

~~XXXX~~
03705

Establishment

151

GH 684

Fynn-Bulwer 5/5/83 (Fwd to S of S 15/5/83)

/Reports arrival of clerk Cecil Davey. Has written to osb about establishing weekly post with Eshowe but points that it takes the same time to go from here (Mbilani to Eshowe as from here to Pomeroy where the post leaves every other to to PMB reaching PMB the following evening whereas the Eshowe post to stanger leaves every week._/

116

Res / Cetson on

206

13099/N/83
C3864

Nol9 Bulwer to Derby 2/7/83 p33

Forwards despatches concerning Cet's interference in the Reserve and the 'msichevious' rpeorts spread by Grant ~~xxxx~~ on whose advice it seems that Cet has sent those people who came to him from the Reserve, back.

the reason for those is to 'make out' there is no room for them in Cet's territory, ~~which~~ / "Although there is abundance of room" and there would be more if he allowed those in his territory to leave who wished to. Secondly he wants to keep in the Reserve those faourable to him to ~~add~~ seve his purposes in case of troulbe and to try and make / "a proof that the people of the Reserve are in favour of him."

"As I have had occasion to point out before, the Zulu who are favourable to Cetywayo, and those who are not favourable to him, are so interspersed throughout the country that it is impossible to take any larfe extent of country and say that all the people belonging to it are favouravle to him, or are unfavourable to him; and the only way to meet that difficulty was to mark off a Reserve into which those who did not like to remain under Cetywayo might remove, the same facility of removal being given to those living in the Reserve who might desire to live under him.

/Cet's disregard of his ~~actions~~ conditions prevent / "the successful accomplishment of an arragnment which, whilst it was so favourable to him, ^{He will not allow people} attempte to secure the fair interests of toehrs. ~~xxxxxx will neither allow~~ to move from him to the Reserve for he claims their propoerty as his and threatens them. At the same time he tries to keep those favourable to him in the Reserv e. / "The result of Mr Grant's visit is another insatnce of the unfortunate consequences of irresponsbile interference from outside."

Not accurate
M.J.W.

Encl Osborn to Bulwer 18/6/83 p33 /Covers correspondence/

p34 "DEAR OSBORN, 5/6/83

Sir,,

I hereby have the honour to inform you that I have received your letter dated the 28th instant.

I therefore do acknowledge that Zeizi deserted from the Reserve Territory two months ago. The object was that he heard his cattle was to be taken from him by John Shepstone, so he made his best by escaping to this territory.

I must also inform you that Zeizi has no place at all to reside in this territory, the only place I know of is where his former kraas was, and therefore I think it better for him not to move into this territory. I told him to take his things back to his former kraal, as I have no place for all the people acknowledge me.

This you know as to yourself, why should they leave the Reserve Territory. Is it because they acknowledge me? If so, where are they to reside?

Yours sincerely

Pro (signed) Simon Mini.

CETYWAYO KA MPANDE

Osborn to King Cetywayo Ulundi Zululand 13/6/83 p34

/Acks above: from personal experience does not accept that there is no room in Cet's territory for those who wish to move. ~~There is~~ No one is forced to move out the Reserve - ~~in~~ must just recognise the authority of the Res Comm. ~~and~~ just as, Cet must realise, good rule of his territory would be impossible if some of the people there / "belonged to another chief were his subjects and under his jurisdiction, instead of being your subjects and under your rule.

Zeizi cannot be placed in the Reserve as it would go against the conditions by which the King was returned.

Should Cetywayo and the Usutu forces get the better of Usibebu, the question of the Reserve will become a very serious one.

the claims that Cetywayo has made to the parts of the Zulu country that were not restored to him; the view that he takes of the conditions of his restoration, which he considers he was forced to accept, because he was a captive, and accepted under protest; the disregard of his obligations and promises which has shown in the invasion of Usibebu's country, in his continued interference with the people living in the Reserve; in the re-establishment of military kraals and regiments; in the enforced detention in his territory of those who, like Umfanawenhlela and the late Umlandela, would wish to remove out of it, all show, I greatly fear, that, should he get the upper hand of Usibebu, none of the promises he has made; none of the obligations under which he is towards HMG, will restrain him in the design he has of recovering the Reserve.

Trouble we should have there, and that quickly; and such trouble that only two alternatives would offer themselves, either to establish our authority in that territory firmly and determinedly by means of a military force stationed there for some time, or to leave the territory to him.

these are the two alternatives that would be before us, and the time has come when it is necessary I should bring the matter under the serious consideration of HMG.

I, for my part, have no doubt or hesitation in the opinion that I hold as to the course which it will be for our interest and for the welfare of this part of SA to pursue; and that is, that we should maintain with a strong hand, if necessary, the position we have taken up towards the Reserve. It seems to me that we owe it to all the interests which have been involved in restoring Cetywayo to Zululand to do this; that we owe it to all these, be they many or few, who have viewed with apprehension the restoration of Cetywayo, and who would desire to live under our authority and protection; that we owe it to our good faith to the word of promise that we gave, and without which promise, and without our undertaking the responsibilities consequent upon the restoration of Cetywayo, we should not have been justified in restoring him; that we owe it to the safety and good order of this Colony, which would be jeopardised by a return of the whole of Zululand to the old Zulu rule; and that we doubly owe it, now that we have seen how little dependence we can place upon the promises of Cetywayo or upon any conditions we may lay down, unless they are guarded by a material guarantee.

The maintenance of the Reserve is the only material guarantee we can now keep, and it behoves us, I venture to submit, to keep in it in spite of any present inconveniences, in order that it may save us from reproach and from far worse inconveniences and consequences afterwards; for if we were now to retire from the Reserve it would be a concession to force and not reason or to fight; it would be a concession to the injustice of the case and to the justice of it; it would be a concession to Cetywayo's defiance of the conditions of his release, which he accepted, and yet which he has treated us* a momentary reprieve from present trouble, but it would be no more than momentary. The trouble would be bound to come, and when it came it would assume dimensions infinitely more formidable than the present trouble involved in securing the independence of the territory.

On all these accounts I venture to submit to the attention of HMG the importance of maintaining with a strong hand, and, if necessary, by the despatch of troops, as I have already recommended, the position we have taken up in respect of the Reserve." Ends

2. p. 11
Carmen
M. de la Cruz
M. de la Cruz

v38
GH677

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"Memo of Sir T Shepstone's interview on the 9th Novr 1880 with Zibebu one of the Zulu Chiefs appointed under Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement of Zululand.

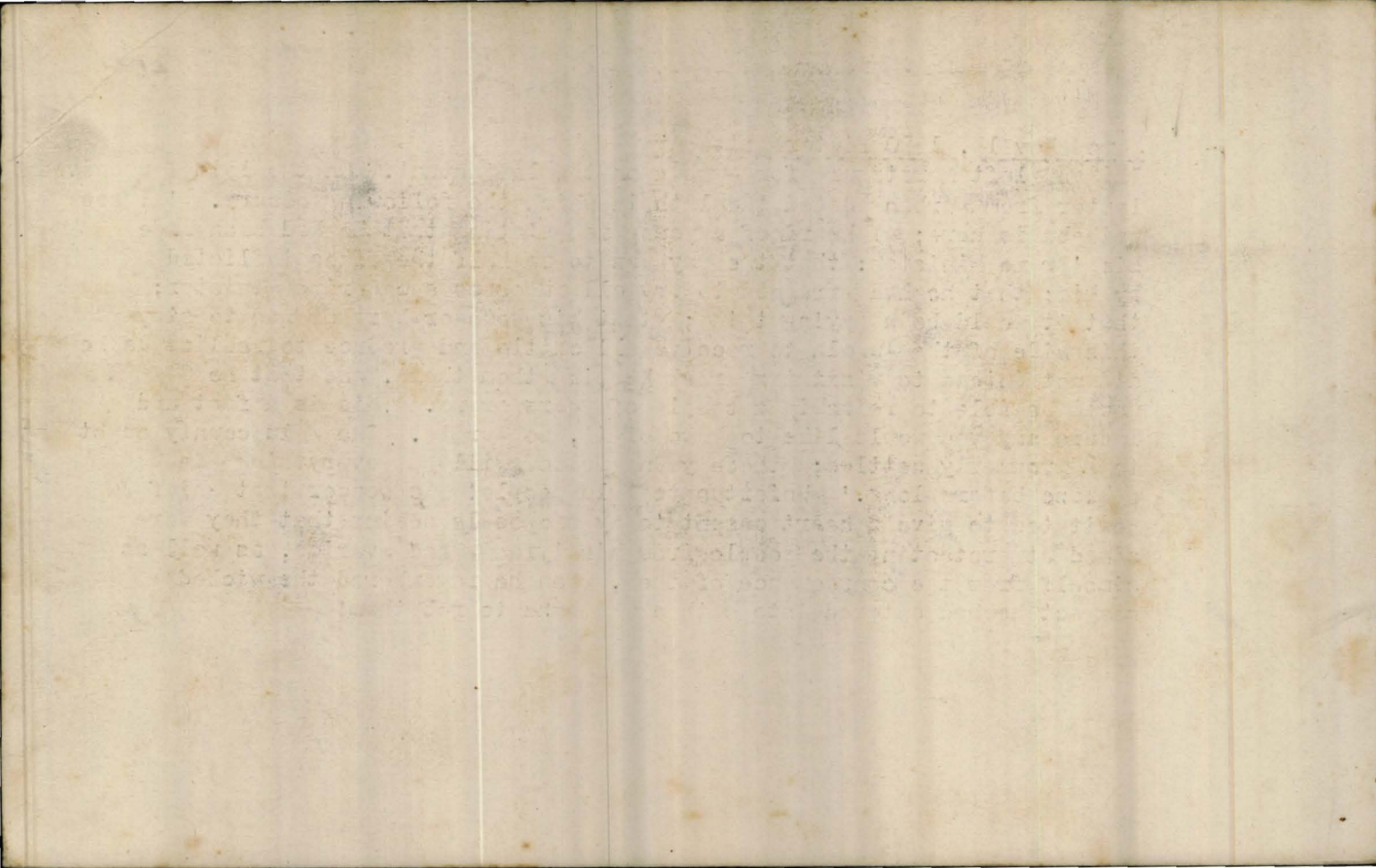
Zibebu was introduced to me by Luzindela, the Induna of the SNA; and he was accompanied by two of his Indunas and by Jabez Molife. After the usual complimentary remarks on both sides I asked the Chief how he was getting on? He replied that he was getting on very comfortably, and that Zululand was very quiet, and as far as he knew the people were satisfied. I asked, if ~~such~~ be the case, what the deputation headed by Undabuko, Panda's son and other had been sent to PMB for? he replied that they had not been sent by anyone, they had come of their own accord. He then went on to explain that he had heard of their having gone to Maritzburg, as he supposed at the time, for the purpose of doing what he, Zibebu, had come to do, i.e. to satisfy their curiosity. He afterwards heard that they had undertaken to represent themselves as having come on behalf of the Zulu people to ask for Ceytwayo's bones. He sent for Undabuko and questioned him as to the object of his visit; after much cross examination he admitted that he and his party had made this representation. /on no one's authority from Zululand because he was a needle no one cared to pick up - unsungulo olungacobshora muntu. Z reminded him of the many times he had protected him and his family. N said that at PMB he was asked to summon the old men of the country, and Mnyamana Thsingwayo and Siwetu were named / "Zibebu said, How is it that those only are named that belong to your? but Undabuko gave no reason why it was so. Zibebu thought

that such a request as that extemporized by Undabuko and his party ought to emanate from the whole nation, but he added that that portion of it that loved its children and valued what they now enjoyed would never get to join in it. I asked who it was that had requested the attendance at Maritzburg of the 'old men'? Zibebu intimated with sufficient plainness for me to understand who it was, but did not mention any name. Soon after N's return men representing themselves as messengers from Natal Govt and Landrost of Utrecht began restoring Cet's Umhlunkulu girls to the borhters of Cet Z and Osb interfered in this matter. Zibhebhu spoke in very strong terms, but very sensibly of the consequences to themselves and to the country of the machinations of the dispaointed members of Cetywayo's family who, he said, seemed to think that the Government of Zululand of right belonged to them. He of course approved highly of the existing arrangements and said that the great wonder was, that, after the great resistance the Zulus had shown, it should have been made at all. Sympathises with Z on the danger of the appointed chiefs from 'suthu' and their supporters and how a white Resident would help - Z agrees and with the idea of tax but Shep says think it over and speak to Osb. Zibebu said that my words deserved consideration and after thanking me, took leave, saying, he wished to see all that was to be seen, and that the next day he proposed to go to Durban in the Railway. T Shepstone 9/11/80

Memo

Memo Nov 13, 1880 Pietermaritzburg

"Zibebu left Maritzburg for Durban on the 10 instant. On the 13th I received letter from Durban dated the 12th in which the following occurs. ' I see Usibebu is here; I heard of a young man stating that he had been made his 'Pr me Minister: that the pay was to be half the fines inflicted by him; that he had arraigned to try all cases as such Prime Minister; that it would be a paying thing; that his younger borther was to stay this side of the Tugela to receive all cattle and produce to realize as he did not intend to ~~vixit~~ risk keeping them there, and that he would be able to reire in a couple of years or so. his is a fact and I dare say you would like to knwo of it, so I write. ^{tr}he Zulu county ought to be properly settled; these young fellows will put everything in a blaze before long.' Unfortunate Zulu people! No wonder that Chief hesitated to give a heart assent to my proposals seeing that they were aimed at protecting the people from his tyranny and avarice, as well as himself from the consequence of them, when he remembered the wicked compact he had entered into with a whiteman to rob them!



GH 677

Memorandum on Mr Osborn's Minute of the 4th Sept 1880 on the subject of the better Government of Zululand" /By T Shepstone/

"I have carefully considered Mr Osborn's proposals; they seem to me to suit the circumstances, and to be adopted to benefit the people. It is the interests of the people, in contradistinction to those of the thirteen individual chiefs, who have been appointed to rule over them, which demand to be treated as of paramount importance.

/Success of the proposals depends on the influence of the sub residents recommended; to escape difficulties the chiefs themselves would have to ask for their appointment and the H Comm could subject them to certain conditions which are indispensable./ " I believe that none of the native chiefs feel any hesitation in making such an application, if full explanations were frankly made to them of their present position, and their probable, or possible, future.

Although they would see in such appointments some ~~express~~ repressible influence on their acts and conduct, they would also see in the systematic collection of an annual hut tax, and the ^{apportionment} of it, ..., a regular income involving no risk or unpopularity to themselves, and a continual practical recognition of their appointment as chiefs; while the people would recognize in those appointments the advantage of real protection for them. /Dunn might object but individual interests cannot interfere with those of a whole people.

14/- hut tax might seem high but Natal natives find no difficulty and they fully expected to lose their

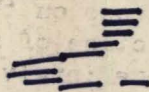
cattle and pay tax. This not being done makes them feel uneasy because they feel that the arrangements as regards them are not yet completed.

"...the people should, I believe, prefer the tax to the uncertainty..."

"The only foundation for the present quiet in Zululand is the belief of the Zulus that as they were conquered by the English, they belong to the English; When this belief is destroyed by our neglect of what they consider to be our rights and our position over them, that salt ~~will~~ will have lost its savour, and the hope of peace and quiet will have been destroyed with it. [The chiefs then should request the High Comm to permit the Res to carry out the measures and the scheme should be introduced gradually, and much will depend on the sub residents' 'tact and judgment']

"Minute for His excellency on Resident Zululand's memo " 30/9/80
/By A Mithcell, Long, nothing important. Colley acted on
Shepstone's memo not on ~~Colley's~~ Mithcell's /

9/10/80 J. Shepstone to Colley (private)
[Same as elder brother's]



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(13463/11/83) 1888ers

C3705

C.O to Cet Swango

212

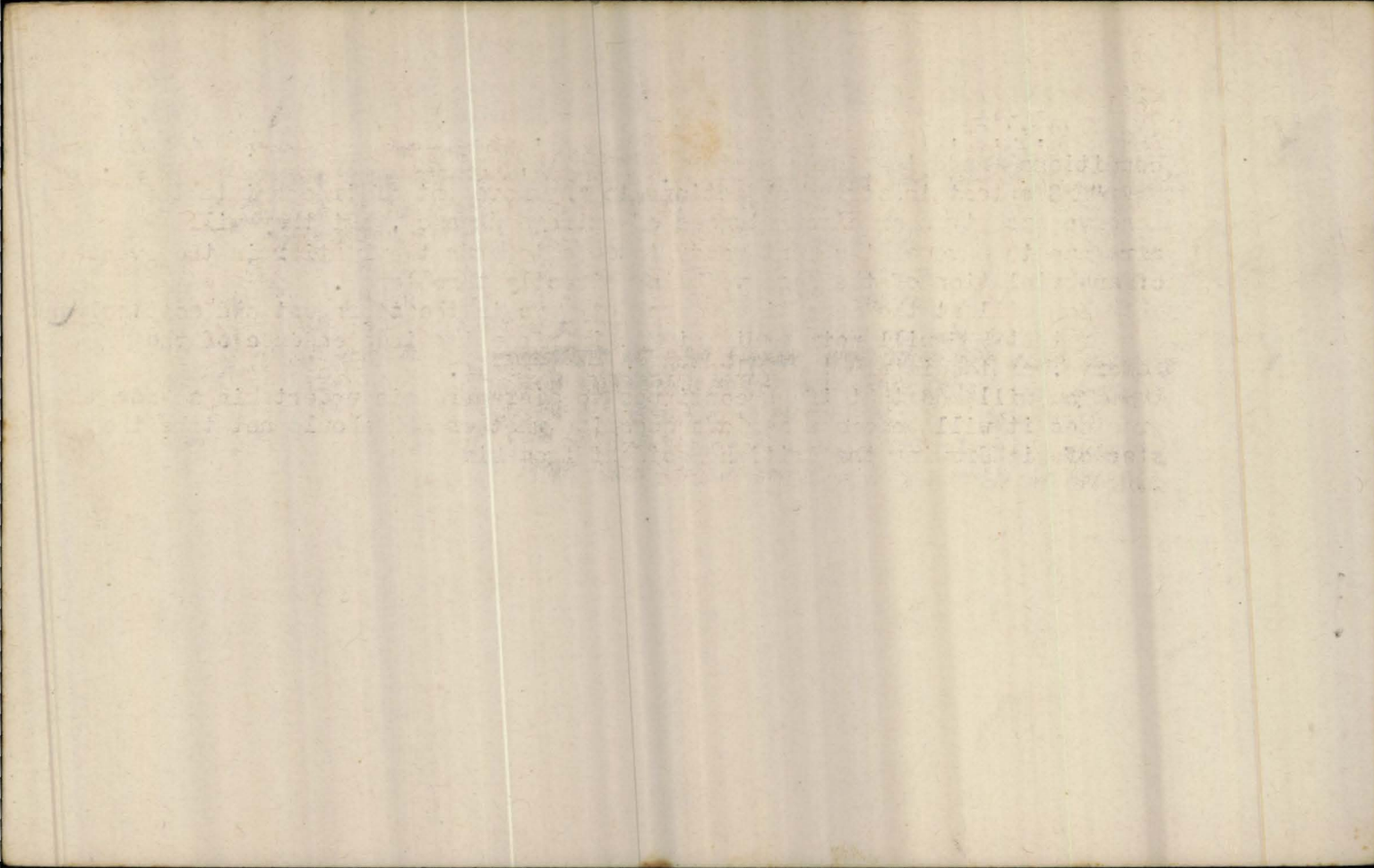
No61 Derby to Bulwer 12/7/83

/Acks 42,44,55,57 aon the state of Zululand, Cethswayo's disregard for his conditions and the threats to the Reserve, and HMG have considered them.

"HMG entertain strong objections to any movement of troops into the Reserve except under circumstances of extreme urgency, but they will arrange to have a detachment ready to move towards the frontier in the event of any violation of the Reserve being directly threatened.

You will at the same time warn Cetywayo in the strongest and most solemn manner that HMG will not permit him to infringe the independence of the Reserve, or to disturb the Zulus residing therein.

You will add that if he continues to disregard his undertakings and promises it will become a serious question whether HMG should not take the step of withdrawing the British Resident from him



C3864

No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88 Enc3 Fynn to Bulwer 31/7/83 p91
 /Some of the royal women have taken refuge in the Reserve - one of them,
 a wife of Mpnade's, Sibuko Ma Mkosana has done this.

GH685/147
 On 21/7, 16 companies of Qulusi, 10 of Ndabuko's followers, 10 Buthelezi
 had heard of the attack on Z and were on their way to protect Ulundi
 and but a few miles away when Ulundi was attacked. After the attack Hamu's
 force moved up the B1 Umfolosi attacking Tshingwayo's kraals on the way
 His sons came yesterday to bury their father but were unable to identify
 the remains. / "They inform me Umyamana, Undabuko, and Usiwetu have still
 a small force with them at the Ngome forest, and are endeavouring to
 muster men all round, and to strengthen their calls by saying Cetywayo is
 at the Sixebeni."

Enc4 Fynn to Bulwer 1/8/83 p91

GH685/48
 /Reports info from Sitshitshili son of the late Mquandi killed 21/7
 who with two other assisted Dinuzulu from the Tshukwana knolls to nr
 the Sixebeni, to Memekwana to Maquendela's kraal where Tshingana is.

Mnaymana Undabuko and Siwetu are at the Mqwembi hill between the
 Sikwebezi and B1 Umfolosi.

Batonyile, fearing sutu revenge on those kraals left by Zibhebhu
 (hers and Mfanawendhlehle's) is to go to the Reserve. Two sisters, with
 Cet at the Cape - Nozixobe-Ma- Tobolonjwana-Cubeni and Ntutane have been
 released by Z and escorted south by one of Z's men. ✓/

Encl2 Fynn to Bulwer 5/8/83 p95

94/85/152 More information on royal women. this morning Ngensile Ma Nomageje, Mambata, and her little sister Nomahlezi, arrived after being released by Z as a wife of Cet and escorted here by a relative of hers instructed by Z. Has heard that Tshingana sent a horse from the Nkanhla to fetch C t.

Encl3 Bulwer to Fynn 10/8/83 p96

/Referring to Enc 4 about the danger of certain peoples ~~xxxx~~ who would like to move to the Reserve. Fynn should consider whether they might not be able to move, with Z's consent into his territory.

207 219
GH685 SNA484/83

Res Mag Lower Tuglela Eustaice Fannin to S NA 4/8/83

Minutes J Shep on 6/8 thinks D'mazni will not be in danger in Zululand
Bulwer on 7/8 writes the D has been of the chief mischief makers in Zululand
and will send to Osb and ~~2~~Until he is heard from D may remain._/

/D states that his life will be danger if he return to Zululand and asks
to remain with friends in Natal_/_



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15249/N/83

179/146

Reserve. /Agitation

Minutes " The calling out of the natives to proceed against Cetywayo, and the general disturbed state of the country will I fear still further postpone the collition of the hut tax in the Reserve.

Not necessary to send this to Treas at presnet. Ack and say Lord Derby awaits the fu ther rept pr posed. / Signed up t.e Line

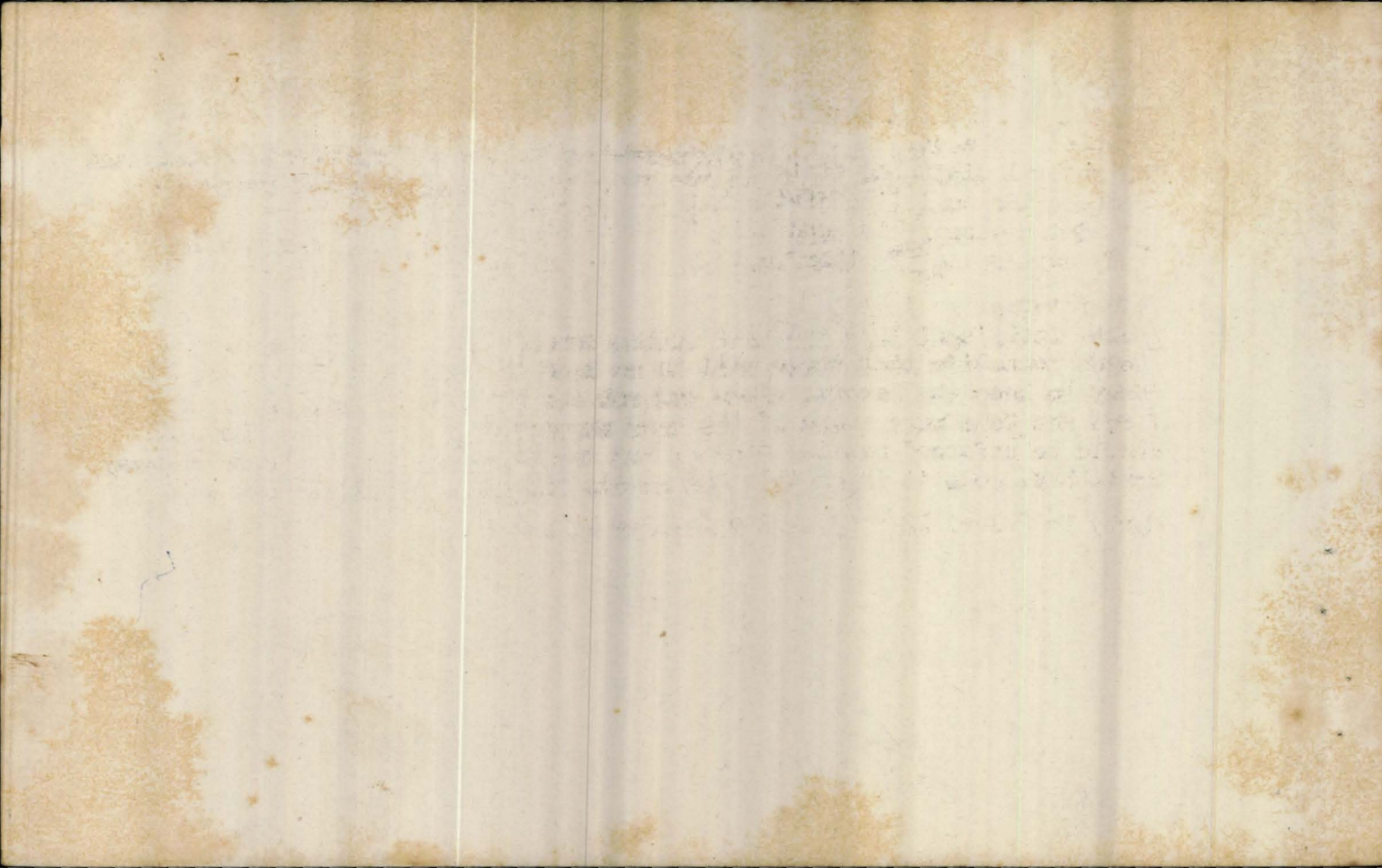
Bulwer to Derby 3/8/83

/Acks Derby's of 28/6 and will infrom him as soon as poss the nec info.

Hopes meanwhile that there will be no need to draw on ~~XXXX~~ HMG for further money to keep the Reserve admin and ask for more than the £8320.

I and Res Comm were aware of the need suggested by T hep that Hut tax should be enforced ~~xxx~~ immediatly, but the distrubancēs of the past three mohts have made it impossible and awaits the Res Comms discretioh.

Derby to Bulwer 22/9 / awaits further report /



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C3864

No53 Bulwer to Derby 20/8/83 pl06

Enc Message to Cetywayo by the Induna Yamela and Tom 16/8/83 pl09

/Object comin to see Cet is seeing that he did come to me at Eshowe have come to recieve him, assist him and protect him with the 20 mounted men and take him to Ehsowe until matters are settled. 2 He has no authority in the reserve and can call no people together or interfere with them. I am suposed to see a large force with him. 3 Has still to discover from the Gov on what or who is togovern his territory._/

/Yamela and Tom state_/ "We saw Cetywayo at the kraa he is staying at, and delivered to him your words accurately. He made no reply to anything, except this, that he know nothing of the armed men you saw; they must have been his people comint to look for him here, as you also searched for him. Whey should he, who had run hither, wish to harm you or any white man; he would like to see you and tell you all his complaints. /On being told not to to interfere in the Reserve he replied that the whole country was given to him in "ngland and it is still one country. he said he would shortly recorss the boundary and there make a statement. He said that he heard from the attacking impi that Z attacked with the authroity of the Government and Somkele had intercepted four white men going to Z as witneeses with Z for the Government. He then spoke at length againt Z which the messengers sadi they were not authorised to receive. Describes his kraal and his wounds and they a 'bandhla' of men and Basuto and native doctors but no impi - which they believe had been hidden_/

*Cetwayo in the Nkandhla / Bulwer on Situation
O's trip to make contact.*

C3864

No53 Bulwer to Derby 20/8/83 pl06

/In continuation of no49 reports on O's attempts to make contact with Cet. On16/8 O had reached the north side of the Inkandhla. Bulwer then goes into the whole story, once again of the belief that Cet was dead, the rumours of his being alive and O's determination to clear it all up. He set out with Commandant Mansel and 20 men on 11/8 and after much searching reached a kraal 6 miles from where Cet was supposed to be and which contained Ndabuko, Siwety, Tshingana, Maranana who with Zeize of the Res came in. / "They were civil, with the exception of Undabuko, who was morose and surly in his demeanour. They begged Mr. Osborn not to go at once to Cetwayo, who, they alleged, was still in a great fright, and would not see anybody, and they would wish first to reassure and prepare him" / Osb agreed to wait till the next morning, a meeting place was arranged but Cet did not turn up, but a messenger was there saying Cet wanted Osb and his Induna but not his body-guard. / "Mr. Osborn halted for a few moments to consider this new turn in affairs, when suddenly... he saw numbers of armed men taking up position in the rear, and on both flanks of his party, and strings of men were seen coming from different directions... / Where Cet was to meet Osb was full of armed men and O decided to go no further and returned to Untubeni's kraal on the northern side of the Inkandhla / "taking Zeizi with him as a guarantee of safety for the party." Osb then sent Yamela with messages to Cet and the reply is forwarded here.

It is completely unsatisfactory - he claims the whole country, his manner was haughty and overbearing, probably will establish himself in the Inkandhla

and has been joined by his brothers and a large usutu force and the situation is very serious. It was serious when he had designs on Z before 21/7 and while Z has is now free from dagner he has transferred ti to the Reserve / "Although he burned Ulundi; although he scattered the ^usutu force assmebled there; although the main force, which was elsewhere, dispersed when the tidings of his success reached it, he inflicted but little material loss on the ^usutus." / War swept over Cet's territory and refugees flodded into thē reserve / "which was under British authority, they would be safe, and were not disappointed."... "no sooner had /Cetshwayo / gained its shelter and was reassred as to this personal safety, than he began to devise new schmems for recovering his position. He had already been in communciation with his brothers; and, as soon as he could, he snet in messengers to the personal sympathisers in Natal, who advise him, and advise him so ill. No time has been lost by his borhters in collecting the dipersed ^usutu forces, and in joining him in that part of the Reserve where he has taken refuge. And, once more taking couate from these armed forces and frm the mishchievous counsels which he recieves, he defies the constituted aut ority of the country where hae has found a refuge. [†]It is a long distance from ^Uhamu or ^Usibebu. Hi s person is safe on that account from any retaliations b them, from any repetition of the Ulundi disaster. He feels safer still, because he known that they will respect, more than he does, the constituted tuhority of the country where he has taken refuge.

His apparent purpose then is to establish himself in the broken and inaccessible portion of that country where he has taken refuge, careless of what becomes of the territory over which he was placed, but which

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C3864

No53 Bulwer to Derby 20/8/83 p106 continued

he has abandoned, and there reorganise his forces and with them either ~~directly~~ direct from a place of safety further operations against Uhamu and Sibebu, or upset by violence and intrigue the constituted authority of the Reserve territory.

He appears to think that he is perfectly safe in doing this. He has been told by his sympathisers and advisers that the English Government intended him to have the whole country, that it was only the Natal Government that stood in the way of his having it, that, do what he may the English Government will not interfere. Thus it is that he has been encouraged to break again against the conditions of his restoration, and thus it is that he is encouraged now to commit this great outrage against the constituted authority of the country where he has taken shelter. He may use, he thinks, what force he likes, for he believes that none will be used against him. And so he trusts at length to gain his ends, and become by intrigue and by force the master of the whole country.

This condition of things leaves us, I fear, no alternative but with a strong hand to assert our authority in the Reserve Territory. Mr. Osborn advises that the first thing which it is necessary to do is to give confidence and assurance to the people in the Reserve, and for this purpose he urges that troops should at once be sent to Etshwoe. He is of opinion that with 100 troops there we shall be able to compel Cetshwayo to leave the Inkanyla by means of the Natives of the Reserve; but that, without the moral support that the presence of troops will give, the

difficulty of doing this will be insurmountable.

I have therefore submitted to your Lordship, by a telegraphic message sent yesterday, my proposal that troops should be despatched to the border, and that, if this evidence of the reality of the Governments intentions towards the Reserve is not sufficient, they should be moved into the territory it self. What further steps it would then be necessary to take requires consideration. But I should be anxious to avoid, if possible, the employment of the troops in any active operations, and I consider, with Mr. Osborn, that whatever it is necessary to do it will be advisable to do, as much as possible, with Native forces." Ends

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16894/N/83

C3864

No 66 Pulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl30

Encl 7 Fynn to Pulwer 17/8/83

94635/58
Messengers have come to Mfanawendhlela from Zibhebhu demanding that the suthu cattle placed with M'ela on 21/7 should be given up.

Siunguza's brother, Baleni, has come from Zibhebhu who says that Siteku will be given up when the cattle of Siunguza's people who ~~it~~ supported the suthu are given up. Z given him 8 days before he come to take them.

Baleni says Z left his kraal Nkungwoni on 14/8 to attack Somkele and that he intends to attack the people about the / 'mfank "Mfula river, east of Mtonjaneni, viz, people of Somhlolo (successor, in recongition by Cetshwayo, to Mgitshwayo, one of the 13 appointed chiefs of 1879)"

Has heard that Colenbrander has brohgt a number of horses to Zibehbu. Zinceku (son of the late Tshingwayo) heard they were sent by the Queen, fo enable Z to attack Mnyamana in the Ngome.

Mnyamana is trying to collect his people; Kehle his son has returned from visiting Cethswayo and the Qulus are being called up. Informants are messengers from Sitshilili, son of the Mquandi who died with five of his men on 21/7/ "They are under the impression that this movement of Mnyamana's is for the prupose of enabling Cethswayo to proceed to the Tvl"

"A few days ago Batonyile (a sister of Mkungu, of Weenen) started with some of her people for the Reserve; but her half-brother (Sukana), who is attached to her section of people, " / told her ~~he~~ that a Usuthu Mtulana has said that ~~the~~ asutu force would stop her and she retured to her krall 'Mkongeni'.

94684/160
Enc8 Fynn to Bulwer 23/8/83 pl40

/Fynn forwards a virtually unreadable letter from a Re Stallbam reproiting fighting between Hmau and the u suthu in the north. Other inforamtion says hamu has said there will be no cultivation in Cet's territory. Nunn was fighting with hmau's forces. Some headmen had gonve to see Cet including / "Marubulwana, Nomkwaimba, Magonondo, Memezi (Mbilini's brother , from the Transvaal " / and they were intercepted by Hmau /

16894/M/83

C3864

No66 Bulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl30

Enc4 'sborn to Bulwer 23/8/83 pl32

pl33 Yamela's statement

/Went with other messengers to contact Cet and deliver 'sb's words. Reached Ntubini's kraal and I (Yamela) sent Nozithina and Unguna to Ndabuko and Siwetu to inform them that a message was to be delivered to Cet. Thsingana came the next day accompanied by Ndabuko, Siwetu, Ndugunya, Magedama, Hlamba, Ziziba, Hlekizana, Ntubini and others/

"Tshingana spoke to me and said he was sent by their King to tell me I was to tell them the words I brought, to be conveyed by them to him; I was not to approach him to speak to him personally. To this I answered that I was instructed to give the words to their King himself. I was not authorised to send them through others. They then said their King had taken medicine and I could not see him personally. I replied I would in that case go near to where he was, and not disturb him in his taken medicine by my immediate presence. This they also objected to, and said I was not to go!" /Argument continues on these lines. & Yamela gives up/

/The message is then delivered: it is the same as the one brought on 16/8. Cet must come in to Eshowe/

"Tshingana then asked me what state Cetywayo's wounds were in as I had seen them; I said they seemed to be healed. He then said his foot got hurt. I replied that he /133/ could come on horseback."

X "Tshingan said their King could not go to Ehsowe, there are messengers

from him now with your chief (the Res Comm). Our King ascertained that he turned back without having seen him because a report had reached him that he, the King, was making for the Boers and that there were Boers on their way to fetch him. Cetywayo could see from this, that a case was being made up against him as it is said that he was intriguing with the Boers; if he wanted to go to the Boers, would have come here?" /Yamela answered saying that he had heard no story about the Boers intriguing and requested the source of the king's information, but they refused in case he would be intimidated against bringing further info to them. Ndungunga said he had heard something of it from Fynn's messenger, Umba~~ni~~^{eni}, who said that some of Tshingana's men had been sent by Cet with a message to the Boers. /Tshingana then brought up the next objection against Cet's going in to Ehsowe. He had heard that Z was about to attack Somkele, then attack Mnayamana and then attack Cet at the Nkanhla. In this Z said he had the authority of the Governor. Osb had recently sent to Somkeli to tell him to sit still and there would be no more fighting. Now they have come from their hiding places and they are to be attacked by Zibhebhu. The Gov is behind these attacks, the ^{the} suthu are disarmed upon coming into the Res as well -all to make them easy prey to Zibhebhu.

Another of C's
messengers:
'Nomaquaba'

Another reason is that Ehsowe is visited by many Zulu including Z and his messengers. / " We know Usibebu is a great tagati and would cause the death of any one he chooses by means of poison and witchcraft; " /The next day Ndugunya and Hlekezana said that Cet was afraid Yamela was a spy and could not come near him. He was afraid of being poisoned at Eshowe. "hat is was his intention to go to Maritzburg, there to state his case, and he requested you to write to his agents (~~xxx~~ alameli) in Natal to come to him"

231-3

16894/N/83

C3864

No66 Bulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl41

Enc 9 Osborn to Bulwer 28/8/83

~~XX~~ " Have seen Dunn. He urges troops should enter Reserve at once, and advises strongly against organising frces before troops are here, as involving great risk of reverse and danger of ~~xxxx~~ attack on me before forces can be ready. I concur with him. See my letter of to-day post."

Encl3 Osb to Bulwer x 31/8/83 pl42

"Your s 27th received. Cetywayo gives out that troops coming are sent to help him agsinst Uisbebu; but I have explained to chiefs and many people real object of troops. Explanations were well received. ^situation unchanged."

212
12822/N/83
179/146
Minutes

21/7

222

"Copy to the Queen today (Lord Derby & Mr Ashley have seen) at onc ALWH 26/7
Sent to the Qeen and Cabinet 26/7

Bulwer to S of S for the Coloneis (rec 26/7)

"26th July. Osborn letter, 23rd, just received, states that, in his opinion certain Cetywayo killed during attack Ulundi, 21st, though definite inforamtion wanting. Had not heard from Fynn, but had sent to him. Had also sent to Uisbebu, and others, message to stop fighting. I have approved Osborn' action, and instructed him, if news confirmed, to assume at once authority, and to take further action in ~~name~~ name of Government, requiring all chiefs and people to remain quiet, and wait word of Government. Numbers of ~~gm~~ fugitives coming to reserve. Am anxious about Fynn. His last letter received, dated 19th, reported sutu raid into Uisibebu's territory on 14th. I expect more certain news Osborn to-morrow."



210 14480/N/83

C3864

21/7 No37 Bulwer to Derby 23/7/83 p59

223 /Transmits info originally sent by cable . does not say source of his info_ /

Enc Osborn to Bulwer 22/7/83 p59

"Eshowe, 22nd July 8a.m. - Information just received that small force from Sibebu made attack on Ulundi at sunrise yesterday morning. Cetywayo's forces were quickly defeated and put to flight, one position towards White Umfolosi, the other towards Sitshwili. Cetywayo escaped on horseback, wounded, not known whether; many of his headmen, besides others, were killed, and Ulundi, Nodwengo, and Sixebene burnt. Sibebu made this attack, it is stated, in retaliation for attack and heavy loss inflicted on his people by Cetywayo a few days previous. I have no word from or about Fynn; am sending to him at once. Sibebu's main force was sent to help Hmau when the others started to attack Ulundi."



14728/N/83
179/146

21/7 C.oon

224

Minutes (desp in 3864 and reply.

"Mr Bramston See also 14729. In view of subsequent telegrams, these despatches are somewhat out of date; but at the same time they not without interest. We hear now for the first time of the deaths of Seketwayo, Tshingwayo, and Sirayo; and as no contradiction of this reports has been received by telegraph, it may be assumed that it is true. Note Mr Fynn's observations respecting Mr Grant in enc 8.

Cetywayo's forces appear to have fought most unwillingly. It must be very annoying to have to fight against one's will, but when one is compelled to take an emetic into the bargain before fighting (seen: 4 /in Margin/ "and struggle with a mad black bull) a Zulu warrior's life does not seem to offer any very special attractions.

These despatches should be printed and acknowledged with some expression of interest? See copy of 'Cape Argus' herewith, which ought to be shown to Cetywayo for any observations he may have to make. " /Hemming?/ 27/8

Not one point. Allegations are constantly being made over here that the British Resident in the Reserve is terrorising & persecuting Cetywayo's adherents in the Reserve & confiscating their cattle. What he has probably been doing to prevent the reserve from being made a base of operation for military movements of Cetewayo, by seizing the cattle of those who went over the border to join Cetewayo's impi. ~~Preferably~~ Of course if they leave their cattle & family in safety while they go and

fight with Cetewayo they are making the Reserve this base. Under the agreement

as to Restoration they should either move bodily with goods &c into Zululand proper,

or remain in Reserve and abstain from fighting. E.A. 30/6 /Proceed Derby/



215

21/7

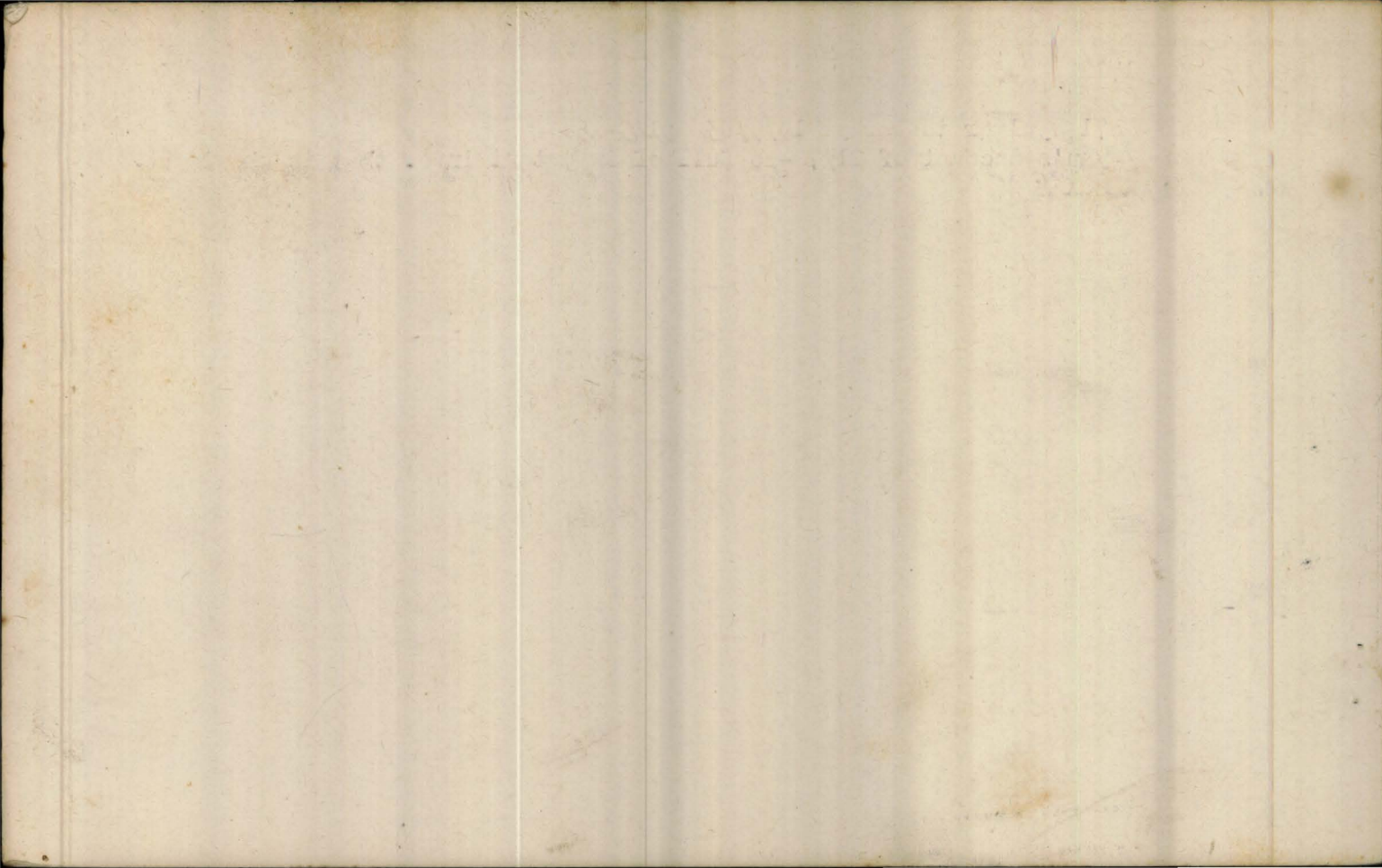
17129/N/83

C3864 -

No71 ulwer to Derby 10/9/83 pl49-156

/Fynn's account of 21/7 -so full of important info. that is should be

XEROXED_/



217

The Aftermath 21/7

C3864

No44 Bulwer to Derby 6/8/83 p75

/Fynn has not on the last date of writing has not yet found Cetshwayo /76/
 Gives various rumours - all concluding that Cetshwayo was dead
 Seems that the main impi at the front at the time of the attack under Mnyamana
 and Ndabuko has dispersed on the news. Refugees have fled to the Reserve.
 Osb is in the Reserve making arrangements for them. Position still
 to undecided to make any proposals for the territory now without a ruler._/

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 23/7/83

/Search made for Cetshwayo. Communicated with the Wives of Cet at
 Mfanawenhlela's kraal Qulambatu. the wives wanted to search in advance,
 and Fynn was accompanied by Davey his clerk, and Mr Walton special artist
 for the 'Pictorial World'. Proceeded west from the burnt Ulundi, saw the
 body of Seketwayo. Nothing found but bodies. The daughters of Cet (6)
 are being looked after by Dr Qtebro

24/7 re-started search

"While there, at the junction of the Ntukweni, Mdumane / Ndungunya, an
 attendant, and his little boy, joined me. He pointed out a cluster of small
 trees, between the eastern of the two knolls, Ntukweni and the / 77/
 Nukweni river, about 20 yards distant from the cluster of trees where
 Ndungunya ~~xx~~ saw Cetywayo enter, and those in company with him passed on in
 order that Cetywayo would be better able to hide alone, as the enemy in
 pursuit were close upon and surrounding them.

Ndungunya was in company with Mkosana Zangwana, and they heard the enemy
 call upon Cetywayo to get up and proceed to Zibebu, and Cetywayo was heard
 by others to reply, 'Do you stab me, Ralijana' (son of Somfula Hlabisa, of
 Zibebu), 'I, your king?' Upon this the enemy retired a short space around.

CH
685/195

Ndungunya informed me that Ma Majiya, a wife of Cetywayo, and mother of Inyonyientaba, the little son, had escaped, with a shoulder wound, to her father, towards the Reserve; but Inyonyientaba was killed.

Ndungunya and Mkosana fled on to the Rev. Robertson, Kwamagwana, to let him know what had taken place, and Ndungunya had come back and met me searching for Cetywayo."

Dinuxulu escaped on a horse riding westwards, Ofteboro kindness and help to refugees is outstanding/

2I am experiencing the greatest difficulty as to what is best to be done with Cetywayo's families under the melancholy state of disaster. They do not want to leave, ~~xx~~ and I am unable to provide either shelter or food for them; they object to go to the kraals near here."

/Mfanawendhleala has complained of people killed and cattle taken by Z and Fynn has given pass to Batonyile ~~xxxx~~ (female) to go to Z and recover her cattle and people./ "Siteku, a half-brother of Cetywayo, and the girls of the royal household were taken away to Ushebubu's distrit. I hear he had given orders that Siteku should not be molested, as Siteku had not shown ill-will towards him.

25/7

/ /Z's military leader, Sukuzwayo passed with a force of 300 and 500 cattle raided to the south. On Fynn's request that Cet's families be given food and women and children returned an ox was given and a woman and her children released. Fynn has given 27 blankets and rugs to Mpande's four wives, and Cet's wives. They wish to go to the Reserve and Fynn has no alternative but to send them - Mr Walton has said he will go with them

Cet Ctive

C3864

No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88

Enc5 Fynn to Bulwer 1/8/83 p92

[Reports] "...the following mysterious circumstances which have taken place."

SH 635/150
I reported to your Excellency that Cetywayo's wives were about to proceed to the Reserve; when the time came for starting only two or three started, and Undabuko's three wives and two children, and all the other wives of Cetywayo's and six little daughters remained here, and Ndungunya, one of Cetywayo's attendants, who joined me on the 24th, ~~whix~~.... I observed constant mysterious communciations going, people coming to Cetywayo's wives; but whenever I asked them if they had obtained any information, they said no. However, three men came for them the evening before last, from Undabuko, Umyamana, and Usiwety to take them to the Inhlatatye; tow of these messengers proceeded elsewhere, - disappeared. [When Cet's wives eventually left they did not go to the Inhshlazathse but went up the northern bank of the W Umfolosi and refused to go with Fynn's messenger and sent him back. Ndungunya made excuses to Fynn and then secretly went after the wives and spoke with them / "I had heard that it was said Cetywayo was ~~was~~ alive, but could not credit the inforamtion. Fynn sent messengers to investigate and they heard that last night Cet had sent a message to Ndabuko saying he was alive with only two leg wounds Becasue of this info about C t's being alive and the fact that Mnyaymana is said to be about to attack Bâtonyile, Sukana and Mfanawendhlalea does not feel he should obey Bulwer's instructions and join Osb. they were about to move to the Reserve but O's messengers came and told them stay in their kraals. / "I long since urged the necessity of a military force to protect these people while removing to the Reserve."

*Encl 12.
Incorrect wife
[perhaps rounded]
he was at the
source of
the Mpopoma
Mpanben
at foot of
Indumiduna
Hall, Beacan
XVIII
6 miles north
of Reserve
Beacan
XVII
Bakunay
Hall

Encl Fynn to Bulwer 2/8/83 p90

19H685/15

Ndungunya states that yesterday noon he found Cetywayo at Dongeni's kraal at the Mrodi near Mtonjaneni. With him were two wives 'Butisa Ma Sityaluza Mgazi, 'Ma Msweli',*, Undabuko's wife and Tusagana, young man of Sitayo. e had arrived there from Mbebeni nr the Wh Mfolosi where he had been since 21/7. He had to light wounds in his right ~~th~~ thigh.

Cet sends Ndungunya and Tongana to inform Fynn that he is alive, he has informed Osb and is on his way to the Reserve. Cet thanks Fynn for the kindness to his family, for removing the body of Nontimba Ma Godi from the water hole. He knows I have for him in his troubles, but does not wish to see me, but urges that I and Dr. Oftebro proceed to Zibebu to recover the remainder of his wives and girls, whom he hears Zibebu is distributing as wives. He does not think Fynn was aware of Z's approach or he would have warned C^{et}. Z and H had been provided with breech loaders and attacked him while sitting quietly. Four assegais had been thrown at him to penetrating his leg.

"Sanguza Ma Nsiana Qabi (chief wife of Mlambongwenya kraal) and another of Mpande's wives was killed near the Sixebeni kraal

"Had he...not constantly told me Uisbeb u was coming to kill him? and I had said it was not true.

Were his words not true now? He wished to see me his father-guardian. I knew he had kept the conditions, and in doing so had, as it were been killed while quietly seated in his hut, but he did not wish to see me until I had brought all his wives and girls from Uisbebu."

Letame

C3864

No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88

Enc 6 Statement of Kukula ka Manyose to SNA 8/8/83 p93

"I am sent by Balene, 'Nceku' to the late Nomcobo, aunt of Cetywayo, to inform the Government that Cetywayo is alive, and when I left Zululand ^{and wounded} ~~was~~ hiding in the basin of the Umfolozi at the kraal of the late Nomcobo." /the attack and King's flight described/ /he was surrounded in a thicket/ "Cetywayo then said to the ~~xxx~~ people who attacked him 'you are killing me, I am your king.' Ralistshana, one of the attacking party said to the others, 'he is the king,' the people who had wounded him said 'we thought you were Siwety.' A number of Uisbebu8s people then came up to where Cethwayo was, and said 'you have brought t is upon yourself, you know that Sibebu fogught for you at the Imdanda gu Suka, and against the ^{Englsih.} 'Z's people then destroyed and plundered the area."/

Cetywayo says he has lived quietly and peacable wicne he returned to Zululand cannot understand why ^{Usibebu} ~~Uisibebu~~, who is only a common man, has attacked him in this way. ^{the} ~~the~~ the people ^{Usibeby} ~~Usibebu~~ was fighting wit h when he returned to Zululand are at the Ingome (Umayamana and Undabuko's people). /Repeats that he lived quietly, obeyed ffYnn and akss what to do now./ ^{The} ~~The~~ messenger has been away from Zululnd for 7 days.

Enc 8 M E Oftebro to Res Comm 6/8/83 Empandhleni 6/8/83

94685
30 /Cet sent to him that he has entered the Reserve and gone to Sigananda's kraal Oindweni. Osb sends the letter immediatley to Bulwer, in a private letter

Enc9 Knox, Stanger to Bulwer 9/8/83 p94

/Mr Mathan reports that he has seen Cet and believes he intends to visit PMB with 500 followers and see Miss Colenso._/

Enc 10 Bulwer to Osb 9/8/83 p94

/If Cet is alive do not let him come into Natal or stay anywhere in the Reserve but with you. Do you concur in this? Fynn should remain where he is._/

Enc 15 Osborn to Bulwer 8/8/83 p96

9/16/83
/After receiving Oftebro's note despatched messengers to verify it andx
They have not returned but native info said that also that Cet had entered the reserve of the 5th perhaps antoether report says it was a Friday and gone to Siganandna and Osb it going to go there himself. in spite of indisposition.
Statement by M Nomaquaba-kaMgungulu and Matashini-ka-Qetuka

/Message from Cetshwayo saying that he was the Upindwini kraal of Sigananda
He speaks of O's care for his people while he was away and if O wished to see him he moving to the Insuze. Reports the stabbing and his saying
'Do you, my dogs, dare to stab me,' and they ran away. O's says he's coming to see him. C t also reported the killing of the royal women and asks Res to attempt recover the Sigohla girls._/

The Affair

C3864

No44 Bulwer to Derby 6/8/83 p75

Cintinued p79 /Messenger sent to get info said near the Inshalzatshe he saw Mcojana's and ibhbhu's forces with cattle women and children caputred. they had been as far as Babanango and Ngome. Mnaymana was heemed in at the Ncwembe Hill between the Sikwebezi and the B Umfolosi and kraals were burnt every./

"Everything is in a most fearful state of desolation, the whole country burnt off, a dismal ~~black~~ black.

Mr Eckersely informed on the 21st, ...that the Swazi Chief and Usibebu were friendly disposed to each other...; that the Swazis who were with Maboko's people...were people of Mbilini's brother, and disconnected with the great Swazi Chief Mbandeni.

Enc 3 Osborn to Bulwer 31/7/83 p79

/Acks felgs of 28 and 29/7. Has postpned journey to Cet's territory on account of refugees who require attention.

Enc 4 Bulwer to Osborn 2/8 Teleg p79 /Has heard refugees in Hlubi's are without food. Attend to it authroising mealies if necessary./

Enc5, Bulwer to Osborn 2/8 p79 /Refers to instructions to assume atuhorty in C's terr. Must not let people believe the Queen is assuming Govt./

Enc6 Res Mag Lower Tuglela to SNA 30/7/83 p79

p80 /D'manzi and a son arrived here on horseback and stated / "that on Friday night intelligence reached him that an impi of Sibebu's men was on its way to his kraal, Ezulwini, where he then was, for the purpose of

killing him" /and he went to Natal for safety. He was told that the story was probably false but to wait till he heard from Osborn D'manzi says he was at Ulundi at the time of the attack_/

"On the previous evening Cetywayo received intelligence that an impi had been seen descending the heights near the junction of the Ivuna with the Black Umfolosi; he at once called his council together, and after consultation, it was their opinion the reports was untrue consequently no precautions were taken. On the morning of the attack all went about their usual occupations, the approach of the impi was discovered by some young men sent out to cut wood, it was then about a mile from Ulundi; the alarm was given, but although Cetywayo had a large force at the spot, they seem to have offered little resistance to the onset of Zibebu's men.

/Cet says he knows nothing of Cet's fate_/

Bulwer to Fynn 2/8/83 p80

/Although the body not found it seems as if Cet has been killed. You should remain and assist Osborn when he comes to take over the Reserve. Requests a complete list of chiefs and heamen killed in the attack and as much information_/

Enc8 Bulwer to Osborn. 2/8/83 p81

/C seems to be dead and O should cross into C's territory, restore order contact Z and H and quieten them, look after the women and children, esp Cet's and hold a full inquiry as soon as possible.

/the last three enclosures concern the D'manzi's request to go and see Bulwer in PMB. Bulwer refuses._/

21/7 The African

C3864

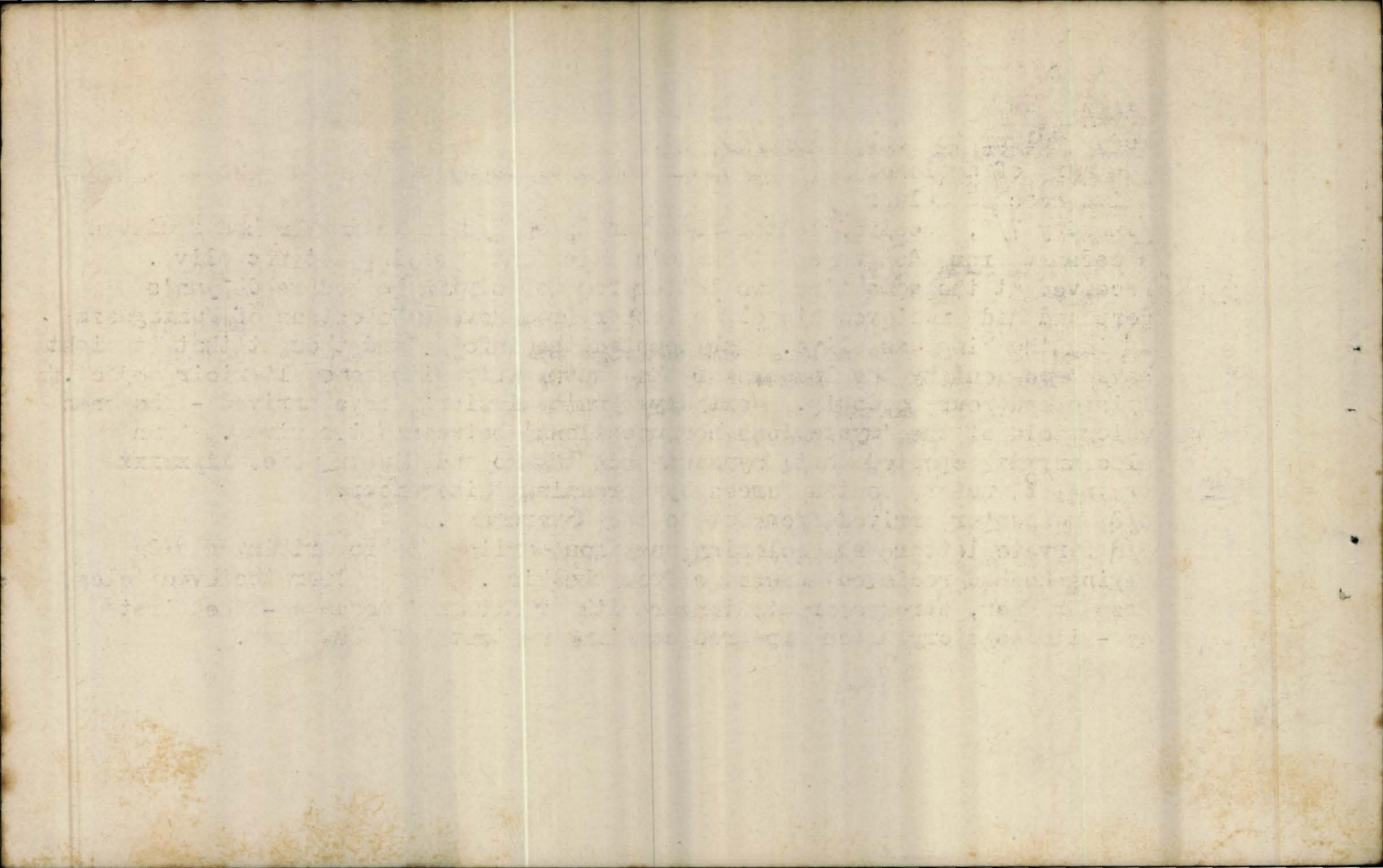
No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88

/Summary of enclosures (and other communications) of how the news of C being alive reached Bulwer /

/Tuesday 7/8, received letter from Fynn dated 2/8^{54-85/152 pro.} reproting he had recieved a message from Ndungunya Cethswayo's attendant saying Cet was alive. Received at the same time two letter from Osb saying he had read Fynn's desp and had recieved himself a letter from Rev Mr "obertson of Kwamagwaza saying the king was alive. Osb doubted the info / "and thought that it might have been sent by the leaders of the sutu party with some ulterior object." I informed your Lordship. Next day Fynn's missiong desps arrived - the ones which told of the 'mysterious communications' between C_et's wives. Fynn also ~~heard~~^{to} reported that Mnyamana and "dabuko and Siwetu were ~~alive and~~ trying to muster usuthu forces by spreading this rumour.

8/8 messenger arrived from Cet to the Government.

9/8 Pirvate letter Osb enclosing one from Martin Oftebro writin on 6/8 saying he had recieved a message from the king. them Bulwer recieved teleg from Mr Knox, strekeeper at Stanger with Mr Mathan ' message @ the first eye-witness story which appeared confirm the truth of the story. /



Zimbabwe on 2/1/83

C3864

No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88

Encl1 Osborn to Bulwer 4/8/83 p94

9/11/84/29
 /Messengers sent on 23/7 to tell Zimbebu to stop attacking C's people ~~xx~~ returned 2/4. Fynn has also, according to B's telegram told all people in C's territory to sit still. Messengers from H have not yet returned owing to the great distance he lives from Eshowe.

"Nozithina, Zimu, and Nguma state" /reached Z at his kraal Nkungwini where the message was delivered. Z replied he was forced to attack in self-defence. A few days before C had sent Mnyamana's force to the Tokazi in his territory which killed many of his people living under M Umgojana. ~~Maxx~~ then became aware that C was concentrating his forces for an all out attack. Mnyamana had left Hamu and was going to Ulundi; Somkele was to attack him from the south and ~~Max~~ the "Matonga under Sambana from the north; and the ^usutu from Ulundi. He had to attack first to prevent being killed. Siteku was present with Cet then and said it was ~~xxxx~~ true. Siteku and others had advised him against it but Cet was determined. "I have heard the words sent by the Resident Commissioner and I know that whoever goes against his advice will fall into a pit. I will send to Uhamu as requested and desire him to sit still with his impi. Tell him ...I thank him, and I send my respects."

Encl6 Osborn to Bulwer 9/8/83 p98

/Umbulawa and Fakazi sent by Z to tell about the attack on Ulundi ask Osb to inform the governor the following. Z was living quietly when Cet

when Cet attacked - this is known because H Shepstone was sent to find out about it. After this Cet sent 27 companies of the Gwamakosi and the Kandampemvu regiments into Z' territory but five of Z's companies drove them back. Since then two attempts by usutu forces under D'manzi have been made to invade Z's territory. They were checked at the border.

'Not many days' before 21/7 Cet sent a portion of the force under Mna'mana who had been at Hmau's into Z' territory as far as the Tokazi where it killed women and children and committed atrocities. The people who suffered were Mcojana's.

then Z discovered that the usutu were to launch an attack from all sides. The Amazwazi from the north; Nozingile, Sambana, and other Matonga from the north-east and east. Somkele from St Lucia Bay side and the main force of usutulu from Ulundi.

Shortly after sunrise Z attacked Ulundi and despite strict order to the contrary some of Mcojana's men (remembering the atrocities against their women and children) killed ~~four~~ four women / "for which Usibebu is very sorry. Some young seeing someone hiding in some bushes three assegais and discovered Cetwysayo. / "Boys, why do you kill me? I want to go to Usibebu to ask him why he attacks me," to this the young men answered, "We did not know that it was you, Why did you hide? No inkosi ever hides when fighting is going on." they then left him.

Z asks that those living in the Reserve ~~who joined the usutulu~~ who joined the usutulu be punished for doing so. Z also says it was through Somkele that Cet managed to get Nozingile and other Matonga to attack him and he now intends to attack them. / "He says he must do this, and if his act offends the Government, he will abide the punishment awarded him for his fault. He says he always listened to your words not to attack others, and not to retaliate.

C3864

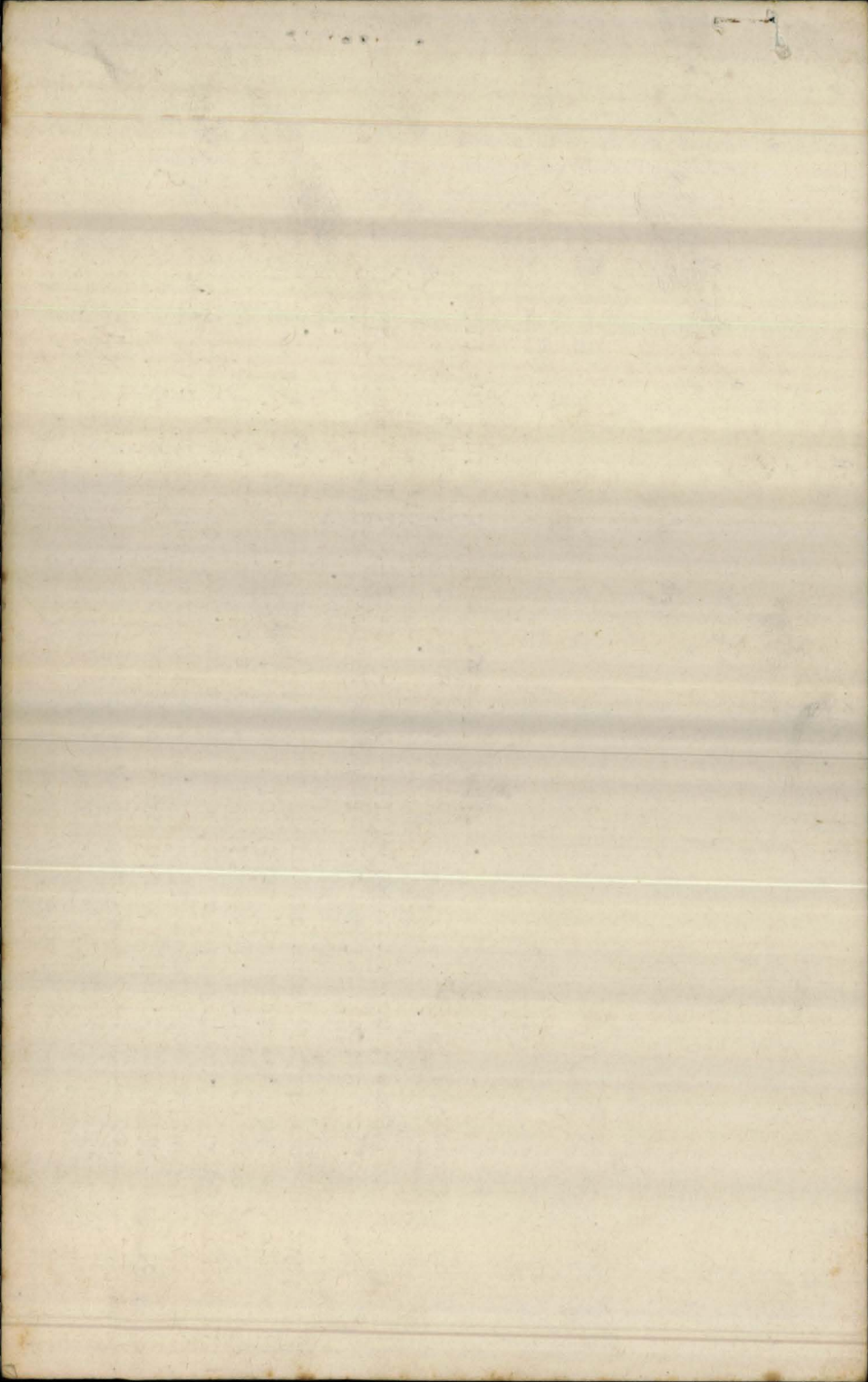
No49 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p88

Enc 16 Osborn to Bulwer 9/8/83 p98 cont

941685
31
p99 " when his territory was invaded, and he refrained from doing so, but now he thinks he must punish those who are his enemies, and still seek to destroy him; if he does wrong thereby, he will submit to punishment from the Government without word, as a son submits to his father. When your men came to him a few days ago to say he must sit still, and do no more fighting against anyone, he said he would do as you desired, and he has done so. But now he lets you know that there are some against whom he must proceed, and must punish.

The Sigohla girls were taken as reprisals for similar "suthu" action but they are being well looked after and will be returned on the payment of a small ransom by their parents.

Reply. Osborn is surprised to hear Z talk of retaliation and advises him to sit still and this what the Gov will desire. _/



15721/N/83

C3864

Usutu for Border

No47 Bulwer to Derby 10/8/83 p83

✓ " I have made inquiry into the subject of Mr. Meek's complaint, and, so far as I can ascertain the facts, it appears that the acts of which he complains were committed by natives of the Zulu race living in Transvaal territory, and, therefore, subject to the laws of that State. I have addressed a communication to the British Resident in the Transvaal on the subject, giving him such information as may enable him to discover those responsible for the acts of plunder.

Encl H J Meek to SNA 'Confidence' District Derby, Transvaal 11/6/83 p83

✓ On 5/6 Usutu drove away 100 head of cattle. Meek and his servants attacked them and they fled /83/ 11/6 the party came to his house and three of them said they had been sent by Cet to deliver a message, and then that they had been sent by Mnyamana, Ndabuko, Ziwetu, and had been told to collect Hmau's cattle and kill those who had run away. Meek denied having any and the impi then drove off his cattle. The party was 63 strong, dressed in war dress nearly all had guns and sang '~~XXXXXXXX~~ 'Sizihli nqomkouto izwi louke,'. their izinduna said that all boundaries were null and void that were made by the English and Dutch and Cethswayo's orders were the ones to be obeyed. They believe the Queen has reinstated him with full powers, and has instructed every man to get a gun and carry out his orders.

As a British subject Meek appeals to the British as the Tvl won't help.

The Swazi have also suffered by the action of the Zulu. Cet has given orders that the best to make medicine for war was with the live embryo of two of Hmau's women. Signed including African witnesses. _/

Enc2 Meek to ~~Smax~~ SNA 5/7/83 p85

23/6 Zulu under Stambi son of Masipula, Undeda of the Qulusi, Umbulawa ka Mnyamae, Bantubansumo ka K'quwana attacked Hmau's people living in the Tvl who had taken refuge on the Sicini mountain. He slaughtered them and took their property. Meek and particularly his men are being terrorised.

'Umjequla, induna n'Kulu ga Ham' left Hmau on 1/4 because the ~~latter~~ latter refused to recognise Cet and on the 27/6 ~~attacked~~ killed some of Hmau's people in the Tvl by tricking them he was their friend.

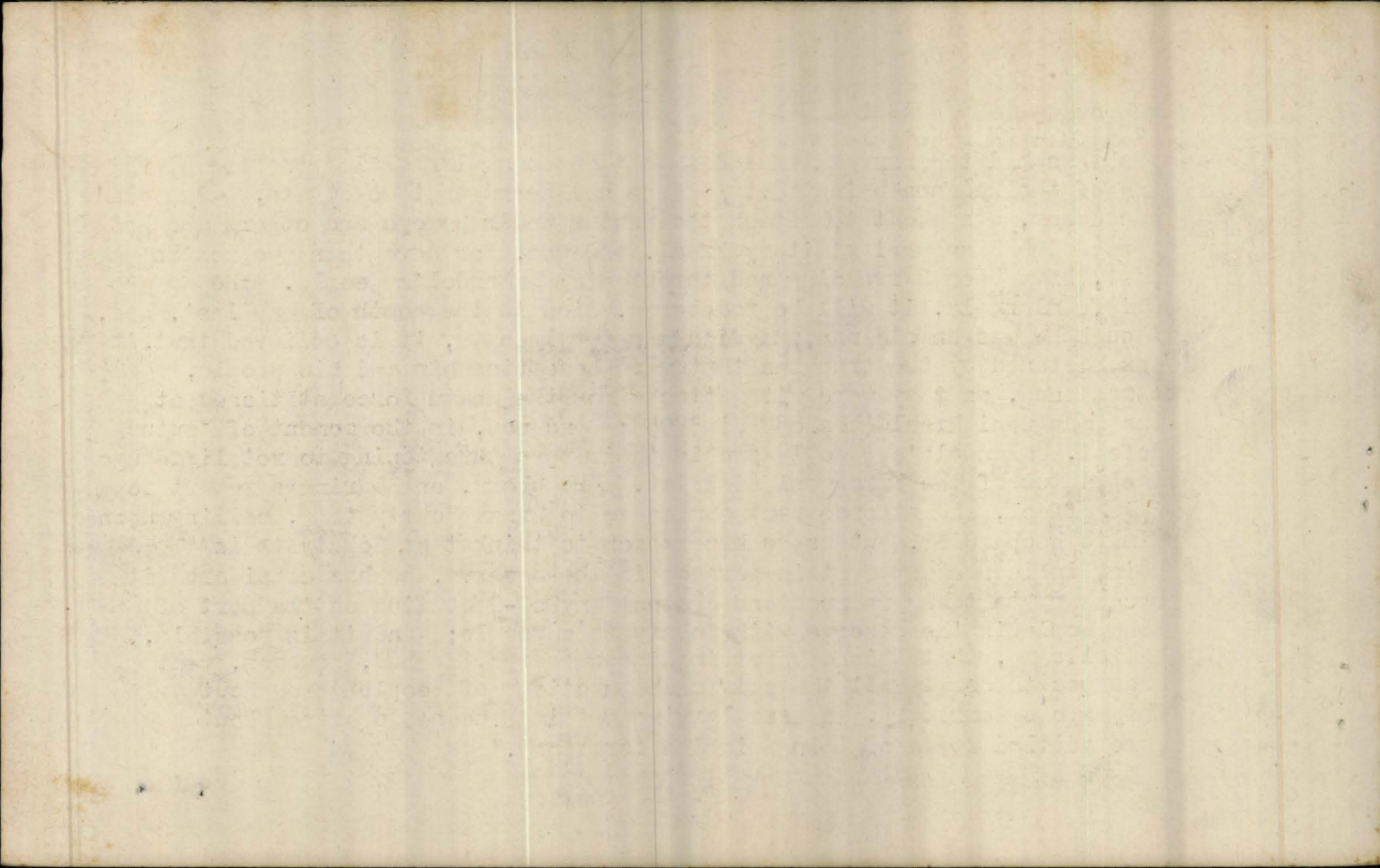
The area is in a turmoil and the bloodshed is worst since Ndondakusuka. _/

C3864

No44 Bulwer to Derby 6/8/83 p75

p76

~~/Os~~ has had to ~~abandon the idea~~ postpone the plan of leaving for Ulundi. One of the reasons being that / " He had heard that Sokotyata, Umlandela's successor, was about to attack the usutus under Somopo and others who had formed the Emangweni military kraal, and who, for more than two months past, have been harrassing and threatening Umlandel's people. The Chief Umlandela, it will be remebered, died in the month of May last, and, though he was an old man and died a natural death, it is believed that it was hastened by the troubles that were besetting him and his people, threatened, as they were with attack from the usutu force stationed at the Emangweni kraal (see No58 in 3705); and now, in the moment of U'sutu defeat, Umlandela's people are in their turn threatening to retaliate upon the usutus of the Emangweni district. Mr sborn, on hearing a report to this effect, and at once sent a message to ~~Skatix~~ Sokatyata, calling upon him to keep quiet, but as he has reason to think that Sokatyata is being influenced by certain persons in the Reserve, he has considered it necessary to take precaustions against any OcO-Operation on the part of the people in the Reserve with Sokatyata's people; and it is possible, he tells me, that this may detain him some days. He had, however, sent messages to nearly all the chiefs and sections of people throughout Cetywayo's territory, and was leaving nothing undone to bring about a more settled state of things in the territory."



Grant
C3864

No48 Bulwer to Derby 13/8/83 p87

"Mr. William Grant did a good deal of mischief in the Zulu country during the time he was there a few weeks back, and I do not anticipate anything but mischievous consequences from interference by in Zulu affairs."

Encl Grant to Bulwer 9/8/83 p87

/Has received information from Zululand that Cethswayo is alive with two slight wounds in a leg. In view of the fact that his family, Chiefs and followers have been slaughtered, and their property destroyed Grant is sure that Bulwer will agree he will be entitled to all the /"friendly help and counsel that can be afforded.

"That as a trusted friend of the King's, and holding the appointment of adviser and councillor lately conferred upon me by the King, duly assisted by his Chiefs and headmen, I consider it my duty to proceed at once to Zululand with the object of conferring with the King and Chiefs, and assisting them in the adoption of such constitutional measures

for their relief as the circumstances of the position warrant.

As I consider it is probable that the King has proceeded to the Reserve and placed himself in communication with Mr. Sborn, the Commissioner there, I can only conclude that, having regard to the nature of the reception to which I was subjected in June last, and which is fully indicated in my correspondence which I have already had the honour to submit to your Excellency's consideration, my presence at Etshwee will create misunderstanding and consequent unpleasantness, and that obstacles

will be raised to my having that full and free intercourse with the King and Chiefs which my visit must involve.

I have, therefore, the honour to request that your Excellency may be pleased, in view of the extreme urgency of the case and the importance of the interests involved,to grant to me your Excellency's permission and authority to visit the King without delay for the foregoing purposes and reasons."

Enc 2 Bulwer to Col Sec Minute 10/8/83 p88

refused

Enc 3 Bulwer to Osborn 11/8/83 p88 refused

179/146 Minute

"I am not quite sure that
Sir H. B. has been right in
this regard; but we must
support him. Agree
DB.

273
C3864

Cetm. / Osborn to Derby
No32 Bulwer to Derby 19/8/83 p53

/Has telegraphed today the following message/

"hat I have received communications from Mr Osborn to date 16th August; that Mr. Osborn has tracked Cetyayo into some broken country in the Native Reserve; that there is no doubt that Cetywayo is alive; that four of his brothers are with him, and are collecting a force of the usutu party; that an attempt was made by them to surround Mr. Osborn, whom however, succeeded in retiring; that he then sent a messenger to Cetywayo; that the messenger saw Cetywayo; that the latter was overbearing in his manner, claiming the Reserve and all Zululand as his; that Mr. Osborn request that 500 troops may be sent to support him at Etshwoe; that with your Lordship's sanction I would propose sending a force immediately to the border, and that then we can see if it will be necessary for the force to enter the Reserve Territory; that at first Cetywayo was a fugitive(meaning that he entered the Reserve as a fugitive), but that now he has assumed an attitude of hostility; and that the presence of an usutu force with him is a violation of the Native Reserve; that it is imperatively necessary to prevent him from establishing an independent position in the Reserve Territory." Ends

No33 Bulwer to Derby 21/8/83 p53

/Have telegraphed today that/ "the troops would mainly be required as a /53/
54 moral support for the purpose of reassuring the people in the Reserve as to our intentions, and for defence.

In the event of its becoming necessary to take further action, I would rely mainly on the natives if the very moderate expenditure required for that purpose were authorised." Ends

238 16894/N/83

C3864

No66 "Dulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl30

"nc5 Osborn to Bulwer 23/5/83

11/pungox
Encloses statements from various Zulu all to do with threats they have received from Zibhebu. Osb has sent messages to Z and Skwethsata telling them to stop their proceedings against the complaining parties. Has also informed Dunn of the allegations made against him and asked Z to release Siteku, and the Sigohla girls and compensate traders. pl36 Statement by Siyunguza, Regent of the Pongoza ~~tiwey~~ tribe, residing in the Reserve. "Sent friendly message to Z asking him to allow Siteku to return to his family living with Siyunguza's tribe. Z replied that Siyunguza was to ~~xxxx~~ hand over all the cattle of those members of his tribe living in Cet's territory and who took part in attacks on Z. If he did not Z would attack him. "Usibebu knows that the people of my tribe referred to are living in Cetywayo's territory, and that they were obliged to obey Cetywayo's orders, but that they did not wish to fight against Usibebu." Requests Osb's intervention - to gain time has told Z to send messenger to help him collect the cattle and has agreed to comply with Z's demands.

Statement by "Bejana, headman of Cwebekulu tribe in Cetywayo's territory.."
"Our tribe consists of two sections, the one is under me, and the other under Golozo. Both sections live together in one locality, and I speak for both" Sokwetshata, sent his messengers, Somagundu and Tungwana, to inform them of the attack. they came again with Dunn's messengers as well. Bothuayo and ~~Dagadaga~~ Dagadaga. At first the attack was kept off by handing

over cattle. 17 were sent but these were refused as insufficient and their cattle were seized and they were driven into the reeds. Sokwetshata's impi then moved to join Z and attack Somkele. Beofre ~~this~~ Sokwesthata had attacked the meadman Umdkosana but had stopped when the Res ~~xx~~ had forbideen it. / "Shortly after this however, I was told that John Dunn had sent to tell Sokwetyata that he was to take no notice of what you said about stopping fighting, you have all along talked and said they were not to fight, but there has been no good result, Sokwetyata was to perservere and go on."

Statement by "Johannes alias Fokazi, Kolwa" 22/8/83

/Lives at Empangeni Missions station near the Mangweni kraal in Cet's territoy
Four or five days ago an impi of Sokwetyata, saing that they were attacking for Zibehbu, who had been authrosied by the Govt through Dunn attackd and plundered a porition of Bejana's tribe. 4 killed, 1 of Bejana's and 3 of Gohloza's. Saw two of Dunn's policmaen there (one called Bangahiya) he latter said that they had been sent by Dunn to protect the kraals of Palana and the impi did nothing to them. The impi had two Dutch traders from ew Guelderalnd who have stores with Sokwetshata. After going to Z against Somkele the impi returened and resumed the attack -taking same of my cattle as well. It was said that it Sowektshata's intention to march agsint the ^{above} ~~xxxx~~ Biyela under the regent Somhlolo who reside hight on the Umhlatusi the wagon road

233

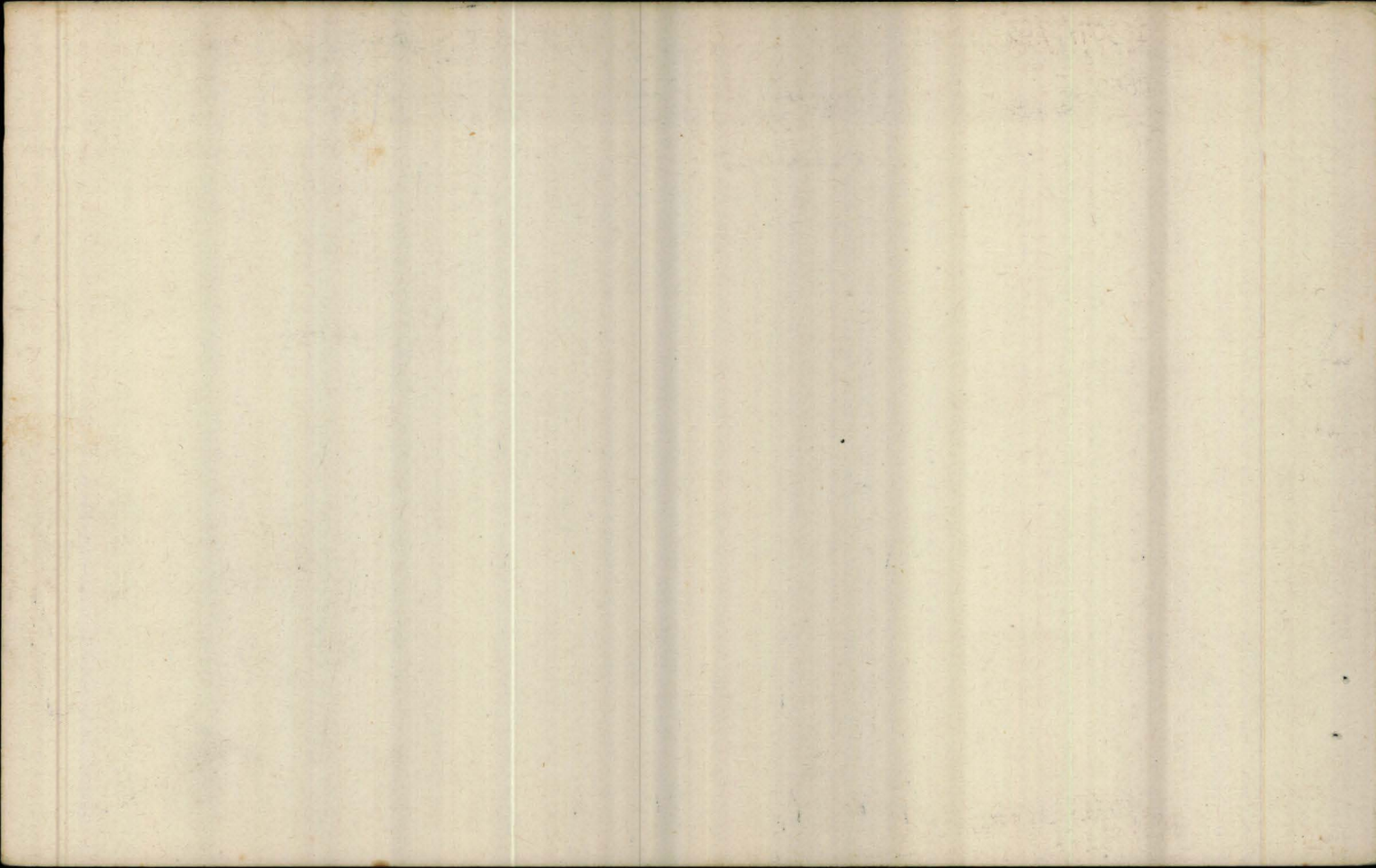
16307/N/83

C3864

No59 ulwer to Derby 27/8/83 plll

Celphus / beetles Obs

Tapog 126 (Xerox ~~perhaps~~ ✓)



GH 1402

237

Interrogation of J B Rathbone trader by Mag Umsinga division. 31/8/83

/Describes journey from Delgao Bay , where there is small paox , through Swaziland, where the corps are good and the people well fed to:-

the border near Kabula in Seketwayo's district where the Boers are Harassing the Usuthu taking and selling their cattle and cron and the people are sraving the Boers having taken their cattle and the uppoer part of Seketwayo's distcit.

GH 1402 H Shep reports that when intervieing messegners from Swazi king he states that both Cetshwayo and Zibhebhu have asked him for their adi 31/3/84

