards men of Baqulusi, residing north of Pongola river, in the Transvaal, and requests that they may be given a letter to the Boer authorities, who have sent these messengers to Cetshwayo to say that he may have cattle which have been sent to the Transvaal by Hamu prior to Cetshwayo's restoration and since then, also girls which Hamu had collected from Baqulusi and other people to form his household.

Cetshwayo also wishes Mcwayo, a headman formerly of Baqulusi<sup>188</sup> who joined Hamu and has since deserted him and fled to the Transvaal to be allowed to return to him Cetshwayo.

I replied, there should have been a letter from the Boer authorities. I will forward Cetshwayo's communication to His Excellency for instructions thereon.

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GHZ 684, no. 125: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.

188) See entry for 3 June 1883.

Wednesday, 20 June 1883

I have the honour to inform your Excellency. One of my messengers learnt from one of the Swazis who came in with Mbandini<sup>189</sup> that they had brought war charms for Cetshwayo's forces<sup>190</sup> and that they had treated the forces of Ndabuko on the occasion in which it is alleged Zibebu with a large force armed with guns had attacked Maboko's stronghold without effect and had been compelled to retreat with a loss of 8 men.<sup>191</sup>

That these Swazi messengers had expressed the desire of the Swazis to support Cetshwayo against those who are up in arms against him, referring to Zibebu and Hamu. As regards the 3 girls referred to, it appears to be untrue that one of them was brought in to be betrothed to Cetshwayo.<sup>192</sup>

I sent this morning to ask Cetshwayo if he could give me any information as to what was going on between the forces under Mnyamana and Hamu (having heard that firing had taken place during the 14th and 15th inst in Hamu's direction).<sup>193</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 126: Fynn to Bulwer, 20 June 1883.

189) See entry for 12 June 1883.

190) Various charms were worn for protection in battle. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, p. 268.

191) This is not mentioned in a previous entry.

192) See entry for 12 June 1883.

193) See entry for 17 June 1883.



Friday, 22 June 1883

Despatches sent to His Excy and to Osborn. Letter per Etshowe post  
despatched 4 or 5 am per Etshowe runner.

Cold rain and wind.

Saturday, 23 June 1883

Cetshwayo per Mabijana forwards messengers who state:

That on the 21st inst the women of Mgojana's kraals<sup>194</sup> and a wife of Haiana<sup>195</sup> were harvesting their crops between the Tivuna river and the wagon road, north of the Black Mfolozi, a young man was with them; when a force of about 20 men, belonging to Zibebu appeared who stabbed the young man in the forehead; he made his escape, they then took all the women away. Cetshwayo wishes to know how many times he has now been attacked by Zibebu and what is he to do?

Reply, by Mlingane and Mabijana, I will send messengers to Zibebu to ask him about it and to release the captives and I desire Cetshwayo to furnish men to accompany mine to Zibebu to witness the delivery of my message and Zibebu's reply. Cetshwayo objects to send men to Zibebu with mine, but will send over men to the spot from which the women were captured.

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GHZ 685, no. 128: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 June 1883.

194) Mgojana's adherents fought on Zibhebhu's and Cetshwayo's side during the civil war. See Appendix C.

195) Hayiyana kaMaphitha was the eldest son of Maphitha but did not support his half-brother Zibhebhu. See Appendix C.

Sunday, 24 June 1883

Information, (by Bangeni and Walton's servant) from men from Hamu's that the Sutu forces have captured a large number of cattle and defeated the force of Hamu's, who were out pasturing the cattle.

Monday, 25 June 1883

Dr Oftebro arrived with Rev. Berge.<sup>196</sup>

I saw about 50 companies leave Undini going towards W. Mfolozi. I went with Davey and came upon the force taking medicine.<sup>197</sup> Haiana and Nduza<sup>198</sup> came up to where we were (on a rise facing the force and overlooking them and asked if I had come from Cetshwayo, I said no, asked if I had sent to Zibebu, I replied I was waiting for Cetshwayo's messengers who promised to accompany mine part of the way.<sup>199</sup> Ntuzwa said they were taking medicine for 'Mhluhlane'<sup>200</sup> and were assembling still at Undini. I explained that I avoided all along sending to Zibebu without Cetshwayo's being informed and requesting him for men to accompany mine, as they (Undini people) had endeavoured to make out disturbances arose whenever I sent out men, and this was invented mischief.

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GHZ 685, no. 128: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 June 1883.

196) Rev. Berge was a Norwegian missionary who has joined Oftebro at Mahlabathini in 1880.

197) The army was customarily doctored before battle. See Bryant, The Zulu People, pp. 500-502; Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 269-270; Webb and Wright, (eds.) The James Stuart Archive, vol IV, pp. 350-354: evidence of Ndukwana kaMbengwana.

198) Should possibly be 'Ntuzwa'.

199) See entry for 23 June 1883.

200) Mkhuhlane refers to a minor illness, such as a cold. Ntuzwa was trying to convince Fynn that Cetshwayo's regiments were not preparing for battle.

Monday, 25 June 1883

Seeing my presence was not desirable, I retired home without having passed with going or returning in full view of the force, except when overlooking them from their front. The only direction they could be seen from without going near them by reason of the bush, rocks etc.

Called at Mfanwanhlela's.<sup>201</sup>

Tuesday, 26 June 1883

Ndumo and Buyembe<sup>202</sup> appear and report they are sent by Cetshwayo to accompany my messengers as far as B. Mfolozi and from there fresh men will escort my men to Undini from where his and Mgojana's women are alleged to have been taken by a raiding party of about 20 men of Zibebu's on the 21st inst.<sup>203</sup> Cetshwayo refusing to allow his men to proceed further.

Message per Mlingane and Mlambo to Zibebu, it is reported to me by Cetshwayo that 6 days ago 20 of Zibebu's men had made a raid into his district, between Tivana and wagon road and there stabbed a young man in the forehead (not badly) and captured women of Mgojana and a wife of Haiana while harvesting and took them away (into Zibebu's district). I send to ask Zibebu if he is aware of such an act having taken place, and requesting that all women and children be at once released and allowed to return to their homes.

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GHZ 685, no. 128: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 June 1883.

201) See Appendix A.

202) See Appendix D.

203) See entry for 23 June 1883.

Tuesday, 26 June 1883

Information that Zibebu is enforced at his kraals Nkungweni and Ekuvukeni, the Nongoma range<sup>204</sup> for the purpose of fighting Cetshwayo has by delaying the threat to fight Zibebu, showed fear, the truth of information is questionable and the forgoing as regards Zibebu coming to fight Cetshwayo probably has been invented, to give apparent foundation for Cetshwayo to assemble as he is doing from everywhere for the purpose of fighting Zibebu, and I hear the Ncinda (war charm ceremony)<sup>205</sup> will take place today or tomorrow at Undini. Information also that Hamu has been killed and his cattle captured by Mnyamana's forces.<sup>206</sup>

Wednesday, 27 June 1883

Etshowe post arrived 5 pm.

Umsinga post per Ngogo arrived 6 pm. News of Bishop Colenso's death.<sup>207</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 128: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 June 1883.

204) See Appendix A.

205) To ncinda or 'suck from' was a purification ceremony. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 272-273.

206) This rumour about Hamu's death was later found to be false.

207) Bishop John William Colenso died on 20 June 1883 at his home at Bishopstowe, Natal.

Thursday, 28 June 1883

Went to Undini, interviewed Cetshwayo in re murder of Schroeder near Hlobane on 6th inst.<sup>208</sup> Cetshwayo said he had as requested sent men to detect perpetrators and agreed to send men with mine now to detect and find out what Europeans had been killed.

Informed Cetshwayo of Bishop Colenso's death on 21 June 1883<sup>209</sup>, he said he had heard of it on Wednesday. Sent him Witness with notice of death.<sup>210</sup>

Friday, 29 June 1883

5 am sent off Etshowe post and letter about salaries.<sup>211</sup>

Heard Baqulusi guarding Hamu and rest of Mnyamana's forces about to follow Mkuze river to attack Zibebu and he is about to attack Masipula's people.

Sunday, 1 July 1883

Bangeni to ask Cetshwayo for the messengers to go with mine and to find out what white people have been killed.

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GHZ 685, no. 129: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 June 1883.

208) See entry for 12 June 1883.

209) Colenso died on 20 June 1883.

210) The Natal Witness, 21 June 1883: obituary.

211) See p. 130.

STATEMENT OF FYNN'S EXPENSES, JANUARY TO JUNE - 1883

		£	s	d	£	s	d	
1883.								
January 10 <sup>th</sup> to 31 <sup>st</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	47	6	3				
	Native Staff.	9	18	0				
	Postal runners.	1	0	0				
					58	4	3	
February 1 <sup>st</sup> to 28 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	66	13	4				
	Native Staff	12	0	0				
	Postal runners	3	10	0				
					82	3	4	
March 1 <sup>st</sup> to 31 <sup>st</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	66	13	4				
	Native Staff	12	0	0				
	Postal runners.	3	10	0				
					82	3	4	
April 1 to 30 <sup>th</sup> 17 <sup>th</sup> to 30 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	66	13	4				
	* Mr. Davey, Clerk	7	15	1				
	Native Staff	11	10	0				
	Postal runners.	3	0	0				
					88	18	5	
May 1 <sup>st</sup> to 31 <sup>st</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	66	13	4				
	Mr. Davey, Clerk.	16	13	4				
	Native Staff	10	0	0				
	Postal runners.	2	10	0				
					95	16	8	
June 1 <sup>st</sup> to 30 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Fynn, British Resident	66	13	4				
	Mr. Davey, Clerk	16	13	4				
	Native Staff	10	0	0				
	Postal runners.	1	7	0				
					94	13	8	
Total Expenditure of half year					£	501	19	8

Monday, 2 July 1883

Tyolowana, a messenger of Cetshwayo's here with Bangeni.<sup>212</sup>

Matshalina of Masipula<sup>213</sup> moving to Undini to complain of assault by Maboko,<sup>214</sup> states Herman and family all right.<sup>215</sup> \*

Tuesday, 3 July 1883

Cetshwayo not well.

Wednesday, 4 July 1883

5 pm Etshowe post arrived. Despatches and private letter from Sir H. Bulwer.

Thursday, 5 July 1883

Went towards Undini, but had to return, Cetshwayo under medical treatment. I was requested not to trouble myself to proceed to Undini as Cetshwayo could not be seen.

Mlingane and Mlambo returned, report five women released and one girl escaped soon after she and the women were captured on 21 June.<sup>216</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 129: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 June 1883; GHZ 685, no. 134: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 July 1883.

212) See entry for 1 July 1883, when Fynn requested this messenger.

213) An adherent of Masipula.

214) See entry for 29 June 1883.

215) See entry for 12 June 1883.

216) See entry for 26 June 1883.

Friday, 6 July 1883

Etshowe post sent off 5 am.

Bangeni with Mlingane sent to Cetshwayo to ask about his health, sent him to ask for messengers to find particulars of any Europeans killed.

Answer, Cetshwayo too ill to be seen.

Saturday, 7 July 1883

6 am Umsinga post sent off.

Sunday, 8 July 1883

Bangeni sent to present compliments to Cetshwayo and enquire after his health.

Reports, Cetshwayo no better. Cetshwayo per Bangeni informs me that a force of Zibebu's went to Masipula's people and they sent out forces against Zibebu<sup>217</sup> and a fight took place in which 8 of Zibebu's were killed, and he Cetshwayo would go to war with Zibebu who had been continually attacking his Cetshwayo's people.

Monday, 9 July 1883

Cetshwayo reports that on the 4th inst 6 companies of Zibebu's came to late Masipula's chief kraal, at Dhlomodhlomo<sup>218</sup> for the purpose of destroying the corn, when three companies, viz the

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GHZ 685, no. 135: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 July 1883. Confidential.

217) See entry for 29 June 1883.

218) See Appendix A.



Monday, 9 July 1883

Ngobamakozi and Falaza drove them away and captured their women who had come for the purpose of carrying off corn. They rallied and a fight took place in which 7 of Zibebu's were killed on the other side 2 killed and 2 wounded. When Zibebu's force was driven away the Rev. Herman of the German mission near the Dhlomodhlomo is still at his station unmolested.

I replied, I will forward this information to the Govt.

By the terms of Cetshwayo's restoration all people residing on Zibebu's side of the boundary were required to reverence Zibebu's authority as long as they chose to remain within the district over which he Zibebu has been appointed to rule over, and in the same way people in Cetshwayo's district over which he has been placed to rule as also in the Reserve Territory all people who chose to remain there must reverence the authority of the Res. Commissioner appointed to rule that District. That all people are to be permitted to remove to within such district as they chose to reside in and must reverence the authority of ruler over that district.<sup>219</sup>

If Masipula people objected to Zibebu's rule over them, they had better remove out of his district.

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GHZ 685, no. 135: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 July 1883. Confidential.

219) See Appendix B.

Tuesday, 10 July 1883

Nkomopondo and Mpopa<sup>220</sup> state they are sent by the headmen of Undini that the message given to me yesterday was incorrect in representing that it was Masipula's people had been to harvest corn belonging to Zibebu's people. It was those of Zibebu's who went to harvest the corn of Masipula's people.

They wished to correct the report of yesterday because I (the B.R.) had found fault with Masipula's people for crossing their boundary; that the boundary was never pointed out in the presence of people of Masipula.<sup>221</sup> It was Zibebu's people who came beyond his own people into the people of Masipula.

I explained to them that the district allotted to Mgojana at the close of the Zulu War, as they well know, had been given to Zibebu,<sup>222</sup> and I expressed my readiness to explain to any people, who wished to hear, the boundaries of the three divisions of Zululand as done to those who appeared before me on the 17 March 1883 and also to Cetshwayo and the assembled men at Undini on 19 March 1883.<sup>223</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 135: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 July 1883. Confidential.

220) Messengers or adherents of Cetshwayo. See Appendix D.

221) See entry for 22 April 1883.

222) Mgojana's district, given to him in September 1879, was incorporated in Zibhebhu's territory in 1883. See Appendix A.

223) See entries for 17, 18 and 19 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 47: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 March 1883; GHZ 683, no. 49: Fynn to Bulwer, 19 March 1883.

Tuesday, 10 July 1883

On 31 May warning to Herman, German mission<sup>224</sup> that orders to kill him and on 21 June he fled at night on foot with wife and child to Rev. Kruik's, leaving all property, escaping for life.

Wednesday, 11 July 1883

Rev. Stillboom<sup>225</sup> went on to Undini for the purpose of obtaining an escort of men to bring Kruik and Herman, their families to Weber's.

Information from man of Mfanawanhlela's that there is a Swazi force at Maboko's for the purpose of helping Cetshwayo against Zibebu, and that the forces at Undini are preparing to proceed to fight against Zibebu.

Mnqandi called on his way to Undini, told him he should have returned to Natal in the first week of Feby as I told him<sup>226</sup> and as I frequently told his men since and on every occasion as H.C. Shepstone also told him, remaining here would in some way entangle him and I was to save this, and so often urged his return to Natal.

5 pm Etshowe post arrived, left there 11.15 am 9 July 1883.

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GHZ 685, no. 135: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 July 1883. Confidential.

224) Herman was stationed at the Hermannsberg mission station in Zibhebhu's district. See Appendix A.

225) Stillboom was a colleague of Friedrich Volker, the Hermannsberg missionary in Hamu's district. See Introduction, p. 74; Appendix A.

226) See entries for 4 and 5 February 1883.

Thursday, 12 July 1883

Long report on general state of affairs. Per Berge from Oftebro  
that Zibebu's forces moving to relieve Hamu.<sup>227</sup>

Friday, 13 July 1883

5 am post for Etshowe despatched.

Saturday, 14 July 1883

Umsinga post arrived 9 am.

Sunday, 15 July 1883

Bangeni sent to Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo says he is making enquiries  
about the reported killed Europeans and has sent for people to appear  
before him to enquire into the murder of Schroeder and plunder of his  
property.

Monday, 16 July 1883

5 am Umsinga post despatched. Walton and Davey went to Nhlazatye.

Cetshwayo per Haiana enquires from me if I am aware of what Mr Osborn  
is doing to his people south of the Mhlatusé, reserve, he is seizing  
all the cattle from the kraals of the people here with Cetshwayo<sup>228</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 139: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 July 1883.

227) Hamu was surrounded by Mnyamana's forces. See entry for 29  
June 1883.

228) Reserve Territory residents who had moved under Cetshwayo's  
jurisdiction.

Monday, 16 July 1883

and consequently the families are fleeing with their bundles and the uncaptured cattle from the Reserve to Cetshwayo's side of the Mhlatuse. That no cattle are being taken from those people who have not come to Cetshwayo but only from those who are his Cetshwayo's adherents and who should be allowed to live there where they are which is the Zulu country, just as this is. He Cetshwayo infers I am not aware of what is going on and therefore lets me know, seeing as I was put here for his protection. I would therefore protect his own people across the south side of the Mhlatuse from the treatment they are being subjected to.

Reply, I have not heard of Mr Osborn seizing cattle as he Cetshwayo alleges, but Mr Osborn is posted there to rule over that country, and every individual, white people or natives while within that district or while travelling enter through that district submit and reverence his authority; and any person within that district who has any trouble should report their grievance to him as protector of all people while within that district. If Cetshwayo wishes to enquire from Mr Osborn what is being done I will give his messengers a pass to Mr Osborn who will give his reply for Cetshwayo's information.

Tuesday, 17 July 1883

Bishop Mackenzie arrived via Undini and slept here.

Etshowe post arrived 5 pm.

Tuesday, 17 July 1883

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that my messenger saw at a distance on the 15th inst six kraals of Mgojana's on fire.

I have just received information that two columns of the forces under Mnyamana went into Zibebu's district in the night of the 14th inst, and they swept back taking the people by surprise and killing all men, capturing women and children and cattle, this information is supplied by Mgojana's and Zibebu's people.\*

9 am Rev. Berge with despatches and private letter to His Excellency.<sup>229</sup>

Wednesday, 18 July 1883

Bishop Mackenzie returned from Undini for Kwamagwaza. Noon or 1 pm, Walton and Davey returned from Nhlataye.

Information that a messenger passed from Undini yesterday having been sent to Cetshwayo from Mnyamana, Ndabuko and Ziweddu to report that Zibebu's forces are coming to Undini, upon information rec. by Zibebu from Mfanawanhlela that there were only the Falaza forces at Undini (to defend there).

Forces from Undini marched northwards to Ntukwini stream<sup>230</sup> washed

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GHZ 685, no. 140: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 July 1883; GHZ 685, no. 142: Fynn to Bulwer, 18 July 1883.

229) Berge often acted as a messenger for Fynn and Oftebro.

230) The Ntukwini stream is about two kilometres north of oNdini.

Wednesday, 18 July 1883

themselves<sup>231</sup> and marched back to Undini and Ncinda again, black bull, three men seriously injured in seizing the bull, to dislocate its joints.<sup>232</sup>

Thursday, 19 July 1883

Bangeni and Mlambo sent to enquire after Cetshwayo's health and inform him the Dabulamanzi and Sirayo petition has been sent to sec. of state.<sup>233</sup>

His Excellency asks what further steps or results have taken place in the enquiry into Schroeder's murder and robbery.

Friday, 20 July 1883

5 am post for Etshowe despatched.

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GHZ 685, no. 142: Fynn to Bulwer, 18 July 1883.

- 231) Ritual washing was part of the purification rite before participating in battle. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 268-269.
- 232) The killing of the black bull and eating of its flesh (imbengo), was a pre-battle ritual. See Krige, The social system of the Zulus, pp. 270-271.
- 233) See entry for 24 May 1883; BPP C. 3705, no. 27: Bulwer to Derby, 9 July 1883.

Saturday, 21 July 1883

8 am. I saw the forces proceeding from Undini to the S.E. They then spread out in companies in irregular form over the hills E. of Undini and appeared to become disconnected. About 8.30 am they became scattered like a swarm of bees and were running westward and passed the entrance of Undini in full flight westward, when I observed the huts on the right hand side of the entrance of Undini on fire, and could hear gun firing amongst the scattered people running and covering the country westward of Undini. The fire in Undini spread until the whole kraal was in one place, by this time large numbers of people, women and children were coming towards me, when Sukana a half brother of Cetshwayo's<sup>231</sup> arrived on horse back having fled from Undini and informed me that Mandlakazi (Zibebu's forces) had defeated them Cetshwayo's forces and had fired Undini, but could give no information regarding Cetshwayo. Msutu<sup>232</sup> another half brother of Cetshwayo's reached me, then Mfanawanhlela and numbers of people. I directed them all to remain quietly. I saw Ntuzwa pass near here on horseback fleeing homewards. About 300 men of Zibebu's and Hamu's came within a short distance and some of them came up here and upon finding out who the people were assembled here, they retired quickly after a short time to the kraals of Mfanawanhlela with whom they made friendly communications, and took possession of his cattle from their pasture, in one of Mfanawanhlela's kraals, 2 or 3 huts were then burnt. J. Eckersley then arrived with a message from Zibebu, viz that Zibebu endeavoured to

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GHZ 685, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 July 1883.

231) Sukana kaMpande. See Appendix C.

232) Msuthu kaMpande. See Appendix C.



Saturday, 21 July 1883

communicate with me last evening, but failed. That Mgojana's people in his district had been attacked in the night of 14th inst, the men killed, the kraals burnt, cattle, women and children captured and in consequence of this raid he had taken the present course of action in defeating Cetshwayo so far and as far as is yet known, none killed or wounded on Zibebu's side, and only a few on Cetshwayo's side as they fled at once; I replied per Eckersley and a native to Zibebu, that I had ever since Cetshwayo's restoration done all in my power to cause Zibebu and Cetshwayo to keep within their own boundaries, and I should report to Your Excellency what has now taken place, and Zibebu had better send messengers to Your Excellency to make his explanations. 233

Midnight Umsinga post arrived.

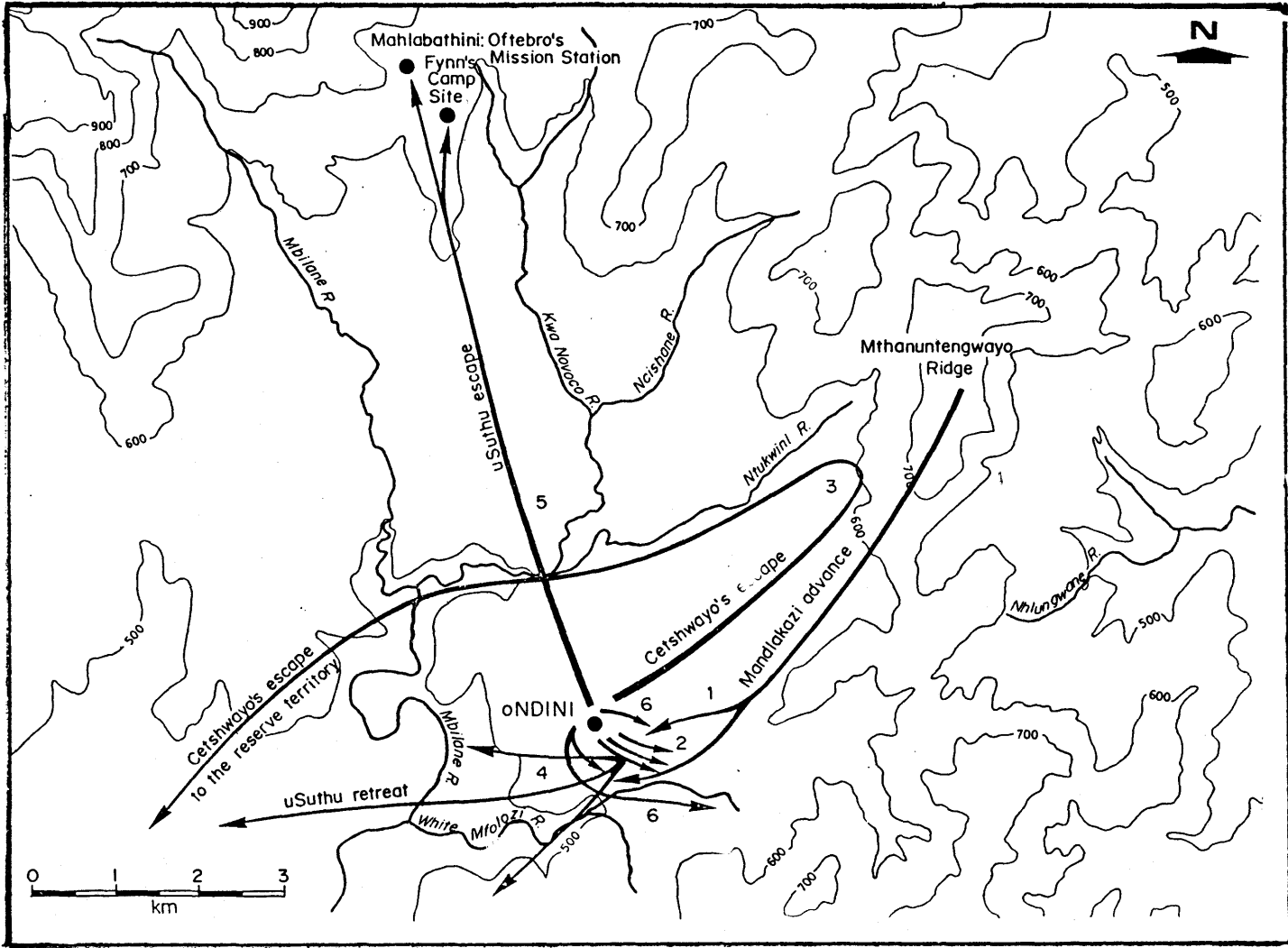
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GHZ 685, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 July 1883.

233) Other accounts of this battle can be found in Colenso, Digest, pp. 773-825; Filter (ed.), Paulina Dlamini, pp. 76-77; Gibson, Story of the Zulus, pp. 256-258; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 200-204; Webb and Wright (eds.), The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, pp. 183-193: evidence of Ndabazwe kaMfuleni. See also Introduction, pp. 110-112.

THE BATTLE OF ONDINI

21 JULY 1883



THE BATTLE OF ONDINI

21 JULY 1883

1. AT ABOUT 7 A.M. , ZIBHEBHU'S MANDLAKAZI FORCES ADVANCE.
  
2. AT 8 A.M. , CETSHWAYO'S REGIMENTS MOVE OUT OF ONDINI IN AN IRREGULAR FORMATION.
  
3. CETSHWAYO ESCAPES, ENCOUNTERS SOME OF ZIBHEBHU'S MEN BUT MANAGES TO HIDE IN THICK BUSH. HE THEN FLEES IN THE DIRECTION OF THE RESERVE TERRITORY.
  
4. BY 8.30 A.M. THE USUTHU REGIMENTS ARE DEFEATED AND SCATTERED. THEY RETREAT TO THEIR OWN HOMES AND TO THE RESERVE TERRITORY.
  
5. CETSHWAYO'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF DINUZULU WHO ESCAPES TO THE RESERVE TERRITORY, TAKE REFUGE WITH FYNN AND OFTEBRO.
  
6. AFTER BURNING ONDINI, ZIBHEBHU'S FORCES PROCEED ALONG THE WHITE MFOLOZI IN SEARCH OF CETSHWAYO.

PART III

CETSHWAYO'S FLIGHT TO THE NKANDLA FOREST

(22 JULY TO 16 OCTOBER 1883)

Sunday, 22 July 1883

5 pm despatched letter home to Umsinga and report 144<sup>1</sup> and enclosed it for Osborn to read and pass on to His Excellency. Forwarded by Oftebro's special runner to Etshowe to start at dawn tomorrow 23rd.

Monday, 23 July 1883

Proceeded in search of Cetshwayo via Grant's camp and where attack of 21st and Undini.

Tuesday, 24 July 1883

This morning accompanied by Mr Davey and Mr Walton and about 15 natives, I proceeded down the Mbilane river in search of Cetshwayo or to find out what had become of him, making considerable search across the junction of Ntukweni river and got the body of a woman out of a pool there who was identified as being one of the elder girls of the royal household and who had accompanied Cetshwayo in flight. While there Ndungunya<sup>2</sup> joined me, he pointed to a cluster of small trees where he saw Cetshwayo enter and those in company with him passed on (in order that Cetshwayo would be better able to hide alone) as the enemy in pursuit were close upon and surrounding them.

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GHZ 685, no. 145: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 July 1883. Confidential.

- 1) GHZ 685, no. 144: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 July 1883; See entry for 21 July 1883.
- 2) An adherent of Cetshwayo's.

Tuesday, 24 July 1883

Ndungunya was in company with Mkosana and they heard the enemy call upon Cetshwayo to get up and proceed to Cetshwayo and he was heard to reply, 'do you stab me, Ralijana, son of Somfula,<sup>3</sup> I your king?' Upon this the enemy retired a short space around; Ndungunya and Mkosana fled to KwaMagwaza to let them know what had taken place,<sup>4</sup> and I was informed that the wife of Cetshwayo and mother of Nyoniyentaba<sup>5</sup> the little son had escaped with a shoulder wound, but Nyoniyentaba was killed. I returned late last evening having failed to make any further discovery owing to the nature and extent of the country. There are a number of wounded people under Dr Oftebro's care and treatment, whose unbounded liberality (sic) and kindness to these and other people destitute here is worthy of high consideration. Cetshwayo's elder son of the two he had viz Dinazulu<sup>6</sup> was seen on horseback making for the west and it is probable that he has made his escape. I hear Zibebu's forces were up the White Mfolozi and making for Nhlazatye with a large number of captured cattle, and that Mnyamana's forces are prepared for defence at the Ngome Forest.<sup>7</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 145: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 July 1883. Confidential.

- 3) Somfula was a chief of the Hlabisa and although too young to rule, was supported by Zibhebhu against Mbopha. See Appendix C.
- 4) 'Them' refers to the missionaries at KwaMagwaza, the Anglican Mission Station.
- 5) The son of Cetshwayo's wife, Majiya. See Binns, Dinuzulu, p. 8.
- 6) Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo was born in 1868. During Cetshwayo's exile he was placed under the guardianship of Ndabuko.
- 7) See Appendix A. Mnyamana's forces had been away from oNdini on 21 July 1883, preparing to fight Hamu and Zibhebhu.

Tuesday, 24 July 1883

I am experiencing the greatest difficulty as to what is best to be done with Cetshwayo's families under this melancholy state of disaster. They do not want to leave me and I am unable to provide either shelter or food for them. They object to go to the kraals near here.

Pass given to Batonyile and Mfanawanhlela to go to Zibebu to claim cattle. Siteku<sup>8</sup><sub>9</sub> half brother of Cetshwayo and the girls of the royal household were taken away to Zibebu's country. Zibebu I hear had given orders that Siteku should not be molested.

Etshowe post in 5 pm.

Wednesday, 25 July 1883

Zibebu's leader passed here today with a force of about 300 men and about 500 head of cattle captured by them between this and Mhlatuse river, he informed me that the people between B. Mfolozi and Mhlatuse rivers had fled to the Reserve with their cattle with the exception of the cattle passing and that they Zibebu's force had burnt kraals in many localities, I requested him to leave a few cattle for Cetshwayo's families to eat and release the captured women, girls or children as I heard of one or more girls they had with them, and he proceeded to overtake the cattle and force for the purpose of complying with my request and sent back one ox and released some captives.

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GHZ 685, no. 145: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 July 1883. Confidential.

8) Sitheku kaMpande. See Appendix C.

9) i.e. the isigodlo girls.

Wednesday, 25 July 1883

Rugs and blankets given to Mpande's wives, Cetshwayo's wives and children and to one of Ndabuko's wives and to one old wounded woman.<sup>10</sup>

Thursday, 26 July 1883

3 am sent off Etshowe post.

Messengers of Osborn passed to tell chiefs to keep peace and report to him as formerly to question Zibebu's actions in driving people into the Reserve.

Arrangements made for Batonyile and Mfanawanhlela to proceed with Walton to friends towards the Reserve.

Friday, 27 July 1883

Cetshwayo's family objected to go but some started. Walton started in their company and to give them confidence. Batonyile reports Mngandi and six of his people killed on 21st.<sup>11</sup> Pass authorising Batonyile and followers with cattle to proceed to Reserve and report themselves.<sup>12</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 145: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 July 1883.

- 10) These were members of Cetshwayo's family who had sought refuge with Fynn and Oftebro following the battle of oMdini on 21 July 1883.
- 11) Mngandi was one of many important uSuthu chiefs killed on 21 July 1883. See entry for 23 August 1883.
- 12) i.e. report to Melmoth Osborn, the Resident Commissioner.

Sunday, 29 July 1883

Post arrived from Umsinga 8.30 am. Left there on 26th.

Hamu's and Zibebu's forces at Ngome searching for concealed property,  
no signs of Sutu forces in existence.

Monday, 30 July 1883

4 am Umsinga post despatched.

Mboka and Mpetu<sup>13</sup> state they are sent by Ndabuko, Ziwezu and Mnyamana (to fetch Cetshwayo's families) that they are at the Ngome deserted by the forces. That 10 companies of Baqulusi, 10 of Ndabuko and 10 of Butelezi were on their way to Undini having heard the Mandlakazi were proceeding to attack Undini but on their way they heard of the defeat and destruction of Undini and consequently retreated.

Tuesday, 31 July 1883

Cetshwayo's wives and children returned with the above messengers and  
Ncomane to escort them and collect news.

Etshowe post arrived with despatches. Left there 27th, 4 pm.

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GHZ 685, no. 147: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 July 1883.

13) Adherents of Mnyamana.



Wednesday, 1 August 1883

See despatches 148, 149 and 150 in re is Cetshwayo alive?<sup>14</sup>

Thursday, 2 August 1883

Etshowe post with despatches and private notes to Bulwer and Osborn

4 am.

My messenger Gabajana informs me he has received the following information from followers of Mfanawanhlela who let him know they are secretly informed by one of Ndabuko's boys who came to fetch Cetshwayo's wives<sup>15</sup> that two columns of Boers and one of Baqulusi in conjunction with them reached Ndabuko, Mnyamana and Ziweddu about the 28th July 1883 to request that the Boers be permitted to give vent to their grief for Cetshwayo's defeat and death, by their attacking and killing Zibebu in which case these Boers would return to the Boers in the Transvaal.

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GHZ 685, no. 151: Fynn to Bulwer, 2 August 1883. Confidential.

14) These despatches contain information concerning the movement of Cetshwayo's families to the Reserve Territory. Fynn also stated in Despatch 150, 'I had heard that it was said Cetshwayo was alive; but could not credit the information' and further that 'this evening (1 August) a messenger of mine informs me that he had heard that Cetshwayo is alive in some secret place on the southern bank of the White Mfolozi.'

15) See entry for 30 July 1883.

Thursday, 2 August 1883

That the Baqulusi desire to convey Cetshwayo and his family to the Boers. Ndabuko had replied to the Baqulusi that they were to wait a bit as he was collecting Cetshwayo's wives, by means of messengers of the same family as Mfanawanhlela and several others had returned (sent for this purpose), saying they were being stabbed by Mfanawanhlela's people. I feel sure there is no truth in the latter.

Early this morning I despatched 2 of my messengers to endeavour to find out about Cetshwayo, they have just returned with Ndungunya, who informs me that yesterday morning before noon he overtook Cetshwayo near Mtonjaneni and there were with him his 2 wives and two girls of Ndabuko's wife and a young man of Sirayo's. That Cetshwayo had arrived there yesterday morning from the White Mfolozi where he had been ever since the night of 21 July. He had two assegai wounds (not very dangerous) between his knee and hip, right leg and did not impede his travelling. That Cetshwayo sends Ndungunya to let me know he is alive and has sent to Mr Osborn and is on his way to the Reserve. Cetshwayo thanks me for my kindness to his wives and children in caring for them and giving them blankets and has heard of my searches amongst the dead, and knows I have grieved for him in his troubles, but does not wish to see me, but says that if I and Dr Oftebro proceed to Zibebu to recover the remainder of his wives and girls whom he hears Zibebu is distributing as wives. That I could not have known of Zibebu's approach as he believes I would have let him know. That he told me before that breach loading

Thursday, 2 August 1883

guns had been provided to Zibebu<sup>16</sup> who also supplied some to Hamu and thereupon their combined forces had come in, found him quietly at Undini and attacked him unawares. That four assegais had been thrown at him, two had penetrated his leg and he now had the 4 assegais in his possession. That the mother of Dabulamanzi and another wife of Mpande's were killed.

Had he Cetshwayo not constantly told me Zibebu was coming to kill him and I had said it was not true, were his words not true now. He wished to see me his father guardian, I knew he had kept the conditions and in doing so had (as it were) been killed while quietly seated in his hut, but he did not wish to see me until I had brought all his wives and girls from Zibebu. \*

Friday, 3 August 1883

Per man furnished by Dr Oftebro, despatches sent to Osborn to peruse and forward and letter to him, one from home and one from Davey, 5 am.

Ndungunya returned to Cetshwayo with message, I am grateful at hearing of his existence and safety. Much as I desire to send to Zibebu for his Cetshwayo's girls, I must wait instructions from His Excellency.

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GHZ 685, no. 152: Fynn to Bulwer, 2 August 1883. Confidential; GHZ 685, no. 153: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 August 1883.

16) See entries for 20 June and 19 July 1883.

Saturday, 4 August 1883

Zinelana arrived with letter from home of 30/7/53.

Monday, 6 August 1883

It is reported Tshingana has sent a horse to Cetshwayo to take him to the Nkhanla, Reserve Territory.<sup>17</sup>

Umsinga post despatched 6 am.

Msutu and 10 others authorised to proceed to Hamu and solicit restoration of cattle belonging to 7 kraals, belonging to the late Chief Ntyingwayo.<sup>18</sup>

Heard that Ndabuko and Ziweddu had gone to Cetshwayo with 8 oxen and that there were 5 Boers who came in and met Ntuzwa and it is said the Boers were coming in to visit Cetshwayo, but hearing of his defeat on 21 July, they retired to Transvaal and it is said the Boers are to come in this noon to attack Zibebu.

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GHZ 685, no. 154: Fynn to Bulwer, 7 August 1883.

17) i.e. the Nkandla Forest.

18) Ntshingwayo was killed at oNdini on 21 July 1883.

Tuesday, 7 August 1883

Messenger from Umsinga arrived with two letters for W.A. Walton and reports that a force were on the 4th inst capturing cattle and burning kraals and killed Mnyamana's cousin and Butelezi petty chiefs and this force was checked from entering the Reserve and thereupon the force changed its course.

Ndabuko was seen on the 5th taking about 8 oxen to Cetshwayo.\*

Wednesday, 8 August 1883

Etshowe post despatched 5 am. Umsinga post sent 5 am with letter home.

Thursday, 9 August 1883

Siyunguza's brother<sup>19</sup> from Reserve with others reported himself as without Osborn's consent or knowledge are proceeding to Zibebu's to fetch Siteku to take him to the Reserve.

Ncomane reports having met Bixabixa, Cetshwayo's own sister being conveyed in a wagon on her way to Cetshwayo with followers. Ncomane proceeded some distance with them.

He then returned to me and informed me that Cetshwayo was at the Nkhandla.

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GHZ 685, no. 154: Fynn to Bulwer, 7 August 1883; GHZ 685, no. 155: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 August 1883.

19) Siyunguza was appointed chief in 1879. See Appendix C.

Thursday, 9 August 1883

Ncomane saw numbers of parties of men proceeding to the Nkhandia to Cetshwayo and overheard those who called to pay their respects to Bixabixa, saying to her they thought the English had graciously brought back Cetshwayo to live and reign, but it was done to kill him. That it was Bangeni my messenger and I who were continually urging Cetshwayo to keep quietly at Undini, while my messenger Gabajana was being sent to Zibebu keeping communication with him, that while Cetshwayo was quietly at Undini Mr Osborn and I Gwalagwala were beckoning to Zibebu to come and kill Cetshwayo and he did so, he also heard them making threats against Bangeni and especially Gabajana.

Friday, 10 August 1883

Nsika<sup>20</sup> informs me that Zibebu had forces assembled and was assembling more hastily for the purpose of attacking people in Cetshwayo's territory, viz Mnyamana and Sutu forces of Ndabuko and Ziweddu are at the Ngome Forest, Hamu's forces are prepared to act in conjunction with Zibebu's forces and that Nsika heard on his way that Mnyamana was assembling forces at the Ngome Forest (20 companies) to act against Zibebu.

Nsika states Siteku, Cetshwayo's half brother was at Zibebu's and had been abusive to Zibebu who gave him a beast to kill and gave him ten head of cattle before he Nsika left Zibebu's, that Siteku desired

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GHZ 685, no. 155: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 August 1883.

20) A messenger of Fynn's. See Appendix D.

Friday, 10 August 1883

I should send for him.

That Somkele against whom an attack was likely to be made by Zibebu's forces<sup>21</sup> had sent some oxen to Zibebu as a friendly offering. That Sityaluza brother of late Masipula<sup>22</sup> had sent an ox as friendly offering to Zibebu but that Sityaluza had secreted himself somewhere. That Zibebu had recently received two very fine horses, said to be from Mr Osborn.

Zibebu was distributing captured girls of the royal household of Cetshwayo to his men.

On enquiries I hear that there are no Sutu forces at Ngome Forest with Mnyamana and that Sutu people dispersed and with their families are going to Cetshwayo at the Nkhandla where Ndabuko and Ziweddu are and that Mnyamana has 20 companies of his people at the Ngome Forest.\*

Saturday, 11 August 1883

Ndungunya has come with a message from Cetshwayo at the Nkhandla, Reserve Territory requesting me to send to Zibebu for his household girls and Siteku, that Ndabuko and Ziweddu are with Cetshwayo, that the Govt had opened my hand at Mtonjaneni, put Cetshwayo into it and closed my fingers hard. That Zibebu had wrenched my hand open and forcibly taken him out of my hand and taken even his household girls and has given them to his men.

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GHZ 685, no. 155: Fynn to Bulwer, 10 August 1883; GHZ 685, no. 156: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 August 1883.

21) See Appendix C.

22) Sitshaluza. See Appendix C.

Saturday, 11 August 1883

Ndungunya informed me he had to proceed to Mfanwanhlela with a message from Cetshwayo, asking him to explain why he Mfanwanhlela had retained certain 6 head of cattle three of which Zibebu gave to Cetshwayo's wives and three to Siteku, which were sent to them while at Mfanawanhlela's kraal, and telling Cetshwayo's wives that he would possess himself of these 6 cattle in lieu of some cattle Zibebu had taken from him Mfanawanhlela.

Sunday, 12 August 1883

Ndungunya had returned with the following reply for Cetshwayo from Mfanawanhlela: that one of the 3 head given to Siteku was slaughtered for food for Cetshwayo's wives and Siteku, the other two were Mfanawanhlela's own property captured by Zibebu's forces, and he therefore lays claim to them. That the other three given to Cetshwayo's wives and children are still at his Mfanawanhlela's kraal where Cetshwayo's wives left them and are at Cetshwayo's disposal.

Monday, 13 August 1883

Zangeni learns some people of Mandlakazi have come to eat up the people of Mfanawanhlela who joined Sutu forces against Zibebu on 21 July 1883. Probably Mfanawanhlela is in league with Zibebu in this matter against old enemies in Mfanawanhlela's own tribe.

7 pm Umsinga post arrived.



Tuesday, 14 August 1883

7 pm Etshowe post arrived and letter from Osborn 10th.

Wednesday, 15 August 1883

Zinelana left for home with letter. Ncomane paid pay up to date and left with Zinelana.

Heard that an induna of Zibebu's is at Mfanawanhlela's with a number of men for the purpose of confiscating cattle of Sutu people who had taken part against Zibebu and since taken refuge with Mfanawanhlela and that Zibebu's and Hamu's forces in conjunction are moving and formation beyond Ngome Forest.

I have despatched Gabajana and Mlambo with the following message to Zibebu and on the way to inform Zibebu's induna at Mfanawanhlela's of it and Bangeni as far as the latter and to learn information of what is going on, that I as representative of the Natal Govt warn Zibebu to at once abstain from any aggressions in Cetshwayo's territory at once and to release all women, girls or children he had captured, in accordance with what I told Zibebu on 22nd July not to interfere or take captive any women, girls or children and request he release Siteku and as he Zibebu is acting in union with Hamu, so he must act under this message in carrying it to Hamu and act with him in such a way as to stop any further hostilities or disturbances in this country for their own sakes, and I now warn Zibebu and Hamu through him to comply with this my warning.

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GHZ 685, no. 157: Fynn to Bulwer, 15 August 1883.

Thursday, 16 August 1883

Etshowe post despatched and letter to Osborn 6 am. Umsinga post sent off 6 am.

Zibebu's two men came and explained that they had been sent to call for and receive surrender of cattle from such of Sutu people as had taken shelter under Mfanawanhlela and thereby had avoided the capture of their cattle by Zibebu's forces, that Zibebu had not sent in a force but merely 5 messengers about this matter, to Mfanawanhlela.

Gabajana and Mlambo sent to Zibebu to warn him to abstain from any aggressions in Cetshwayo's territory.

Went with Dr Oftebro to Undini in cart and he has taken into his care and charge a number of empty tin trunks and is sending for the iron mountings of the burnt wagon at Undini<sup>23</sup> and found the Natal Witness of 21 June 1883 addressed to Cetshwayo.<sup>24</sup> \*

Messenger, the brother of Siyunguza, returned from Zibebu<sup>25</sup> and informs me that Zibebu acknowledged the request for the release of Siteku who he said was all right and cared for, and that he Zibebu sends word to Siyunguza to demand the surrender of cattle from the people of Siyunguza who had assembled in warfare at Undini against him Zibebu and gives Siyunguza eight days for a reply failing which Zibebu would appear himself.

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GHZ 685, no. 157 : Fynn to Bulwer, 15 August 1883; GHZ no. 158: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 August 1883.

23) See entry for 24 March 1883.

24) See entry for 28 June 1883.

25) See entry for 9 August 1883.

Thursday, 16 August 1883

I am informed that Zibebu's forces left his kraal Nkungweni<sup>26</sup> on the 14th inst to attack Somkele's people and that Zibebu accompanied this force and after making this attack would leave his forces to go on with the attacking and retire home, and intends another attack upon the people about the area east of Mtonjanei.

Johan Colenbrander at Zibebu's, to whom he has taken horses from Natal<sup>27</sup> to enable him to make an attack upon Mnyamana's forces in the Ngome Forest. Zibebu will probably attack if no surrender of cattle.

Friday, 17 August 1883

Zineku son of late Ntyingwayo<sup>28</sup> reports that 23 head of cattle of his were at Mnqandi's and left there by Zibebu's forces, but were captured by Hamu's retiring forces after 21 July 1883.

Saturday, 18 August 1883

Mfanawanhlana called and I told him that cattle had better be restored to the rightful owners.

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GHZ 685, no. 158: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 August 1883.

26) See Appendix A.

27) Johan Colenbrander was Zibehbu's resident trader. See Introduction, pp. 72-73; Appendix C.

28) Zineku kaNtshingwayo was Ntshingwayo's heir. See Appendix C.

Monday, 20 August 1883

Two messengers from Sitsili, the son of late Mnqandi<sup>29</sup> come to report Mnqandi and 5 of his men were killed in Zibebu's attack on Undini 21 July 1883.

That Hamu's forces have been in and swept off cattle of Mnyamana and Sutus between B. Mfolozi and Ngome and 8 of Hamu's had been pursued by men out of the crags and killed 5 out of the 8. Mnyamana's cattle have gone to Babanango and it is reported that Mnyamana was ordering his men to assemble where he is in the crags S. of Ngome, and Baqulusi with their families to assemble north of Nhlazatye, these messengers are under the impression that this movement is in order to enable Cetshwayo to go to the Transvaal.

Umsinga runner despatched.

Tuesday, 21 August 1883

Etshowe post of 1 pm 19th arrived 6 pm with letter from Osborn and despatches. Osborn is to assume authority in the event of Cetshwayo's death being verified.<sup>30</sup>

Wednesday, 22 August 1883

10 am Umsinga post arrived.

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GHZ 685, no. 158: Fynn to Bulwer, 17 August 1883.

29) Sitshitsili kaMnqandi had assisted Dinuzulu in escaping from oNdini on 21 July 1883. See Appendix C.

30) BPP C. 3705, enc. 7 in no. 44: Bulwer to Fynn, 2 August 1883.

Thursday, 23 August 1883

4 am sent off Umsinga post. 11 am Dr Oftebro started for Durban and took 5 shields for His Excellency. Rain came on in the night.

I have the honour to furnish the following information bearing on the recent attack by Zibebu's forces upon Cetshwayo's forces at Undini on July 21st 1883.<sup>31</sup>

The Mandlakazi (Zibebu's forces) came through the Black Mfolozi valley, a broken and thickly wooded and stony country during the night of the 20th July 1883 a distance of 35 or 40 miles they had made one halt on the march a few miles south of the Black Mfolozi river, where they made fires to warm themselves and proceeded on the march to Undini.

Shortly before sunrise on the morning of the 21st July 1883, this force was seen a few miles eastward of Undini by one of the Swazi party who came with the brother of the chief Mbandeni as reported to Your Excellency<sup>32</sup> who were staying at a kraal of Mfanwanhlela about 3 miles east of Undini and he have the information to Cetshwayo after sunrise and his headmen endeavoured to persuade him to leave Undini for safety. He objected. Considerable confusion took place amongst the people at Undini. Cetshwayo directed Ntuzwa to take general command of the forces at Undini, assisted by Siteku then Dabulamanzi and Tshingana (Cetshwayo's 2 half brothers). By this time the Falaza regt were outside of Undini, but not under proper control. The other regiments moved out from the front and rear of Undini

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GHZ 685, no. 161: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 August 1883.

31) This is in fact a more detailed account of the battle of oNdini. See entry for 21 July 1883.

32) See entry for 13 June 1883.

Thursday, 23 August 1883

in an irregular form or order with the exception of the Nodwengu regiment<sup>33</sup> which was about 8 miles northwest from Undini, but the senior commander Sekethwayo was at Undini.

The confused way of the forces leaving Undini was probably owing to their indiscriminately moving out under junior officers while the respective chief officers were engaged in holding a council with Cetshwayo, and endeavouring to induce him to flee from Undini. Eventually the chief officers followed their regiments proceeding eastward along a ridge in the direction beyond which the Mandlakazi forces were coming towards Undini over the ridges out of sight of Undini. When the Falaza regt had proceeded about a mile and were forming the left flank the Kandempemvu and Ngobamakosi<sup>34</sup> formed the right flank the others between, but not in proper form while forming into attacking position. The Mandlakazi approached the Kandempemvu and Ngobamakosi who opened fire upon the Mandlakazi some considerable distance off while the remainder of Undini forces were on the western slopes of the ridges or knolls out of reach of the Mandlakazi forces who hurried on without returning fire until the Kandempemvu and Ngobamakosi fled south-westward behind Undini (which is on a ridge upon which these forces faced each other; the valley and country behind Undini is very broken, wooded and rocky everywhere westward and southward towards the White Mfolozi river), pursued by the bulk

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GHZ 685, no. 161: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 August 1883.

33) The uNodwengu 'corps' comprised the uDududu, isaNgqu and imBube regiments, formed in the 1850s by Mpande.

34) The uKhandempemvu regiment was formed by Mpande in 1867 and the inGobamakosi by Cetshwayo in 1873.

Thursday, 23 August 1883

and left flank of the Mandlakazi forces, the right flank which consisted of 10 companies of Hamu's force and Mandlakazi (40 companies) who upon coming over the ridge in view of the left flank and bulk of Undini forces were fired upon by them who were under the immediate command of Ntuzwa, Siteku, Dabulamanzi and Tshingana who opened fire upon the right flank of the Mandlakazi force making a stand until nearly approaching without being fired upon in return, until a general flight of these Undini forces took place westward past the front of Undini over open ground. Very few of the Undini men were killed before they got as far as Undini and I believe none on Zibebu's side; and when nearly past Undini the bulk of the Undini people then in full flight turned southward over the Undini ridge towards the valleys of broken stony and thickly sprinkled wooded country westward of Undini towards the White Mfolozi and down which valley the bulk of Mandlakazi forces were pursuing and cutting off the flight in that direction, and thereby forcing the people in flight to take a more north-westerly direction towards the old battle field of Nodwengu of the 4th July 1879.<sup>35</sup> About this time the Nodwengu regiment fled after the bulk of Undini people in flight had passed Undini the huts on the right hand side of Undini kraal were fired. The right hand flank of the Mandlakazi forces kept up their pursuit on the right north side of Undini and people in flight.

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GHZ 685, no. 161: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 August 1883.

35) The site of the battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879 was about eight kilometres south-west of oNdini.

Thursday, 23 August 1883

I believe all Cetshwayo's belongings were looted about Undini. The Undini kraal was first fired after which the whole country was soon on fire burning all that day, and following night and days. Cetshwayo left Undini about the time his forces left Undini, with a horse of the Swazi who accompanied him and the women and others when they fled westward of Undini. Most of the killed were men.

Friday, 24 August 1883

Etshowe post despatched 5 am. Heavy rain, thunder and lightening all day.

Saturday, 25 August 1883

Rain heavy continuing until 5 pm. 6 pm heavy rain came on and all night, cleared up in morning of 26th, cold wind and cloudy.

Sunday, 26 August 1883

Pass for Mfanawanhlela and followers, authorised to proceed to the Res. Commissioner Reserve Territory. <sup>36</sup>

Monday, 27 August 1883

Wrote out report, replies from Zibebu per Gabajana and Mlambo. <sup>37</sup>

Cold day, cloudy and wind.

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GHZ 685, no. 161: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 August 1883.

36) See entry for 27 July 1883:

37) i.e. the despatch which makes up the rest of the entry for 27 August August 1883.



Monday, 27 August 1883

On 15th inst I informed Your Excy that I had despatched two of my messengers Gabajana and Mlambo to Zibebu.<sup>38</sup> They returned last night. They arrived at Zibebu's kraal Nkungweni on the 18th. Zibebu was absent with his army at Somkele's having started for there on the 14th August 1883 as I reported to Your Excy.<sup>39</sup> Zibebu returned to his kraal Nkungweni on the 22nd accompanied by 4 Europeans, Eckersley, Johan Colenbrander, a person described as Darke and another.<sup>40</sup> My messengers delivered the message to Zibebu on the 23rd, Zibebu replied, how could his white chiefs<sup>41</sup> say he was making war. Cetshwayo was killing him in continuence (sic) of Ndaduko's and Mnyamana's attack upon him before Cetshwayo's restoration.<sup>42</sup> That Cetshwayo's forces had come into his district to destroy him on 30th March 1883<sup>43</sup> and he Zibebu defeated them and did not go to Cetshwayo and now again Cetshwayo's forces had come into his district by stealth in the night of the 14th July 1883<sup>44</sup> and swept back killing all men, 20 women, burnt kraals and captured women, children and cattle. Chiefly Mgojana's people in Zibebu's district, the rest Zibebu's own people (Mandlakazi) and no captives released, he had hoped that his cries would have been heard

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GHZ 686, no. 162: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 August 1883.

38) See entry for 15 August 1883.

39) See entry for 16 August 1883.

40) Grosvenor Darke was a white trader who assisted Colenbrander. The fourth European is possibly McAlister. See Introduction, pp. 72-73.

41) This probably refers to Fynn and Osborn.

42) See Introduction, pp. 79-83.

43) At the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

44) See entry for 17 July 1883.

Monday, 27 August 1883

at the Mtonjaneni (Cetshwayo's restoration) about the attack upon him by Ndabuko and Mnyamana, the killing of his people and the capturing of cattle, he Zibebu on those occasions had appealed to Mr Osborn the then B.R. who told him to sit down quietly and he obeyed.<sup>45</sup> But still he was constantly attacked, but submitted to it, as he was told to do so.

As regards my message now to him, he had captured Cetshwayo's household girls and others according to native custom and these now had become the wives of his people, but he had released all Cetshwayo's wives, Cetshwayo had killed his brother Mbuyazi (Mpande's heir) and had taken his household girls, if Cetshwayo had as he wished, succeeded in killing or defeating him Zibebu, would the English govt have called upon Cetshwayo to release all captive women and girls in the same way as is now being done to Zibebu. That he Zibebu was the child of the English Govt who had conquered the Zulu nation to which he belonged. That he Zibebu had heard of Cetshwayo's people on the hills shouting to him Zibebu saying although he Zibebu had captured the girls Cetshwayo had sent to Gwalagwala (Mr Fynn) to send to him Zibebu to release all the girls who were to be considered as Cetshwayo's wives, that as my messengers had been sent on Cetshwayo's behalf, he Cetshwayo should have sent his own messengers in company in order that he Zibebu would have been enabled to make replies to them and they to him, my messengers informed Zibebu that I sent to him in my capacity as representative of

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GHZ 686, no. 162: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 August 1883.

45) See Introduction, 80.

Monday, 27 August 1883

the English govt that I had replied to Cetshwayo's messengers, that I could not send to Zibebu direct from Cetshwayo, but as from the govt, my messenger also replied to Zibebu, regarding his saying he retained girls according to native custom that native custom was in this case thrown on one side, by me a European representing the govt telling him Zibebu not to take women, girls or children captives and to release all that were taken captive. As regards Siteku (Cetshwayo's half brother) Zibebu had said he could be released here with Cetshwayo's families, but his Zibebu's people had brought him, that Siteku was at liberty to leave whenever he desired, and Siteku told my messengers he was coming, but the rains were delaying him.

Zibebu said regarding the boundaries which he was told to reverence, he had done so, Cetshwayo who came from the very presence of the Queen and had been told by Her Majesty should have obeyed her commands and revered her boundaries, but he had not done so, he had repeatedly sent his forces across into Zibebu's district to destroy him, and therefore he Zibebu had crossed the boundary in defence and to put an end to warfare. That there was no other way for him Zibebu to get peace, but by the action he had taken to defeat Cetshwayo. Zibebu informed my messengers he had been into to Somkele's to recover his cattle taken by Somkele in Mr Osborn's time and that Somkele had made several raids into his district killing people, capturing women, children and cattle and goats.

Monday, 27 August 1883

And therefore had now gone in to Somkele's now to recover, he had warned his force against killing anyone, unless resistance was offered, that he had captured cattle (my messengers say large herds) that some people might have been killed, but there had not been any battle. A few shots were exchanged, that the women captured had been released (my messengers saw a few girls which had been taken captive). That some kraals had been burnt, but he had done all he could to prevent this being done, and none had been burnt by the portion of his forces which kept with him all the time, that household articles had been restored by his orders, that there was only one way of making Zulus keep the peace, when they became troublesome, eat up their cattle and make them submissive. My messengers replied he should have done as the English did with Cetshwayo, but Zibebu said the goodness of the English was very great, but was not befitting to black people, see now what has happened, so many people dead. Zibebu reports by my messengers that a small force of Ndabuko's now across the Pongola to where he and his people had fled from Zibebu's district after Cetshwayo's defeat, 21 July 1883 had during Zibebu's absence at Somkele's (between the 14th and 22nd August 1883) came into Zibebu's district to Mlandela's kraal and killed 6 women wounding 2 more while harvesting grain, some of these women captured by Mlandela's sons while returning from Cetshwayo's defeat 21 July 1883.

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GHZ 686, no. 162: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 August 1883.

Monday, 27 August 1883

Also learnt that 6 messengers had from Mbandini, Swazi chief come to Zibebu to tell him he Mbandini had stopped Mabuko fleeing past there with his Zibebu's cattle and Zibebu must send for these cattle. Also cattle of the tribe of Maboko, by reason of Zibebu conquering Cetshwayo of whom Mabuko was a subject or adherent. Zibebu and his people between them gave my messengers 3 head of cattle and 4 calves as reception and for food. By the time Zibebu with his forces reached Somkele's, he and his people had fled and his cattle. Many of his people and their cattle escaped and were not attacked. \*

Tuesday, 28 August 1883

Sitsile son of late Mmqandi with followers and two hores are authorised to proceed to the Res. Commr Reserve Territory. A son of Mfanawanhlela is authorised to proceed to Zibebu to solicit the restoration of cattle.

Wednesday, 29 August 1883

Etshowe post arrived 6 pm.

Thursday, 30 August 1883

Zineku son and heir of Ntyingwayo calls to show his pass given 17 Aug.  
46  
1883 referring him to Hamu, recommend him not to go, but send others, to avoid the Sutu party making mischief of his going, he informs me.

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GHZ 686, no. 162: Fynn to Bulwer, 27 August 1883; GHZ 686, no. 163: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 August 1883.

46) See entry for 17 August 1883.

Thursday, 30 August 1883

Zineku reports there are cattle at his late father's kraals in the Reserve but Hlubi's sutus<sup>47</sup> are plundering them. I will grant a pass to the Res. there.

Zineku wishes to have confidence from me to enable their women to plant. I recommend planting, although the country is so unsettled.\*

Umsinga post arrived 6 pm.

Saturday, 1 September 1883

Umsinga post sent off 5 am.

Recd information that Siteku passed on 27 Monday on his way back from Zibebu with 30 head of cattle, with an escort who are to receive surrender of cattle from Siyunguza's people.<sup>48</sup>

That 6 companies of Mandlakazi have been sent to attack Maboko and confiscate his cattle, for having killed the 6 women and 2 wounded at Mlandela's kraal.<sup>49</sup>

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GHZ 686, no. 163: Fynn to Bulwer, 30 August 1883; GHZ 686, no. 164: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 September 1883.

47) i.e. Hlubi's Basutho troops.

48) See entry for 16 August 1883.

49) See entry for 27 August 1883.

Saturday, 1 September 1883

That messengers of Mr Osborn were at Zibebu's about 26th August, when a message had arrived from Hamu requesting Zibebu to aid him to rout Mnyamana's forces and people out of the Ngome Forest as they were continually harassing his people.<sup>50</sup>

Zibebu sent 20 companies to the Ngome Forest in conjunction with forces of Hamu's in the operation and also against the Baqulusi and the Mandlakazi forces started while Osborn's messengers were at Zibebu's.

On 31 Aug. and 1 Sept kraals on fire were seen at the Ngome Forest.

A rumour that Cetshwayo has given orders for his adherents all to muster in force and form encampments along the White Mfolozi river. A rumour also that Cetshwayo told people, Baqulusi, when on a visit to him, that they were to return to their respective places of refuge but he warned such as were or are his adherents, not to hasten to become or submit themselves as adherents to Hamu and Zibebu his enemies.

Sunday, 2 September 1883

Messengers sent to me by Cetshwayo to ask what I had done regarding his request to get his women and household girls from Zibebu<sup>51</sup> and that he let me know he is sending to His Excy.

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GHZ 686, no. 164: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 September 1883.

50) See entry for 10 August 1883.

51) See entries for 24 July and 2 August 1883.

Sunday, 2 September 1883

I replied I had received no reply from His Excy, and informed them of the message I had sent to Zibebu and the replies I had received<sup>52</sup> - fully explained both and messenger Mlambo narrated to them the message he took to Zibebu and the answer Zibebu gave him to bring back, and that I had reported this to His Excy. \*

Wednesday, 5 September 1883

Etshowe post arrived 5.30 pm. Despatch and letter from Osborn and Oftebro.

Thursday, 6 September 1883

Etshowe post despatched 5 am and telegram for Osborn to forward, 'May I with my few natives return to Umsinga pending further instructions and my clerk to Etshowe ditto.'<sup>53</sup>

Mlambo to go to Zibebu to find out the truth in re 6 companies and 20 companies to Hamu to attack Mnyamana, Ngome Forest and gather any information.<sup>54</sup>

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GHZ 685, no. 164: Fynn to Bulwer, 5 September 1883; GHZ 686, no. 168: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 September 1883.

52) See entry for 23 August 1883.

53) BPP C. 3705, enc. in no. 81: Osborn to Bulwer, 8 September 1883.

54) See entries for 1 and 2 September 1883.



Friday, 7 September 1883

Mlambo started for Zibebu's 8 am. Umsinga post arrived 11 am.

Sukana reports having received information that the people of late Dilikana<sup>55</sup> are in force to attack him today or in the morning under Cetshwayo's orders, to capture the cattle from Sukana and others who have deserted him.

Saturday, 8 September 1883

During the night (of 7th) people, women and children of Batonyile flocking here for refuge on an alarm that the Sutu forces are now assembled at Mlandela kraal and are about to attack them, Batonyile, Mfanawanhlela and Sukana that Cetshwayo had directed that these forces join Mnyamana in defence against Zibebu and Hamu's forces but the Baqulusi objected saying they would not do so, so long as Mfanawanhlela and Sukana and Batonyile's people remained as they are at their homes and unmolested by Zibebu's forces on 21 July 1883 and were therefore in alliance with Zibebu. That this Sutu force is under control of Ndabuko. My messenger reports that Siteku informed him that he Siteku had been in company with the Sutu forces last night near Nhlazaty, that these forces were collected by people of late Dilikana as an order from Cetshwayo, that, last night, this force questioned why they had not heard the order before, that this assembling was done without Mnyamana's knowledge and this force was opposed to take further action in attacking and dispersed last night and arranged to reassemble at the Ngome Forest.

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GHZ 686, no. 165: Fynn to Bulwer, 8 September 1883.

55) Dilikana was an Mbatha chief who was killed at uNdini on 21 July 1883. See Appendix C.

Sunday, 9 September 1883

Umsinga post despatched 5 am. Despatch sent and 3 letters of Davey's and my three.

Mfanawanhlela returned from Reserve Territory.<sup>56</sup> Reports that the Sutu force surrounded kraals but did no injury, found Sitsili had with some people and cattle gone to Hlubi's, Reserve Territory. Hamu's and Zibebu's forces were found to be near Black Mfolozi moving to attack Sutu party and capture cattle, and the Sutu were fleeing south-west with their belongings. Sent Gabajana and men of Mfanwanhlela's to Larsen's<sup>57</sup> and on to obtain all reliable information and even to Zibebu's forces if practicable for that purpose. \*

Monday, 10 September 1883

I am informed that the Boers are in numbers occupying with their stock in late Sekethwayo's district and carry off loads of grain from the abandoned kraals there and H. Potgieter<sup>58</sup> was seen loading his wagon with grain at one kraal and on being spoken to, replied to Zulus to mind their own business.

Batonyile authorised by pass to proceed to Reserve Territory with adherents and their cattle and report themselves at once.

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GHZ 686, no. 166: Fynn to Bulwer, 11 September 1883; GHZ 686, no. 167: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 September 1883.

56) See entry for 26 August 1883.

57) Larsen was in charge of the Norwegian Mission Station at Nhlazatshe.

58) A Transvaal Boer. See entry for 22 December 1883.

Tuesday, 11 September 1883

Batonyile started from here for Etshowe, cattle afterwards at noon.

Mfanawanhlela came (sent for) and cautioned about assembling forces.

Gabajana returned in re Boers in Sekethwayo's district<sup>59</sup> and he ascertained that the families of van Rooyen<sup>60</sup> are occupying the area and a number of other Boer families and have built houses and the people informed my messenger that these Boers say that country belongs to them, by conquering the English at Majuba,<sup>61</sup> and drive any natives who remain there away but those who do not interfere with the Boers are not troubled by them and the Boers are carrying off wagon loads of grain from the deserted kraals.\*

Wednesday, 12 September 1883

There is no truth in the Sutu force being under the control of Ndabuko.<sup>62</sup>

Sitsili, son of late Mnqandi started on the night of the 7th inst with his people and cattle for Hlubi's portion of the Reserve Territory.

Wagon arrived for Batonyile's belongings. Thunder in the evening, and little rain.

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GHZ 686, no. 166: Fynn to Bulwer, 11 September 1883; GHZ 686, no. 167: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 September 1883.

59) See entry for 1 September 1883.

60) Cornelius van Rooyen had previously been involved in the border dispute between Zululand and the Transvaal. See also entry for 22 December 1883.

61) See Introduction, pp. 75, 82-83.

62) See entries for 8 and 9 September 1883.

Thursday, 13 September 1883

Mfanawanhlela called. Cloudy all day and a little rain on and off.

The wagon with Batonyile's pots etc. started 10 am.

Two messengers with letter from Dr Oftebro, told he was at Durban and will be back in about 15 days.

Friday, 14 September 1883

Etshowe post arrived 5.30 pm.

Saturday, 15 September 1883

Umsinga post arrived 10 am.

Mlambo returned from Zibebu's<sup>63</sup> and reports Zibebu directed that all the women and children applied for to be released were released with the exception of 8, 3 women of which had married and preferred to remain, the others were two women, two children and a girl who were at some distant locality and their relatives will go for them at some future period when it suits their convenience to go for them. As regards the cattle Zibebu declined to make restoration on the grounds that the applicants had taken up arms against him, it was true that they formerly belonged to Mbuyazi, Mpande's son, but had joined Cetshwayo in warfare against him Zibebu and since Cetshwayo's defeat had with the view of strengthening the claim for the restoration of their cattle attached themselves to Batonyile, he would however release their captured families as I Gwalagwala had requested him to do so.

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GHZ 686, no. 168: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 September 1883.

63) See entry for 7 September 1883.

Saturday, 15 September 1883

Mlambo my messenger informs me that Zibebu was fast assembling his forces at Hamu's request to aid him in driving Mnyamana and his forces out of the Ngome Forest, as they were continuously harassing his people and preventing their planting their crops and unless they got their crops planted soon the people would starve.

Sunday, 16 September 1883

A messenger from Cetshwayo requesting that as my messengers to Zibebu had failed to obtain the release of his household girls, he now requests me to go in person to get them released.

Reply, I will report his request to His Excy but I cannot comply with his request to proceed to Zibebu without the directions of His Excy, as it was I had taken upon myself to send the messengers without first receiving the instructions of His Excy to do so. The messenger of Cetshwayo's informs me that about the 8th inst 10 or more mounted Baqulusi had been down to see Cetshwayo at Nkhandla and had returned home.

Monday, 17 September 1883

Umsinga post despatched 5 am.

Went with Gabajana down White Mfolozi about 20 miles.

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GHZ 686, no. 168: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 September 1883.

Thursday, 20 September 1883

I am informed the Boers are in occupation of Sekethwayo's country:  
Combrink, John and Carle Robertse, W. Labuschagnie, H. Carle and  
others.<sup>64</sup>

Etshowe post arrived 2 pm.

Sent Bangeni to Mfanawanhlela and Gabajana to Zineku, to ask which they will now do, remain here in Cetshwayo's or go to Reserve, under govt protection.

Friday, 21 September 1883

Mlambo returned to Umsinga. Letter home.

Mfanawanhlela came to me this morning and after clearly explaining my message to him he replied, he had been appointed as chief over this district, the land of his forefathers by the British Govt, he had not been guilty of any offence, he had all along objected to come under Cetshwayo's rule, and did not advocate for Cetshwayo's restoration or rule he wished to be under British rule and after Cetshwayo's restoration would only have left here to go to the Reserve if necessitated to do so, but was imperilled (sic) and could not move without the danger of loss of life and property. Cetshwayo had been conquered by Zibebu and driven out of this country and had gone to the Reserve, that he Mfanawanhlela had then gone to the Res. Comr himself

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GHZ 686, no. 171: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 September 1883.

64) See entry for 22 December 1883.

Friday, 21 September 1883

to see about a suitable locality to remove to and found the land which he was to have had and pointed out to him by Mr J.W. Shepstone<sup>65</sup> had been given by Mr Osborn the Res. Comr to another headman and Mr Osborn pointed out other land which was not suitable or large enough for him Mfanawanhlela and people, he found Cetshwayo was strongly enforced with Sutu forces at the Nkhandla and openly resisting the authority of the Res. Comr and asserting the Reserve Territory was his, given to him by the Queen in his restoration, and it is so generally promulgated in this country and as Cetshwayo held this position with a large force in defiance of the Res. Comr or Natal govt and supporting his rights to that country, upon the Home govt it was the general belief there was truth in it. And under all these circumstances he Mfanawanhlela could not move into the Reserve in the face of Cetshwayo's forces being there and would for the present remain here and watch results of these difficulties before he could come to a decision.

Mfanawanhlela informed me many of his men had gone to join Zibebu's forces now in this country near the Black Mfolozi moving westward,<sup>66</sup> he believed towards Babanango mountain and would furnish me with any further information he could gather from messengers he had sent out for the purpose. During this interview I continually impressed upon Mfanawanhlela, this country had been restored to Cetshwayo to rule over under conditions he was well aware of and that the Reserve Territory

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GHZ 686, no. 171: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 September 1883.

65) John Shepstone was Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory from January to April 1883.

66) See entry for 9 September 1883.

Friday, 21 September 1883

was retained under British rule for such natives as were from time to time unwilling to remain under Cetshwayo's rule and if Cetshwayo came back here now, he Mfanawanhlela and all others in this country would be his subjects so long as they remained in his country and his position would be worse under Cetshwayo than he had of late experienced, Mfanawanhlela said every person believed that the English or Home govt were sending authoritative persons to put this country right, including the Reserve, implying it would come under British rule, which he firmly believes will take place sooner or later, and it suits his convenience to do so. I explained this to him, that I had not received any intimation of even any likelihood of such a step being taken.

It is evident Mfanawanhlela will lean to Zibebu so long as Zibebu remains victorious. And if Cetshwayo returns it is probable Mfanawanhlela may find it more convenient to remove to Zibebu than to the Reserve, and I can see in his manner that he anticipates that if Cetshwayo attempts to return here, Zibebu and those who join him will endeavour to demolish Cetshwayo.

Saturday, 22 September 1883

My messenger has returned from Zineku who says in reply that he cannot live in peace in Cetshwayo's country, and is a British subject as his father was, and for British protection he wishes to remove to the Reserve Territory but the Sutu party hinder his going, Mnyamana sent to ask if it was true he Zineku was going to leave this country and



Saturday, 22 September 1883

throw himself in the fathomless waters and he Zineku had replied it was true he wished to remove to the British to whom his father had belonged. That upon this Mnyamana caused Sutu people to watch him day and night, from leaving, and he Zineku wished to have an English force to pass him safely to the Reserve with his people and cattle, he reports that some days ago some Baqulusi people captured the cattle of adherents of the late Ntyingwayo and took the cattle to Cetshwayo. My messenger told him Zineku that he would now have an opportunity of escaping to the Reserve as the Sutu people about there are fleeing westward from Hamu and Zibebu's forces<sup>67</sup> of which my messenger gives the following information:

That a force of Hamu's consisting of about 10 companies were killing some people of the Gazini<sup>68</sup> on the 20th inst between the source of the Black Mfolozi and the kraal of Mnyamana<sup>69</sup> and yesterday noon this force was at a stronghold of Mnyamana's where his cattle are and gun firing continued there for some considerable time and kraals were on fire and my messenger started back for here. About sunset yesterday, this force was amongst Zineku's people, gun firing going on there, kraals on fire and heard the yelling of women, and this morning more kraals were on fire. Zibebu's forces during the last two days have been proceeding up both sides of the Black Mfolozi river burning the temporary kraals and capturing cattle from Sutu people. These forces

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GHZ 686, no. 171: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 September 1883.

67) See entry for 9 September 1883.

68) i.e. the Egazini.

69) See Appendix A.

Saturday, 22 September 1883

are said to be enclosing Mnyamana at the Ngome Forest and after completing operations there, it is said they will proceed to Cetshwayo at the Nkhandla (Reserve Territory).

Two companies of young men of Mfanawanhlela's people are acting in conjunction with Zibebu's forces and have captured women and children of Gazini people.

Some cattle which had been captured from Sitsili when fleeing to Hlubi's, Reserve Territory were to be taken yesterday under Cetshwayo's orders down to him at the Nkhandla. I sent a messenger to Mfanawanhlela to inform him I had heard that he had 2 companies of young men out with Zibebu's forces and that they had captured women and children and I warn him against this and have several times cautioned him Mfanawanhlela. I had all along protected him from having his people, women and children and cattle interfered with, and now he is taking part in such actions, while he alleges he is a British subject and I shall make this course he has taken known to Your Excy.

Mfanawanhlela replies, there cannot be any truth in his people capturing Gazini families for they were like himself in danger of Zibebu. That his Mfanawanhlela's men are with him and have not gone to join Zibebu's forces, only the boys on their own account.

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GHZ 686, no. 171: Fynn to Bulwer, 21 September 1883.

Sunday, 23 September 1883

Etshowe post despatched 5 am.

Three of Zibebu's young men passing from the White Mfolozi inform me Zibebu's forces consisting of 40 companies and Hamu's consisting of 60 companies passed Nhlazatye yesterday to reach Babanango today where he will be joined by J. Dunn and his forces as arranged, and from there they will eventually proceed to the Nkhandla. That Zibebu's induna with a force of 4 companies are now returning to Zibebu's country with a large number of captured cattle taken from Sutu people on the Black Mfolozi valley and Nhlazatye direction, that there had not been much fighting, the Sutus in the crags had fired upon them and wounded two men of Zibebu's one of these had died, none of Sutu people killed. Zibebu had ordered none should be killed, only disarmed..

A few prisoners (lads) had been taken but would be released in course of time. From other sources I hear people of Faku kaZiningo were yesterday fleeing.

Monday, 24 September 1883

Umsinga post despatched 5 am.

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GHZ 686, no. 172: Fynn to Bulwer, 23 September 1883.

Thursday, 27 September 1883

Men of Zibebu called returning from Babanango - Zibebu has 40 companies, Hamu 10, Mfanawanhlela 2.

Two companies of Zibebu's passed with about 300 head of cattle, from Zibebu at Babanango captured and they say Zibebu has 40 companies. Zibebu carrying on communications with Hlubi and has sent to Mr Osborn and John Dunn, and Herbert Nunn has gone to John Dunn.

Sukana's 3 boys arrived at noon, they inform me Martin Oftebro had been sent to summon Cetshwayo to Etshowe, and Ndabuko and Ziweddu had been sent to tell Cetshwayo to proceed to Etshowe, troops expected at Etshowe to arrive soon i.e. within a day or two from 26th inst.<sup>70</sup>

Friday, 28 September 1883

Etshowe post arrived 6 pm and a despatch directing me to proceed as soon as possible to Etshowe.<sup>71</sup>

Thursday, 4 October 1883

Went over to camp military.<sup>72</sup>

Friday, 5 October 1883

Paid off postal runners to 30 September 1883.<sup>73</sup>

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GHZ 686, no. 173: Fynn to Bulwer, 28 September 1883.

70) BPP C. 3705, no. 33: Bulwer to Derby, 21 August 1883; no. 60: Bulwer to Derby, 25 September 1883.

71) BPP C. 3705, enc. 1 in no. 88: Bulwer to Osborn, 17 September 1883.

72) i.e. the British military camp at Eshowe.

73) See p. 185.

FYNN'S EXPENSES ACCOUNTS, JULY TO OCTOBER 1883.

Etshoue  
Zulu Reserve Territory  
October 4<sup>th</sup> 1883

Quarterly Statement of expenditure  
July 1<sup>st</sup> to September 30<sup>th</sup> 1883 inclusive.  
Establishment of British Resident  
with Cetshwayo Zululand, furnished  
under instructions from His Excellency  
Sir A. Bulwer, B. S. C. M. S. etc. Special  
Commissioner Natal, & dated 8<sup>th</sup> January 1883  
No 3.

Establishment	British Resident with Cetshwayo	Total
British Resident	1/31 July @ £800	£66.13.4
Henry F. Fynn	1/31 August .	66.13.4
	1/30 September .	66.13.4
		200 0 0
Clerk to B. R.	1/31 July @ £200.	£16.13.4
C. Davey	1/31 August .	16.13.4
	1/30 September .	16.13.4
		50 0 0
Native Staff	1/31 July @ 40 per annum	£10.0.0
Messengers etc	1/31 August .	10.0.0
	1/30 September .	9.0.0
		29 0 0
Postal	1/31 July @ 20f	£1.0.0
Runners	1/31 August .	1.0.0
	1/30 September .	1.0.0
		3 0 0
		<u>£282 0 0</u>

Etshowe

16 October 1883<sup>74</sup>

Res. Com. Reserve Territory

I have the honour to report that in furtherance of the offer I made to you on the 9th inst to proceed to Cetshwayo at the Ncome valley of the Nkhandla<sup>75</sup> with a view of bringing him to Etshowe to you, and having been provided with two mule wagons and a couple of horses I started at 8.30 am on the 10th inst.

On the 11th inst, 6 am, leaving the mule wagons to await my return, I accompanied by my principal messenger Bangeni and 3 or 4 men, proceeded on horseback with a spare horse. I pushed on as fast as the very broken country would enable me to do. I saw several natives on the high ridges evidently on the look out, who, upon seeing my advance, hurried off towards the Ncome. I was overtaken by two mounted natives, messengers of Cetshwayo, returning to him and directed them to pass forward and make known to Cetshwayo my approach.

I passed the kraal where Cetshwayo's wives and children were staying and assured them not to become alarmed. I ascended up the Ncome neck and met several men, who informed me, as I went on, that Cetshwayo had heard of my coming and I had better wait until he let me know where to meet him. I however, pushed on and off-saddled at the Ncome neck, at the edge of the Ncome Forest, where more men, stationed there, requested me to wait for Cetshwayo who was coming up, and would let me know where to

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GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 October 1883.

74) This despatch incorporates Fynn's diary entries from 9 to 16 October.

75) Possibly refers to the Mome Valley in the Nkandla Forest. See Binns, The Last Zulu King, p. 208.

Etshowe

16 October 1883

meet him; and these men made other communication, to the effect that I was in a hurry to come on and meet him as soon as possible.

Mfunzi, one of Cetshwayo's principal messengers<sup>76</sup> here overtook me, and told me he had sent on to tell Cetshwayo of my arrival there and Mr Grant<sup>77</sup> then overtook me, leaving, ascended by the same path as I had taken and had come from where he resided, some 2 or 3 miles south of the Ncome neck. Mfunzi, agreeing to my proceeding to meet Cetshwayo, proceeded ahead, and Mr Grant and I followed, when we had walked some short distance down the forest, messengers met me requesting me to wait there, and, at 11 am, Cetshwayo arrived with his brothers Ziweddu, Ndabuko, Dabulamanzi, Nsungula and many men, and young men in all probably 70 in view, and, as far as I am aware, unarmed. I read to him the contents of the document in Zulu, of which you approved and a copy of which is hereunto annexed,<sup>78</sup> and now translated into English. Cetshwayo replied I had been given to him to be his father. He had told me all along Zibebu would attack him at Undini and burn down his kraal, but I said he would not do so; that he had also said so in presence of H.C. Shepstone.<sup>79</sup> Since he had fled into the Ncome valley of the Nkhandla Forest I had not sent to sympathise with him, or recovered his girls captured by Zibebu; he had asked me to go in person for them knowing it would be no use sending messengers for that purpose.

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GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Osborn, 16 October 1883.

76) See Appendix D.

77) Grant had taken refuge with Fynn on 21 July 1883.

78) See pp. 192-194.

79) See entries for 14 and 15 May 1883.

Etshowe

16 October 1883

I said I had sympathy for him in his troubles, I could not go to Zibebu, but I had sent messengers to ask for the girls to be released; I had taken care of his wives and children, and provided them with rugs and blankets. I could not send to him in the Reserve which was under Mr Osborn's rule. Did he not remember in his messages saying 'he did not wish to see me until his girls were released.' I had now come to save him from falling into serious troubles and that was the way of my sympathy.

Cetshwayo said he wished Zibebu's forces to be caused to leave the country around Babanango. He had not refused to come to Mr Osborn, his feet were swollen; he was with him and in communication and is in his father's country. He was not in the forest as an enemy or with a force against the English: he had fled there for safety and was not in defiance of Mr Osborn, but under his protection. Mr Osborn had during his, Cetshwayo's absence across the sea protected his people and saved them by checking attacks being made upon them. I told Cetshwayo I had come to fetch him, and not to talk and argue. I wanted one or two answers viz to take him back in the mule wagon or empty wagons without him, He said he wished me to write to Mr Osborn to remove Zibebu and allow him Cetshwayo time to get Ntuzwa, Mnyamana and others in the Ngome Forest to accompany him to Etshowe to be present with him; and that he Cetshwayo was waiting for replies to letters he had sent through Mr Grant to the Government.



Etshowe

16 October 1883

I replied: that will not do, go with me and speak to Mr Osborn for yourself, in person; if you refuse to go with me I can only say so; and if you have any message to Mr Osborn I will take it but I firmly impress upon you, and call all here to witness, that I say, accompany me. I speak firmly but not angrily. If you do not do so I will not leave you here with any false hopes of any kind; you are not in that case to delude yourself with any false expectations or hopes that by my being the bearer of any message you may forward by me that, therefore, your request is thereupon complied with. I will not deceive you. Come with me and make your own requests to Mr Osborn and hear for yourself the replies he makes with his own mouth, I saw that he now yielded. He turned to Mfunzi to speak, who very impressively urged Cetshwayo to yield to my call. I then retired to give them an opportunity of talking the matter over, and soon after Mfunzi came for me and Cetshwayo informed me he had yielded to me, but desired I should grant him the following day to make preparations for the road, and that I would leave the horse for him to follow me. I consented and arranged to wait myself at a kraal close at hand and to meet him very early on the 13th inst; and the meeting terminated and I retired to the kraal. On the way I observed Hlubi's men (the Escort) some distance off, and approaching the kraal where Cetshwayo's wives and children were; and to prevent any alarm I sent orders for them to retire to the wagon camp and await there until the 13th inst, and then come and meet me.

Etshowe

16 October 1883

On the 12th 2 messengers came from Cetshwayo, and said:

1st, he was told of my goodness to his wives and children from whom he knew I have grieved for him in his destruction and he thanks me.

2nd, he desired to be accompanied by the few people there with him.

3rd, that they carry their weapons.

I at once replied: I cannot permit either; it would be a very wrong thing to do. I could not listen to such a request, he must not do it.

I alone, must be his shield to guard him from all harm that might befall him on the way to Etshowe but if he took a number of people, and they armed, it would be diminishing me as his shield, it would be like cutting a large strip all round off a large shield, and give him less protection, and greater temptations to any evil which might come in our way: a few of his personal adherents might accompany him.

On the morning of the 13th, about 7.30 I proceeded to Cetshwayo who was descending with a number of followers, armed. I remonstrated firmly as on the previous day and we proceeded but had to take shelter in the kraal where his wives were, in consequence of a heavy storm, after which Hlubi's mounted men, about 90, arrived. Cetshwayo begged me to consent to his being accompanied by his people, armed. I objected as before. We then started, he followed by his brothers, 7 girls, and a number of

Etshowe

16 October 1883

armed people whose numbers increased as we proceeded. Rain came on, and we halted at a kraal, and then moved on where a heavy storm came on. Cetshwayo said he would overtake me in the morning if rain did not prevent him, and I went on to the wagon camp through heavy rain.

The first thing next morning, 14th, light rain continuing, I communicated with Cetshwayo and urged his not proceeding any further armed, and to lessen his following; and found he had taken a short cut to the main road, and I overtook him with the mule wagons.

I found he had complied with my request, and the people had left their arms that morning (or sent them back).

On the 14th we reached Ntumeni mission station<sup>80</sup> and the next day, 15th yesterday, we arrived here about noon, when I presented Cetshwayo to you in answer to your call.

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GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Osborn, 16 October 1883.

80) Entumeni was the Norwegian Mission station, south-west of Eshowe.

Etshowe

9 October 1883<sup>81</sup>

Translation

I have come to you Child of Mpande with a word of which I am the bearer. I was called by the Governor to come to Etshowe, whereupon I found upon you rested a case by reason of your not reverencing the ruler of the Country into which you took refuge (or fled to); viz Mr Osborn, who was appointed by the Queen, he had called you but you did not go to him; he was about to send for the last time to call you, and I saw by that, that if you did not go to Etshowe a heavy case would rest upon you by reason of disregarding the ruler of the country, he having called you; but, probably your not understanding it, the weight (heaviness) of a case of that sort. I, therefore, had sorrow on your behalf, and I came forward and said to Mr Osborn, I had better go; he agreed, as you see me now arrive here to you with his word he gave me to convey, but directly (clearly) understand it, receive it well, and hold it with the ear, and with a good heart.

Mr Osborn says 'come with me to him today, and enter under his wing and know that it is he who rules for the Queen in this country, that you are now in. He calls you, but this is the last time he calls you; he will not repeat calling you if you disregard this word of his this day, and until I return to Etshowe, and you do not accompany me there, it will be you are obstinate, continuing to be obstinate with intent (or purpose) to

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GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 October 1883.

81) This despatch is included in despatch GHZ 687, no. 178: Fynn to Bulwer, 16 October 1883.

Etshowe

9 October 1883

disregard him, he that was given, by the Queen the charge of this country into which you have now fled ; and then he will fetch you by force; but he does not desire to do that, and, therefore, now gives you an opening (opportunity) to go now to him (or today). But I Gwalagwala (H.F. Fynn) am persuading you, child of Mpande; I am the child of Mbuyazi. I am sorry for you; consent and accompany me to Mr Osborn at Etshowe. I will convey you well by mule-wagons, which I have brought in order that you may travel without your having the trouble of the road, I will take charge of you along the road. I will take due care to bring you to him, and with people accompanying me as an escort; and I will bring you to Etshowe that all your words, you may wish to speak to Mr Osborn, may be heard from your own mouth, and by his own ears - also words, if there are any, that you are anxious to be sent to the Queen be forwarded corectly by him, as you speak them with your own mouth, that being the course benefitting you by reason of your being in the country placed in his charge by the Queen.

Mr Osborn urges that you hear well these words of his, hold them with firmness in truth. Receive this opportunity (opening) which I have brought to you: to go to him under his wing. If you do not consent, and do not go to him with me this day it will be a case upon you of disregarding him which will remain with you if you don't accompany me to him, who was appointed by the Queen over this country you are in, you will be forced

Etshowe

9 October 1883.

by power to be taken to him at Etshowe. Child of Mpande, hear: you will be forced by power to be taken to him and he will not again repeat calling you in a kindly way, as today. Consent that we go, child of Mpande, that the heavy burden come not upon you!

I cannot be the bearer of words or argument, there are only two points; viz - to accompany me, and if I return alone, because you remain, it will be you refuse thereby. With kindness I come for you; if I fail you will be fetched by force, which is in possession of Mr Osborn.

(Signed) Henry F. Fynn

British Resident

with Cetshwayo.

PART IV

FYNN AT ESHOWE AND IN THE TRANSVAAL

(29 OCTOBER TO 22 DECEMBER 1883)

Monday, 29 October 1883

Mr Osborn started 9 am for P.M. Burg, asked leave.<sup>1</sup>

Rev. Oftebro called and went to see Cetshwayo.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday, 30 October 1883

Malinde<sup>3</sup> started to Zibebu with Mr Osborn's message in re Sigaholo girls<sup>4</sup> and to see if Zibebu will release two captured lads from Samuelson<sup>5</sup> and to say I hope Zibebu will release them, that the retaining of captured people would place Zibebu in unfavourable view of Europeans. A trader called here about his goods and two natives killed at Undini on 21 July 1883 and had communicated with Mr Osborn and the Govt about it, and was now on his way to Zibebu to seek compensation for goods.

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- 1) GHZ 687, Telegram: Osborn to Bulwer, 24 October 1883, in which Osborn asked leave to go to Pietermaritzburg to speak to Bulwer. Fynn acted as Resident Commissioner in Osborn's absence.
  - 2) Cetshwayo and Fynn were now resident in the British military camp near Osborn's residence in Eshowe.
  - 3) A messenger of Fynn or Osborn. See Appendix D.
  - 4) i.e. Cetshwayo's isigodlo girls, captured in July 1883.
  - 5) S.M. Samuelson was an assistant at the Anglican Church Mission at St Paul's. See Appendix A.

Wednesday, 31 October 1883

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that this afternoon the Chief Siyunguza appeared before me and reported that on the 29th inst a Sutu force of people of Tshingana and a force of the people of late Lukwazi<sup>6</sup> made a raid upon some of Siyunguza's people, killed seven men and two women and wounded four people, captured their cattle, women and children.

Siyunguza wishes to bring his adherents who are residing some distance eastwards and northwards of Mhlatuse river in Cetshwayo's territory to his people residing near and on Cetshwayo's side of Mhlatuse for their better safety.

I informed him I could see no objection to this action.

One of my messengers ascertained the following information from Ndungunya one of Cetshwayo's attendants who has come from Mnyamana to whom he had been sent by Cetshwayo a few days before he left the Nkhandla to come here with me and to tell Mnyamana Mr Osborn was calling him Cetshwayo to come to the Etshowe edge of the Ngome Forest.

That while he Ndungunya was returning here to Cetshwayo, he found the people of Mfanawanhlela were in force for defence at his kraal north of Dr Oftebro's and the cattle and families were collected at his kraal south-west of Dr Oftebro's.<sup>7</sup> Mfanawanhlela himself had with some families

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GHZ 687, no. 180: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 October 1883.

6) An uSuthu adherent.

7) See Appendix A.



Wednesday, 31 October 1883

gone down the Black Mfolozi river for safety, from the Sutu people in the crags who had taken cattle from people in the neighbourhood of Mfanawanhlela.

That he Ndungunya had from there to come back by a north-westerly route to avoid forces of Zibebu's which were amongst Siyunguza's adherents or people eastward of Mtonjaneni.

I believe these people are Mgitshwa's<sup>8</sup> but lean to Siyunguza as they do not side with the Sutu party and are therefore termed people of Siyunguza's.

Thursday, 1 November 1883

Mgitshwa replies, it is true, he has erred in that he did not report to Mr Osborn, that Zibebu had sent messengers to him to demand the forfeiture of cattle from Mgitshwa's people in the Reserve who had armed against him Zibebu, and also the cattle of those who had fled to Mgitshwa in the Reserve to save them.

Messengers sent to Zibebu to get information.

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GHZ 687, no. 180: Fynn to Bulwer, 31 October 1883.

8) Mgitshwa was a member of the Biyela tribe and had been appointed chief over Somhlolo's district in 1879. See Appendix C.

Friday, 2 November 1883

Somhlolo, chief of Cetshwayo's people<sup>9</sup> sends to report that with reference to Mr Osborn's message to him to lie down peacefully, he did so as directed, but on the 29th Oct. 1883, a force led by Johan Colenbrander and consisting of 6 companies of Zibebu's and 4 companies Mgitshwa's people came to capture the cattle of his tribe.

Somhlolo requests leave for messengers to pass on to let Cetshwayo know what has happened. This force of Zibebu's under Johan Colenbrander has gone homewards with the captured cattle and five boys, the women and families were not molested.

I informed these messengers the forgoing would be forwarded to Your Excellency, and I allowed them to see Cetshwayo. \*

Sunday, 4 November 1883

Cetshwayo asks for Ntuzwa to be allowed to return to his kraal in late Sekethwayo's country (Cetshwayo's territory) for the purpose of planting crops, as the planting season is passing and unless crops are sown people will starve to death in the country.

Cetshwayo sends to request I will kindly give him money to buy ploughs or hoes for his wives to cultivate at such kraals as they have taken shelter at.

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GHZ 687, no. 183: Fynn to Bulwer, 2 November 1883; GHZ 687, no. 185: Fynn to Bulwer, 4 November 1883.

9) Somhlolo was a Biyela chief and heir to Mkhosana. He was an uSuthu supporter who had been excluded from power in 1879. See Appendix C.

Sunday, 4 November 1883

Reply, I am in need of money, I have none to give away, I have my own family to think of and provide for, I have already spent a lot of money £25 on blankets for Cetshwayo's wives.

I observe Cetshwayo's request embraces two requests, asking for money and the other thereby to give him a right to cultivate in the Reserve. As regards cultivating, right to do so, I cannot authorize it. Mr Osborn will be back in a few days, when Cetshwayo can ask him. \*

PRIVATE

(Note: rumours circulating. Mr Osborn has been called to P.M. Burg to account for himself and is a prisoner there. Gwalagwala a prisoner in charge of the military. The forces here are only a body guard and Cetshwayo has distinguished officers with large forces on the way to put all the country in order for him, kill Zibebu and restore the Reserve to Cetshwayo now occupied by him).

Monday, 5 November 1883

On the afternoon of the 2nd inst Mfanawanhlela received information that a Sutu force was ready to attack him that very night. The leader of the Sutu party is said to be Ndabankulu and he is said to have received orders from Cetshwayo to gather all the Sutu and destroy Mfanawanhlela and all his people, it is not known if it be by Cetshwayo's orders, but it is alleged the Zulus believe it to be by Cetshwayo's orders.

Monday, 5 November 1883

Somkele per messengers account political news of the country and for them to call upon Cetshwayo, permitted to do so.

Mr Osborn has gone to the seat of Govt but will be back in a few days.

I have the honour to forward for Your Excy's information the following statement received this day from one of Osborn's people at Nhlazatye: I left Nhlazatye on the 4th inst, there is no truth in the report that a Sutu force had at the Black Mfolozi routed a force of Zibebu's driving captured cattle homewards and taken the cattle, if such had been the case I would certainly have heard of it.

About 5 days ago, a force of the people of late Dilikana who captured cattle from Sitsili<sup>10</sup> captured the cattle of the Norwegian mission at Nhlazatye and distributed these cattle amongst themselves and slaughtered some.

Shortly before Zibebu left the Babanango about 15th October<sup>11</sup> a force of Zibebu's came to the Nhlazatye from the Babanango for the purpose of seizing cattle but failed, as the people were in a stronghold, a fight took place, three of Zibebu's were killed. The missionaries Larsen and Berge have not been molested or their cattle taken by anyone.

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GHZ 687, no. 189: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 November 1883.

10) See entry for 12 September 1883.

11) See entry for 16 October 1883.

Monday, 5 November 1883

Before leaving the Nhlazatyé, I heard Mfanawanhlela's tribe and cattle had gone across the Black Mfolozi river to take refuge with Zibebu . Messengers sent to Cetshwayo to report actions by Zibebu's forces. I did not meet these messengers returning homewards, but I have ascertained they left Cetshwayo here three or four days ago.

Nsungulu and Ndabankulu are prominent leaders now of Sutu party of Cetshwayo's half brother Tshingana up the White Mfolozi river, and about 8 days ago inclusive they led a force to the Mtonjaneni, attacked kraals of Mgitshwa and killed some people, took women and children captives and captured their cattle.

Wednesday, 7 November 1883

Mgitshwa sent to ask if his adherents in Cetshwayo's district may come to his people in the reserve, as they are afraid of being attacked and their cattle taken by the Sutu party under Ndabankulu who on the 29th October led an attack.

Reply, I wish Mgitshwa to let me know the numbers of these kraals.

Thursday, 8 November 1883

Cetshwayo requests I will send for his guns, taken by the Reserve police. I replied that Mr Osborn will be back in a few days when this request could be made.

Friday, 9 November 1883

I have the honour to inform your Excy that Siyunguza reports that his adherents in Cetshwayo's territory fled on the 8th inst with their cattle and families into the Reserve Territory, in consequence of receiving intimation that a Sutu force originating from Cetshwayo here had started from the Nkhandla and was on the 8th to attack them and they fled.

Siyunguza has been tracing the origin of this alarming intimation but has not been able to find any proof in this report and is still making further enquiry.

Siyunguza however makes this report, of what has taken place as he thinks it may turn out that the information was perhaps premature but nevertheless founded on a contemplated movement of this kind. Siyunguza further states he considers it expedient to have his people assembled prepared in case of an attack being made upon him in the Reserve Territory.

I have replied to Siyunguza, that I think it inexpedient for him to muster his forces and he better not do so as such an act would probably lead to invite an attack being made upon him and that seeing no such Sutu forces as rumoured have been seen by anyone, he had better only have a few sturdy reliable men on the lookout and let me know the result.

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GHZ 687, no. 188: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 November 1883.

Friday, 9 November 1883

I beg to draw your Excellency's attention to my despatch of the 31 October<sup>12</sup> on which date Siyunguza was here, and two of my messengers heard Cetshwayo on that afternoon remark 'Siyunguza is here (the Resident Commissioner's) making reports of matters beyond the Mhlatuse river (Cetshwayo's territory), what business has he (or why does he) do that, did he report that Zibebu when at Babanango had killed Baqulusi people. That Siyunguza should have continued to remain quiet, but he Siyunguza continued to harass him (Cetshwayo), Siyunguza shall not grow great with age.'

Messengers of Baqulusi have come, sent by their indunas, to Cetshwayo, having heard Cetshwayo has been taken by the soldiers over the sea.

These messengers heard this from a Boer on the Transvaal side of the river, and from a Transvaal native policeman who had come to the Zulu country from Hamu, recovered ten head of cattle out of thirty head which had been captured by people of Hamu's from his people in the Transvaal about a month ago.

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GHZ 687, no. 188: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 November 1883; GHZ 687, no. 189: Fynn to Bulwer, 9 November 1883.

12) See entry for 31 October 1883.

Friday, 9 November 1883

Cetshwayo forwards Nkungenyana one of Ndabuko's adherents to narrate what he has seen. He states:

I am at present one of the people here with Cetshwayo and staying at a kraal in the neighbourhood. This morning I went on a visit to the kraal of one of John Dunn's people about 10 miles east from Etshowe, on the way I met three men of Siyunguza's coming to kraals on this side of where I was going to, they were armed with assegais and small hunting shields, they said they were on their way to hunt. I do not know their names. I proceeded further and met a file of about twenty men armed in the same way, I passed on without speaking. After I arrived, some women came into the hut in which I was in, they said to me, 'go out, what brought you in here', I said 'what has happened mothers?'. They replied 'have you not met the force of Siyunguza's who had given orders for mustering armed, as the Sutus were in force at Siteku's kraal, Cetshwayo's side of the Mhlatuse, and Cetshwayo's people here with him, had gone to join that force for the purpose of enclosing or attacking him Siyunguza.' I said 'it was not true I am one of the people with Cetshwayo here', a young man said 'don't contradict the mothers, I have come from Siyunguza's people out hunting when word came from Siyunguza to muster in force', but the men replied to Siyunguza's messenger, 'that cannot be true that Cetshwayo has a force out, when he has taken refuge in the bush and that they would not muster.'



Friday, 9 November 1883

A messenger states that the forgoing are the words Cetshwayo forwards to be made known here as being rumoured about him, and the Sutu people, where could they the Sutu people derive authority to muster, or where could Siteku obtain such power as is rumoured as he Cetshwayo is at present under protection, or wing of the Resident Commissioner here, Siyunguza is moulding evil against him Cetshwayo. Has not Siteku just lately been released from Zibebu, how could he Cetshwayo now send a force to Siteku's charge, that all he Cetshwayo now hears being moulded as evil against him he will report here for the information of the Government.

Reply to Cetshwayo, I had heard the rumour of such a Sutu force, but as a rumour and the proof of no such force being in existence will only be, not hearing any more of it, for if there be such a force, I shall know of it, and inform the Government and it will be a serious matter. There must be no foundation for the rumour, the truth will come to light. I also let Cetshwayo know His Excellency the Special Commissioner of Zululand is made aware of the raid made by Sutu forces, and now, in the name of the Govt I call upon the leaders of such and all Sutu forces, to desist from these such acts whether of depredation or violence, for which there can be no longer any excuse, and I warn them in the name of the Government that they will be held individually and collectively responsible for these acts.

Saturday, 10 November 1883

During last night a brother of Ngobozana's came to Cetshwayo and informed him that Siyunguza had assembled his people in force saying that there is a Sutu force at Siteku's kraal, Cetshwayo's side of the Mhlatuse river, this report soon became circulated in the neighbouring kraals here, and an alarm took place and Dabulamanzi assembled an armed force 20 or 30 of the people who are at the neighbouring kraals here with Cetshwayo, these people then went to the kraal where Cetshwayo is and shortly after retired to the kraals.

My messengers inform me that the assegais left by Cetshwayo's followers on the way from the Nkhandla have since stealthily been brought to the kraals about here, and I have all along suspected this was going on.

As regards the raids, Cetshwayo had not heard of any on the 29th Oct. As a reply has come from the Govt about that, Cetshwayo has taken refuge here and knows nothing of what is going on there and is not responsible for the disturbances and retaliations.

I reply to Cetshwayo, I will find out as I said last evening the truth about the rumoured Sutu force and Siyunguza's. I will let your Excellency know what Cetshwayo says about this.

I cannot say that Cetshwayo is not responsible for actions of Sutu party, so long as he has a number of people about here going backwards and

Saturday, 10 November 1883

forwards, and I see people with assegais about, I cannot allow this, it shall not continue.

I heard last night, Dabulamanzi assembled people with arms, in an unnecessary false alarm. I have reported it to the Govt and it must not happen again, it is an unnecessary disturbance of the peace and I shall see Dabulamanzi about it.

Tshingana accompanied by Ndabuko states: Cetshwayo sends to say that he wishes to add to his message of this morning. Cetshwayo says if he had heard from Ndabankulu of the attack he would have reported it here and he would tell the Sutu people to cease disturbances.

More assegais concealed in bundles of reeds have just been taken from some of Cetshwayo's people, and shields. \*

Dabulamanzi came yesterday to say he had heard it had been reported to me he had last night assembled men armed, it was an alarm, the cattle in the kraal had taken fright, broken out and people were seen who disappeared. I replied, I had heard of his doing so, in an alarm, and I warn him to keep quiet and not do such acts and remind him of warnings he has received from Mr Osborn it must not happen again. The cattle did break out and take fright but I am satisfied it was Dabulamanzi's movements frightened them.

Sunday, 11 November 1883

My messenger has returned from Siyunguza and reports, that Siyunguza had dispersed his people to their homes, they had fled to him alarmed. That all his people in Cetshwayo's territory had furiously fled to him in the Reserve.

Siyunguza informs me he had sent to Siteku Cetshwayo's half brother, Cetshwayo's side of Mhlatuse river to ascertain if any Sutu force existed as rumoured and that Siteku sent back one of his own men to say there was no truth in the report.\*

Monday, 12 November 1883

With regard to the women and children captured by Sutu forces on the night of the 14 July 1883 in Zibebu's territory it is generally understood that during the continuous disturbance and unsettled periods these and other captives have availed themselves of such opportunities and returned to their respective friends or homes.

Cetshwayo informed me that he believed all captives by Sutu people had been released or returned to their homes including those of the 14 July.

The Sutu say Cetshwayo is about to send out forces aided by the Boers at Pongola to destroy or assassinate Zibebu and exterminate Mandlakazi tribe and then Cetshwayo will flee at night from here to the Boers' country.

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GHZ 687, no. 192: Fynn to Bulwer, 11 November 1883; GHZ 687, no. 193: Fynn to Bulwer, 11 November 1883.

Monday, 12 November 1883

Information that the Sutu people here with Cetshwayo at the kraals are at night restless and moving about armed and talking in parties together secretly and he is sure there is serious mischief going on and gives this information secretly and in fear of being found out.

Tuesday, 13 November 1883

Recd 12.15, 13/11/83.

November 12th

To Mr Osborn, <sup>13</sup>

In anticipation of your having returned I write to you. You cannot imagine the state of unrest in the Reserve amongst the people, owing to the reports being spread by Cetshwayo; he says the white men are quarreling about him, and his party have been told to let the Sutu fight again and he intends to wipe out all who will not join him. If nothing has yet been decided on, and you are powerless to act, I am afraid we will have to take the Law into our own hands and drive him out of the Reserve as if the rest of them are not cleared out there is sure to be bloodshed in the Reserve before long, you must allow I have the opportunity of knowing more than you do, one report is that the soldiers<sup>14</sup> will not do any fighting. The Sutu have killed a lot. Cetshwayo's brothers are almost worse than he is in causing agitation. I wrote to Mr Fynn the day before yesterday. I am afraid we will have a severe famine in this country if this state of things is not soon put a stop to although the people had good crops last year. Cetshwayo will

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GHZ 687, no. 195: Fynn to Bulwer, 12 November 1883.

13) Fynn was acting as Resident Commissioner in Osborn's absence, hence he received this letter.

14) i.e. the troops that arrived in Eshowe in September.

Tuesday, 13 November 1883

not be satisfied until he dies with the whole country; meaning he will go on setting the people to kill each other if he cannot be king again.

He may say what he likes before you, but he speaks very disrespectfully of you and all the Natal authorities.

Yours truly

(Signed) J.R. Dunn.

P.S. The Baqulusi have cleared out to a farm and have built a kraal expecting Cetshwayo and I believe he would still slip through to the Boers if he could. He has sent to Mnyamana and others not to recognise Zibebu or Hamu.

Cetshwayo asks for a pass for some people across the Mhlatuse to bring cattle across to him. I cannot give a pass for that purpose.

Wednesday, 14 November 1883

Cetshwayo asks for a pass for messengers to go to Mnyamana and to collect cattle for food anywhere. I refuse to give pass for that purpose.

Friday, 16 November 1883

A messenger reports that Siganda<sup>15</sup> and a large number of Sutu people were assembled near the Nkhandla with a large number of guns ostensibly for hunting, at the kraal where the people assembled, live some of Cetshwayo's family.

Cetshwayo asks for news and to ask about the recovery of his household girls from Zibebu.

Reply, Mr Osborn will be here today I expect. The messenger of Mr Osborn and mine sent to find out about retained captives, have not yet returned.

7 pm. Mr Osborn returned from P.M. Burg.

Saturday, 17 November 1883

Handed over correspondence and business to Mr Osborn. Wrote to J. Dunn to let him know I would pass on Monday afternoon 19th November.<sup>16</sup>

Sunday, 18 November 1883

Wagon started at 1 pm and I followed at 2 pm with Gabajana. Overtook wagon and camped for the night 6 pm. Took 5 hours.

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15) Siganda was a Cube chief who sheltered Cetshwayo in the Nkandla Forest.

16) For full details of Bulwer's instructions to Fynn regarding the Transvaal see BPP C. 3705, enc. 2 in no. 160: Bulwer to Fynn, 17 December 1883.

Monday, 19 November 1883

5.15 am started and crossed river. Met John Dunn and assistance to take wagon over the Tugela.

Tuesday, 20 November 1883

5 am left, 5.30 crossed Tugela and overtook wagon. Passed New Guelderland. 12 noon reached Stanger. Post cart leaves here 11.30 21st. Saw the farrier.

Monday, 10 December 1883

Camped south of Helpmekaar.

Tuesday, 11 December 1883

To Hlubi's arriving 8 pm. He gave young ox.

Wednesday, 12 December 1883

Pretorius called<sup>17</sup> and recommended his sending to invite Boer squatters to meet me at Coenraad Schelveyk<sup>18</sup> on Tuesday 18th in the afternoon,

Thursday, 13 December 1883

Started 8 am and outspanned 11.30 am. 4 pm trek and encamped 6.30 pm.

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17) 'Pretorius' is unidentifiable in this context. Possibly a Transvaal Boer representative.

18) See entry for 22 December 1883.



Monday, 19 November 1883

5.15 am started and crossed river. Met John Dunn and assistance to take wagon over the Tugela.

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5 am left, 5.30 crossed Tugela and overtook wagon. Passed New Guelderland. 12 noon reached Stanger. Post cart leaves here 11.30 21st. Saw the farrier.

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---

17) 'Pretorius' is unidentifiable in this context. Possibly a Transvaal Boer representative.

18) See entry for 22 December 1883.

Friday, 14 December 1883

Started 7.30 am and outspanned 10.30 am. 3 pm trekked and reached junction of Blood river.

Monday, 17 December 1883

8 am started and reached near Coenraad Schalveyk's. 10.30 am, camped several Boers came after Schalveyk, gave them copies of warning letter.<sup>19</sup>

Tuesday, 18 December 1883

10 am proceeded to Schalveyk's and met about 40 mounted Boers. I explained to all the warning and gave out copies, taking down names of all places occupied and date of arrival. People behaving very well.

Wednesday, 19 December 1883

Started 8 am, called at van Schalveyk's. A brother of late Sekethwayo followed me to pay his respects, and informs me the Boers who are trekking in do not herd their cattle and that the cattle damage the crops, but does not give me any specific case.

Thursday, 20 December 1883

Bangeni sent off 5 am to Hamu, to let him know of my being here and the purpose, and to give Hamu 3 copies of the warning notices given to the Boers for his information and to give any Boers arriving and to request Hamu not to allow the women and children about here to be molested or prevented from attending their gardens.

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GHZ 687, no. 200: Fynn to Bulwer, 26 December 1883.

19) See entry for 22 December 1883.

Saturday, 22 December 1883

TAKE NOTICE

By virtue of instructions from His Excellency the Special Commissioner for Zulu affairs, and dated, Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, 30th November 1883, to me, as British Resident with Cetshwayo, in respect of the territory which was placed under Cetshwayo on the 29th January 1883, at Mtonjaneni, in that territory, I hereby warn you individually, and all whom it may concern, and whom it may hereafter concern, that all Europeans, Transvaal Boers, or others, who have entered and located themselves in the aforesaid territory, placed under Cetshwayo are doing so without any lawful authority whatever, and against the lawful rights of the Zulu people to whom the country belongs, and further, that the Zulus have no power to alienate any of said Zulu territory; and I now with good will, and in a friendly manner, make this known to you, and to all it may now or hereafter concern, in order to avoid any false apprehensions of any idea, if there be any, that land may be obtained from the Zulus.

No rights to land can be obtained in the Zulu territory.

(signed) Henry F. Fynn.

British Resident with Cetshwayo.

Zululand.

17 December, 1883.

22 December 1883

TRANSLATION

TO H. FYNN, RESIDENT IN ZULULAND

SIR,

We, the undersigned, residents in Zululand, do hereby beg to convey to you our sincere thanks for your kind information respecting Zululand.

Our humble request is, that you will see the necessity of representing our interests in Zululand to the High Commissioner with a view to our being confirmed as British subjects.

(Signed)

H.W. Carle

P.W. Labuschagne

C.J. Robberts

E.J. William

N.J. du Preez

J.N.K. Labuschagne

C.F. van Rooyen

G.F. van Rooyen

P.H. van Rooyen

F.A. Combrink

T. Potgieter

J. Schalkvyk

C. van Rooyen

Gert Robberts

A.J. van Schalkvyk

J.S. Vermaak

M.J. Potgieter.

FYNN'S EXPENSES ACCOUNTS FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1883

Provisionary  
Mzingo Division  
December 31 - 1883

Statement of Expenditure from January 10<sup>th</sup> to December 31<sup>st</sup> 1883, inclusive, of Establishment of British Resident with Cekwayo Lulupini, furnished under instructions from His Excellency Sir A. Bulwer L. S. G. etc, Special Commissioner, Natal, and dated January 8<sup>th</sup> 1883. 1883  
Inclusive

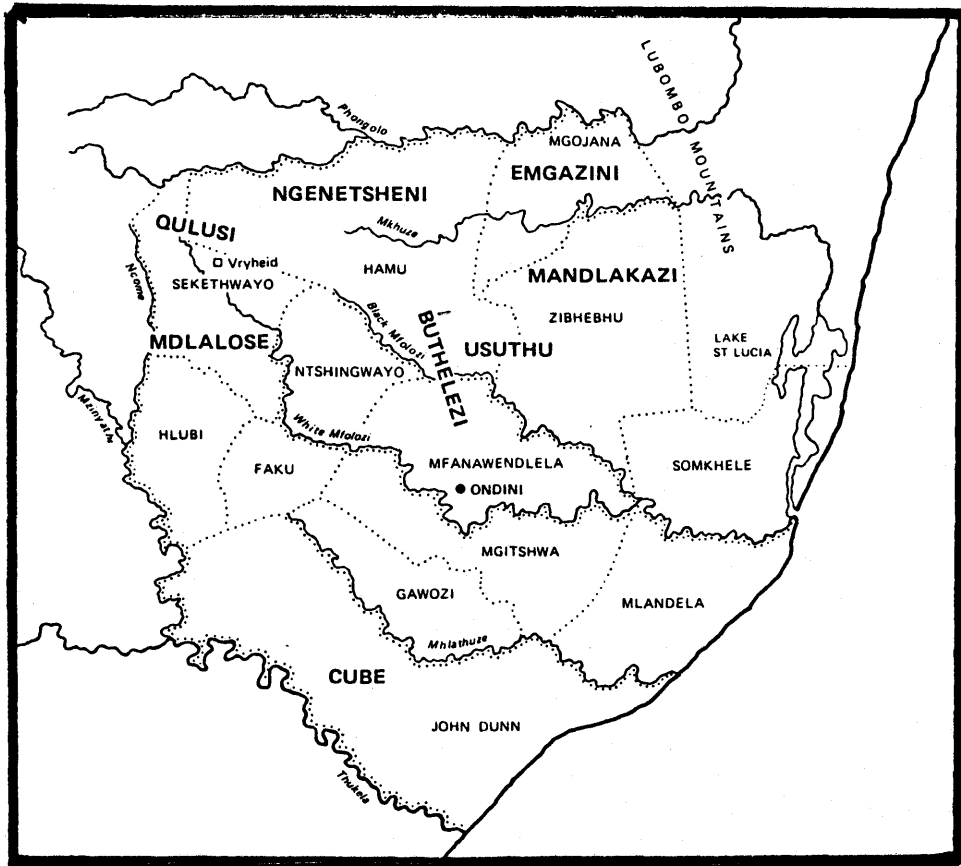
	January 1883	February 1883	March 1883	April 1883	May 1883	June 1883	July 1883	August 1883	September 1883	October 1883	November 1883	December 1883	1 <sup>st</sup> Quarter	2 <sup>nd</sup> Quarter	3 <sup>rd</sup> Quarter	4 <sup>th</sup> Quarter
British Resident H. F. Fynn	£47.6.0	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4	66.13.4				
Clerk to B. N. L. Dawcy.				15.1.0	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4	16.13.4				
Native Messengers	£1.0.0	12.0.0	12.0.0	11.10.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	9.0.0	10.0.0	10.0.0	12.1.0	£222.10.11.	£280.5.9.	£282.0.0.	£287.16.3.
Post and Ferrymen	3.10.0	3.10.0	3.0.0	2.10.0	1.7.0	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0	1.0.0							
Extras Mt. Mitt-Tony Mizingo-Messengers-10/					17.0				10.0.							
																1072.12.11.

7<sup>th</sup> January 1884.

Henry F. Fynn

British Resident

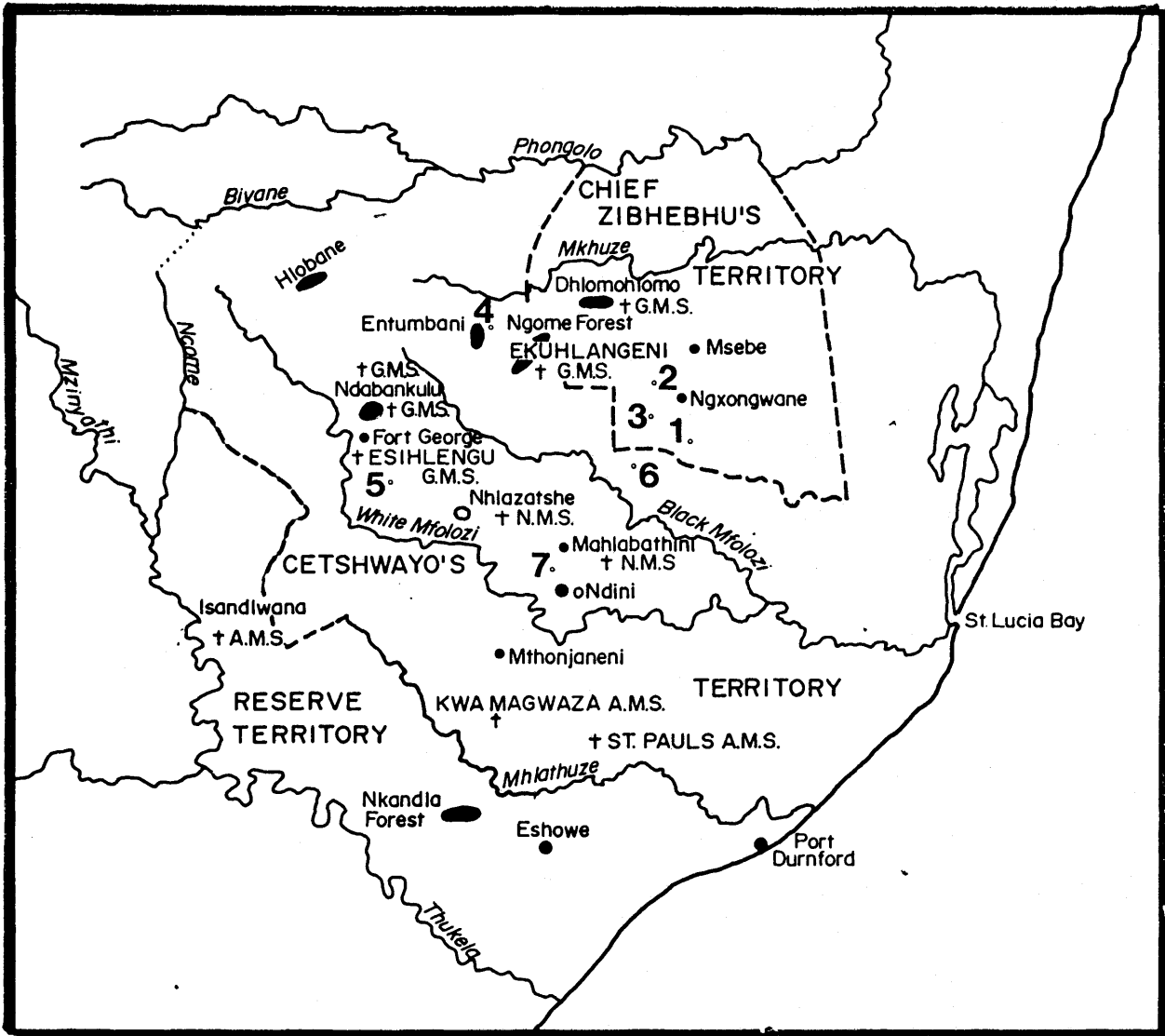
APPENDIX A



MAP (i) THE PARTITION OF THE ZULU KINGDOM, 1879<sup>1</sup>

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1) Map copied from Laband and Wright, King Cetshwayo kaMpande, p. 22.



MAP (ii) ZULULAND IN 1883

KEY TO MAP (ii): ZULULAND IN 1883

† - Mission Stations. Names of Mission Stations are given in upper case. Where a Mission Station has no specific name, the place name is provided instead.

AMS - Anglican Mission Station

GMS - 'German' (Hermannsburg) Mission Station

NMS - Norwegian Mission Station

• - Major Homesteads

1 - Zibhebhu's Ekuxedeni Homestead

2 - Zibhebhu's Nkunkwini Homestead


3 - Zibhebhu's Ekuvukeni Homestead

4 - Hamu's Mfemfe Homestead

5 - Ntshingwayo's Homestead

6 - Mgojana's Homestead

7 - Mfanawendlela's Homestead

 - Mountains and Forests



APPENDIX B

THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF CETSHWAYO'S RESTORATION, JANUARY 1883<sup>1</sup>

Terms, conditions and limitations of Cetywayo's restoration, assented to be him after they had been explained to him by the Earl of Kimberley and subsequently by Mr H. Shepstone.

- (1) I will observe and respect the boundaries assigned to my territory by the British Government.
  
- (2) I will not permit the existence of the Zulu military system or the existence of any military system or organisation whatsoever in my territory; and I will proclaim and make it a rule that all men shall be allowed to marry when they choose, and as they choose, according to the good and ancient customs of my people, known and followed in the days preceding the establishment of Chaka, of the system known as the military system; and I will allow and encourage all men living within my territory to go and come freely for peaceful purposes and to work in Natal or the Transvaal, or elsewhere for themselves or for hire.
  
- (3) I will not import or allow to be imported into my territory, by any person upon any pretence or for any object whatsoever, any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or any goods or merchandise by the sea coast of Zululand, without the express sanction of the British Resident, and I will not encourage or

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1) Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 23470/20031: Stuart Papers, No. 21: Despatches, Bulwer to Fynn, 1883: enc. in no. 18: Bulwer to Fynn, 17 February 1883.

promote, or take part in, or countenance in any way whatsoever the importation into any part of Zululand of arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever or of goods or merchandise by the sea coast of Zululand, without such sanction and I will confiscate and hand over to the Natal Government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into my territory and I will punish by fine or other sufficient punishment any person guilty of or concerned in such unsanctioned importation and any person found possessing arms or ammunition or goods or merchandise knowingly obtained thereby.

- (4) I will not allow the life of any of my people to be taken for any cause, except after sentence passed in a council of the chief men of my territory, and after fair and impartial trial in my presence, and after hearing witnesses; and I will not tolerate the employment of witchdoctors or the practice known as 'smelling out' or any practices of witchcraft.
- (5) The surrender of all persons, fugitives in my territory from justice, when demanded by the Government of any British Colony, territory or province in the interests of justice, shall be readily and promptly made to such Government; and the escape into my territory of persons accused or convicted of offences against British seize and deliver up such persons to British authority.
- (6) I will not make any treaty or agreement with any chief, people or Government outside my territory without the consent and approval of the British Government. I will not make war upon any chief or

chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British Government, and in any unsettled dispute with any chief, people or Government, I will appeal to the arbitration of the British Government, through the British Resident.

- (7) The nomination of my successor, and of all future successors, shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of my people, and shall be subject to the approval of the British Government.
- (8) I will not sell or in any way alienate or permit or countenance any sale of any part of the land in my territory.
- (9) I will permit all people now residing within my territory to there remain upon the condition that they recognise my authority and any persons not wishing to recognise my authority, and desiring to quit my territory I will permit to quit it, and to pass unmolested elsewhere.
- (10) In all cases of dispute in which British subjects are involved, I will appeal to and abide by the decision of the British Resident; and in all cases where accusations of offences or crimes committed in my territory are brought against British subjects or against my people in relation to British subjects, I will hold no trial and pass no sentence except with the approval of such British Resident.

(11) In all matters not included within these terms, conditions and limitations, and in all cases unprovided for herein, and in all cases where there may be doubt or uncertainty as to the laws, rules, or stipulations applicable to matters dealt with, I will govern, order and decide in accordance with ancient laws and usage of my people.

These terms, conditions and limitations I engage, and I solemnly pledge my faith to abide by and respect in letter and in spirit, without qualification or reserve.

#### FURTHER CONDITIONS

I will observe and respect the boundaries of the territory placed under the appointed Chief Usibebu, as also those of the territory which Her Majesty's Government have decided shall be set apart as Reserved Territory with a British Resident Commissioner; and I will not attempt in any way to interfere with any of the people living in those territories.

I undertake to leave unmolested all girls who prior to the war in 1879 formed part of what was known as the Royal Zulu Household and who since that time have been married, as also their husbands, servants, guardians and other relatives and I will make no claim whatsoever upon any of them in respect of any such marriage; and I also undertake to hold no one criminally or otherwise responsible for any act of whatsoever nature or kind done or committed during my absence from Zululand and I will not punish or proceed against anyone for such in anyway.

(signed) Ceywayo.

Boundaries of the Territory to be under the independent authority  
of the appointed chief Isibebu.

From the junction of the Pongolo and Imkayiena rivers, southward up the latter to its source; thence by Beacon No. 6 to Beacon No. 7 on the left bank of the river Manzimhlope; from Beacon No. 7 down the river Manzimhlope to its junction with the Mkusi river; thence by Beacons No. 8 and No. 9 (on the Simenye hill) by Beacon No. 10 (on the Dhlomodhlomo) to Beacon No. 11 (on the Umhlobane hill) thence to Beacon No. 12, (on an unnamed hill overlooking the source of the Ivuna river); thence from Beacon No. 12 to the summit of the hill Umgwana along a line to be marked off and beacons by a surveyor to be appointed for the purpose; thence from the summit of the Umgwana hill in a straight line northwards to the Mkusi port in the Lebombo; thence along the Lebombo northwards to the Pongolo port in that range; and thence up the Pongolo river to its junction with the Imkayiena river.

Boundaries of the Reserved Territory

Along the centre of the Umhlatuzi river from its mouth in the Indian Ocean to its source near Beacon No. 17 on the Ibabanango; thence in a straight line to Beacon No. 19 on the Igogo hill five hundred yards to the source of the Nondweni river, down that river to its junction with the Umvunyana river; up the Umvunyana river to its source to Beacon No. 20 (the Elephant's stone, also called Ityedhlovu Rock) on the eastern slope of the Nkandi hill; thence down the Umdhlenefu stream to the Bloed river; thence down the Bloed river to the Buffalo river, thence along the Natal frontier to the Indian Ocean to the mouth of the Umhlatuzi river.

Boundaries of the Territory to be placed under the restored authority of Cetshwayo.

From the mouth of the Umhlatuzi river in the Indian Ocean, along the centre of that river to Beacon No. 17 on the Ibabanango; thence in a straight line to Beacon No. 19 on the Igogo hill; thence five hundred yards to the source of the Nondweni river, down that river to its junction with the Umvunyana river; thence up the Umvunyana river to the Ityendhlovu (Elephant Stone) Beacon No. 20 on the eastern slope of the Inkandi hill; thence down the Umdhlenefu river to the Bloed river; thence up the Bloed river to its junction with the Daduzi river (Lyn Spruit) thence up the Dadusi to its source; thence by Beacon No. 1 to the source of the Usonto (or Nsonto) river; thence to its junction with the White Umfolozi river; thence up the White Umfolozi river to its source; thence by Beacon No. 2 to the source of the Pemvana river; thence down that river to its junction with the Bevana river; thence down the Bevana river to its junction with the Pongolo river; thence down the Pongolo river to its junction with the Imkayiena river; thence up the Imkayiena river to its source; thence by Beacon No. 6 to Beacon No. 7 on the left bank of the Manzimhlope; thence from Beacon No. 7 down the Manzimhlope river to its junction with the Mkusi river; thence by Beacon No. 8, Beacon No. 9 (on the Simenye hill) and Beacon No. 10 (on the Dhlomodhlomo) to Beacon No. 11 (on the Umhlobane hill); thence to Beacon No. 12 (on an unnamed hill overlooking the source of the Ivuna river) to the summit of the hill Umgwanza along a line to be marked off and beacons by a surveyor to be appointed for that purpose; thence to the source of the river Umhlaluwe; thence down the river Umhlaluwe to its mouth in False Bay; thence to the channel connecting False Bay and St. Lucia Bay, thence eastward to Cape Vidal; thence along to the coast to the mouth of the Mhlatuzi river.

NOTE ON APPENDIX C

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Information on important personalities is scattered throughout a variety of sources. Particularly useful for background material on the period prior to 1883 were the Biographical Notes provided in Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 248-252. This information has been supplemented by the detailed material available in Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks and The James Stuart Archive, as well as in the various authoritative works on different individuals.

This Appendix has concentrated on the activities of prominent individuals during the year 1883. Given the substantial volume of material in Fynn's manuscript, it has not been considered necessary to provide extensive additional referencing for each person.

This Appendix has been divided into categories as follows:

- (i) OFFICIALS
- (ii) TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES
- (iii) ROYALIST ADHERENTS
- (iv) ADHERENTS OF HAMU AND ZIBHEBHU
- (v) ZULU WHO ATTEMPTED TO REMAIN NEUTRAL

Each category has its own separate key, and a dash (-) is used throughout the Appendix to show where material is unavailable.

APPENDIX C  
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

(i) OFFICIALS

KEY: English Names and Dates  
Zulu Name and Meaning  
Background prior to 1883  
Activities during 1883  
References in Fynn's manuscript  
Other references

CECIL DAVEY ( - )

-

-

Davey was Fynn's clerk. He joined Fynn at the beginning of May 1883, and assisted him with various secretarial duties until December 1883.

4,5,10 May; 4 June; 16,18,24 July; 3,23 August; 9 September.

-



MELMOTH OSBORN (1834-1899)

'MALEMATE' - A corruption of the name Melmoth.

Osborn entered the Natal Government Service in 1854 and later became Resident Magistrate for Newcastle from 1867 to 1876. He accompanied Theophilus Shepstone to the Transvaal in 1877 as Secretary for Native Affairs. He was appointed British Resident in Zululand from March 1880, and held this post until December 1882.

Osborn was Resident Commissioner of the Reserve Territory from April 1883. He was in communication with Fynn throughout the events of 1883.

1,15,24,26 February; 9,12, March; 7,17,19,20,22,23,27, April;  
2,4,5,7,9,10,11,15,22,23,24,28,30 May; 6,22 June; 16,19,22,25,26 July;  
1,2,3,9,10,11,12,13,14,16,21,23,27, August; 1,5,6,8,23,27 September;  
16,29,30,31 October; 1,2,4,5,8,10,12,13,16,17,18 November.

Killie Campbell Museum, File KCM 2377/1,2,3, 'Melmoth Osborn';  
Harrison, 'Melmoth Osborn and events in Zululand, 1879-1883'; Guy,  
'The role of colonial officials'; Laband, 'The establishment of  
the Zululand administration in 1887.'

HENRIQUE CHARLES SHEPSTONE (1840-1917)

'GEBUZA' - To paw at the ground impatiently. Possibly 'the uprooter'.

Henrique was the eldest son of Theophilus Shepstone. He held various administrative posts in Natal and then accompanied his father to the Transvaal in 1877. He went to England with Cetshwayo in 1882 in order to explain the restoration conditions to the exiled king.

Henrique went to oNdini in May 1883 to try and stop hostilities by attempting to persuade Hamu to accept Cetshwayo as a ruler. These negotiations proved hopeless and he returned to Natal.

11,12,14,15,17,18,19,20 May; 11 July; 23 August; 16 October.

De Kock, Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. I, pp. 658-659; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 150-152; Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. I, p. 245, vol. II, p. 54, vol. III, p.35.

JOHN WESLEY SHEPSTONE (1827-1916)

'MR JOHN OR MISJAN' - 'Misjan' is a corruption of 'Mr John'.

John Shepstone was younger brother to Theophilus. He was a Resident Magistrate in Natal from 1864 and was appointed Acting Secretary for Native Affairs when Theophilus moved to the Transvaal in 1877. John Shepstone advised Sir Garnet Wolseley on the 'settlement' of Zululand

from July to September 1879. John Shepstone became Resident Commissioner of the Reserve Territory in January 1883.

In February 1883, he ordered his police force to attack the Reserve Chiefs for disobeying his orders, and subsequently imposed large fines on many of them. Many uSuthu adherents, including Cetshwayo, believed that Shepstone encouraged Zibhebhu and Hamu to attack the royalists. Shepstone was replaced by Melmoth Osborn in April 1883 and returned to Natal, where he resumed his position as Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

4,8,19,25,26 February; 6,22 April; 16,30 May; 9,21 September.

Preston, Journal, pp. 67 and 71; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 24,28,56-57.

#### THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE (1817-1893)

'SOMTSEU' - possibly a combination of Zulu and Sotho meaning 'father of whiteness'.

Theophilus Shepstone was Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1845 to 1876 and Administrator of the Transvaal from 1877 to 1880. Although retired by 1883, he still had considerable influence on policy-making for Zululand.

Theophilus Shepstone installed Cetshwayo as king over his section of the divided Zulu kingdom in January 1883. Thereafter he did not play an active role in Zululand during the civil war.

29,30 January; 15,21 February; 30 March.

De Kock, Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. I, pp. 715-721;  
Guy, 'The role of colonial officials'; Laband, 'The establishment  
of the Zululand administration in 1887'; Lehmann, All Sir Garnet,  
p. 258; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp.42-43 and 46-52.

(ii) TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES

KEY: English Names and Dates  
Zulu Name and Meaning  
Background prior to 1883  
Activities during 1883  
References in Fynn's manuscript  
Other references

BERGE ( - )

-

Berge was a Norwegian Missionary who joined Oftebro at the mission station at Nhlazatshe in 1880.

Berge was in contact with Fynn during 1883 and often acted as a messenger for both Fynn and Oftebro.

25 June; 12,17 July; 5 November.

Stavem, The Norwegian Missionary Society, p. 44.

JOHAN WILLIAM COLENBRANDER (1856-1918)

-

Colenbrander was brought up in New Guelderland on the border between Natal and Zululand. From an early age he was in contact with John Dunn and the trading network with the Mandlakazi in northern Zululand. During the Anglo-Zulu war he served with the Natal Mounted Rifles and, under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, participated in the battle of Gingindlovu and the relief of Eshowe. After the war he joined Zibhebhu as a resident trader and raised a cavalry unit which successfully defeated Sitemela in 1881.

During 1883 Colenbrander provided firearms for Zibhebhu. With his cavalry unit and the assistance of other Europeans he supported the Mandlakazi forces in the battle of Msebe on 30 March and the battle of oNdini on 21 July. He also participated in Zibhebhu's attack on Somkhele in mid-August.

30 March; 21,24 July; 16,23 August; 2 November.

Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', pp. 29-36.

GROSVENOR DARKE ( - )

-

Darke was a trader who joined Colenbrander and Zibhebhu in January 1880.

Darke assisted Zibhebhu under Colenbrander in the battle of Msebe on 30 March and the battle of oNdini on 21 July.

23,27 August.

Kemp, 'Johan Colenbrander', pp. 29-32.

JOHN DUNN (1834-1895)

'JANTONI' - a corruption of the name John Dunn.

John Dunn entered Zululand in 1857 and was given chiefly status by King Cetshwayo. He became the king's resident trader and was instrumental in supplying Cetshwayo with firearms throughout the 1860s and 1870s. During the Anglo-Zulu war Dunn considered it in his interests to side with the British invaders. As a result of his assistance, he was given a large chiefdom in September 1879. In this position he confiscated a substantial number of royal cattle and also helped the Chief Mlandela in defeating the pretender Sitemela in 1881. Dunn then assumed control of Mlandela's district. In January 1883 his territory came under the jurisdiction of the Resident Commissioner of the Reserve Territory.

Dunn's role in the civil war was marginal although he did supply firearms to both Hamu and Zibhebhu.

29 January; 23 February; 12 March; 22 April; 26,28 May; 6 June;  
23 August; 23,27 September; 29 October; 9,11,13,17,19 November.

Ballard, John Dunn; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 85-6;  
The James Stuart Archive, vol. I, p. 99, vol. II, p. 224, vol. III,  
292-3.

JOHN ECKERSLEY ( - )

'DAMBUZA' - one who walks or proceeds carefully.

Eckersley was a trader who joined Colenbrander and Zibhebhu in January  
1880.

Throughout 1883, Eckersley acted as secretary to both Hamu and Zibhebhu,  
and wrote letters on their behalf to Fynn and to the Natal government.  
He probably participated in the battles of Msebe and oNdini in March  
and July.

24 February; 22 March; 15 April; 16 May; 21 July; 23,27 August;  
15 September.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 202,226.



WILLIAM GRANT ( - )

'MQUKAYA' - meaning obscure.

Grant was a Durban storekeeper and Zululand trader.

In May 1883, Grant was sent by the Colenso family to act as Cetshwayo's adviser. After the battle of oNdini on 21 July he took refuge with Fynn and accompanied him to fetch Cetshwayo from the Nkandla Forest on 16 October.

4,6,15,18 June; 23 July; 23 August; 16 October; 12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, pp. 197-8, 202, 226.

HERBERT NUNN ( - )

Nunn moved into Hamu's district in the 1860s as his resident trader and adviser. Throughout the 1870s he supplied Hamu with firearms and other trade goods, including alcohol.

During the civil war, Nunn was a correspondent for the Natal Mercury and kept in contact with the authorities in Natal. He also sent Fynn information on events in Hamu's district.

29 January; 22,27,31 March; 27 September; 22 December.

Cope, 'The defection of Hamu'; Tabler, Pioneers of South East Africa, pp. 178-80.

OMMUND OFTEBRO (1820-1893)

- no particular Zulu name, although the Zulu called his mission station at Eshowe, 'KwaMondi', meaning Ommund's place.

Oftebro came to South Africa in 1849 and joined Bishop Schreuder at the Norwegian Missionary Society station at Empangeni in 1851. He enjoyed a friendly relationship with Cetshwayo, but in the late 1870s became increasingly allied with Sir Bartle Frere and acted as an imperial 'agent' in reporting Cetshwayo's actions to the Natal government. After the Anglo-Zulu war he re-established a Norwegian Mission Station at Mahlabathini.

During the course of 1883, Oftebro offered Fynn his hospitality and assisted him in caring for Cetshwayo's family after the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883.

31 January, 12,13,15 February; 6,13,19,22 March; 17,19,20 April; 6,31 May; 8,25 June; 12,22 July, 2,3,9,10,15,16,23 August; 5 September; 29,31 October.

Winqvist, Scandinavians, pp. 133-136.

(iii) ROYALISTS

KEY:     Name  
          Clan or section  
          Status  
          Age-grade regiment  
          Background prior to 1883  
          Activities during 1883  
          References in Fynn's manuscript  
          Other references

BANTUBENSUMO kaZWANE

BUTHELEZI

LINEAGE HEAD

THULWANA

Although a royalist supporter, Bantubensumo had been placed under Zibhebhu's rule in January 1883.

He was ordered to leave Zibhebhu's district in February and was continually harassed by the Mandlakazi forces in the area. During April his cattle were stolen by Hamu's followers. After the battle of oNdini in July, he joined Mnyamana in the Ngome Forest and offered spasmodic resistance to Zibhebhu's forces.

11 February; 13 April.

Fynney, The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248.

BATHONYILE maMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCESS

Bathonyile was the daughter of Mpande and Monase. Following the civil war in 1856, Theophilus Shepstone suggested that Mpande surrender his daughters to Natal in exchange for the fugitive prince, Mkhungo. Mpande refused to hand over the princesses, but requested that they be allowed to visit their brother Mkhungo in Natal.

Although living in Cetshwayo's district, in February 1883 Bathonyile asked that she might move into the Reserve Territory. She and her adherents lost many of their cattle during the civil war which were appropriated by Zibhebhu following the battle in July. Bathonyile eventually moved to the Reserve in September 1883.

19,21 February; 18,24,26,27 July; 4,9,13,23 August; 6,8,9,10,11,12,13,26 September.

Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. III, pp. 103-105: evidence of Mgidhlana kaMpande.

BHEJANE ka -

EMANGWENI

INDUNA

FALAZA WE NHLOVU

Bhejane was an inceku to Cetshwayo before the Anglo-Zulu war. In September 1879 he was placed under Mlandela's jurisdiction.

In January 1883 he attacked Mfanawendlela for his lack of support of the king. Bhejane did not participate in the major battles of 1883, but in November Mlandela's people attacked his adherents and told them to move into the Reserve Territory.

31 January; 5 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 50.

DABULAMANZI kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

THULWANA

During the Anglo-Zulu war, Dabulamanzi commanded the Zulu forces at the battles of Rorke's Drift and Gingindlovu. After the war he was active in appealing to the Natal government for Cetshwayo's restoration, and visited Bishopstowe and Pietermaritzburg in 1880 and 1882 for this purpose.

At Cetshwayo's installation ceremony on 29 January 1883, Dabulamanzi criticised the conditions of restoration and later appealed to Fynn to ask the government to adjust them. In May 1883 he organised a petition from the leading uSuthu to be sent to the Colonial Office, asking for the restoration of the king as ruler over the whole of Zululand. At the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883, Dabulamanzi fought with the remnants of the Thulwana regiment against the Mandlakazi forces and tried to organise Cetshwayo's remaining forces against the attack. He escaped from oNdini with Cetshwayo and fled to the Nkandla Forest. Although he accompanied Cetshwayo to Eshowe in October 1883, he continued to attempt to organise the uSuthu against Zibhebhu and is mentioned as 'assembling forces' during this period.

29 January; 24 February; 15,24,26 May; 19 July; 23 August;  
16 October; 10 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, pp. 41, 59,95; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 35.

DILIKANA ka -

MBATHA

CHIEF

-

At the meeting at Nhlazatshe in August 1881, Dilikana spoke out strongly in favour of Cetshwayo's return.

He remained loyal to the king and was killed at oNdini on 21 July 1883. In September his adherents attacked Sukana who had deserted Cetshwayo after the battle of oNdini.

7,8,12 September; 5,11 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248.

DINUZULU kaCETSHWAYO

ZULU

PRINCE

-

Dinuzulu was born in about 1868 and during the Anglo-Zulu war he was

placed under the guardianship of Zibhebhu. He joined Cetshwayo in January 1883.

Following the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883, Dinuzulu escaped with his father's attendants and family to the Nkandla Forest in the Reserve Territory. Ndabuko and Mnyamana were later appointed his guardians.

24,29 July; 23 August.

Binns, Dinuzulu, pp. 1-15; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248.

#### GODIDE kaNDLELA

NTULI

CHIEF AND ISIKHULU

iZINYOSI

Godide was an important adviser to Cetshwayo before the Anglo-Zulu war, and a prominent commander during the war. He was placed under John Dunn's jurisdiction in September 1879.

Godide repeatedly appealed on Cetshwayo's behalf for the restoration of the royal cattle which had been confiscated by the thirteen appointed chiefs. His followers fought persistently against Hamu during 1883.



Godide was killed at oNdini on 21 July 1883.

26 February; 6 April; 22 August.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, p. 39;  
Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 30-31.

HAYIYANA kaMAPHITHA

MANDLAKAZI

LINEAGE HEAD

THULWANA

Hayiyana was the eldest son of Maphitha. He assisted Cetshwayo in his negotiations with the British in August 1879.

Although a Mandlakazi adherent, Hayiyana did not support Zibhebhu during the civil war. He was a central figure in the battle of oNdini in July 1883 and assembled the Thulwana regiment at oNdini towards the end of June. He was killed on 21 July by Mandlakazi forces.

25,26 June; 16 July; 23 August.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 59.

HLEZIBANE

EGAZINI

LINEAGE HEAD

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Hlezibane supported Mnyamana's Buthelezi forces against Hamu and was killed by Hamu's Ngenetsheni forces in May 1883.

3,6 April; 8,14,16 May.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249.

MABHOKO kaMASIPHULA

EMGAZINI

CHIEF

-

During the Anglo-Zulu war, he fought at Isandlwana. Although a royalist he was placed under Zibhebhu in January 1883.

In March 1883, Zibhebhu told Mabhoko to leave his district and warned him not to resist his authority. In June, Mabhoko repulsed Zibhebhu's forces, possibly assisted by Swazi forces. Throughout 1883 he was in contact with the Hermannsburg Mission Station near the Dlomodlomo mountains in Zibhebhu's district. After the battle of oNdini in July 1883 he tried to appropriate Zibhebhu's cattle and was then attacked in September by Mandlakazi forces. He also made an attack on Mlandela in the later part of 1883.

13,25 March; 20 June; 2,10,11 July; 27 August; 1 September.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 37.

MAHANANA kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

isaNGQU

-

Mahanana fought with the Mphangisweni section against Kambi kaHamu in April 1883. He later joined Cetshwayo in the Nkandla Forest after the battle of oNdini in July 1883. In October, he accompanied Cetshwayo to Eshowe.

26 March; 14 April; 16 October; 10 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 3.

MARU

MANDLAKAZI

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Maru was related to Zibhebhu but supported the royalist adherents of Masiphula.

During 1883, Maru seized Zibhebhu's cattle and resisted his authority. Zibhebhu then raided Maru's crops in retaliation.

20,25,30 March; 4,25 April.

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MAHUBULWANA kaDUMISELA

QULUSI

INDUNA

uNDHLONOKHULU

Mahubulwana had informed Cetshwayo of the intended defection of Mcwayo kaMangeda in March 1879. He was placed under Hamu's rule in September 1879.

Mahubulwana supported Cetshwayo in his attempts to retrieve the royal cattle from the appointed chiefs during 1883. He fought against Hamu's forces and was killed by the Ngenetsheni in October 1883.

24 February; 3 April; 10 November.

Fynney, The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249;  
Laband, 'Zulu Polity', p. 45.

MASIPHULA kaMAMBA (died 1872)

EMGAZINI

CHIEF; COUNCILLOR TO MPANDE.

Masiphula's followers, under his son Mabhoko kaMasiphula, were placed under Zibhebhu's rule in 1883 and they were engaged in conflict with the Mandlakazi throughout the civil war.

7 February; 13,25,30 March; 4,25 April; 8 May; 2,14,17,20,29 June; 2,8,9,10 July; 23,27 August.

Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 94 and 98; The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, p. 150; evidence of Mtshayankomo kaMagolwana.

#### MBILINI kaMSWATI

SWAZI

PRINCE

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Mbilini had fled to the Zulu kingdom in Mpande's time and settled in the north-west of the kingdom. During the mid-1870s, Cetshwayo attempted to place Mbilini on the Swazi throne as a royalist supporter. In 1878, Mbilini gave protection to the sons of Sihayo . Mbilini died in 1879.

Throughout the year 1883, there are references to a brother of Mbilini supporting Cetshwayo and Masiphula's followers against Zibhebhu.

29,30 May; 23 August.

Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires, pp. 132-135; Filter, Paulina Dlamini, pp. 67-69; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 22-23, 45-6, 112.

MNQANDI kaMATYANA

SIBISI

CHIEF; ISIKHULU

THULWANA

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Although warned by Fynn and Henrique Shepstone that it was dangerous for him to remain in the oNdini district, Mmqandi remained with Cetshwayo and was killed at the battle of oNdini in July 1883.

30 January; 11,26,27 July; 17,20,22,23,28 August; 9,12,22 September; 5 November.

Fynney, The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250.

MLANDELA kaMBIYA

MTHETHWA

ISIKHULU

iZIMPOHLO

Mlandela had originally been appointed as an isikhulu by Shaka, and thus was very old by the 1880s. He was given a chiefdom in September 1879, but this territory reverted to Cetshwayo in January 1883.

Mlandela was told by Sir Henry Bulwer either to acknowledge Cetshwayo's authority or to move into the Reserve Territory. He was attacked by Hamu's followers under Msebe's leadership in March 1883 and agreed to accept Cetshwayo's rule in April. He died in May 1883.

16 March; 1,2,3,11 April; 23 May; 12 August; 1 September; 2,5 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 4.

MKHOSANA kaMONGO

ZUNGU

LINEAGE HEAD

iNDHLONDHLO



Mkhosana had accompanied Cetshwayo into exile in the Cape in August 1879. He returned to Zululand in February 1881, but was received with hostility by Hamu and Zibhehbu. He joined Cetshwayo in January 1883.

In March 1883, his people in Hamu's district were attacked by the Ngenetsheni forces. Mkhosana fled with Cetshwayo after the battle of oNdini in July 1883 and sought refuge with the missionary Robert Robertson at KwaMagwaza.

4,14 February; 10,17 March; 15 July; 23 August; 12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 19,54.

MNYAMANA kaNGQENGELE

BUTHELEZI

PRIME MINISTER TO CETSHWAYO

THULWANA

Mnyamana had refused a chiefdom in September 1879. He led the uSuthu appeals for restoration during the period 1880 to 1882 and continually approached the British authorities with requests that the royal cattle

be restored to the uSuthu by the appointed chiefs, particularly Hamu.

In January 1883, Mnyamana was extremely critical of the restoration terms and spoke out strongly against them at the installation ceremony. He remained at oNdini until May when he led the Buthelezi in an attack against Hamu. Mnyamana did not participate in the battle of oNdini in July 1883 as he was with his forces moving towards Hamu's district. After the battle, he collected the remnants of the uSuthu forces at the Ngome Forest where they offered resistance to Zibhebhu until the end of the year.

29 January; 11,13,18,23,25 February; 10,12,20,26,28,30 March;  
3,4,5,6,7,13,16,17,22 April; 14,15,20,21,25,26,29,30,31 May;  
1,2,3,4,8,20,26,29 June; 11,17,18,24,29,30 July; 2,3,7,10,16,20,  
23,27,28 August; 1,8,15,22 September; 16,31 October; 14,16 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp.  
33 -35, 38, 51-54.

MSUTHU kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

uDUDUDU

During 1883, Msuthu remained at oNdini with Cetshwayo. After the battle of oNdini on 21 July, he escaped from Zibhebhu's forces and took refuge with Fynn.

10 March; 26 July; 6,23 August; 9 November.

Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 3.

NDABANKULU kaLUKWAZI

NTOMBELA

CHIEF

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During 1883, Ndabankulu communicated between Cetshwayo and Mnyamana, while Mnyamana was away from oNdini. During October, he attacked Mfanawendlela and Siyunguza's adherents.

2 June; 5,7,9,10,11,12,13 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250.

NDABUKO kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

iSHUDU

During the Anglo-Zulu war, Ndabuko was a prominent commander. With Mnyamana he appealed to the Natal government to restore Cetshwayo in 1880 and 1882.

Ndabuko, together with Ziweddu, was placed under Zibhebhu's jurisdiction in 1883. Ndabuko led the uSuthu forces against the Mandlakazi in the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883. He later joined Cetshwayo but was away from oNdini on 21 July 1883. Ndabuko eventually joined Cetshwayo in the Nkandla Forest.

7 February; 28,30 March; 4 April; 20 June; 18,25,27,29,30 July;  
2,3,6,7,10,11,23 August; 8,12,27 September; 16 October; 9,10 November.

Fynney, The Zulu Army and Zulu Headmen; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250.

NTUZWA kaNHLAKA

MDLALOSE

INDUNA

nDABANKULU

Ntuzwa remained at oNdini for the first half of 1883 and assembled the forces there in late June. He commanded the forces at oNdini in the battle on 21 July and then fled to his home in the north-western district.

14 February; 3,14 April; 24 May; 25 June; 21 July; 23 August;  
16 October; 4 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 46.

SAMBANE kaSILEVANA

NYWAYO

CHIEF

-

Sambane was excluded from Zululand in 1879 but he remained a loyal

During 1883, Sambane was living in the Transvaal and acknowledged Cetshwayo's authority, despite Boer opposition. Sambane received Tsonga support and attacked Zibhebhu in the early part of 1883. His forces then joined Somkhele in July.

7 February; 3 April; 23 August.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251.

SEKETHWAYO kaNHLAKA

MDLALOSE

CHIEF

uNODWENGU

Sekethwayo was appointed chief in September 1879, but remained a loyal uSuthu adherent. In the deputation to Bishopstowe in 1880, Sekethwayo appealed for Cetshwayo's restoration.

During 1883, Sekethwayo was at oNdini with Cetshwayo. His adherents were not involved in the March disturbances, but in early April his supporters in the Khambule area were attacked by Msebe and Hamu's Ngenetsheni. In May, his adherents were attacked by Hamu and Zibhebhu but they later managed to recover some of their cattle. Sekethwayo was killed at the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883.

3,6,9,14,15,17,24 April; 8 May.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 252; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 43-45.

SHINGANA kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

uDLOKO

-

Shingana remained at oNdini with Cetshwayo during the first half of 1883 and commanded the forces against the Mandlakazi in the battle on 21 July. He fled with Cetshwayo, and his followers later made an attack on Siyunguza in October 1833.

2 February; 15 May; 23 August; 31 October; 5,10,12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 3.

SIHAYO kaXONGO

QUNGEBE

INDUNA

nDABANKULU

Sihayo was originally a favourite of Cetshwayo's and a member of his ibandla. In August 1879 he was ordered to leave his district which was given to Hlubi. Sihayo supported the uSuthu appeal for Cetshwayo's restoration.

In February 1883, Sihayo was ordered by Osborn to collect his followers in Hlubi's district and acknowledge Cetshwayo's authority. He was then attacked by Hlubi's Basutho forces. Sihayo joined Cetshwayo at oNdini and was killed in the battle on 21 July.

1 February; 22,23 April; 24 May; 19 July; 2,22 August.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 25-27, 28-29.

SITHEKU kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE



uNKONKE

Sitheku was placed under the rule of Gawozi in September 1879.

Sitheku was with Cetshwayo at oNdini in 1883 and was captured by Zibhebhu after the battle on 21 July. Fynn then requested that Zibhebhu release him and Sitheku left Zibhebhu's district in early September. He was later reported to be mustering forces in the Reserve Territory against Siyunguza but denied this allegation.

26 February; 18 May; 24 July; 9,10,11,12,15,16,27 August; 1,8, September; 10,11,12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 3, 52.

SITSHITSILLI kaMNQANDI

SIBISI

CHIEF

-

-

Sitshitsilli assisted Dinuzulu in escaping from oNdini on 21 July 1883. He later took refuge in Hlubi's district in the Reserve Territory.

23 August; 9,12,22 September; 5 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 203.

SOMKHELE ka -

MPUNKUNYONI

CHIEF

uNKONKE

-

Although Somkhele did not participate in the battles in March and July, he was attacked by Zibhebhu in August.

20 February; 4 April; 4 May; 16,23,27 August; 5 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 4.

SUKANE kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

uNKONKE

Sukane was at oNdini with Cetshwayo and fled to Fynn after escaping on 21 July. He refused to join Mnyamana in attacking Zibhebhu and was seen as disloyal by many uSuthu. Sukane remained with Fynn and communicated between Cetshwayo and Fynn.

21,26 July; 18,19,23 August; 7,8,9,27 September.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 3.

TSHANIBEZWE kaMNYAMANA

BUTHELEZI

Tshanibezwe accompanied Ndabuko to Zibhebhu's district and participated on the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883.

28,30 March; 4 April.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251.

ZIWEDU kaMPANDE

ZULU

PRINCE

THULWANA

Ziwedu, together with Ndabuko, was placed under Zibhebhu's jurisdiction in 1879 and was engaged in conflict with the Mandlakazi during 1881. Ziwedu supported Ndabuko and the other uSuthu leaders in the appeal for restoration. In January 1883, Ziwedu and Ndabuko were placed once again under Zibhebhu's rule.

Ziwedu and Ndabuko led the uSuthu forces in the battle of Msebe on 30 March 1883. Ziwedu was away from oNdini on 21 July 1883 and thus did not participate in the battle of oNdini. He later joined Cetshwayo in the Nkandla Forest.

14 February; 26,28 March; 11,18,30 July; 2,3,23 August; 27 September; 16,29 October.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 252; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 3, 35,51.

(iv) ADHERENTS OF HAMU AND ZIBHEBHU

KEY: Name  
Clan or section  
Status  
Age-grade regiment  
Background prior to 1883  
Activities during 1883  
References in Fynn's manuscript  
Other references

HAMU kaNZIBE

ZULU

NGENETSHENI LINEAGE HEAD; ISIKHULU

uTHULWANA

Hamu was Mpande's eldest son, but by the custom of ukuvuza was Nzibe's genealogical son. Hamu fought on Cetshwayo's side during the civil war in 1856 but thereafter became increasingly independent and aggressive. During the Anglo Zulu war, Hamu defected to Colonel Wood in March 1879. He was given an important chiefdom in September 1879.

In January 1883, Hamu was expected to come under Cetshwayo's authority. He refused to accept Cetshwayo as the restored ruler, and throughout the year his Ngenetsheni adherents fought against the uSuthu, particularly against Mnyamana's Buthelezi. Hamu eventually fled to the mountain strongholds to the north of his district in May 1883.

29 January; 14,23 February; 10,11,12,16,17,20,22,26,31 March;  
1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,13,14,15,17,22,28 April; 4,5,8,14,15,16,20,22,25  
26,29,30,31 May; 1,2,3,4,5,6,8,17,20,23,24,26,29 June; 12,15,21,29 July;  
2,6,7,10,15,17,20,21,23,30 August; 1,8,9,15,19,22,23,27 September;  
9,13 November; 20,22,23 December.

Cope, 'The defection of Hamu'; Laband, 'Zulu Polity'; Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp.58-61.

#### HLUBI

TLOKWA SOTHO

CHIEF

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Hlubi, with Sotho adherents, had moved into Zululand in the mid-nineteenth century and fought as a mercenary for the British forces against Langalibalele in 1873 and against the Zulu in 1879. In

September 1879 he was appointed chief and given the land formerly occupied by Sihayo kaXongo, a royalist adherent. In January 1883, Hlubi's chiefdom became part of the Reserve Territory.

Throughout the year 1883, Hlubi received anti-royalist refugees. He attacked Sihayo in February and also encouraged Cetshwayo's supporters to move into the Reserve Territory under his immediate jurisdiction. He gave Hamu support and also communicated with Zibebhu. The royalists also complained that Hlubi's Sotho adherents stole their cattle when they fled to the Reserve following the battle of oNdini in July 1883.

1 February; 9,10 March; 23,26,27 April; 16,23 May; 17 June;  
30 August; 9,12,22,27 September; 16 October; 9 November; 11 December.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, The James Stuart Archive, vol. IV, p. 285: evidence of Ndukwana kaMbengwana.

KAMBI kaHAMU

NGENETSHENI

INDUNA

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-

Kambi led Hamu's forces against the royalist Mphangisweni faction in

April 1883. He was killed by Mnyamana's Buthelezi in May 1883.

14 April; 25 May; 7 August.

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MCWAYO kaMANGEDA

QULUSI

INDUNA

-

During the Anglo-Zulu war, Mcwayo supported Hamu when he defected to the British in March 1879. Thereafter he continued to support Hamu against the royalists.

During 1883 he fought against the Qulusi in Hamu's district, and in June fled from Mnyamana's Buthelezi forces and sought refuge in the Transvaal. Cetshwayo later asked Mcwayo to return to the oNdini homestead.

10 March; 3, 20 June.

Laband, 'Zulu Polity', pp. 44-46.



MGITSHWA kaMKHOSANA

BIYELA

CHIEF

THULWANA

In September 1879, Mgitshwa was appointed chief over the central southern districts, thereby ousting the hereditary chief, Somhlolo.

After the battle of oNdini in July 1883, Mgitshwa and his followers moved into the Reserve Territory. In August, some of his people were attacked by Zibhebhu but in November Mgitshwa raised forces to assist Zibhebhu in an attack against Somhlolo. Mgitshwa's supporters who had remained in Zululand then requested that they might move to the Reserve as they were afraid of an uSuthu attack. Cetshwayo announced that he recognised Somhlolo and not Mgitshwa as the rightful chief of Mgitshwa's 1879 district.

16 August; 1,2,5,7,10 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250.

MGOJANA ka -

NDWANDWE

CHIEF

-

Mgojana was awarded a chiefdom in September 1879 on the premiss that the Ndwandwe clan had been attacked and encroached upon by the Zulu kings and had lost its pre-Shakan 'independence'. Mgojana claimed he did not belong to the 'Zulu Nation'. In January 1883, his chiefdom was incorporated into Zibhebhu's territory.

Mgojana refused to attend the installation ceremony for Cetshwayo in January 1883. In February, Cetshwayo sent for him and he agreed to go to oNdini but by March he had still not arrived. Although his people supported the uSuthu against Zibhebhu at the battle of Msebe in March, his forces later joined Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi against the royalists.

15 February; 27,30 March; 20 April; 25 May; 10,17,21 July;  
23,27,30 August; 12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 250.

MSEBE kaMADAKA

QULUSI

INDUNA

·THULWANA

Msebe joined Hamu in defecting to the British in March 1879.

In February 1883 he attempted to attack Mkhosana's people in Hamu's district, and the Qulusi then retaliated against him. He also attacked Sekethwayo's people near Khambule in April 1883. He was killed by Qulusi forces in May 1883.

4 February; 10,16 March; 9,14,17 April; 25,31 May; 3,4 June.

Laband, 'Zulu Polity', pp. 44-46.

SITSHALUZA kaMAMBA

EMGAZINI

CHIEF

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-

Sitshaluza was a brother of Masiphula. Although Masiphula's followers opposed Zibhebhu during the hostilities of 1883, Sitshaluza appealed to Zibhebhu, asking if he might become one of his subjects.

24 February; 3 April; 10 July; 10,27 August.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 46,51.

ZIBHEBHU kaMAPHITHA

MANDLAKAZI

CHIEF

umXHAPHO

During the Anglo-Zulu war, Zibebhu was a commander of the Zulu forces at the battles of Isandlwana and Khambula. He was awarded a chiefdom in 1879 and fought against Ndabuko and Ziweddu who had been placed under his jurisdiction. In 1881 he assisted Mlandela against the pretender Sitemela.

Zibebhu was given a sizeable territory in January 1883. He insisted that the uSuthu adherents leave his district and successfully defeated the uSuthu forces under Ndabuko and Ziweddu in March 1883 at the battle of Msebe. In July, Zibebhu marched his Mandlakazi forces on oNdini and destroyed the uSuthu forces in the battle of oNdini. Zibebhu then concentrated on eliminating all royalist opposition.

29 January; 11,16,20,23,24 February; 12,13,20,22,25,26,29,30,31 March;  
1,3,4,6,7,13,16,17,18,20,22,25 April; 4,5,8,9,14,15,16,18,19,21,22,  
25,30 May; 2,5,6,8,12,17,20,23,25,26,29 June; 8,9,10,11,12,17,18,21,  
24,25,26,29 July; 2,3,4,5,9,10,11,13,15,16,23,26,27,28 August;  
1,2,6,8,9,13,15,16,21,22,23,27 September; 16,30 October; 1,4,5,9,10,  
11,12,13,16 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 252; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, pp. 59, 107;  
Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 57-60.

(v) ZULU WHO ATTEMPTED TO REMAIN NEUTRAL

KEY: Name  
Clan or section  
Status  
Age-grade regiment  
Background prior to 1883  
Activities during 1883  
References in Fynn's manuscript  
Other references

FAKU kaZININGO

NTOMBELA

LINEAGE HEAD

THULWANA

Faku was one of the chiefs appointed in September 1879. Although he had little influence, he clearly did not support the royalists. His district became part of the Reserve Territory in January 1883.

Faku played a marginal role in the events of the civil war and it appears that he made no specific effort to support either the royalists or their enemies, although he did receive royalist refugees following the battle of oNdini on 21 July 1883.

4 February; 13 August; 23 September.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 248.

MFANAWENDLELA kaMANZINI

ZUNGU

CHIEF

uDLOKO

Although a royalist adherent, he was appointed a chief in September 1879. This was seen as disloyal by many of Cetshwayo's adherents, and during the period 1880 to 1882 Mfanawendlela was often harassed by loyal uSuthu. In January 1883 he was placed under Cetshwayo's jurisdiction.

Mfanawendlela was prevented from seeing Cetshwayo in January 1883 by the uSuthu who viewed him as a traitor to their cause. Throughout the year 1883 he attempted to remain neutral, although often in communication with Zibhebhu. In July 1883 before the battle of oNdini, he offered the Mandlakazi forces shelter and they left his major homestead untouched, while burning other royalist homesteads in the area. Mfanawendlela was killed in December 1883 by the uSuthu.

31 January; 12,13,14 February; 9,12,19 March; 6 April; 17,21,25 June;  
11,18,21,24,26 July; 2,9,11,12,13,15,16,18,19,23,26,28 August;  
8,9,11,13,19,20,21,22,26,27 September; 31 October; 5 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 249; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, pp.  
91, 113.

NTSHINGWAYO kaMAHOLE

KHOZA

LINEAGE HEAD

uDLAMBEDLU

Ntshingwayo was Cetshwayo's most prominent general during the Anglo-Zulu war. In September 1879 he was given the area originally set aside for Mnyamana.

In January 1883 he attended the installation ceremony, but was intimidated by the loyal uSuthu. He did not support the restoration and many believed he had stolen substantial numbers of the royal cattle. In early 1883 he claimed he was prevented by the uSuthu from visiting Cetshwayo. In March and April he was attacked by Mnyamana and Hlezibane who believed he had stolen Cetshwayo's cattle. He eventually joined Cetshwayo at oNdini and was killed at the battle of oNdini in July 1883.

18 February; 1,18,26 March; 1,3 April; 18,26 July; 6,17,23 August;  
7,22 September; 12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251; Laband and Thompson, Field Guide, pp. 22,  
37,39,41.

SIYUNGUZA ka -

MPUNGOSE

CHIEF

-

In 1879 he was placed under Gawozi's jurisdiction but succeeded him  
in 1880. Although part of the uSuthu deputations in 1880 and 1882,  
he did not support them entirely and did not attend the restoration  
ceremony, but remained in the Reserve.

Some of his adherents assembled at oNdini on 21 July against Zibhebhu.  
Later, his adherents were attacked by the uSuthu.

9,16 August; 1 September; 5,9,10,11,12 November.

Guy, Zulu Kingdom, p. 251.



APPENDIX D

POSTAL SYSTEM AND MESSENGERS

POSTAL SYSTEM

Fynn had two lines of communication between oNdini and Pietermaritzburg: through Eshowe and Durban, and through Pomeroy and Umsinga. The postal runners were the only method of carrying mail from Zululand and were an established section of Fynn's employees. Fynn had a number of runners stationed along the above routes. The average speed of these runners was about four miles an hour and they were often delayed by bad weather and flooded rivers. Thus, Fynn's communication network with Bulwer was extremely unreliable.

It is difficult to establish how many runners Fynn employed but as it generally took two days for a runner to reach Pietermaritzburg along either route, and two days for him to return, and Fynn mentioned post arriving and being despatched fairly regularly, it can be assumed that he had an adequate number of runners.

The following postal runners are mentioned in Fynn's manuscript:

PUTINE

MAKALIMA

BASOBENYONI

MATYANA

MONDISA

MHILWABA

FUZINHLU

MAGOZI

NGOGO

MLINGANE

PIPELA

MAGULUHLANE

MLAMBO

MESSENGERS

Most important personalities employed messengers but in most instances it is difficult to establish whether or not these were specially chosen messengers or adherents acting as emissaries. Fynn referred to his own messengers as 'native messengers' which possibly meant that they were Natal blacks rather than inhabitants of Zululand.

(i) OFFICIALS

H.F. FYNN:

Bangeni

Gabajana

Zinelana

Ndida

Lucisa

Sikwatshu

Tyebilika

Ngwegweni

Ncomane

Mgamule

Malinde

Nsika

MELMOTH OSBORN:

Ngicla

Mzitshina

Gohezu

J.W. SHEPSTONE

Mcoswana

(ii) ROYALISTS

CETSHWAYO:

Mfunzi (Cetshwayo's chief messenger)

Marelane

Rubu

Nhuku

Maqandela

Bangambi

Faku

Giweza

Mpense

Ntyobaze

Mkonokomo

Marulululu

Ndumo

Buyembe

Mpopa

MNYAMANA:

Nkomopondo

Mabulkwesa

Marubulwana

Sinquazana

Myame

SAMBANE NYWAYO:

Tzangise

Simelana

SEKETHWAYO:

Maselala

Zondo

(iii) ADHERENTS OF HAMU AND ZIBHEBHU

HAMU:

Somahlozi

Mgulugulu

Mahambana

Somfula

Maqabi

Nkutamba

HLUBI:

Mhlabingubo

MGOJANA:

Bimbi

Nomcumbi

ZIBHEBHU:

Mhlazana

Neubane

Swelabantu

Tikajika

Mahanjana

NOTE ON SOURCES

In providing an introduction for Fynn's manuscript (Volume I) the standard authoritative secondary works were consulted. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus and Guy, The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom were particularly useful in this context. In researching the background of the Zulu kingdom since the late eighteenth century, Bryant Olden Times in Natal and Zululand and Stuart and McK Malcolm, The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, proved useful standard reference works, while recent research, such as the Conference held at the University of Natal, Durban, in 1985, provided an up-to-date perspective on the political economy of the Zulu kingdom. Theses such as Cope, 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo, 1873-1879' and Kennedy 'The Fatal Diplomacy: Sir Theophilus Shepstone and the Zulu kings, 1839-1879' provided useful frameworks for an analysis of the underlying tensions in the Zulu state. In researching Fynn's early career, the most useful sources were Davies, Twin Trails, and the material found in the Stuart Papers in the Killie Campbell Africana Library.

In editing the manuscript, plenty of material was provided in Krige, The social system of the Zulus, Bryant, The Zulu People and the wealth of oral material in Webb and Wright (eds.) The James Stuart Archive, vols. I-IV. Primary sources included the Government House Zululand despatches, Boxes 682-687, the Stuart Papers and the British Parliamentary Papers, all of which contributed towards establishing a coherent 'chain of command' from Bulwer to Fynn.

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- I) Manuscript Sources
  - i) Private Papers
  - ii) Unpublished Official Papers
  
- II) Official Printed Sources
  
- III) Unofficial Contemporary Printed Sources
  - i) Newspapers
  - ii) Periodicals
  - iii) Pamphlets
  - iv) Books
  
- IV) Later Sources
  - i) Bibliographical and Biographical Guides
  - ii) Maps
  - iii) General Secondary Works
  - iv) Articles, Conference Papers and Essays
  - v) Unpublished Theses and Seminar Papers



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