

RM(Z) IM

5/1/1

amongst
Somkheli's people
17/87 - 202.P.
under Sgt Sideloni
5/87 A J Shepstone to Osborn Embabe 27 July 1887. Have set up camp about one mile from Embabe river, near Wagon rd, on highland overlooking the coast about 12 miles from coast. /

7/87 A J Shepstone to Osborn Embabe 30 July 1887

Sent messengers Mabunu and Ntete to inform them of est of Magistracy and HE proclamation of 21 June last /

The messengers visited the following chiefs.

Somopo, Undabayake, Bedjane, Lugoloza, Somloma ka Umkosana, Hlemuhlema ka Nonsobo, and Somkeli. They arranged with Undabayake to send messengers on to Lokotwayo.

The messengers report that the Chiefs are pleased at coming HMG and at the establishment of a Magistracy in this District.

The Chiefs say it is only right that the Owner of the Country should assume the Government thereof. Some expressed their dissatisfaction at Dinuzulu and Ndaduko not summoning them to attend the meeting at Nkonjeni, and expressed a wish that I should call them together and explain the Laws to them."

16/87 AJShepstone to Osborn 12 August 1887

/ L okotwayo Chief of the Zungu , on being summoned by my messengers to a meeting at my Office this day so that I might explain the Laws and Regulations of Zululand / "refused to recognise me as he said he did not know me and that my coming here had not been reported to him."

18/87 A.J.Shepstone 13 August 1887

a "rumour is in circulation in this District, started by Sinuzulu and Somopo, ~~stating~~ that I am a representative of Sibepu~~t~~ and not of the Government, and that the detachment of Zululand Police stationed here are members of Sibepu's tribe waiting here with me to assist him on his return to his own country.

As proof that this statement is correct they instance the absence of British Troops.

RM(Z) IM

5/1/1

Statement No.1 Mabunu and Ntete 30 July 1887 (See 7/87

Somopo: "Why are we sent to by messenger like this and not collected together, as was done at Eshowe?"

Ndabayake "Have you been to Somopo and what did he say?"...."he had nothing to say against the change of Government; he would wait for instructions from Somopo, also when he might come and pay his respect to the Magistrate, as he was under Somopo.

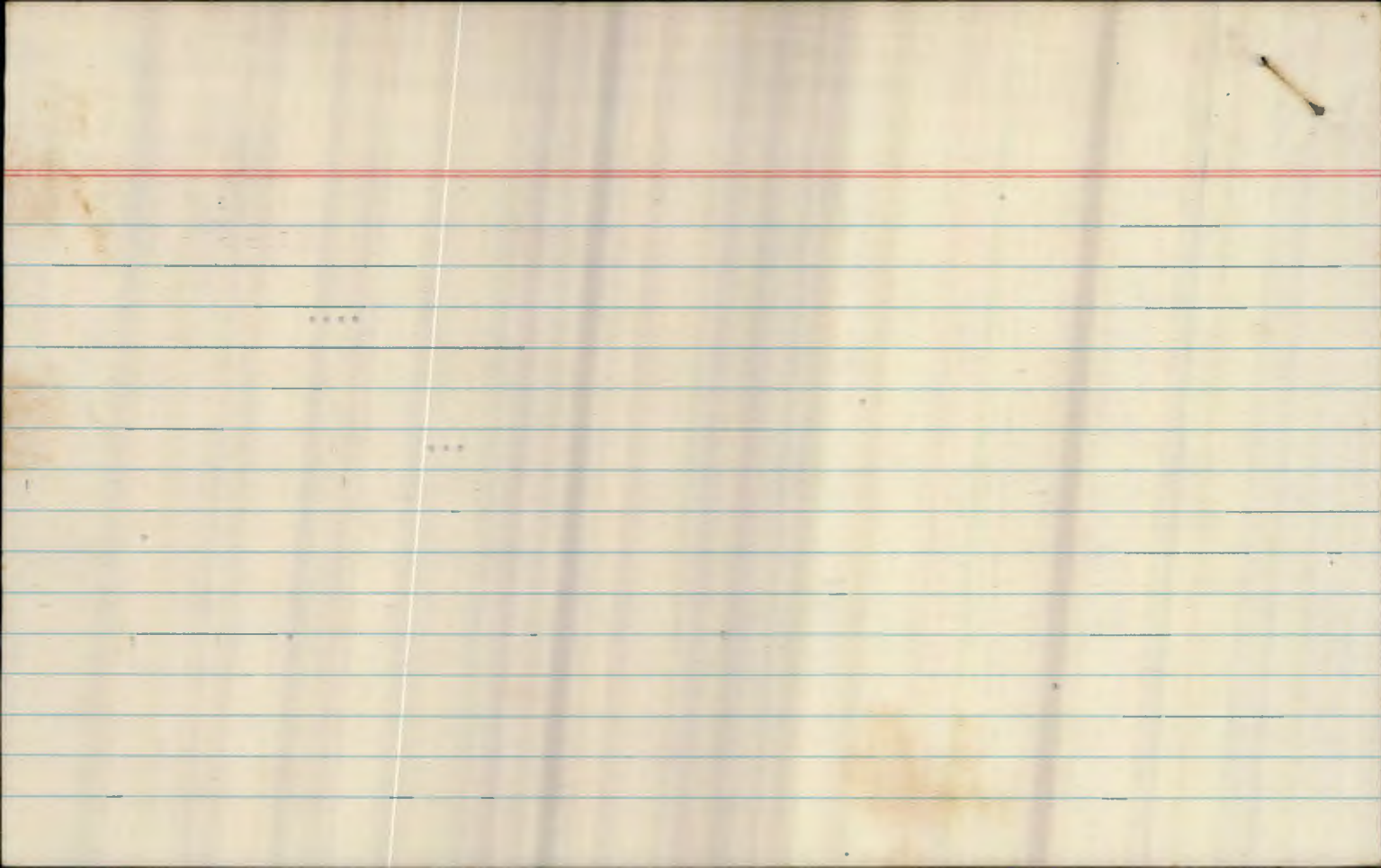
Bejane: "Spoke in the same way that Ndabayake did..."

Lugoloza /Not at home but saw his sons who only asked/ "'Have we to pay Taxes?'"

Somlomo ka Umkosane /Glad of the change and to go to the Mag to get more information./

Hlemuhlemu /As Somlomo/

Somkhele "S id he was glad of the change of Government, and asked when the Magistrate would collect the chiefs, as he wished this to be done. He, also, said that he had always been in favour of British rule, and a friend to the white man."



CO 427/15

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APS - S of S 22/8/92

/Comments on the report of the Boundary Commission in C6684

Refers to his despatch of 16/4/91 where he says that the want of a proper boundary between Usuthu and Mhadlakazi has been one of the causes of the fighting. Believes that the Boundary Commission has failed to answer this. No doubt that Cardew's intention were rights, but since he did not have the experience in the language and the country, and was depended on MO did not allow this.

"Without here troubling your Lordship with many details, it is necessary to point out that, while Colonel Cardew's reasonable proposal was that 'only the old tribal land occupied by his tribe before the war of 1879' should be assigned to Zibhebhu and his followers, the effect of the Commission's recommendations will be to place them in assured possession of large tracts of land which since 1879 they have acquired wither by violent expulsion of the Usutu owners or by occupation of sites temporarily vacated by Usuthu when it was unsafe for them to remain on their property."

/In Knut to HEC of 29/12 it said that only 56 anti-Usutu and 22 Usutu kraals will have to be moved. Knut did not seem to realise that the report of the Commission said that 136 Usuthu kraals are affected by the line and since 1879 Zibhebhu or the Res Mag has moved 304 kraals of which only 41 have been allowed to return. The balance of 263 remain and they are 29 in Foketi ka Mapita's district; 41 Nzuze, 25 Mfusi, Mgamule and Mhlaguwa; 10 Usuthu to the east of Fannin's Becason 23-24 (24-5?) 36 south of the Mapopome river; 13 Haiyaana ka Mapita;

22x 39 east of Dengatuli and Zendwana hills ; 23 east of the Mtweadhlanga range ; 10 east of the mona ; 27 (31?) Hlabisa and others.

One of the reasons for this is that the Boundary Commission did not complete its work and draw a northern boundary of the Mndlakazi.

Moreover APS believes at calculation of 4 huts a kraal and 4 people per hut is too low. In Hayiyana's 13 kraals there are 73 huts = 5.6 per kraal. Even taking the official estimate of 136 kraal representing 2176 persons (above the 352 inhabitants of the 22 kraal in the letter to HEC) then 2176 persons are to permanently be deprived of land they occupied in 1879. If APS figure is correct then 3050 will be deprived. In any case there will be widespread uprooting of people despite the fact that this is officially repudiated.

As regards the 56 Mndlakazi kraals in 'suthu' areas who are to be removed most of them are recent intruders. Points out that hut tax in 1891 and 1892 paid by Mndlakazi has amounted (465 to 914). Believes anyway that the Mndlakazi have land far in excess of their requirements.

The Commission's declared intentions of shifting kraals as little as possible consistent with securing the land for the tribes as it existed in 1879 are mutually incompatible for Zibhebhu has spread so massively into Usutu lands. The Mndlakazi usurpers have to be shifted out. (This is denied in the margin.)

The report proves / "that the best intentions of HMG to deal justly with the Zulu people will be of small avail so long as Mr. Osborn is retained as Resident Commissioner in Zululand, in the position of chief adviser of the

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of the Governor of the colony, and with opportunities of influencing and perverting the policy which he and his subordinates and instructed to carry out.

Long E S of Cardew's remarks

/ Gibson was an interpreter of integrity. Previous want of knowledge was no bar - we got to the country well / "It does not lie with me to defeat Mr Osborn but I would to place on record that he was most desirous to have the boundary question settled on the most just and equitable bases possible. I do not know how the APS concludes ~~that~~ the number of kraals evicted. The Commissioners did not intend to infer that only 136 kraals were evicted and the lists in the report give a total of 257. and not 304 as stated by the APS. Of the 257, 136 and 22 fall outside the locations assigned to the ~~Uxuthu~~ Uxuthu by the remainder can be occupied by their original inhabitants if they wish to do so.

Denies next accusation - every Uxuthu kraal in the country under dispute has been enumerated except a few belonging to Hlomuzi in the neighborhood of the ~~Nxumx~~ Banganawa kraal. Disputes their calculation of people per hut - thinks $3 \frac{1}{5}$ the best figure per hut. The Natal kraals are larger than the Zulu. Most of the Mndlakazi are not recent intruders. Cannot explain the increase in the number of huts upon which the tax was based - possibly clerical.

It is wrong to say that Z had only a small footing in the district before 1879 - his kraals exceeded those of the Uxuthu by 20. The district I refer to is indicated by letters L.D.G.E.J. and H on the map including those of the Xulu as listed in J and J2. The position in 1879 was as follows.

List	Uyuthu	Mandlakazi
E1	10	
E2	-	21
G	13	-
H1	39	-
H2	-	57
J1	-	30
J2	15	-
L	-	14
Total	102	122

At the time the Commission sat there were only 11 Uyuthu kraal in occupation here in the district the rest have been evicted. For the evicted ones see H. and the Xulu in J2 /

"The APS appear to assume that natives have a prescriptive right to the lands held by them, but by Zulu law and custom such is not the case, the land is vested in the paramount authority is the overnment -Natives have no security of tenure and this is well understood by them and the right of the Government to assign what lands it chooses to tribes was again and again admitted before the Commission by the representatives of the rival factions. / The Zulu Kings again and again exercised their right to shift the locations of tribes; for instance a tribe was brought from the Umbombo and placed by Mpande under Mfuxi in the districts marked E and U but U No 2 in the accompanying map Dide B B C 6684 p.17. Umgamule succeeded Mfuxi as headman of this tribe. Again the Hlabisa tribe was brought from the Enembe district in the Lower Tugela and placed by Mpande in their present location at Hlabisa. Moreover the Zulus do not

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Minutes "I have been a long time on this job; but it involved much discussion with Colonel Cardew; as it practically amounts to a discussion of the claims and the migrations of every family in the 'Ndwadwe District. I submit for convenience of consideration a draft reply to the Society and a draft despatch commenting thereon to ... Mitchell - based chiefly on Colonel Cardew's elaborate notes herewith which which he provided us atxx.... I think the only remedy for the inevitable blots on the Commissioner's scheme is to carve out a district, or possibly two districts and place them under the direct rule of the Magistrates acting through Indunas as urged by Colonel Cardew. It would be rather too cost and direct a form of rule to adopt everywhere, but looking to the history of this unfortunate district, I think an exceptional arrangement is justifiable. /

The APE are of course veryx /?/, but I have tried to make the answer as conciliatory as possible. I presume that Lord Ripon will desire that as this is a formal appeal to him to review the question he will desire to see it answered not exactly point for point, but elegantly. It seems to me important to dispel the sort of wild idea that as there is a new government they and Miss ~~xxxxxx~~ Coense and /?/ to be allowed to dance on every body, and that these Usutu who are really rebels although of a not very sinister type, are to have their horn /?/ exalted, whilst the Mandlagazi are to be bullied and ~~xxxxxx~~ reviled for adhering to the British side. Of course there is no limit to the amount of things which we could say with truth in disfavour of the Usutu - their robberies and /?/ burnings and murders.

their robberies and /7/ and murders and burnings - but it is better to bury the hatchet, more especially as the Mandhlagazi are of every much the same savage character. I propose in the draft to the Society to take rather a strong line in regard to their attack on Mr Osborn's position arguing against the view that he must be at once pronounced by this Government unfit to it. /2/ I dare say he would prove in any case too stiff in the joints to be of use but there would have to be evidence of that; and in the mean time as ... Mitchell has not made up his mind to come home, you are to write to him privately to ask him to induce Mr Osborn to retire in terms honourable to himself. It will perhaps soften the request and incline him to give a ready compliance if Lord Ripon so handles his enemies as to make him see that he is not to be thrown to the lions in his old age, as the scapegoat of the sins of those who made the Zulu War of 1879 and thus begat all this crowd of troubles. There was a time when he would have lost his situation if he had acted in a way to be approved by the A.F.S. and Miss Coense, and it would strike at the whole civil service system of this country to condemn him untried. There has been no crisis in the history of Zululand for 10 years past when the Secretary of State could not have given a perfectly turn to events by a scratch of his pen. On two occasions a Secretary of State has intervened decisively to negative the views of the local authorities - I allude to Lord Derby's despatch of 19th of August 1884, and Lord Knutsford's orders of this year against the return of Usevufu and his followers. If the local authorities had been overridden as decisively in 1887 when they proposed to restore Usebabu, the rebellion of 1888 would probably not have taken place. But, though Mr Osborn gave wrong advice on that occasion,

See Gov/16322

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he did not force the hand of the hand of the Government as so many officers do. Others must share the blame of that mistake with him - including myself unfortunately as I see I had not backbone enough to advise against it quite /?/, although pointing out objections and prophesying the

disturbances of the following year. I think Mitchell is now far less in touch with us than Mr Osborn, whose views were greatly enlarged by his visit to England in 1891....EF 28.9.92

P.S. One of the /?/ charges against Mr Osborn and others is that his recommendation to restore Usebebu was in the teeth of the view of a Mr Moore a local trader given the year before, but it will be seen from concluding part of my minute on Gov/17487/87

that I cited Mr Moore's advice for Lord Knutsford's consideration - so that the principles of respondere superior must apply.

/General approval of Cardew's plans on paper. Ripon has latered the draft to give himself more freedom on points upon which he is not decided.

Meade is to write to Mitchell about MO's retirement.

Draft S of S to Mitchell confidentially sent 14/10/92
/Trinamist letter from APS for your and MO's consideration/ You will see how I have dealt with the suggestion that Mr Osborn is disqualified from rendering further service of a useful king. It is the duty of the Sec of State to buck up and take the burden of responsibility on himself for those who serve under him and that he has a right to expect from them not only that they will give an implicit obedience to the text of his instructions,

Deleted from
here

but will willingly and intelligently second and develop the principles of policy which are laid down by him. The only way with these gentlemen is to give them explicit directions, and to be ever-lastingly asking them whether they agree and how far they follow with less support than this I might be in the position of, incurring blame for what I myself might regard as deserving of blame. Will let you have your own way. He manage in that case that you never shall E F

My examination of Zulu affairs has led me to the conclusion that the most crucial question with which I have to deal is that of the future of Sebebu. He appears to be what might be called a barometer of Zulu politics. When he is in the Ndwandwe district, disturbances exist or are imminent. When he is in the Etchowe district there is comparative quiet. Lord Derby's despatch of the 19th of August 1884, respecting his position, was followed by about three years of tranquillity. His restoration at the beginning of 1888 was the signal for a lamentable rebellion. Now that he is reestrated from going north, things are again quiet. To restore him once more, whilst the old rancours are still unallayed, would be unwise; and I can only direct you to consider by predecessors later instructions as remaining in full force, and instruct you that neither temporarily nor permanently is Visbebu to go back to the Mndhlangazi country. I do not say that it may never be possible for him to go back; but, for reasons which I will presently explain, it seems to me that there remain some things to be rectified in the Ndwandwe district, and I do not perceive that the conditions are yet in sight in which his return could be regarded as a prudent measure. In these circumstances, I would invite you and Mr Osborn to reconsider his position from the point of view of Lord Knutsford's

telegram of the 13th August 1890, of which the text is as follows: "Feeling in Imperial Parliament so strong against Usebebu's repatriation that I could not sanction it at present. Is it possibly by free expenditure to bring down his family, supplying cattle and traps, and settle the whole near Erchese or elsewhere; at the same time largely increasing his pension? Go carefully into this. It is most desirable that such an arrangement should be made."

In consequence of this, something was done in the way of increasing the pension and improving the surroundings of the exiled chief; but it is plain that my predecessor would have sanctioned a more generous handling of the question than then seemed needful to you and Mr. Osborn, and it would seem as if the Chief himself and those in authority have laid aside considerations of present dignity and comforts in the hope of a speedy return to the Mandhalagazi country, which my predecessor never sanctioned so long as he was in office, and which I now say that I do not see my way to sanction. / / I can well understand the attitude of the British officials in South East Africa towards Usebeu. As a general of Cetwayo, he influenced on our armies a defeat almost unexampled in our history; but since his allegiance to his King was honourably/?/ disavowed, he has been unwaveringly loyal to the British side even if occasionally disobedient. It may have been thought to use him in an injudicious way, and more land may have been assigned to him than he could rule, consistently with the happiness of all those placed under him, but in these matters he was a passive agent

I think it is highly desirable to use these conciliatory expressions or the ^{Nation} might percolate to the Natives that it was a positive risk to side with the

British authorities E F

and the faults with which he has been charged are plainly but those common to kaffir chiefs. (= distributing the wives of his enemies amongst his followers. Dinuzulu does it too EF) Nevertheless I cannot recontix that any individual can lay claim to a quasi public office such as a Zulu chieftainship, where experience clearly shows that the public interest would suffer by the recognition of his claims.

I therefore desire that his case and his claims (there is money E F) be dealt with in that spirit of generous personal recompense, which my predecessor desired to be applied to them / a debt to his followers.

Turns to arrangements of boundaries of the Ndawandwe District which the APS refers to. It seems unfortunate that 136 Usuthu kraals are still unrestored to their former owners, but I am not prepared / "It certainly seems to me unfortunate that, under the recent settlement, so many as 136 Usuthu kraal sites should have been left unrestored to their former owners. I am not, indeed, prepared to indicate any modification of the lines drawn by the Boundary Commission as a means of curing /?/ this defect, because, the converse evil would be created - that of placing the adherents of Usuthu under Usuthu tribal rule. The remedy, I apprehend, is in withdrawing as much as possible of the debatable land between the Mndalagazi and the Usuthu, from the full operation of the tribal system, and placing it under some native of position, ~~xxxxxxx~~ such as the Magistrates induna, who should closely supervise and directly controlled by a Magistrate himself. Some such suggestions, as you will remember, was made by Mr Gibson in his letter of the 16th May 1890, and it is to Colonel Cardew that I am indebted for this idea that it might be found applicable to the present situation.

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If the country ~~xxxxxxx~~ coloured on the accompanying map were treated in this way, I understand that over 60 ^Usutu kralls ~~stee~~ might then be reopened to ~~sutu~~ occupation; and as there is now a new magistracy in the Eastern part of the country, perhaps a second strip of territory in that direction might be found suitable for his direct administration, so as still further to reduce a hardship which I must to some measure reconsid~~er~~ as calling for redress.... /

What also of the Zulu people now in the Ethe~~re~~ district who are now out of the country through a sense of duty to Z rather than affection - could they not be returned. Could also Chief Zuya and his people be declared independent of the Mandhalazkai.

Draft S of S to APS 13/10/92

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APS to S of S 29/10/92 / reply to above.

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