

A S papers

131/194

HEC-WYC -B'stowe 24/10/87 confidential

"Herwtih I send a lottle correspondence. You will see that the message as witten down by Gebuza is very imperfect & misleadin."

/Note that 1 the long preliminary recaptiaion which the^Chiefs are bound by their duty to the people and the amadlhlozi to prefix to any ~~rep~~ message to HM's rep appears hear as the main body of the message

2. The message on D's visitng was told to me as ~~as xxxxxxxx~~ explantion of the visits 2 The main point of the message (matter which led to D's being eaten up) is inadequatley related. 4 Complains about Umhlvu and fokazzna are not mentioned (they were told to me.)

Have was here this afternoon. / "He insists that t is verion muct be correct, that the message is a downright defiance, that he believes that it is relly from NDABUKO to whom he was not polite, that Mnymanana has nothing to do with it, that the quarrels of the sons of Mongo, & the treatment of Umhloen/?/ are mere details, which have nothing to do with the main question; that the Umfokozana case was a murder of unparalled brutality, for which if he 'could trace ti to him, hewould have the greatest pleasure in hanging Dinuzulu in Matitzburg Gaol,' that the Zulus hadtold me falsehoods, as he had ascertained in some cases, that his (HE's) Indictment against Dinuzulu was that he had gone to the New Repulbic /for/ treasonable pruposes, that he knew this from the Boers who had been giving him a great deal of trouble anout it (all my fault it almsot seemed).... That the oers have informed him that Dinuzulu had come to askx their protection against the Engosih, & that they, the

Thenhē said that one of Osb's messengers had been assualted. I asked if he was not one of Z's men who had slaughtered the mothers wives daughters and babies of the ^Usuthu. He then resoted to the murdered messengers and said it was a slander based on the statement of a mythical Pitolo when ^Bulwer had cut off Mnymanana because of it ^Bulwer became repsonbile for the ruin of Zululand as from that time the ^Boers and Zulus were together. I said that Hav must not believe everyitng the ^Boers tell him

and HEC feels that Osb and ^Co have got Hav into this mess for news of distrubances won't go down well in England - / "And now if Osborn drives Dinuzulu & Ndabuko frantic, they need think that Mnymanana will desert them, though he may let his poor old battered body stay quietly near ^Malimate. /

"Now, I take the threats of 'hingaing' cum graco as inteded to alarm me & possibly inuzulu (I may have underground communcation with him, you know, as the ^Bishop was said to have during the war) ,ut the whole tone this afternnon was that of violent prejudice, & it is shocking to think of the mZulus at the mercy of such, & misrepresented on every side.

/Offerxs£100 if WYC goes to Eshwoe sends to Din and asks him to go

and see H E to give him courage to face the troops

Stroan warning to WYC not to let this get into the press.

A S papers

131/79

HEC~~o~~ hesson, Durban 9/11/87

%Staing in Durban - closer touch with Campbell when we discover what the Gov intends to do in Zululand. Ndabuko that fine fellow has gone to Ehsowe to save Dinuzulu doing so and falling into MO's hands as his father did. The Natal papers are now turning against MO and making suggestions for his replacement or saying the trouble stems from misunderstandings between the MO and Din. It is being suggested that this is an attempt to get rid of N and D and thus be saved from appointing them chiefs and make the return of Z possible

A S papers

131/79

HEC-Chesson Durban 9/11/87

/discussing the belief that the amadhlozi kill off the Bor cattle because they desecrate the graves of the Kings while the Zulu cattle which weren't allowed to didn't die. HEC notes that this must be the effect of / "the change of air & pasturage, who. is so frequently fatal to cattle, but the Zulus believe otherwise..."

AS papers

131/180

HEC-chesson Durban 16/11/87

/Hav is going to take Somseu's advise and restore Z as headman over his old district. / "I fear trouble on amu case, Osborn mearly means to pay out our poor friedns, for old as well as new scores, & Zibebu will no doubt be as 'loyal' as ever. He may be appointed over Ndabuko & inuzulu, as before wh. will be intolerable forthem. It is celar that Sir A.H. having got out of the mess of his own contriving, by the dutiful submission of Ndabuko, & of the Zulus following his lead (as so often happened in 1881-2) is now going to support Osborn, & let Ndabuko be the scapegoat before the British taxpayer, the only form of Nemesis these officials semm to dread."

131/81 HEC-chesson Durban 17/11/87

/discusses the fines on D and N and that if they wanted to go to the NR they should have ssek'd Mr O for a pass / "how cruelly familiar is the phrase, like an ancient toothache.

A S papers

131/79

HEC- hesson Durban 9/11/87

/You will soon be hearing the story of ~~Mr~~ Mfokozana The messengers in Natal told me that ~~ix~~ illness has long been troubling Makulumane and that soothsayers far and near have said that the illness was caused by Mfokazana and eventually the chiefs who at first did not believe ~~ix were forced~~ edit at first / "thought themselves compelled to give way...& Umfokozana's kraal was ordered to be destroyed." / Inuzulu sent the kraal a message for the people to escape (noted some time ago in the Advertizer. / / Now you won't accept stories of smelling out for the story shows to me / "...how hopeless it is to try to rule these people to their good, without reference to their superstitious beliefs. If a good doctor had only been there to cure Makuluamen, he would have saved" / Mfokazana's wife too / "...and would have done much to weaken the belief in 'withcraft', or poisoning x than would be accomplished by bringing all the Zulu chiefs together for the murder.

Reminds
w/c
on
demo-
cracy

hanging

A S papers (131/53)
Hec Chesson B'stowe 25/1/87

/Acks his of 16 and 23/12/86 and can understand that the Engosih have much to think of besides the Zulus / " but they are bound to think of them too, so please keep poking them up "

/The Guardian is as horrid as usual and has always supported and now sounds just like Bulwer. He attempted to set up Zibiebu as Chief in northern Zululand / "...under the specious pretence of 'extending British influennce in Zululand' on Cethswayo's death. A proceeding wh. would have brought on at once the death struggle wh. is now again looming. / /I note what you say as to British rule being better than Boer rule, but please do you in your turn beware, 'the annexation of Zululand to Natal,' would be one thing though it ought not to satisfy England on behalf of the Zulus who would still be tenants, ie serfs of the owners of the soil' under either rule. But what is meant now when Annexation of Zululand to Natal is suggested, is the annexation of the scrap that is left the Zulus, & I am much afraid lest if that takes place, many good people in England will be beguiled into believing that some relief has been afforded the Zulus, wh idea will, you see, be utterly fallacious - such a proceeding would not recover an inch of land from the New Republic.

Access
Held with

1000

C/131/54

A S papers

HEC- Statam 25/1/87

"I have now recieved a note from Mr Chrsson in wh. he says that he did want me to send a few lines in his name to one of the Natal papers expressing his regret that he had writtten his printed letter under the impression that you were responsible for the suggestion that he knew beforehand of the contemplated alliance between the Boers & the Zulus & also expressing his sense of the former services you rendered to the Zulu cause. It is I therefore who made the mistake. I beg you to accept my apoligies for it & if you care to do so you are quite at liberty to pjblish this note."

A S Papers

131/59

HEC- hesson 1/3/87 B'stowe

ACCUSED
STATION

"And now as to Martin Lutuli, though we must beware of fixing too much attention & blame on him, & thereby letting those escape who have instigated, or connived or winked at & made use of his tricks, yet he is being made the instrument for so much & such serious mischief, that I think that we must unmask him & those who use him. And the more so, because I expect the vigorous justifications of Martin entailing condemnation of Miss Moliso's suspicions & intimation, has gone home by this mail. I thought so to begin with, because:-

/In spite of my warning Hav has probably sent home a desp based on Martin's letter from the Zulus./ "In the account of the Interview at the SNA' office (p64-5) held the day after H.E. had received my letter, the Zulus agreed that there were no words in the present letter with which they found fault as differing from Dinuzulu's. Here, I expect, the official account will stop, the complementary statement that they nevertheless complain because words had been left out by Martin, having been 'spoken only' to the Induna - or some such excuse, is therefore not included in their statement. / This however was conjecture, & I was considering how best to guard against it, when I received today a letter (unofficial) from H.E. of which I send you a copy. This is, in one way, very kind, polite, treatment of me, but it seems to imply either (1) that he will treat my protest against Martin's mistatements as nil; or, more likely (b) that he has in recent Despatches supported Martin, & discredited me..

but what are the facts. (1) That Martin did not say that a heaman has been sent &c in his letter of Nov. 26 to Mr Shepstone.

Ans I had already judged this possible, see my note on p47 to the printed copy of my letter of Feb 6, & had therefore laid no stress on this point. / / But Hav says that one of the two authorities for the corrected statements is letters written by Martin on the same day ~~the same day~~ identical to the one addressed to Shep but these addressed to Hav and Osb. / "H.E. therefore here merely furnished me with another instance of the abuse against which I protest, & convicts Martin of telling a lie when he assured the Zulus that he had written nothing about their sending a representative.

(2) / Of HE's authority for believing the Zulus meant to send a ~~max~~ rep to the B C Swaimana or Salimane SNA Induna I can say nothing for I don't know what he said /

A S papers

131/59

HEC-Chesson 1/3/87 *B Stone*.

"Mr Escombe may be a statesman as you say. & by all means let us make any use of him that we can on behalf of the Zulus, At the same time we must not forget that poor Cetshwayo had asked him to speak for him & prevent the war, in the middle of 1878, & that Mr. Escombe went to England, noted preparations at the Cape, & kept silence all through the accusations that a war could not be avoided because Cetshwayo meant to fight. We only heard of the message to Mr Escombe when he himself referred to it in 1882. And now, if he speaks for the Zulus it is because it happens to suit some purpose of his own (I believe) & he will drop them the minute he thinks that they are not useful to him. So don't depend on him, please. One good thing is that he & John Robinson are more or less rivals. /You'll find the news between pages 55-65 discusses them/ "the worst point, it seems to me is the appointment of Osborn, implying the continuance of all the old evil ways & traditions. And, if my sister has told you anything about the 'Court of Inquiry' on Mr Offy Shepstone, you will share my dismay at finding Mahor McKean appointed Sub-Commissioner in Col Cardew's place.....he is thoroughly prejudiced in favour of the Shepstones & of officialism generally..."

A S papers

131/62

HEC - Question to Bishop Stone 23/3/87

" Sir H. B. may well be 'heated', for he must know himself, however he may protest to the contrary that 'the worst thing he ever did' was to give in to Sir B. T., that he has been dragged down by that false step through unnumbered others. As to doing the same. Next to Sir B. T. - as equal to him - he is the worst."

131/63 HEC question 25/3/87

[BB has just arrived & HEC attends Bulwer's ordinary (must be for his long Menus's) He considered upst Cet. on his restoration to make it a failure (the

R.O.2. proves this. He supported 2 against Cat after the
restoration (death & fire have not brought this sufficiently
to the public) & I have proved he was guilty of "
"the attorney is 'writting' the Boss into Zulu."]

A. S. papers

83 FEC - Chesson Vinton 12/3/87

[FEC's 2nd to last letter.]

"It is dreadful to me, to be here, able to do so little, & wanting to do so much - & seeing these officially announced falsehoods published uncontradicted you do all you can I know - but where are the others!"

84 As above 18/3/87

[last words to Chesson]

"My hand is shaky in the morning - (worse later in the day)".

AS papers

1313/65

HEC-RCAS B' stowe 1/5/87

/ Feels that M Lutuli must have a secret hold over the Chiefs or they would have shaken him off. To his question doubts whether the Zulu would be allowed to send a deputation to England. And doubts whether they would do much good if they did go. The wish to go however shows they are dutiful to England as they still appeal to her that they believe in the justice of their case and they still 'insist' and are ready to take risks in continuing to do so.

" This course implies that the Zulus are determined' to make some further attempts or struggle against what almost every one agrees is a terrible fate for them, & I can see only possible alternatives to it - ie (1) that they should turn ~~them~~ to the assegai in despair - when they possibly make sufficient disturbance to force attention to their case.

If they were not so determined, but were inclined to put up with their hard fate, if they were so broken in strength & spirit as to be prepared to submit - then truly the difficulties in the way of getting any redress for them appear at the present so great that I could not undertake the responsibility (both towards them & towards England) of inciting them to persevere (though I should never cease to urge their wrongs myself). But I have no reason to believe that this is the case & if the Zulus are 'determined to make another effort, it is better as far as I can judge, that they should make it if possible by civilized means instead of by the assegai. While it is possible that events may happen & within the next few months, in the New Republic or in the

the approaching Session of the Legislative Council or in the English Parliament wh. may gain that attention wh. it now seems so difficult for the Zulus to procure. And you see by Mr Chesson's or rather the APS words wh. I underlined, that they should continue to hope while the Zulus did not consent...I should therefore be sorry that the Zulus should drop their idea of appealing to England. The best way to set to work about it, is another question" C/I have been making enquiries. Have the Chiefs collected money yet. Ask the Indunas if the Somsteu really said that the English chiefs are quite tired of Zulu affairs and the Zulu must settle them themselves.

A S papers

Ci31 /66

HEC-^Chesson 3/5/87

/McLaren has been here and said that in return for a mining concession he and his backers would provide funds for a lawyer to prosecute their appeal to England and to help them generally. This is out of the question and ~~xx~~ I said I would have nothing to do with it. The Zulus don't seem to be agreeable to it either. McLaren had useful info as at the beginning of 1884 he was connected with Wilhelm and Terry's store on the Penvane river. He couldn't tell me about the 16th Aug but he said that he always understood that the Boers didn't have much difficulty in persuading Grant to sign. He said that a raid is to be staged in the Utrecht district to give the Tvl the excuse to annex the N R for the sake of peace. He says on the N R line one meets daily Zulu families crossing the border after refusing to work without wages and without any cattle left to them. Next month the Boers start collecting there 10/- hut tax - ie work for no wages and loss of cattle for they have no money.

accessed

In 131/67
She is asking
WYC's translation of
a Zulu document
which shows
WYC's knowledge
that time works

AS papers

H^E-Chesson 3/5/87 B'stowe

131/66

/Doesn't know ~~whether~~ whether the Zulus intend to Counsel deputaton or the
ssegai but they have brought down over £100 with them for a lawyer
and asked me to recommend one. He send me a message tonight wheter
they feel that the consult W Y C without r3ferring again to the Chiefs. /
"The worst of it is that the Zulus feel as clearly as you or I the
falseness, the subeterfuges of the offical statements made to them, so
that I can hardly bear to look the men in the face for shame. They
entirely endorse the Ed. 'Witness' view of the action of the Eng. Govt.
especially I note the follwing. (1) H.E. repeats the old lie that the
Zulus 'come now' (1886) to ask help - & their first full statement's -
made to me, & sent to you in Feb 1885 & sent by me to H.E. in 188 6,
has never appeared in any Blue Book. he ignored also the Zulu complaints
of the oers in 1883, & Fynn's 'notice to quit'. (2) 'lost through their
own acts' accept the consequences of their foolloish conduct' 'their
troubles in the past had been brought upon them by listening in that way
to mishchief makers & letting tgo the hand of the Govt. They know perfectly
will, that from the beginning it has been the opposite. the govt wh. has
abaondoned rejectedxthem cast them out, & cut them off from all consideration
, all justice, from the time when Sir Th. Shepstone 'became a Boer', &
claimed the Disp. Terr. for the oers, & 'makde his back so pricly' that
he drove Cetshwayo off it, & broght on the invasion of Zululand by the
nglsih. they don't forget any of this. Not that it was only because he

he saw them being unjustly destroyed without a single tongue being raised in their favour that Sobantu took their part. & I continue to do so, as far as in me lies."

AS papers

~~131/83~~

131/83

HEC-chesson 22/2/88

Bishopstowe

←||
The last letter to Chesson in the collection Because you don't hear from we poor Zulus don't think we have ceased to have cause to complain. It is just that the wall has been built so well round the Zulus that all we hear are muffled groans. I send statements from Natal papers. Extract 1. This is shocking Somkele is an old greatly respected man - Could ALP's exchange with Shep ~~byxxxxxxbasis forxxxxxxx~~ be as a result of his action hear 2 Z has not been arrested tho' apart from Som. other leading Zulus are in goal / "ie for political offences, disreagrd of or fear to comply with the summons of S S Shepstone &c. 3 Somkele's tribe has suffered greatly from Z's attacks in the last 10 years 4 McKean is an ally of Offy Shepstone 5 Umbuzo is not an uSutu but a renegade who whatched with J hep sutu heads being broken

1891

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C4980

No 98 Havelock to Stanhope 10/1/87 p180

LH c olenso continues her protest XEROX

131/51 F.S. papers

HEC - Alison B. Stone 11/1/87

RCB [Send saying that the C. sec camp dates were told
of the nature of the proposed settlement in May
They weren't as I think my letters will show.

[for letter on See 131/52 or Dyer p. 40.]

A. S. Papers.

C 130/73 FEC - Chesson 15/1/87

[Discusses Hawelock - who FEC likes + is sure is acting under compulsion + is weak - unlike Durriford.]

" ... a year ago, having had the whole series of our books read aloud to him during his convalescence, I know that he had that office [SIVA] + its doing in contempt, + was determined to prevent such doings during his term. [So now having agreed to carry out C.O. wishes he is decency Mr Julius] " For my part I hope they will fight.

Better to die to a man, as the brave men they have always shown themselves, fighting for their rights, than to die out solely as a degenerate race in the wretched unhealthy workless corner left to them. "

H-S papers.

130/76 F.E.C.-Chesore Ventnor 10/2/87

"If anything very bad happens I do not believe that I shall ever see my dear sister again. She has strained every fibre of mind & body to the utmost to save her people, first just as our Father did, & a great shock concerning them will tell her, as it did him."

[You here have other interests] "It is that concentration of the whole being which kills when it proves in vain, tho' it would be the true way to success were it possible for more of us to practise it."

133/107

Einwald to Chesson 18/2/87 London

"With the greaest pleasure, I will wnaswer your kind quesions after my own obwervations:

I If you take into a general view the whole Zululand, so isthe country, which Sir Arthur Havelock will grant to the Boers, the best part of it in the following resepts: a) for Climate, b) for Cultivation & c.) for cattle bfeeding & keeping.

The Boer Country is mountainous & healthy for people & cattle, as they can drive the last named in the cold nights down the valley. The land is watered by many rivers, which - even in the rainy season - are not dangerous to overflow the culitivated ground, as all the small & large rivers have a h4avy fall to the East.

II The oast of Zululand (north of the Umhlaltoosi river) is in many places not healthy for people & some parts are not suited fo keep cattle; for which had the best proof on my last journey, when I lost so may trek oxen & two horses. / /The principal food fo the Zulus are Mealies (Indina Corn), which will grwo but we must not forget, that the wealth of the Zulus are cattle & they can not livewithout them, as less , as we white people can live without money....Further can they not cultiate the land near the mouth of the rivers, as in the rainy season the water runs over the embankments; then if we look on a correct map, we will observe, that wouth of the Umvalsoi river are four lakes & than the size of the St Lucka Lake reduces the land considerbley & the

the stripe between the St. Lucia Lake & the Indian Ocean is not fit for being inhabited, as the people have scarcely any communciation.

III The population of the Zulus in the countr , now given to the Boers, are about 42000, but I am afraid the Zulus will commence to wander about even now, as when I traveled in their ountry; for instance: I met familes first mear Emnyatt, later sour of the St Lucia Bay & the last in the Reserve on the mouth of the Injesnae river & shey they had not settled yet a fix home.

IIII~~XXX~~ In the NR the Zulushave to be servants or pay tozs.

V

"I neen not to say, How I appreciate your interest to thewelfare of the Natives & believe me, I will always be your partner & if I would be now amongst the Zulus, I should advise them to die in honour & I would lead them to the glory."

Coleman Collection

Box 129

H Acton/?/ to HEC Durban 17/2/87

/Have been in Zululand for the past 5 months and spent much of the time with Dinuzulu with reference to mining rights I was requested by him and his advisers to try and procure a pass for him to go to England as he had failed to get permission from Osborn and was forbidden in the Queen's name to leave Zululand. On consulting Escombe he informed me that a formal appointment would first have to be made by the Zulus of a person to apply on their behalf. / "I see the messengers who left before my departure have arrived in Maritzburg and as I am aware they were to call on you ask whether you know how long they stay and also if you would advise them to come here and obtain themselves the advice as to action necessary to do what they desire. Will you kindly let me hear from you as soon as convenient as from what I saw in Zululand there is no time to lose if serious consequences are to be avoided." /I have seen McLaren's correspondence to you.

Naimi

IMIAN

EUGEN

lonic

Colenso Collection

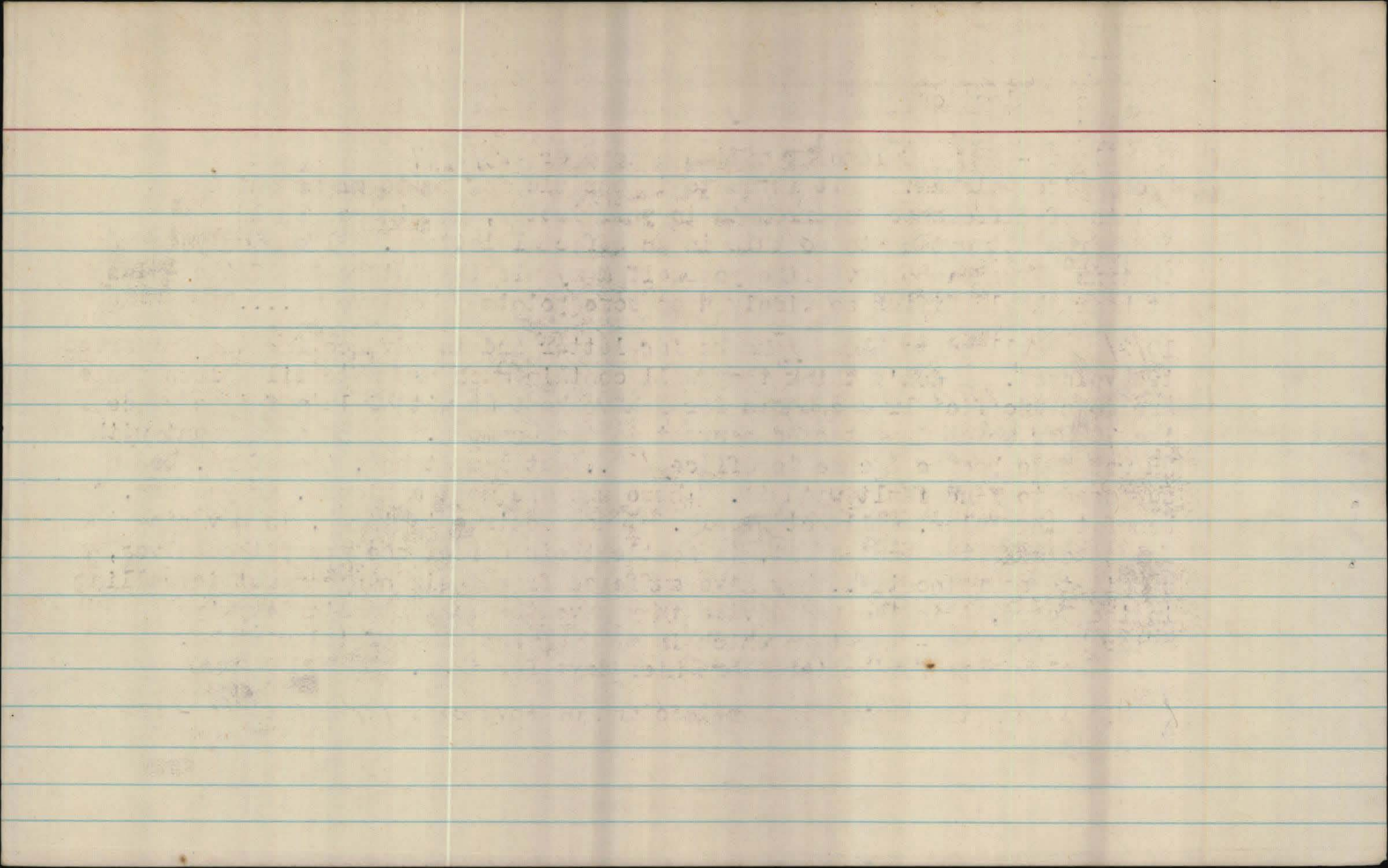
Box 184

H Holland - HEC Colensila office notepaper 23/2/87

"Dear Miss Colenso. It is quite impossible for me to argue out the points of difference referred to in your letter, not indeed would any good come from attempting to do this in an official letter. I can only regret that ~~two~~^{two} persons who have like yourself & myself the interests of the Zulus at heart should differ so widely upon some points Believe me...."

10/2/ Holland to HEC / Thanks for letter and in advance for the forwarded two volumes. I don't think they will contain much new material unless there are some unofficial documents for I have kept up with Zulu affairs since the 79 War which I protested against in the Commons. The arrangement with NR was made before I came to Office / "... but I must not, therefore, be supposed to find fault with it, those who are most anxious, as you are, to benefit the Zulus, will act wisely. I now venture to think, in advising the Zulus to make the best of it, to settle their difference among themselves, & submit to a Protectorate. They have suffered from their own conduct in calling in the Boers, & in the bad advice they gave the unfortunate Cetewayo after his return - a return which in my judgment was a fatal mistake. I earnestly hope for better & brighter days for them.

(Ugh! I fear the above is a specimen of invincible/?/ ignorance - see my reply)



Colenso Collection

Box 183

/Letters from Havelock to the Colensos/

/Undated series of informal letters from Lady Havelock/

Hav HEC 26/2/87 Fort Nottingham.

"I think it only fair to Martin Lutuli, concerning ~~whom~~^{whose} probity you have lately expressed doubts, that you should know that there was nothing in the letter written by him to Mr Shepstone, on behalf of Dinuzulu, undabuko and others and dated the 26th Nov, to the effect that a head man had been sent by the Chief 'to be their eyes and ears with Mr Osborn at the laying off of the boundary' the information upon which, Mr Shepstone in writing to the chiefs, in reply to their letter to him of the 26th ~~Nov~~ Nov, expressed his gladness that they had done as I had wished in the matter was obtained, (1) from a statement made by Swaimona /?/ (a messenger sent by me to accompany Tshingana when he returned from his last visit to Pietermaritzburg), of what passed at an interview between himself and Umnymanana; and (2) from letters addressed to me and to Mr. Osborn by Dinuzulu, Undabuko, Umnymanana, Tshingana and Mahanana, dated the 26th Nov. These letters are probably written by the hand of Martin Lutuli. The remarks of the persons whose names are attached to them, are witnessed by him. The Chiefs, while informing me & Mr. Osborn that, in accordance with my wish, they are sending a man (or men) to witness the marking out of the line, express in emphatic terms their dissatisfaction with that line. I hope I have shown you that Martin Lutuli did not in the letter of the 26th Nov to Mr Shepstone, introduce, unknown to the Chiefs, any statement

expressive of the consent of the Chiefs to send a person to be present at the marking of the line of demarcation. With respect to the alleged suppression by him of a portion of Mr. Shepstone's letter in reply, I know nothing beyond what you have told me.

I have not experience of Lutuli's trustworthiness. He seems to be trusted by the chiefs and to have been trusted by Grant / " who I believe enjoyed your confidence at one time, if he does not do so still.

I am sure you will be glad to know that I have received permission to arrange for the return of Langalibalele.

Colenso Collection

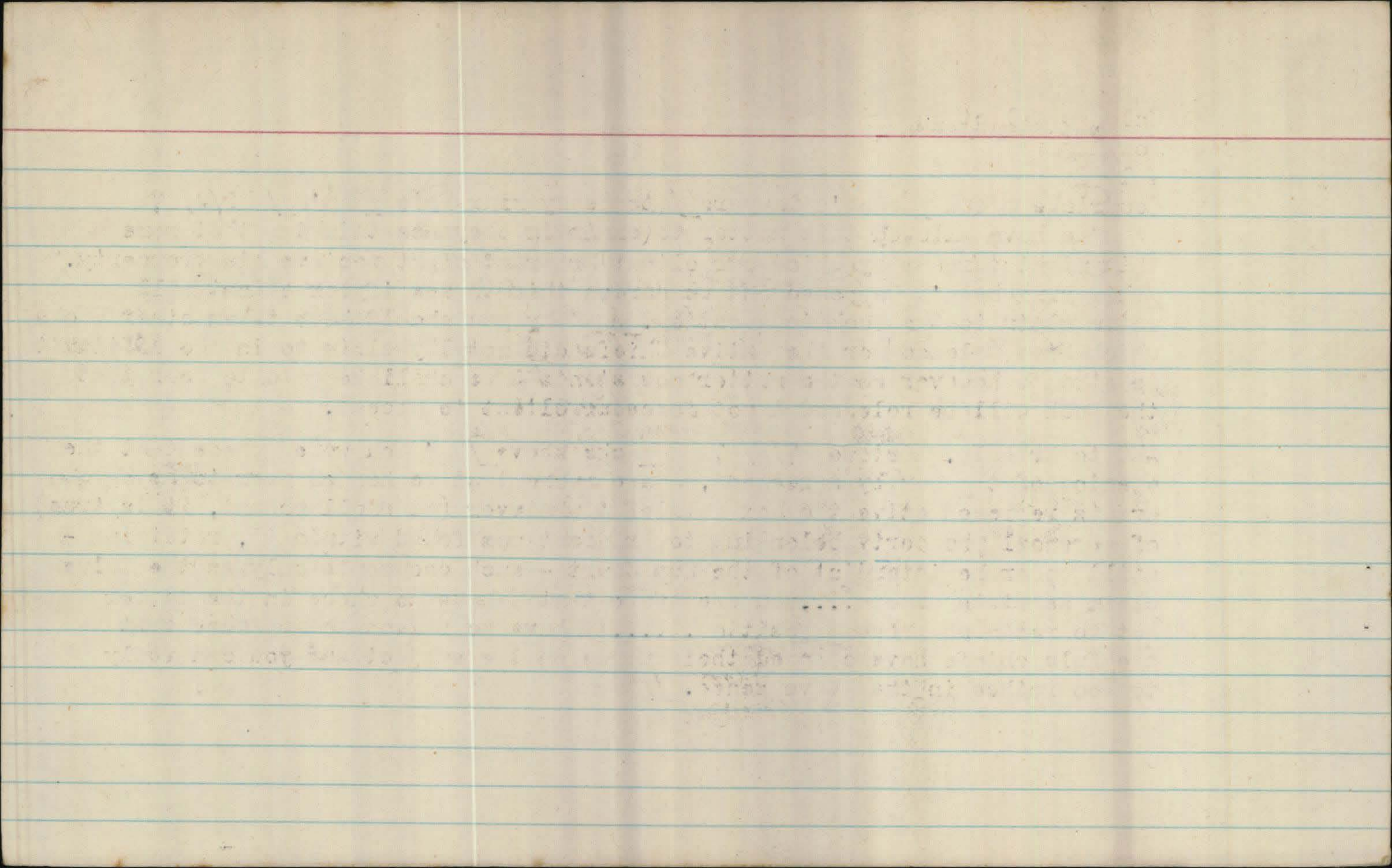
Box 126

Vol II

Goodricke & Son /Grnat's lawyers/ to Henry ~~Bax~~ Bale /HEC's/ 2/4/87

"We have allowed this matter to remain in obedience thinking that some thing might turn up by which our client Mr Grant might receive his property." /This ~~hasn't~~ hasn't happened and we address this to see if your client will waive claim to the Book in question./ "Why you should have taken other books which Miss Colenso nor the Native Chiefs did not lay claim to in the affidavit is strange however so the matter now stands & we shall be glad to hear that the book will be released & not force our client to proceed.

HEC to Mr Bale. Bstowe 7/4/87 /Acks above/ " You were present at the opening of the box by agreement, & are aware that we handed over to Mr Grants representative the box itself & whatever (a small account, it is true) of personal property belonging to Mr Grant was found within it, retaining - still under the interdict of the Sup Court - such documents only as the Zulus claim as state papers.....you are aware that I have no choice in the matter but to retain my present position. /I have no reason to suppose that the Zulu chiefs have changed their minds on the subject and you can reply to Goodricke in the above sense./



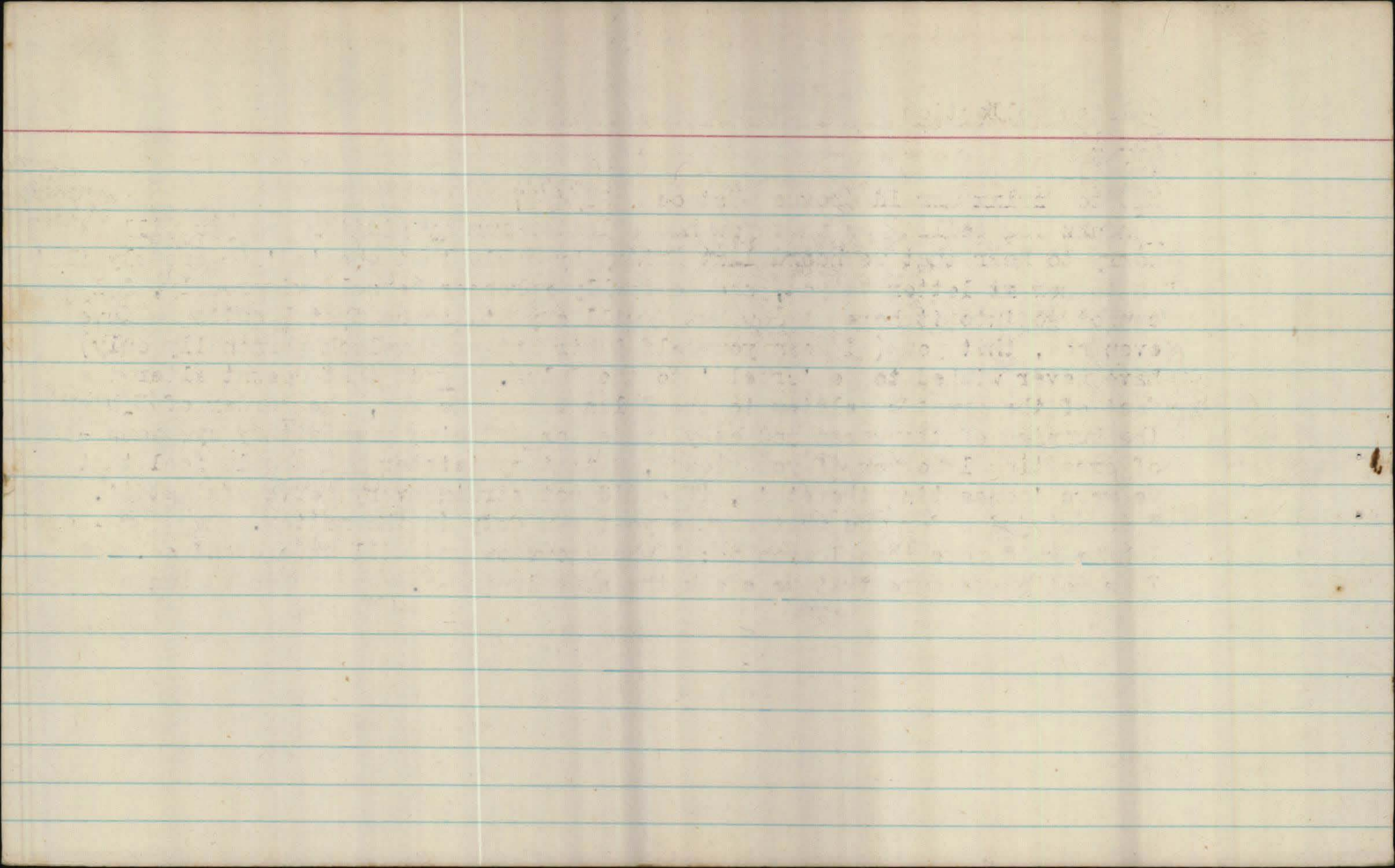
Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

HEC to ~~Gertax~~ Gerald Browne Bstwoe 22/4/87

Indy - dis 28
Indy
Thanks for telling me that you had a letter from my sisiter and you will be sorry to hear that we heard last Friday by cable that she is 'dangerously ill'.
"As to her ~~it~~ letter o you, she generally expresses herself vigorously, & I cannot go into it here & now but I will say at_a onace that I quite believe even now, that you (I mean yourself & Sir Arthur Havelock personally only) have never wished to be 'cruel ' to the Zulus." ^BBut that doesnt alter the fact of the great curelties to the Zulus since the war, the urder of D_a b the burning of the women and baby by de Vos / "being preminitary symptoms - of exceptional horror if you please, & that my isister & I should feel that we were 'consenting thereto' , if we did not strain every nerve against it. I do not judge for you what may be your own duty in the matter. There!
I have said more than I mean to: & who knowshow you will understand me? for I am not quite sure that we speak the same language. /and tunrs to Langa/



Colenso Collection
Box 191

J McLaren to HEC PMB 27/4/87 /Have just arrived and hope the Zulu izinduna are at B'stwoe. Don't reply or send them away till you see me/

J McLaren to HEC Insugazi 29/12/87 /_Knowing you interest in Zulu affairs there are certain things you should know. The Zulu have persisitenly protested against the settlemtn between the Engosih govt and the Boers and deny that they have expressed satifaction (as the ~~st~~eamtemtn of the Aciting Col Sec for Natal says.) The Br Govt says that they Zulu were represetned at the Boundary Commission and so I want to put these facts befoore you. Luthuli was sent by Ndabuko to Osb when he crossed the Mhlatuze to prtest. Mnymanana sent Qwabeti, Hohoto for the same reason. Mnymanan asked to mto go with the izinduna and report. Osb told me the matter wassetled and the Zulu had sent reps. to 'recievethe Beacons.' I denied this and Osb said he did not means 'receive' but 'to look at'. I told the izinduna was MO had said and sent them to him. MO told t em that I was wrong and what he (MO) had said was that he 'had deta ned Qwabete to show him the Beaaons' The izindun a then came to me and said they wer returning as they protested as instucted/ "but Martin Lutuli told them if they did, they would estory the Zulus, and by this mqns frightened them into remaining ~~wikx~~ near Mr Osborne." /_they did not go and see the beacons and awaited orderes drom Mny anan. the were all ordered away and went excpet M Luthili who stayed with Mr Osb. Then a letter came from the SNA dated 18/12/86. I enclsoe the original and underline the porition ommitted by Luthuli when he read it to the ^usuthu and said he belonged to Mr O's house. The letter was brought

to me and Warren and we saw that the SNA referred to Lutuli's letter of 26/11/86 / "as having conveyed to the Govt the idea that the Zulus had sent Induna to be their Eyes & ears to Mr Osborne which they the Zulus said were not the words Martin was instructed to write. We told the Zulus that Martin Lutuli had in our opinion sold them." When faced with this Luthili denied having put any thing in the letter which could be construed in this way. The Zulu said they would get him to write a denial but he hasn't done so. / "Martin brought a copy of his letter of the 26th Nov which certainly did not contain anything objectionable, but I am not so sure that either another letter has not been written by him or the one produced as a copy was, not so." / M L has said that he would have left Zululand if the Br Govt had not asked him to stay. He has been with Osb all the time. The Zulu have consistently protested against the line and Osb has tried to get them to accept it, even trying to frighten them by saying that the Boers will attack unless the Zulu accept Annexation when the Br Govt will protect them. The Zulu say they want time and ask for a pass for Natal. "Mr Osborne positively refuses to allow any communication with outsiders until they have consented to Annexation and has told them that he has received a reply from the queen that she will not listen to their Appeal" / and refuses to receive a deputation. Whoever is representing to England that the Zulu accept Annexation is dragging her into a dishonourable position. It is also reported that after annexation Z will be allowed to return - nothing could cause more strife than this. /

Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

HEC to RCAS 29/4/87 Bstowe

/Acks letter and will try and answer the questions/

"I will begin at the end of yr. letter & tell you some thing 'relevant to this matter', wh. I think it very important the Zulus shd see clearly. It is about Martin Lutuli. He returned to Zululand with Shingane last ~~year~~ Nov & presently the Z. Chiefs ordered him to write a letter for them protesting agt. the ~~fr~~ giving o fland to the Boers. A reply to this letter came fr. the S.N.A. & Martin read it aloud to the Zulus. Presently the two white men Warren & McLaren arrd. & the Zulus asked them to read out t e letter. They did so, but when they came to the words 'I have heard ' I am gald that you have sent an umuntu omkulu to be eyes & ears on the Boundary Commission' uZulu said 'Hau! Martin never read out those words to us then did we say we wd. send an umuntu omkulu? And they asked Martin 'why did you leave out these words in reading? Was it becasue it was a rely to woress of yours about umuntu omkulu put in withhout our order.' Martin denied strongly that he had ever written that umuntu umkulu would be sent." /They then ordered him to write a denial that he ever said, at first h refused but at last agreed and wrtoe what he called two copies one to be shown to HEC and another to the SNA / "there was not a word of denial in either of them Meanwhile I wrote to the Sp. Commr. to tell him how Martin had left out (in reading to the Zulus the SNAA's letter the words and the rest of the charges. He Said that Luthuli spoke truly if he said that SNA had said nothing about

" HeE replied to me to the effect that M, spoke truly if he said that he had put nothing about umuntu omkulu into the letter to Mr Shepstone. but that M wrote 2 other letter for the Zulus on that same day (Nov -) one to H E himself & the other to Mr Osborn, & that he did put the words about sending umuntu omkulu into each of these two." ~~Examine these~~

M has been guilty of 3 breaches of trust 1 He suppressed part of an official letter from the SNA to the Zulu chiefs 2 He deceived the Zulu by saying that he had written a denial when he had not done so and 3 worst of all he forged a statement letters from the Zulu chiefs of the Sp Comm and Osb.

These letters will have been sent to England to show that the Zulu agree in the settlement with the Boers and that it is only interfering people who are trying to stir up their opposition. / "You see that the Governor in his letter to me says 'the Zulus appear to trust Martin,' And now they have proved this by bringing him down again. It is plain that

he will say & write ~~first what~~ just what he sees the authorities wish. And this is the first difficulty that I see in the way of 'setting to work' in a way on the Zulu case. It is useless for any of us to speak up for them & say that they mean 'and wish one thing, while they leave M, in which he can continually contradict us (falsely) as in the name of the Zulus.* I cannot risk the Bishop's name on such treacherous slippery ground, & when Mr Chesson hears that after catching M, in such terrible lying, the Zulus still employ him - I fear that he & all our friends will say that it is impossible to try to help them. / Our friends overseas lay great stress on the fact that the Zulus weren't consulted but now by sticking to Martin the Zulus are confirming his statement that they did consent to send representatives. (omunutu omkulu) Tell the Zulu this plainly /

Colenso Collection

Box 140

/Correspondence with RCAS / /Most of it deals with post 1906 correspo /
27/5/88 /Mr Coope wants a good interpreter to go with him to England
and someone on good terms with the natives and faithful to their interests.
He doesn't know much about them but that he has been corresponding with
Chesson and FE Colenso

1/5/87 ~~x~~ ~~xxxx~~ "...it seems as if that Manu Matini Lutuli must have some
secret hold over some of the chiefs, or they would not now hesitate to
shak him off....

/The advantage of permission for the chiefs to England would be that they
would get a hearing - that would be the only possible good of it and it
shows they have confidence in their ~~dase~~ that they are dutiful to England /
"this course implies that the Zulus are 'determined' to make some further
attempt or struggle against what, almost everyone agrees, is a terrible
fate for them, & I can see only two possible alternatives to it ie (1) that
they should turn to the assegai in despair - when they might possibly
make sufficient disturbance to force attention to their case. / / If they
were not so determined, but were inclined to put with their hard fate, if
they were so broken in strength & spirit as to be prepared to submit then
truly the difficulties in the way of getting any redress for them appear
at the present so great that I could not undertake the responsibility ~~of~~ (both
towards them & towards England) of inciting them to persevere. (though
I should never cease to urge their wrongs myself) But I have no reason to
believe that this is the case & if the Zulus are determined to make another
effort, it is better as far as I can judge that they should make it if

possible by civilized means instead of by the assegai. While it is possible that events may happen & within the next few months, in the New Republic or in the approaching Session of the Legislative Council or in the English Parliament wh. may gain that attention wh. it now seems so difficult for the Zulus to procure /_ and you' ll see that the APS ~~still does~~ will still persevere while the Zulu do not consent / I should therefore be sorry that the Zulus should drop their idea of appealing to England." /ut how to go about it is difficult

HEC -McLaren 27/4/87 /Mkaes arrangements to meet him as she is always glad to hear anything about the Zulus. They are aware that if they stay at Bishopstowe ~~they~~ their words will be considered to be merely the invention of Bishopstowe /

2/5/87 HEC-McLaren. /The Zulus were here after seeing the SNA but for some reason are under the influence of Martin. they must shake him off /

Colenso Collection
Box 202

A-Spales
18/65
1/5

RCAS-HEC 5/5/87 PMB Thanks for you long letters dated 29/4 and (1/5) and the interesting pamphlets. / "I don't see 'umuntu omkulu' in any letter to the Government. Swaimama seems to be the only one who has originated these words. And if they were in writing and simply the words were there it could not mean he was sent to accept the boundary. the copies of the Zulu protest all of which I have read are as clear as they can be and H.E. admits that. But (the Government) throwing into the face of the poor Zulus, whom it has ruined by sly dodges, that they Zulus are weak)* have supported the Boers who have no right in Zululand because they fear the Boers.

You can see by yesterday's Witness what is the last treatment of the Zulus by the High Commissioner. The greatest injustice has now been crowned. The ulu cas is now attended by countless difficulties. If the Zulus had listened to me in January & February last year they would not be where they are now. I don't know exactly what amount the Zulus have collected towards proceeding with their indaba. There were 50 head subscribed by the Zulus at the beginning of April & subscriptions are still continuing."

11/5/87 /Reply to yours of today/ /Sends copies of his letters to the Gov about the Zulus/ "I shall do my best with Campbell's opinion. In as much as you have taken upon yourself the responsibility of Mr Campbell's & my charges in connection with this Zulu business I only think it fair to put you on your guard. I mean to tell you to get the Zulus to deposit with you now before Friday of the next meeting a sum of not less than £50. Mr Campbell's charges if he finishes his part on Friday will be about £23 & mine on that date

will be £20. The Zulus have in hand £100. The Zulus have not come today as they were told by Mr Gallwey."

16/5/87 "Nothing from Mr. Campbell I don't know why. It may be because he is put in an awkward position by first being engaged by me for the Zulus & then standing aside. To me it does look strange inasmuch as the Zulus were sent to me for the purpose of advice & through me all ought to go the Zulu Deputation conclude. I think the Deputation are right in their conclusions. Anything else will create suspicion ~~that~~ & heartburning with the Zulus as it has already.

27/10/87 /Just back from Zululand but nothing to report/ "Really my heart bled when I saw the desolation in Provoso B caused by the presence of the Boers. There are very few kraals there now and scarcely any Boers. The farms in this part are now going to be awarded to the robbers the Boers. It is really worse than useless trying to assist the Zulus. They are so divided that they never combine to do what they are advised.

29/4/87 /The Zulu are determined to go to England - what do you think of the idea/

5/1/88 /Has heard of Z's brutality but have no evidence/

* 24/8/87 /Boers are driving Siteku from his homesteads in the S W by S extremity of the Provoso B area./

/A few notes immediately proceeding the trial about arraignments

4/11/88 No accommodation in Eshowe 11/12/88 Protest to C R Saunders that the police have illegally detained Defence witnesses Mgojana Gudu Makazana Mhludhlu Tyumi Selani Hlangabeza God Mandhlanga Mpisi./

Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vil III

/HEC-McLaren Bpstwe 16/5/87_ "Martin Lutuli absolutely denies that he omitted any word in first reading to uZulu the Sec. N. Aff's letter. The Indunas now down say that they were not present & the only one who contradicts Martin Lutuli is Umlilwana who does not carry sufficient weight. If it is not ~~going~~ giving you too much trouble, I shall be much obliged if you can meet me & the Zulus...& go into that matter."

Collected
Box 123
Vol. III

Mr. McArthur, Boston, Feb. 21/1911. I have been
omitted a word in first reading to make the sec. 1. After a further
induced now down say that they were not present & the only one who
confronted Martin Smith is Williams who does not carry sufficient weight.
It is not a crime, giving you too much trouble, I shall be much obliged
if you can meet me at the office... I go into that matter."

Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

3 or 4 weeks ago heard that Mtokwane, Somi & Sibamu (not the chief) reported that D was to indipsosed to come but that amamdoda were on the way availing themselves of the permission grained by H E for them to come down to him. They returned with HE's regrets that D could not come down but hoped he would. /

"He also a word from me, repeating my warring against letters written by Martin. / /"Last night I recieved a note from Mr J Mc Laren saying, that he had just arrived, & that it was 'very important' that he shd. see me before the Zulus arrived: & today hextax came out to see me.... He was anxious in the first place that Martin sh. not introduce the Zulus to the Govt. but that he shd. do so. This, he says, is the wish of the Zulu Chieffs, who indeed sent messages o call Martin back, & prevent his coming with this party, but Martin had literally 'run away8, & could not be caught up. I can quite believe this to be the case & that the hiefs are trusting

~~(2) to the fact that Martin is already discredited his falsehoods having been made apparent to HE. But all this is likely to be~~

(2)* to the shrewdness of of ald Mfunzi who, he says is one of those coming (1) to McLaren's catching up the deptuation, (3) to the fact that Martin is laready discredited, his falshoods having been made appraent to HE. Bul all this is likely to be pooh-poohed by the Authorities in their affection for Martin. McLaren & I agreed as to the dangerousness of Martin, but - it appears that he wants me to advise the Zulus to grant a mining concession to himself (or rather to some persons unnamed whom he represents.) in return for wh. he

promises to introduce them to a suitable legal representative & to guarantee to him all the money necessary to carry through the Zulu Appeal to the Queen, & some other further payments, so much on discovery of each reef &c. He proposed you as legal representative but said he had not seen you yetl. But he had seen Mr Binns, who seemed to think there might be ground for re-opening the Land question in the Leg Council. if the Zulus were ready to ask for annexation to Natal I told him in reply - various things - eg that I was no judge as to mineral concessions, that if I were to advise them to agree, I sh be much in Grant's position i.e. agreeing to I know no what. that the promise to 'see their Appeal through' might inevitably come to the same end as the Boers promise to revoke for Dinuzulu 'all his father's property.' including the Reserve & the Royal cattle from John Dunn & Zibebu. that as far as I could judge you would be the best legal representative of the Zulus, but what security had he to offer you? - that as this Deputation is coming to H.E. 'on affairs of state' (he says to ask what has made the difference that whereas they were refused leave to come down, now they are given leave' 'Is it anything wh. they are supposed to have said?' Anything about Martin's letters, & the sending a representative to the Boundary Commission, wh they they will deny strongly, under these circumstances, I said, it wd. be manifestly improper that they shd turn aside to discuss with me their & his private affairs, though, of course they dd. do so, when they they had delivered their official message - that I was only doubting if it was quite fair to him (since he said that if this concession 'did not come off, he shd. throw it all up & be off to Barberton') - not to say at once that I could have nothing whatever to do with it; but that, as the Zulus are not here yet I wd. write to you & to Mr Binns on the matter first, & finally I asked to take notice, (before witnesses) that I have at the present moment nothing whatever to do with his concession & have not in any way agreed to it.

Now what have you heard abt this, please, it is impossible for many reasons, though it is disguring that the Zulus shd not not be able to 'bag' a few of the £1000s wh the B Govt, will presently be getting out of prospectors in Zululand & using it for the suppression of the Zulus. Who re behind McLaren. and do you hear anything abt the proposed union between the New Rep & the^a Transvaal? Is it possible, do you think, that it is hanging fire in any way? McLaren says that the Boers mean to collect hut tax from the Zulus next month, 1-/- a hut, wh. means the confiscation cattle, as there is no money, & they dont pay wages. Also that as he came down there was a rumour that Zibebu was to return, wh. was causing gt. alarm, & preparations for resistance were spoken of. He also says that the Zulus do not (officially) understand Osborn's present in the country nor the annexation, they say when the Govt has anything to tell us they send their own messenger, & they have not sent any on these matters, it is therefore premature for us to begin about them. Reasoning wh. might be allowed if they were Boers perhps. You will find your transactions in the APS Intelligenece wh I send with this. Do you see how HE contrives to put me in the wrong the last B.B. Mtokwane being here, will mention to the amadoda on arrival that I am in no wise agreeing to this concession business..

HEC to Mr Binns 29/4/87

HEC to RCAS 29/4/87

Now what have you heard about this, please, it is impossible for
many reasons, though it is desirable that the State should not be able to
"buy" a few of the 10000 with the Govt. will presently be getting out of
proposers in England & using it for the suppression of the State.
who are behind them. And do you hear anything about the proposed union
between the New York & the Pennsylvania? Is it possible, do you think, that it is
bearing like in any way? Johnson says that the Govt. mean to collect but tax
from the Government about 1-2 million, which means the collection of the, as
there is no money, & they don't pay wages. Also that as he came down there
was a statement that at one way to return, which was saying it, which is
propositions for resistance were broken off. He also says that the Illinois
not (officially) understood Johnson's presence in the country now the
connection, they say when the Govt. has anything to tell us they send their
own messengers, & they have no secret any on these matters, it is therefore
premature for us to begin about them. Johnson says that it is allowed if
they were to come before. You will find your transactions in the
intelligence which I send with this. You see now it comes to put me in
the wrong the first 2.8. Johnson says that will result in the end of
an attack & I am in no wise prepared to this connection business.

ENC to Mr. B. 20/4/37
ENC to NCAS 20/4/37

Rhodes House

Box ✓

Coleuso Collection

HEC to Francis EC. B'stine 11/5/87

[On the death of F.E.C.] "...to assure you that in his sorrow, all
has been lost, for our brave Doring as well as for us. For
the men have been brave Doring as well as for us. & she has been
allowed the pleasures of dying in harness like her Father,
of keeping on at his work (both for the Zulus & for the Boer) & of
serving for others, to the last. And what better can one
wish. And she was right - for the work's sake, in sparing us -
because, though she was always, her health, (we are, one
of our anxieties, & even her own account, all along, had
shown me that she was no better - wh. went much -

still, the certainty that it was a matter of months only, or
perhaps even weeks, would have made it much harder, much
less possible to renew oneself up to work. And it would
have been almost if not quite impossible to go to England -
though it wd. have been very hard not to try to, if we had known.
So, I think Dear, on the whole, the children understand each other.
[All does not seem to have been well between Nelly & the others as it]
[N.B. the Zulus taking counsel from WYC at the same time.]

Colenso Collection
Box 175

Einwald

Einwald to HEC ^{M. St. Ehlanseng/?/ 4/4/85}
~~undated~~ / Will call on you soon. Have written letter ~~for~~
to Grant and await answer / "Hoping you are well & God bless your labour
in Zululand. " / Has been looking for his waggon in Zululand which he
has now saved from the Boers.
9/6/85 Nr Etyowe. / Sorry could not see you before I went to Zululand.

Will see you on my return. Am passing Kwamagwaza and will do all I can to
help you. Give my regards to Chesson and Grant What is England intending
to do on the Zulu question.

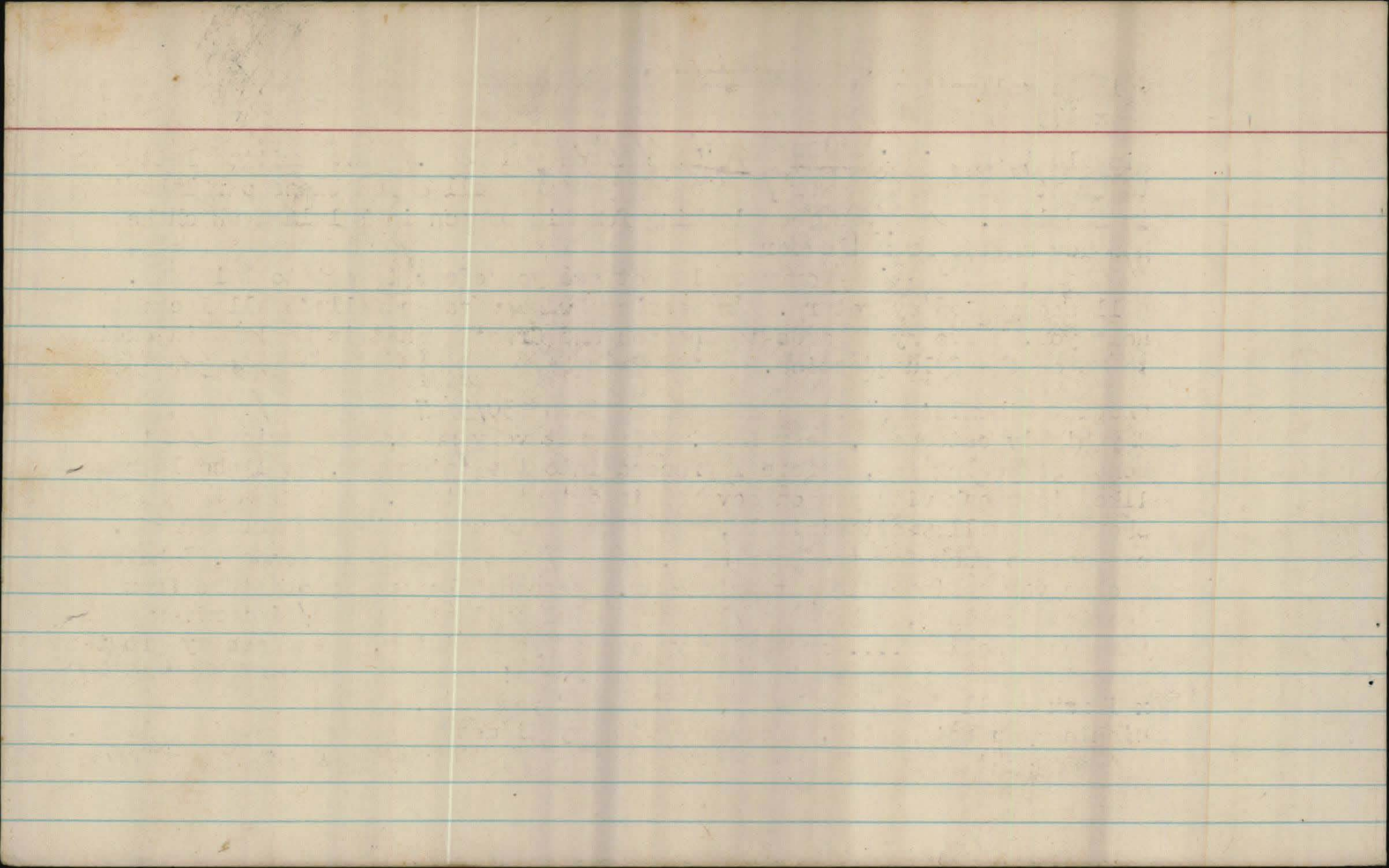
"August Einwald's fünfte Afrika Expedition 30/5/87 /?/

"My highly esteemed, dear Lady, I regret very much, not having had the
honor of seeing you, before I proceed into the interior, as I should have
liked to speak with you on several important matters.

Shortly I will visit Dinizulu, but I am afraid under the new arrangements, I
can not do much for the poor King. / / When I stayed in London, I have
spoken very often with our friend Mr. Chesson & before my departure from
dear old England, I have an / letter damaged on last 2 words / interview with
Sir Henry Holland.... For the heavy loss of your sister, I express my greatest
sympathy & may she rest in the arms of Jesus!

W I ~~for~~ shall feel most happy, to hear of you soon.

Wishing you best health, I conclude with my kindest regards & remain always.



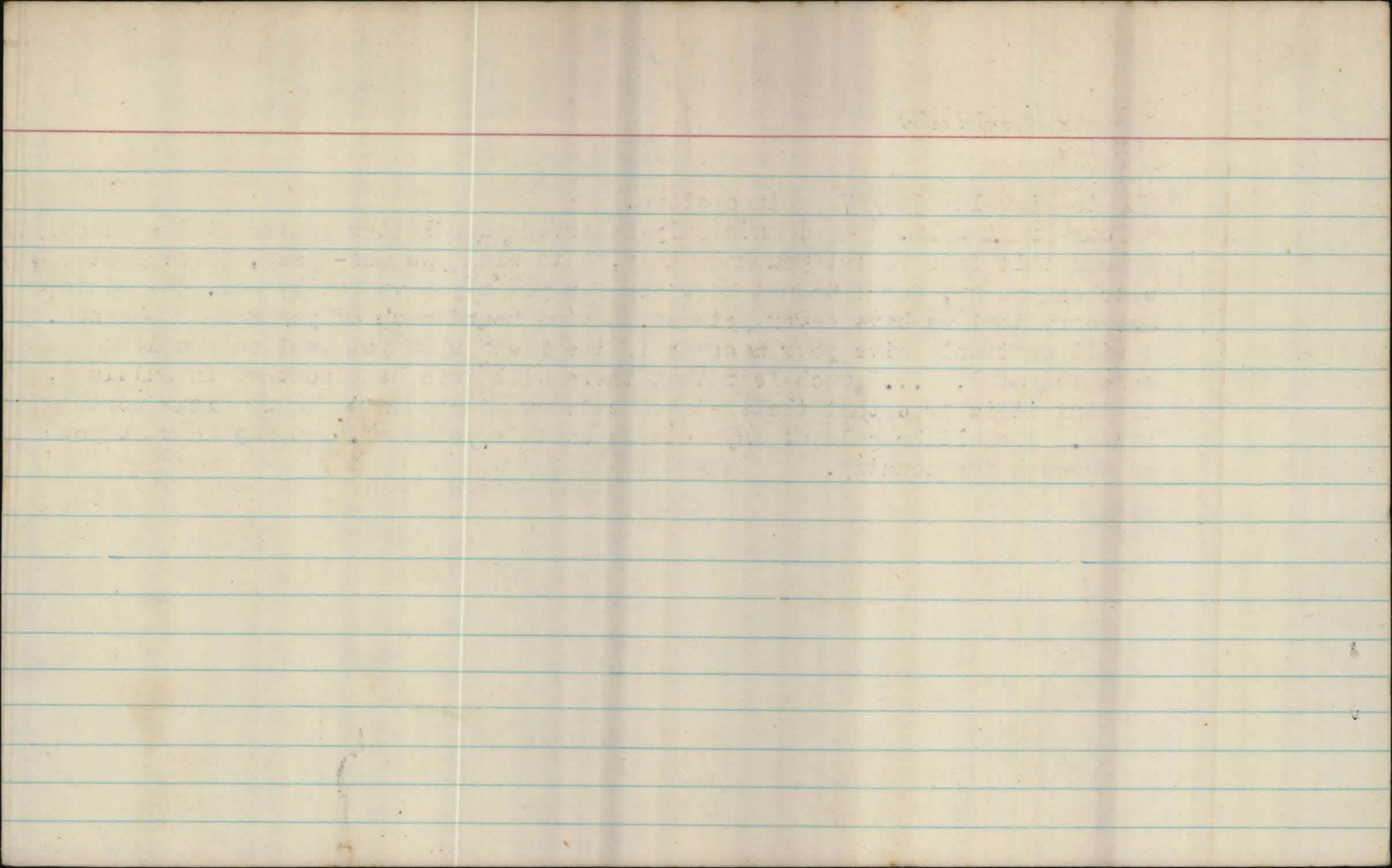
Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

HEC to Einwald 3/6/87 Bishopstowe.

" Dear Dr Einwald. I have duly recieved your letter posted at the Nonoti/?/ & send this line to let you know this, & to wish you God-speed, if ever it catches you up, for I do not know how far you may have got by now. I to am sorry that we have never yet met, having heard much of you from Mr Chesson. I will certianly give your message if the friend whom you mention whould come to Natal. ...I much fear that there will again be bloodshed in Zulula d, if ~~thax~~ it is true that the wretched catspaw Zibebu is to go up ~~north~~ north again. I shall be gald of any details on this point wh. you may hear as you go through the country."



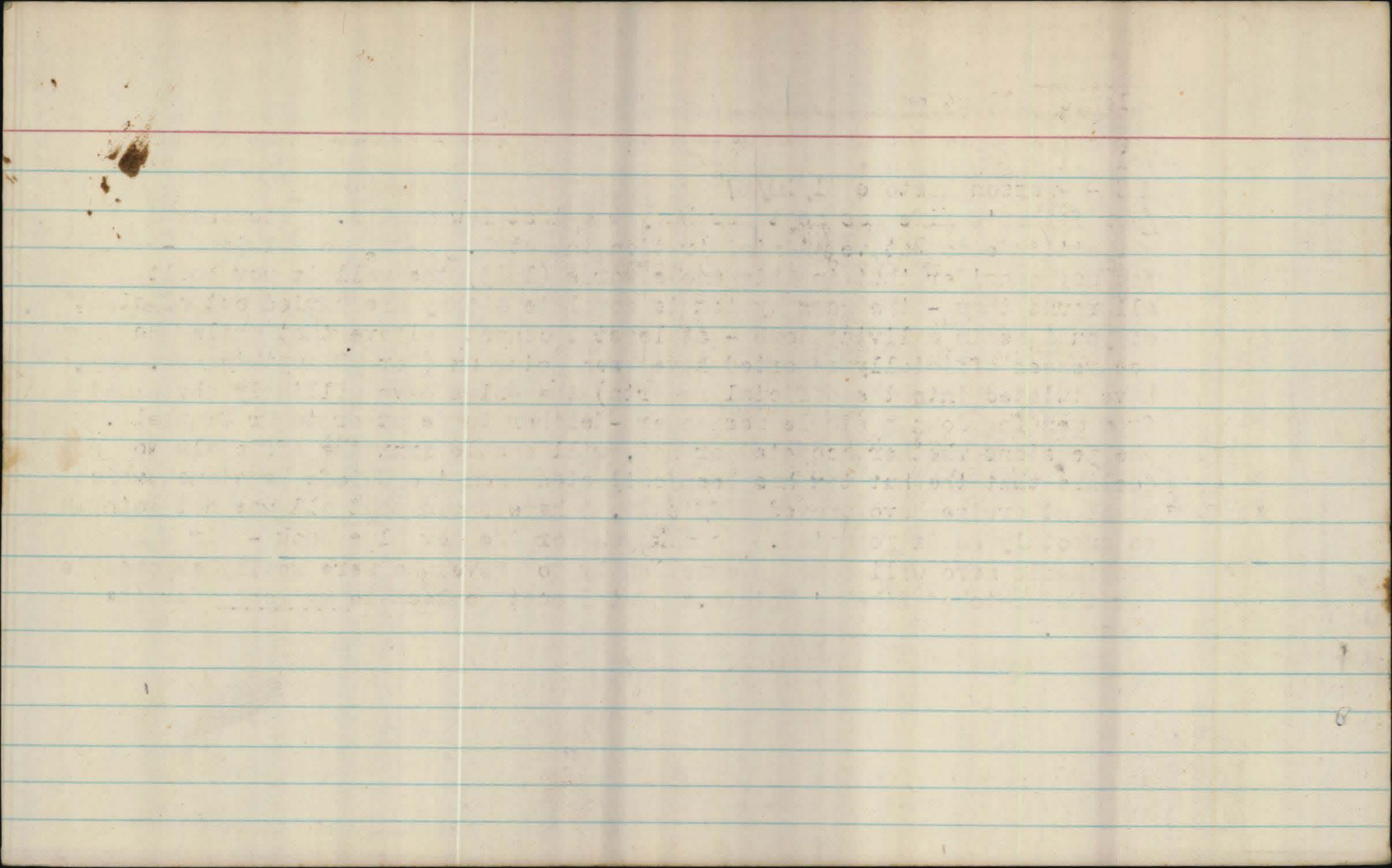
Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

HEC - Chesson Bstowe 1/10/87

/Her father's Life has kept her busy the last few months. Discusses her attitude to Native Administration in Natal. / "As to Zululand - You may consider that in Shingane's words (1883) the wall is now built all around them - the pass system is complete & they are buried out of sight of you & me in a living tomb - at least I cannot believe that while the occurrences officially reported have been going on (or NB anything wh. may have twisted into the official reports) the Zulus have willingly abstained from sending down a single messenger - either to me or to Mr Campbell. The pensions whether accepted or not, will enable ~~from~~ the officials to declare that the hut tax has been collected from the Chiefs pensioned which might otherwise have proved difficult, & have shown that all was not going so smoothly as is reported. Thank you for the new Blue Book - Sir T S abominable memo will come in excellently to prove who were really responsible for the wretched Zibebu's doings.* But I must go back to my work for the present."



Colenso Collection

Box 126

Vol III

HEC-W Campbell Bpstwe 15/10/87

/Acks Firm's note and will reply after further talks with Siziba and party.
Sends cheque for £15/11/1_ / * at once however_ " that there may be no
doubt on that point to the detriment of the Zulus, as I hear that you came
up on Mr. Shetstone's summons, & were in P.M.B. yesterday. I don't quite
understand the arragnment, as the ulus wished to go to you in urban to save
expense, but I suppose that I shall hear in time."

HEC to Campbell Bstowe 17/10/87 "I gather from Siziba & Co. that after
a conversation wh. let them to believe that 'ther actually are amadoda
among the English.' you concluded that :-

1 they are in bad odour with Mlaimati, & need therefore someone to speak for
them. 2 That as far as you had heard Undhlovu's treatement is

unwarranted & that this retaliatroy eating up of Dinuzulu's cattle also is
'ukubotshwa', & calls for inquiry. 3 that an inquirer on their behlaf

must be on the spot to be of any use. 4 That you do not refuse to
become such an Inquirer but 5 /Consider that this prty has not the

authority to call him but would go if the Great Chiefs or Undhlovu
personally called him_ /If above is correct please consider 1 It always

takes some time for them to et a pass to come down 2 In this case Osb
won't be keen on your coming and he will be warned of your coming

3 which means probably that if they get leave to come down it will not
be until it is too late for you to be of any use. but I do not know

if you think you should be a permanent adviser - in which case a formal summons would be desirable - ~~xxxx~~ but in the present case it is something of an emergency for 1 Undhlovu is a near relative of D's. 2 D has sent Siziba and Co to me beside their mission to the Govt for advice and assistance 3 I advised that they retain you for Undhlovu's defence - can't they do this? / "I mean supposing ~~£~~ Siziba & Co to* possess the necessary money cannot they retain you to defend their friend Undhlovu? Would you not agree to that? And = what would be the probable expense? If I stand security for Siziba & Pakade for £50 would that put them in a position to retain you for their friend? Because I have sufficient faith in the Zulus to do that. And it would be worth doing from ~~xxxxxx~~ my point of view, if it would bring you onto the scene of action at once. As it would then be compararibely asy for the Great Chiefs themselves to communciate with you, & retain you themselves for the settlement of poor Dinuzulu's 'contumacy'.

I have not suggested the above to the Zulus as yet, for fear of raising false hopes,

C5331

Taken
XU
oxed No30 Havelock to Holland 20/10/87 p44-47 with enclosures. Dinzulu message to Governor in PMB with reply.

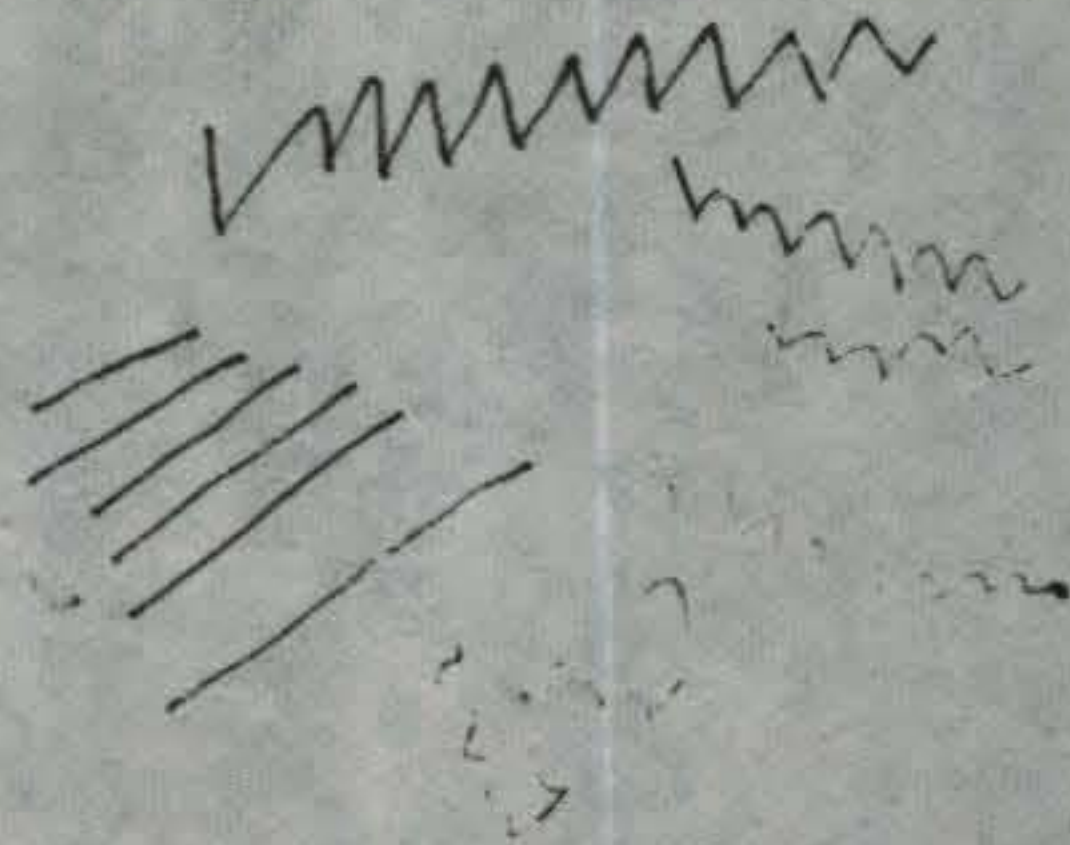
No31 Havelock to Holland 26/10/87 and enclosures pp47-49 Yamela's report of visit to Dinuzulu

No33 Havelock to Holland 1/11/87 Arrangements for Havelock meeting N and D at Eshower o50

No34 Havlock to Holland 15/11/87 Reports arrival at Ehsowe

No35 Havelock to Holland 18/11/87 Havleock rpeorts meeting with D and on 4/11/87 pp51-56

No36 Havelock reports to Holland 22/11/87 p57 Report of interview with D and Z on 14/11/87 and 15/11 PP57-69.



A. S. Papers

C130/88

Haw - HEC for House Natal 22/10/87

" I have received your letter of yesterday's date. I fear you may be mistaken in some of the conclusions you have formed, but I should like to have an opportunity of a conversation with you on the subject " I Ask to call me following Monday. I send you the latest message taken down by the SNA.

Colenso Collection
Box 138

Abuse Letters

~~Frax~~ Porition of letter undated and unsigend /

/Seems to refer to a discussion between HEC and Haveleock /

/Hav says that that the details of the Umfokozana affair is too shocking report. HEC syas she has frequently heard of the murder of pregnant women and the use of the unb~~ro~~n child to doctor armies. She has heard it every time there has been fighting in Zululand. Of Hamu and Zibhebhu - and of the English who are supposed to have boiled down Cetshwayo to doctor their soldiers. He also said D had assualted one of MO's messengers. He returned to the slander that Mnymanana had murdered to of MO's messengers It seems as if MO ~~havex~~ and co have got Hav into the mess. They still say that the rebellion is only made by a few ^Usuthu - and that the Zulu tribe hardly exists. BUT Zulu Qwabe were brothers, Notmbela their ~~fat~~uncle, Mpungosi comes two generatio s after and they are therefore all nterested in the graves. Mnymanana hasbeen reported to e in fear of his ~~tax~~ life in 79 and 83. Hav is worried and deep in the mud and he must go on trusting MO. You are wrong in thinking the Zulu weatlhy. Half their weatlh was removed by the Britiwh in 1879 and they have been plundered afresh by Zibebhu Dunn. The threats of haning mya have been to frighten me and Dinuzulu - neverthelss the whole tone of this afternnoon was of vilent prejudice. Appeals to him that he go up to Eshwoe to give the Chiefs confidence (or wherever Hav goes)

Complete letter
in R4 131/
it is now C

16

Ad 189

Colenso Collection

Box 189

/Collection of letters from Luard to HEC and FEC (although he doesn't distinguish between and the letters are not in order. A few selected here for info on Zululand, the Colenso/Luard relationship., and the FEC break with Luard. _/

Luard to Miss Colenso Old Goose day "My dear Miss Colenso Mr Kraft has shewn more craft that I gave him credit for. I have let Col Cardew know what was the substance of his reply to me & mine to him as it is well that Col C. sho ld know as much as possible about affairs & be able to look at them through other spectacels than those of (say) Mr Osborn, / /I was aware that the conditions on which Mr. Knight & other whites are allowed to say in the Reserve ~~xx~~ were peculiarly stringent & that any susupcion of their yaking political action opposed to that of the ruling spirites expresses them to summary ejection without compensation Perhaps therefore it was too much to expect that he would say anything & he has taken good care not to. Nothing but a properly organised commission could get genuine & reliable evidence ~~I have never~~ "...Col Cardew says-I have never made it my business to enquire particularly into the doings of Mr. Grant but if I hear anything with refer nce to your matter of enquiry I will let you know. I have never supposed Mr. Grant to be disinterested in his advise to the suthu party and know that he received cattle from them for he drove a certain number into the Reserve last Xmaz sincee which time I beleive he has not ~~been~~ ~~with~~ been either at Dinizulu's or Mnymanana's.

Luard to Miss Colenso 4/7/88 R's drift "Cardew seems a sensible man in most ways, and has a great regard for Zulus. I should say he was eminently

a just man, & would replace Osborne* very fittinly if he was wanted for such a post

to Miss Colenso undated. / Have travelled the Reserve and learnt the topography. / "Mr Osborn has been at Maritzburg & I have not see him yet. Things do not seem in a very satisfactory state. The so-called loyla natives near the vorder suffer from raids from the other side & do not get the protection they expect after having paid their hut tax, and one of the worst offenders in this respect appear to have been Hlubi himself. Instead of prompt measures being taken to ~~punish~~ punish raiding, messages seem to be sent to the Boers about it thus making them responsible & recongizing more than semi officially their rule over all Zululand except the Reserve. The Zulus appear to obey them to a great extent and the Boer ~~dictat~~dictat at present appears to be one debarring all Englsihmen from going into Zululand. The Zulus are ~~afrr~~afrraid to rise against the Boers however much they hat them unless they felt assured of Englsih sympathy, and their permanant extinction now seems to be near at hand. The line of policy which has thus been taken by Sir HB acting presumably under instruction from home has had the effect of convincing the Zulus that the strongest pwoer in this part of Africa is that of the Boers and they act accordingly. This conviction is also spreading through the Reserve and many Zulus there expect that it also will soon fall into the hands of the Boers. It is perfectly sickening to have to recognize this, and to see our good name and repuation, acquired through the work of centuries, thus thrown to the winds.

to Miss Colenso 13/9/85 "I have thought a good deal over this matter of Mr Grnat's position in connection with that unfortunate treaty whereby the Zulus agreed to surrender such an enormous slice of their country to the Boers.

Luard Correspondence continued 2

"I have every wish to think well of him, and therefore I wanted to know whether he simply countersigned the document or whether he added any rider or comment on the face of it stating the reasons for his disagreement with its contents. If he did do this, it is certainly unfortunate so far as he is concerned for it must be assumed that a man agrees to the substance of the documents to which he attaches his signature unless he notes anything to the contrary.

Again, had Mr Grant taken any steps to satisfy anyone with respect to his reasons for signing this treaty, previous to his letter of the 4th August 85 to the Governor, more than a year after the date of the treaty...

In fact this ~~case~~ coupled with the other can certainly allow of his enemies hinting that he got or would get a substantial slice of the plundered land.

/Luard's break with FEC 5/9/86 Richmone / I repeat it is time you gave up the cause you worked for for 7 years. / "You assume that you must be right, and that every one else must be wrong, that all the world are either knaves fools or cowards, and, by the terms in which you now express your deep sorrow for me, I can only conclude that I am now included in some section of that category.

Ask yourself - are you the person whose duty ~~is~~ it is to do whatever has to be done. Certainly - if those whose duty it is more than mine, will not do it

/Durnford's Corps are not inclined to take it up, nor his family and they should be allowed to decide / "What will the world think of you then for publishing this matter independently? They will say, and will say rightly, that it is the act of a very 'strong minded female' (however much you may dislike the term) Let them. I do not care so that

~~Will~~ the 'act' succeeds * and they ~~will~~^{will} perhaps not think any the better of the late Col. Durnford when they fathom (as they probably would do) the reason for your taking so exceptional an interest in his cause. Would you by such an act be doing him good? I donot think so!~~!~~.....

Both for you own sake and for him who is dead I ~~warn~~ warn you to desist.

..... What you tell me about yourself & is I hope not correct but that you may continue to live as you have done for these last 7 years and if you gave

up writing at night you might perhaps get quite strong again. Settle yourself

down now to that other work for which you came to England. the life of your father and be satisfied with the knowledge that you have done your best.

.....I cannot continue to correspond about this Durnford business which has occupied ~~you~~ far too much of my time for the ~~last~~ last 2 years.

Oh! self-condemnation. Alas! how are the mighty fallen."

R-14.

Classroom Collection

FEC-FEC Schubert 22/4.

[I have been working on yet from the windows
of FEC & letters here - all post work]

[FEC delivers front & suspects both the & the other as
being in the pay of the Bank]

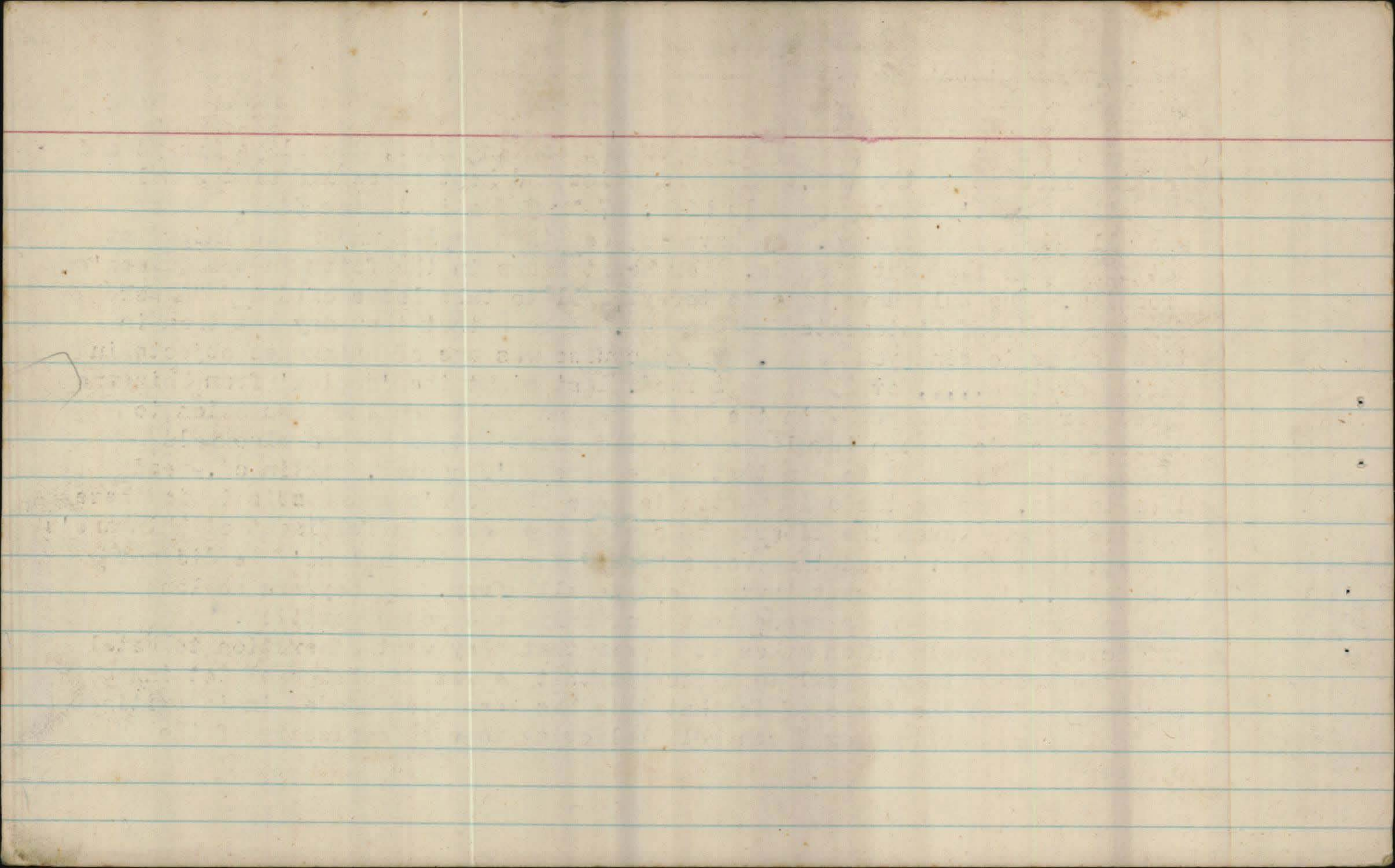
Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a ledger or account book. The text is arranged in several columns and rows, with some entries underlined. The script is difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the age of the document. The text appears to be organized into columns, possibly representing different categories or accounts. Some entries are underlined, suggesting they are totals or important figures. The overall layout is that of a traditional ledger or account book.

Colenso Collection

Box 141

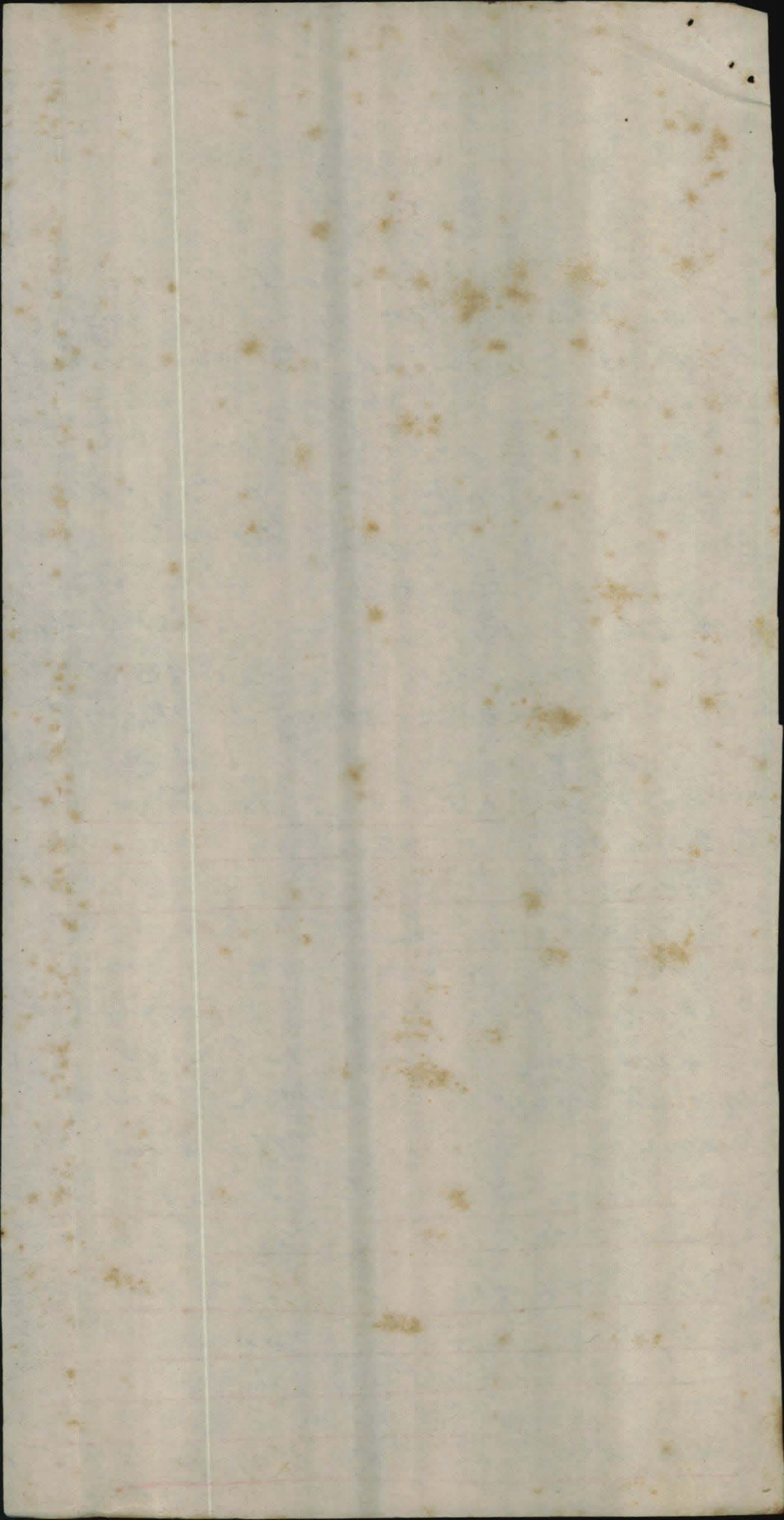
Corres with Frances continued

/box 3 coats ec and some writng paper and and Eng Dict, Macaulays Essays and
Leslies life aning the amontaonga and Zulus and kept on behalf of the Zulu
nation Grnat's dieary on Zulu affs, 7 or 9 BBs including 3466. This
was all the box contianed. We have to keep them sealed under the interdict
Not sure what the next step is. Her heart aches in the faith in the Quueen's
promsies. The Zulu have gone in today 22/11 to take leave of SNA / "& ask
for the copies of Statements for Shignae. I hope that they may get them in
time for me to send you copes. wh of course was one of Shinganes objects in
aksing or them.,,,,Nov 23 I have recd. last night the 'copies' from Shingane
aksed for in my corresp with the SNA The Sna had taken the precuation to
address them to Martin Lutuli in a sealed packet but as he had also told
Mtokeane in giving it to him that &Here were SH's copies, Martin dd. read
them to him, and as the said Martin is mere Shingane's amamentis i in these
affairs I have taken the liberty of opening the packet in fulfiment of Shingane's
request that I wd. 'read them words & send them on to England' We did not
ask for H.E.'s ~~re~~ words but ~~that~~ they are all given. / hey are so long
and so much correction is needed that I can only end you a porition.
Criticies the tnsln which makes it appear that they want annexation to Natal
when the reason they appeal to H Shep is that he was in charge of Cet in
England / "But the mishcief is that this has been handed in in writing
by that scamp Maritn whom I can help believing to be an emmissary of the SNA
office



E

because I am actually dependent
upon them this time (if I had
I have managed to contribute
some tea & some butter to
the household, & I am making
a great point of doing Emil's
panels, & I have some claret
& f.b. of my own. Still it makes
all the difference to be dependent
on one except one's parents,
that is one reason, & my 2nd
is that, gentle & sweet as Emil
usually is, she has a rougher side
to her tongue than any one I know
(except Rot) when she is riled
& I can't stand it. I have to be very
careful in order to keep up as much
pleasant feeling as is necessary to
my self-respect while I am a
guest here, especially as Emil
seems (unconsciously I believe) to
have adopted the family - what
shall I call it? contempt for my
opinion, & family feeling that for me
to express them on household matters
at all is interference, dictation
&c. &c. Emil is not, indeed, so
consistent in that way as you is



F

for the former does⁴ contrivance ask
my advice on a thousand matters,
2 is often very glad of a little help in
small matters - but I must feel
very sure that the advice or opinion
is what she will like in order to offer
it unasked, now a days. Also it
takes as much courage on my part
to say a word on behalf of a dependent,
either child or beast, here, as it does
at home. I cannot understand
why all my "critters" think a kind
thought on my part towards an
dependent quite an offence. It
is a grievance wh. I feel deeper
every month I live, & at this I
have less of it here than at I ever had
there is enough of it to keep the sore
open.

I am afraid there is not a bit of
this letter, so far, with which you will
be at all of one mind with the
writer, & it is the feeling that I do
not write as would please you that
has kept me so silent on the
whole. Even the general reflection
about the dreary time in a woman's



life &c. will, I fear, be in ^{my opinion} a sort of sign of inferiority - ^{which is beneath} one's dignity to feel, still more to express
 but, you know, I don't think so -
 & my mind that kind of feeling is ^{of course, to be expressed except to one's mother} natural & womanly, & I don't wish
 to be more than a woman, & see
 any inferiority in what is her nature.
 I do not see any reason why one should
 smother or be ashamed of that
 longing for the love which makes its gift
 the first thought in everything, never
 forgotten, never unobserved, & which, after
 being once experienced, leaves the need
 of it behind - which is at the bottom of
 what I believe you sometimes take
 to be pride & self-love in me. I think
 I feel its loss, & regret more passionately
 the days when I had it, & only half
 prized it, every year I live, as I
 grow older, & realize more fully
 what life might have been to me
 if this time but for the loss of a noble
 life, & the preservation of an unworthy
 one.

Then, of air, you never like my
 speaking bitterly of my own lot because
 you say it is the same for all 3 of us,
 & that in regard to my own life as a
 failure I am saying what is undignified.



#

But it seems to me so different. Neither of them have had my particular experience & grief, & they cannot bitterly regret (as I do) the loss of what they have not tried. And they have each other, which is not saying little. I think few sisters are so entirely one as they are. They really are like husband & wife. I cannot feel that I am speaking for any of us but myself in what I say.

To return to Palmhurst, you must not think from what I say that I am not getting on here, indeed when you remember that I am painting every day you will feel sure that I am not unhappy. Rob has been well - unusually well - ever since I came, which means with him, as with his son, that he has been good - bright & amiable, fairly easy to please. You know I love him so dearly that - well! really he has two people in the house to whom his every wish is a law, & who admire & applaud everything he does & say so long as he is "good" as much as all three do of Eric. Certainly of one of us, Emily & I,

(5)

is at all disobedient a ungrateful
to our Sovereign Ruler it is not I.
and Emil & I visit each other much
often than we don't, & I need
not say that as a hostess &c. she is
all that is kind & sweet.

This morn'g she & Ethel went
to church; I had actually meant
to go too as Mr. Jarde was away in
the week, & not expected back.
But two things happened, either of them
enough to keep me away. Mr. Jarde
returned, & a high wind got up, so
I did not go. We were all to have gone
to the Town Gardens this afternoon to hear
the military band play sacred music.
& Rob, Emil, Eric, Ethel, Kathleen
& Freda & all the dogs did go, the
wind again keeping me in. (Rob
never lets me go out in it). I meant
to have written letters, but it was
such a good opportunity for a practice
of accompaniments for Rob. that I
took it, & hope to be able to play
some Mozart with him tonight.
Since their return I have been
writing, so I have not seen much
of Emil today, nor yesterday either
as then she was occupied with Ethel

16

Ethel has nothing to do, so I suppose
Emil must entertain her, & as I
am not going to invite the former to
sit in my bedroom while I paint,
I suppose I shall have a good deal
of my own company while she is
here. But I don't care as long as I
have my painting, except that I am
sorry our Pentateuch readings are put
a stop to.

Eric was delighted to get J. letter
& ~~felt~~ made out letters here & there
all over it. He never has the patience
to do so straight on for more than a
few lines, & he cannot make out
a word yet, I don't think the English
language is entirely responsible for this
not spelling at all. He really does not
seem to have a very quick ear. I do
not mean that there is anything wanting,
but that it is not a point on which he is especially
superior to others of his age, as he certainly
is as to eye. He has learnt in a m. a
Mamma, but he only knows it - he does
not hear it, & if one makes him go
on to Baba, he is as likely as not
to start with an O. One may pro-
nounce Baba as best as possible
swelling on the B so as almost to say
it, but it does not seem to help him a bit.

(7)

it is to a great extent because he does not attend, & will not try, but when he copies - uses his eyes & fingers without attention or trying. I showed him little Elmer Luard's letter to me. He seemed interested at the time, but said no more about it, but 2 or 3 days later he brought me a curiously folded piece of paper, say covered with pencil letters - rather hieroglyphical, amongst which a capital E appeared several times the whole being signed Eric. "I write a letter to Colonel Luard" says he, & ordered me to send it. We asked him to read it to us & he came out quite glibly with this - My dear Colonel Luard. I hope you write better & your little Eric too, better (other "little Eric.

Eric.

Emil offered him one of those tiny envelopes in which they give one penny at the shops, & put it into it. He was much taken with it, but said he would like to keep it. I said, all right, but letter is in my envelope. He agreed but was unaccountably grave for a few minutes. Then suddenly to our amazement he burst into tears. "What is the matter darling?" questioned

A S papers

131/70

HEC- hesson B' stowe 1/6/87

"The enlsoed is our only news of Zululand but it is enough! Zibebu's people will find the part of the country wh. in former days they shared with the uSutu, now thickly occupied by them - are they authorised to turn them out for are they expected to peaceably give up to the uSutu all the best sites in the country, including those of their own (Zibebu's) kraals? Is Zibebu allowed to take up guns with him. He has been getting drink - has he got arms as well / " is he not oing up as a sort of official ~~roxalpx~~ to help Malimati to keep order? You can easily see what is likely to happen in any case - ie. Bullying on Zibebu's part, supported or winked at by Osborn, oppoisition & retaliation by the uSutu, wh. will be treated as opposition to H.M.'s Givt them open blodshed, ~~por~~ probably the death of Zibebu, followed by the 'punis ment' of one or more of the uSutu chiefs for 'rebellion,' hight treason' or 'murder! he Zulus will not be able to see why the killing of Zibebu should be treated differently from the killing of Dabulamzni

C. 4191 No 70 B-D. Enc. O-B 13/6/84, Statement by 2. 13/6/84.

[Reports arms defect and asks for armed assistance]

"I was appointed chief by the English, who gave me the territory.
I belong to the English, and therefore now come to complain to them."

C 4191 No 33. Dory-B, 19/6/84.

[no military operations beyond the Reserve]

C 4191 No 76 B-D.

Encs. 2, 18/8/84 in force i.

Enc 3. B-D, 23/6/84.

"it is with pain that I think of the heavy and unprovoked
injury that has been inflicted upon him."

C 4191 / 82. D-B 19/8/84.

[No material aid]

1879 agreement H.M.G assumed no obligation

1882. Said he could hold his own.

1883 2, 18/8/84 decided to attack Cet. Ruwyo.

1884 Now fortunes had changed

C 4214 No 68 B-D 16/9/84

Enc O-B Statement by 2. 11/9/84

[~~1st~~ Also for restoration]

G.H. 692. 29/12/84

[Wants interview too]

C. 5413, No 8

Haw. Ston. 4/2/87

Enc 3 Memo. on Zulu sit. by Sir F.S. 17/2/87.

"With regard to Umkhom, he and his people are unquestionably the victims of a great injustice. They owe their present calamitous position to this Chief's loyalty to the British Government; the ability, energy, and courage which Umkhom exhibited when he overthrew Cetshwayo, have made his name such a terror to the Zulus that he could, I think, at any time recover his position if left to cope with them alone; and he would most certainly take advantage of the first opening that might present itself to do so, provided that his action did not clash with what he might consider to be his loyal duty to the British Government.

[2. will obey instructions to stay in Rome although he is disappointed.]

I most sincerely trust the H.M.S.C. will be able to do something to conciliate the loyalty of this unfortunate Chief; if this can be done his influence on the side of the Government would be worth a considerable armed force.

G. 14. (2) 702 2A50

O-H - Eweke O-Haw - 4/2/87 conf.

[2 ibhekhu as Y.E is aware] is now waiting my return to Enone to urge his claim to his territory ... [he would invade Umkhom if we were under British protection].

G. 14. (2) 703, 2A52

O-H - 8/2/87 conf.

[To above I would add] "that I feel convinced if when I return to the Reserve I found myself unable to give him a distinct promise that he would be forthwith restored to his territory he would lose no time in effecting an invasion of Kabaam Zululana". [he would if it is under B.P.].

Zibhebhu's return

3

A.S. 131/64, HEC-Quezon 20-4-87

[Zibhebhu is in PMB & suppose he will be allowed to return to Zululand]

"Well! I can tell you beforehand that it will not be I who will have 'advised' the misdeeds that will surely follow - he will be backed up of course, by Osborne & his mounted police, & used to bully & crush out the Umtata."

Col. Col. Box 126 N6R III

HEC - to Eimwale 3/6/87 B'store

"I much fear that there will again be bloodshed in Zululand, if it is true that the wretched coxswain Zibhebhu is to go up north again."

A.S.

Q. 11. 705. 238

Dunnistr Campbell to Gen. Borne for Secty to H.W. Dundee 7/6/87

[Zulu warnach that Z is to be returned - Deny it for peace.]

Extract from N. H.A. 9/6/87. The Zulu will fight rather than let Z. return.

[note Zulu already trying to fight against him - legally]

C 5413, No 6, H-S. Enc III. Memo on 2.5.14 by Sir T.S. 17/2/87

"if this can be done his influence on the side of the former would be worth a considerable armed force."

(4)

C 4913 No 64 H.G. 19/6/86.

[on 2's appeal for restoration on 9/6/86] [where offers are more satisfactory representations will be considered]

No 26

C. 5331 Har-Holl. 8/10/87. 41.

[The return of 2. would in the present juncture, have a very salutary effect on the attitude and conduct of Dungeness and his supporters. It would I am assured by Sir. T. Shephard, at once and by itself, put an end to the contumacy of Dungeness and his followers....

Mr Osborn assures me that there would be no difficulty in preventing any collision between Dungeness's followers and more (42) of Ushetell. The former would fear to attack the latter, and the latter may be trusted to obey any orders that may be given to him."

C 5331, No 9, Harlock to Holland 3/8/87

[2. has asked to be restored. H.C. Shep.; T. Shep.; M.O.] "of whose ability to give an authoritative opinion

on this question there can be no doubt, and in urgently recommending that Ushetell should be permitted to return to his own country and people.

[Bosch] "personal knowledge, on arguments which are conclusive, and on considerations of policy, expediency, and of just dealing."

[Asks for authority]

~~Back~~ Enc. 2. H.C. Shephard. Mainly

[His loyalty has been his downfall. The Zulus in n. are distressed] [Mainly for his reason recommends 2. return.]

"We know their loyalty, and can depend upon them in case of any disturbances here. And by sending them back we would have a strong loyal body at the extreme end of the country, and the Zulus would then be between it and us and would feel the difficulty and danger of their position, should they contemplate any wrong."

almost entirely unpopulated comparatively speaking until a few weeks ago. The few there are of Z's tribe given allegiance to Din. They are under Z's chief naming Sikizana, it moved to Swaziland under Hlonuza, Z's relative there. Hlonuza 18 weeks ago moved back to Z's district at Ndabusho's request. They are loyal to Z - surely. Z & Hlonuza $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ of the M. Pazi will join up. Expediency, justice, prudence. If not returned under law the results would be calamitous.

Enc. 4. Memo to T.S.

[Absolutely loyal, idolized by his people, feared by Uthman, must not be forced into disloyalty.]

[Balance of power against

Uthman // Mutiny // Z. Power]

C 533 / No 10. Holland to Hardeh 12/9/87.

[Give Har. discretion.]

C.O. directed

about 1000 ft. high, and is
the highest point in the
range. It is a very
steep mountain, and is
very difficult to climb.
The mountain is very
beautiful, and is a
very good place to
visit. It is a very
good place to visit.
The mountain is very
beautiful, and is a
very good place to
visit. It is a very
good place to visit.

[Faint red text, possibly a signature or date]

1000 ft. high, and is the highest point in the range.

Very difficult to climb.

STOKES Eric. "Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism: the context of the 1857 Mutiny rebellion in India."

Past & Present No. 48. August 1970

2 distinct not necessarily opposing, interpretations on nationalism in 3rd World,
(i) Older - elitist. (ii) Populist - \leftrightarrow modern resistance

E.A. ^{school} sees above as logical progression rather than a temporal sequence.
Foreign states play a role in 3rd.

Landsdale combines elitist - populist approaches $\uparrow \downarrow$

Elites linkmen with white modern society - the collaborators.

"The essence of the R.G. interpretation of the place of the imperial factor in the colonial equation was to stress its constant tendency towards economy of effort, thereby relegating it as a minimum variable just to overbalance countervailing local forces."

This collaboration was a necessity.

But the collaborations were not quid pro quo dominated.

- 5 layers.
- 1) Bargain struck under relative equality
 - 2) Soon between the millstones

May

16 | Ndalabuko in Dumi's territory

3466/20
EWA, | 17. Hamu destroys Vageni reported

30 Ndalabuko, Siwetu visit Osborn

June

8. Res reports general Usurhu rebellion imminent

17. Simultaneous disbandment agreed upon.

Mahlangueni

RCAS Long long ago

p.117 Last of the Royal imbongi's Welcomed Cet back to Zululand
on restroa ion but killed at Ulundi by Zibhebhu.

THE LAST OF THE ROYAL ARMY
ON READING FOR THE KILLED AT BUNKER HILL
P. 117