

19423/N/83

C3864

Cet/Conson

Nol01 Bulwer to Derby 16/10/83 p217

/Covers 9 enclosures on events leading to C's comin in i Events of the 2nd week in October.

Last desp referred to Oftebro, and Hlbi's men who had gone to conduct Cet to Eshowe. Cet however repudiated Zeize's message. Grant, who is so much to blame for Cet's change of mind, came to see them and said that Cet was waiging for an answer to a letter wrttn by him on 20/9. there can be no answer to this letter and Res Comm has been told to tell Grant this and to warn him of the cons equences if he prevented Cet from coming. in.

Meanwhile Osb having received instructions of 4/10 sent Fynn to the Inkamla with the final message. He started on 10/10 abd oersyaded Cet to come in on 11/10 for Cet said he would leave on 13/10

Enc 1 Bulwer to Osborn Telegram 10/10/83

/Regarding Grant's statement to Oftebro the excuse of the letter cannot be accepted and second the excuse that ~~there~~ Cet thinks there is dnager of he goes in is discounted as Grant says we will bring him in. "It is not for us to request Mr. Grant to do anything, for he has no gusiness where he is, and, moreveover, it would seem that he is influencing Cetywayo not to come in. /Wants Grant as a British Subbect of his responsibilit if Cet does not come in/\_

Enc4 Osborn to Bulwer 10/10/83 p221 /Received desp of 4/10 Fynn has vlolunteered to go and started with amela a mule waggon (ambulance?) and a saddle horse for Ceshwayo, and a Basuto escort back again/\_

Enc8 Osborn to Bulwer 14/10/83 Telegram 5pm p223  
/has just heard that Fynn is coming in with Cet and will arrive tomorrow

Enc9 Officer Commanding Ululand to 06 PMN Extract 15/10/83 p223  
/Cet within four miles of camp with estimated 200 followers.

Enciii p219 (also GH687/48) Looks important doesn't seem to have been taken ,

Enciv (GH687/49) Fynn's offer to get Cet.

Encvii (GH687/50) Cet requests girls captured by Z



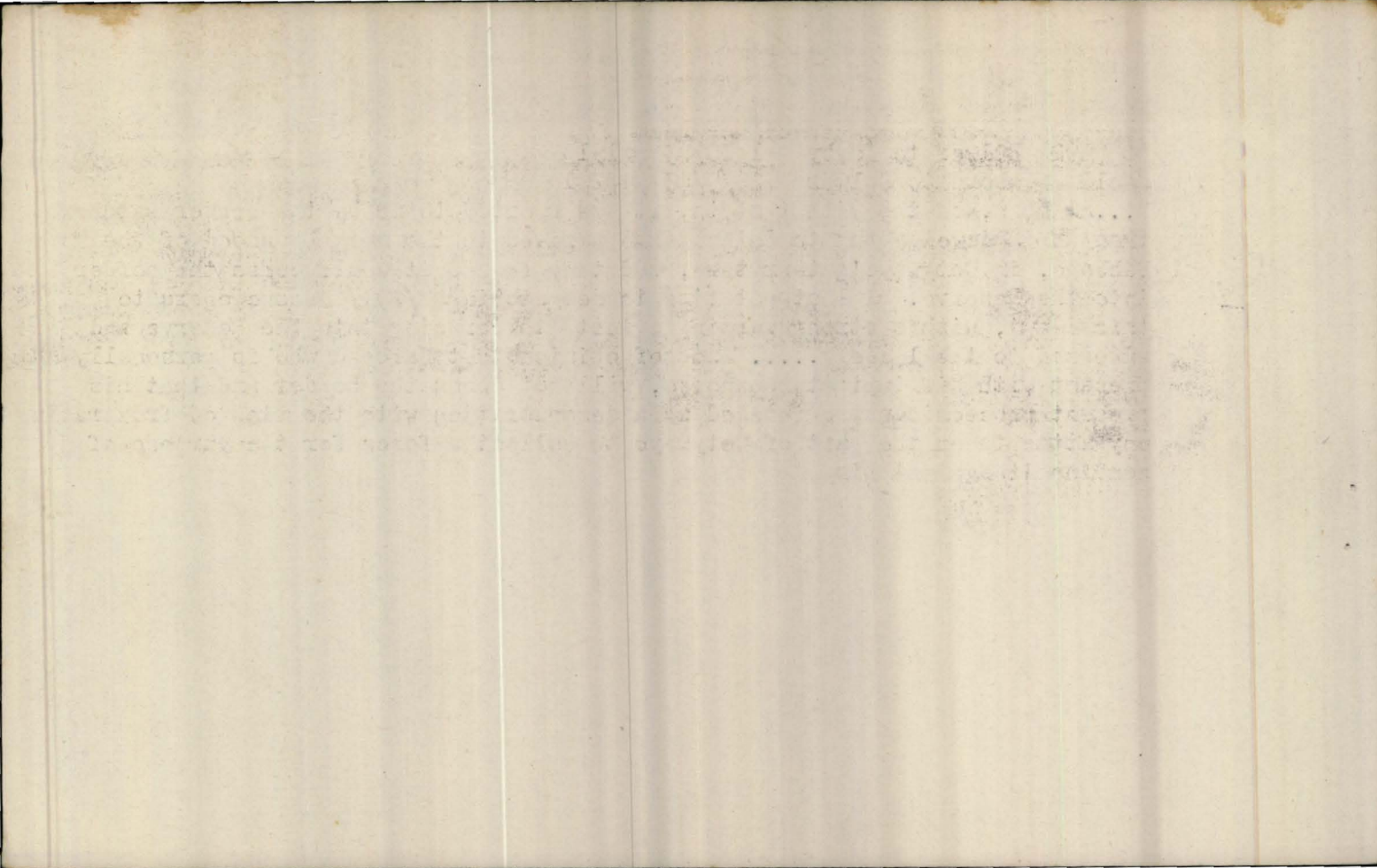
C3864

~~No 92 Osborn to Bulwer 26/9/83 p201~~

No 92 Bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 191

Encl0 Osborn to Bulwer 26/9/83 p201

"...at noon, on the 24th inst, it was reported to me by the border watchers that an impi belonging to Usibebu had arrived in the neighbourhood of the Babango, in Cetywayo's territory, and they feared it would cross the border into the Reserve. I lost not time in despatching /201/ Messengers to this impi, with a strong warning against its crossing into the Reserve and addressed to the leaders.....I am of opinion that Usibebu who is personally present with his impi at Babanongo, will not cross the border and that his present proceedings are intended as a demonstration with the view of frustrating any attempts on the part of Cetywayo to collect a force for the purpose of sending it against him

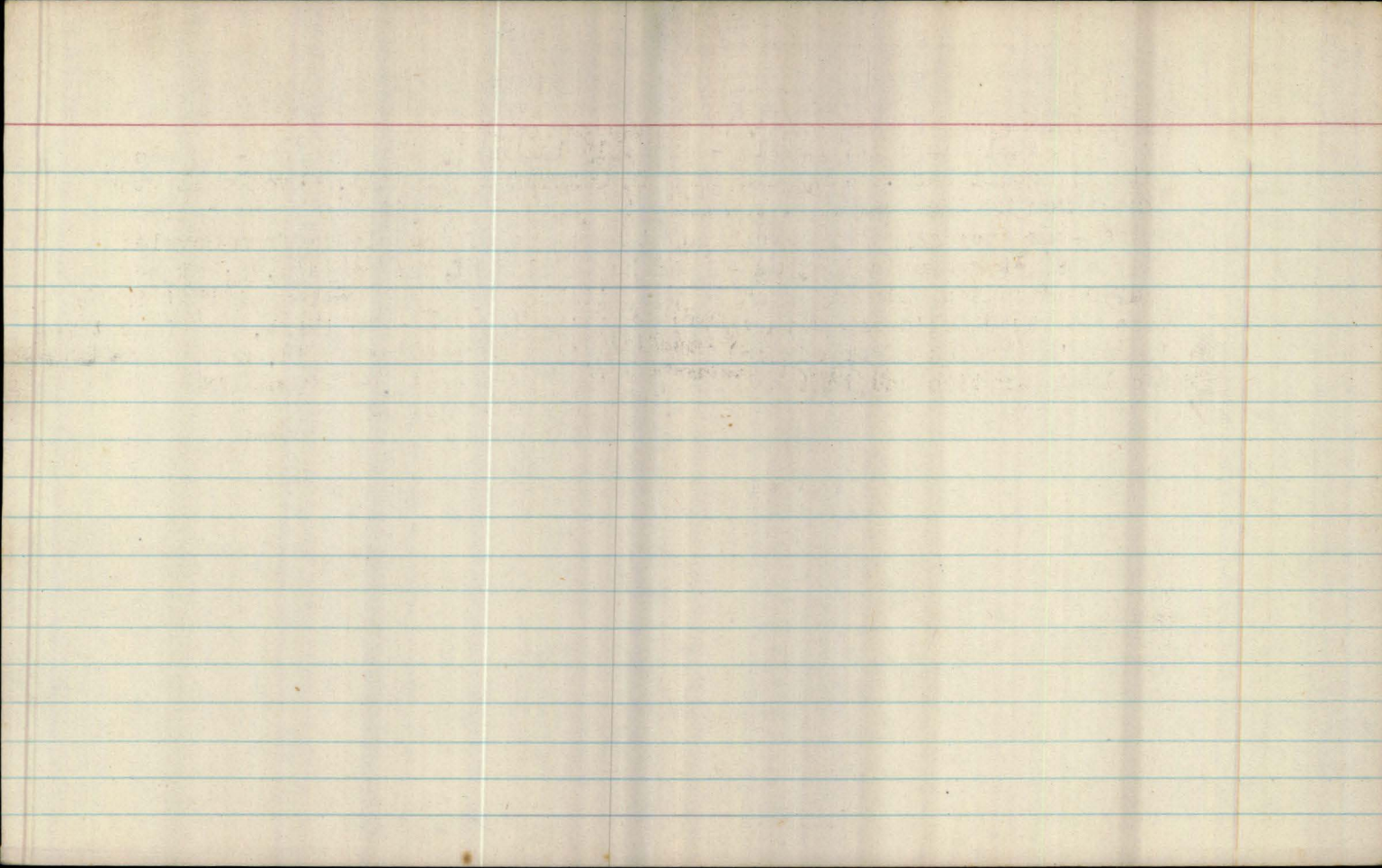


271.1

GH687

*17/11/83*  
/Statment by by Umcono 19/11/83 Seems to have been sent into Zululand  
by from Natal his chief Mawele - probably backed by the Res Mag - to see  
Cet and report back. They did this in October apparently. Eventually the  
pass through the guards su rounding t e area - in spite of being called  
spies - as they say they have brought messages of condolence from Mawele  
They see Getshwayo in the end - and he is glad of the message. That he  
had 90 compnaies with him when he was attakced by Z/ "We learnt that there  
were about 50 followers with the King at the time we were there, and that three  
'Inzila's (bodies of armed men) had come to him from the sutu, and  
Baqulusi parrties and that he had sent them away again."





19485/N/83

179/147

Schroeder

Minutes (nothing)

Bulwer to Derby confidential 16/10/83

Rev'd Messrs Weber, Kück and Stallborn to Bulwer 14/9/83

94686  
Coul

They have discovered ~~the Kyati~~ ~~the Kyati~~ from a Zulu with a shirt of Schroeder's that he got it from Umkosana's son. They were stolen when Schroeder was killed.

Umgamu of Hmau left some things of his at Schroeder's and after S's death they turned up at Untuswa's kraal - near Umkosna's kraal. Untuswa's

people had without doubt joined Umkosana's sons in robbing Mr Schroeder's property

Some days after the murder, Umapelu, Mksana's son and heir, came to Pemvane store and they had Schroeder's horse and other things and paid with

bloodstained money.. Umkosana and his sons are Cetshwayo's close adherents But no Zulu party would rob the property of a man who was

killed by their enemy party." and we are convinced that Umapelu and his party are the murderers."

Requests intervention - Mksana's son are now under British protection in the Reserve. Request secrecy for if Cet gets to know they will be in great danger.

Enc 2 Mr Windham to Weber 9/10/83

When things settle down in Zululand will investigate.





186  
ZA 39

Osborn to Bulwer 19/6/83 confidential

196  
/Acks bulwer's conf desp of 9/6 transmitting a letter from Fynn referring to a suggestion for the future discharge of duties of Br Res and requesting my opinion on the proposal.

The presence of the Br Res at Ulundi has not produced any good except in one respect. The Br's advice has not been sought or followed.

/ "This and the want of courtesy and consideration shown by Cetwayo his chief and people to the Resident and which he and they know well are due to the accredited agent of the Government are, in my opinion circumstances the gravity of which points clearly to the advisability of toht arrangements being made whereby the presence of a Tes with Cet might be dispensed with.

" / The only use the Res is is that it has saved the lives and property of such chiefs as Mfanawehelala Tshingwayo Sokwetshata who could not move at the time of Rest because of maturing crops, and have been prevented from moving by Cet as he has not kept his conditions / "C tywayo would not authorise any overt act involving their destruction so long as that officer remained near him and could testify the facts to the Government and thus seriously damage his chance of success with the petition he is making or is about to make to the Government for the restoration to him of the Reserved territory. I believe however that this restraining influence resulting from the presence with of the British ~~former~~ Resident will cease\* immediately his application for the restoration of this territory has been decided; the nature of the decision itself will not I am of opinion make any difference in this respect, for if it be adverse to him, the inducement that hitherto caused him to refrain from proceeding against those persons will in that case

no longer exist; and on the other hand, if his petition or application be granted they would thereby be thrown even more completely into his power.

" / This is the greatest obstacle to the removal of Cet /

"I am naturally unable to state with certainty whether or not the difficulty in regard to the chiefs and people mentioned could be removed by means of ordinary negotiation with Cetywayo, but I firmly believe that he will not heed any representation of the subject unless Y E will peremptorily insist upon his allowing all those who choose to leave his territory to do so unmolested in person and property - as he agreed to do by the terms and conditions of his restoration / / I think the case of these chiefs and people merits Y E's special consideration as the circumstances by which they were brought into their present unfortunate position arose through no fault of theirs but have resulted, directly from the fact of Cetywayo's restoration to Zululand."



19860/N/83

C3864

*Cet comes in / Reports*

271

Nol08 Bulwer to Derby 23/10/83 p227

Enc1 Osb to Bulwer 15/10/83 p229

/Telegram 2.30 pm Cet and Fynn arrived an horu ago and lodged in tents on O's premises / "I have spoken to him. All Well."

Enc2 Osb to Bulwer 15/10/83 p229

/Reports above in leeter / "hortly after Cetywayo's arrival I had a personal interview with him, at which eh informed me that he was fully aware that he held no authority whatever in the Reserve, and that he was hitherto prevented from coming to me by personal indispostion."

Enc3 Bulwer to Osborn 20/10/83 p230 Telegram

/Communciate as soon as pssible on what we should do with Cet and what we should do with his territory

Enc4 Fynn to Osborn 16/10/83 p230

/Report of trip to Cet. Left on 10/10 with two waggons and horses.


On 11th passed two of Cet's mounted messengers and told them to tell Cet of his appraoch. Passed krall of Lurungu where Cet's wives and children were and wated on the ~~xxxx~~ Mome neck on edge of Mome forest. Mfunzi and Grant met him here and they went with Mfunzi lading to meet Cet.

In the forest at llam Cet arrives with 70 young men and Ziweddu Ndabuko D'manzi, ~~Mahanana~~ Mahanana, Tshingana. Read them enclosed document.

Cet replied that he had all long said that Z would attack Ulundi, and when he fled Fynn had not sent to sympathise with him or sent to Z to recover his wives. Fynn replied that he had sympathised and taken care of his wives and children, and he was sympathising with him now for he had come to save him from getting into serious trouble.



Cet said that he was not in the Reserve in defiance ~~but~~ of Osborn but under his protection. Fynn said he would not argue but came for one of two answers. Would Cet stay or come. Cet said he first wanted Osb to remove Zibebhu and allow Cet to get Ntuzwa and <sup>M</sup>nyamana and others from the Ngome and accompnay him and he was waiting for replies from the Govt of Grant's letter. Fynn said that he spoke firmly but not angrily he must answer the two question. "I saw that he now yielded. He turned to Mfunzi to speak, who very impressively urged Cetywayo to yield to my call and Mgai ~~and~~ supported Mfunzi" /Fynn let them talk it over. Sonn Mfunzi said Cet said he would leave the next day. Fynn gave Cet a horse to come in on and Cet gave the escort two oxen 12/10 Cet ~~asked~~ said he had heard of his goodness to his wives and knew Fynn grieved for him. He wanted to be accompanied by some of his own people and wanted them to be armed. Fynn refused. / "I alone must be his shield to guard him from all harm that might befall him on the way to Etshowe; but if he took a number of people, and they armed, it would be diminishing me as his shield; it ~~it~~ would be like cutting ~~an~~ off a large strip all round a large shield, and give him less protection, and greater temptations to any evil which might come in our way; a few of his personal adherents might accompany him. 13/10 met Cet /232/ and proceeded and while sheltering from a thunder storm Cet asked again for an armed guard of his people but when we started an ever increasing number of them followed but later he obeyed and the people rid of their arms. Arrived on 15/10 about noon. /



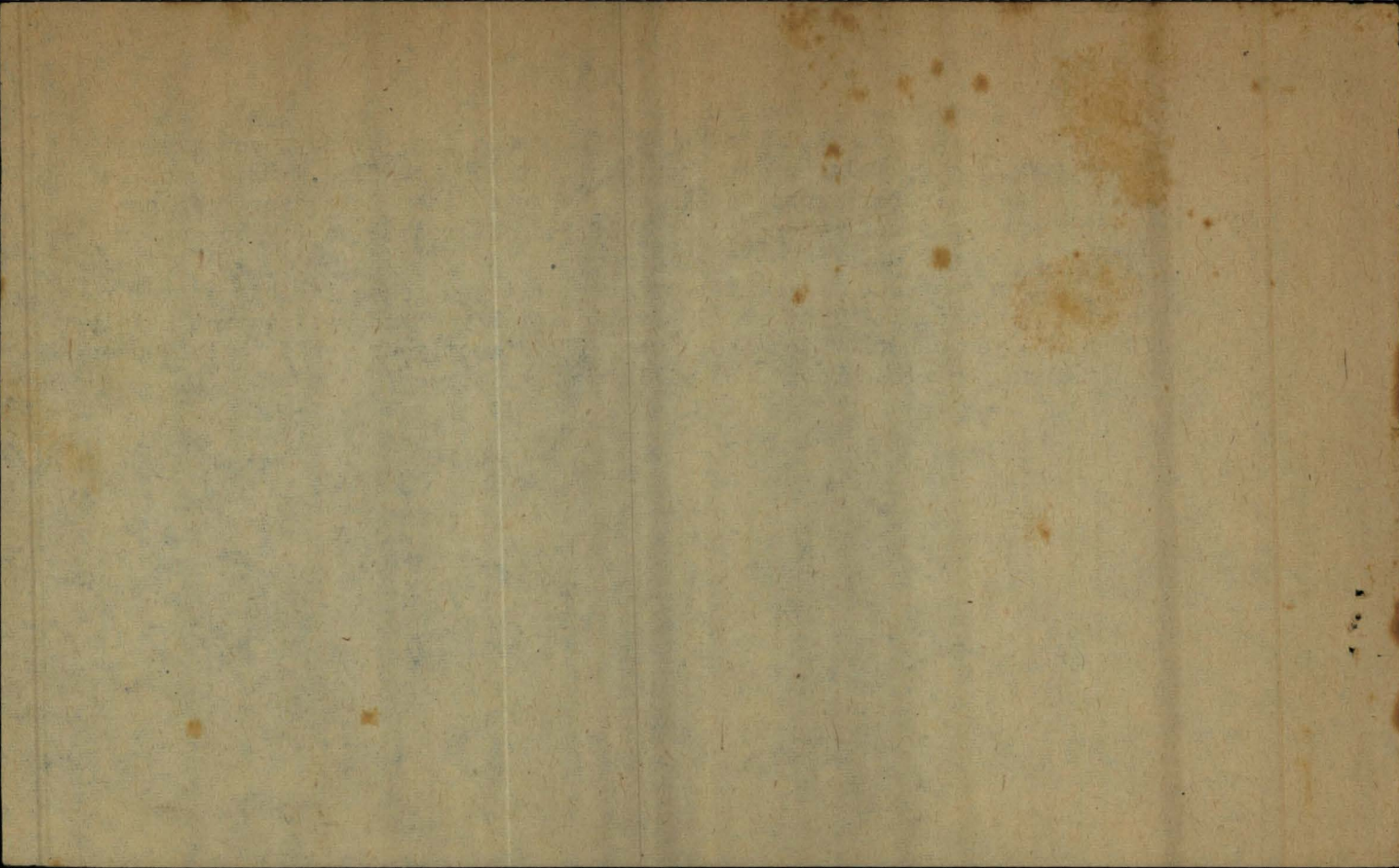
Fynn's message to Cethswayo a translation p232 paraphrased)

/ I have come to you child of Mpande because the <sup>ov</sup> says you are not reveriencying the ruler of the country to which you fled. He has called you and you have not gone to him and because ther is a case resting agisnt you I had sorrow on your behalf and offered to go to you as you probably did not understnad <sup>the heaviness</sup> the message .

Osbron says you must enter under armpit and recongise him as ruler he calls you for the last and I have to fetch you and well escrot safely At Ehsowe you can speak to sborn who will direct your words to the Queen

If you do nto consent you will taken by force\_/\_







17004

Reserve Always Intelligible: Bulwer on Sit & Reserve  
& troops?

v34

C3864/Nx/83x

No40 Bulwer to Derby (29/8/93 p74

/Reported today by telegram/ "...the situation in that country is this; that Cetywayo, together with his brothers and an sutu force, is in some broken country in the Reserve Territory, and that numbers of his people who took refuge in the Reserve after the 21st ultimo are there also; that Cetywayo's country is without a ruler, but that Mr Fynn has remained there to do what he can to help to keep order; that U<sup>U</sup>siwebu, in spite of the representations of the Government, has attacked Somkele and has taken some cattle; that apparently it is the object of Cetywayo to establish an independent and strong position in the Reserve territory, to make it his base of operations as regards the rest of the Zulu country, and to constrain us to abandon the Reserve; that his attitude is defiant, he having refused to receive a messenger from Mr. Osborn, or to come to the latter; that it is necessary to maintain our authority in the Reserve territory, or else we shall lose it; that I have instructed the Resident Commissioner to desire Cetywayo by message to disperse his sutu force, and, as he is in the Reserve, to put himself under the protection of the Resident Commissioner; that, if the answer should be a refusal, I intend despatching another messenger direct from myself with a firm and yet friendly communication to him to require, and, if it is possible, to persuade him to comply; and that meanwhile I would propose sending about six hundred men to Etshwoe, and perhaps two hundred more to the district formerly under Hlubi; that I should not use these troops for any military operation, but solely to afford a moral support; that, if then it should become necessary

to resort to active measures, the Resident Commissioner would act with the "tives of the Reserve; that he, the Resident Commissioner, ~~youix~~ had informed me that he was r ady to do this immediatley, and had urged that the troops should at once be sent into the Reserve; but that I have directed him to avoid a resort to force until it is clear that no other course is possible, and until this course (a resrot to force) shall have been sanctioned by HMG.

I have added that four hundren men have been sent to the border, and I have asked whether, in the event of everything else failing, HMG will approve of my resorting to action in the Reserve, using Natives for that prupose. "here appears to me, I have said, nothing else that can be done if C tywayo will not pay attention to us, but that I should wish to recieve your Lordship's instructions in the matter."

B { Confidential portion we shall lose "that if we use force - (but this I said confidentially) - there was the danger of Cetywayo making his escae to the Transvaal and of the people there using him for their own purposes; that to go to the Transvaal, was, I though already in his mind and would therefore necessiatate the employment of expecial precautionary measures; that I have instructed...."



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17523/N/83

C3864

No81 Bulwer to Derby 17/9/83 164

Enc3 Osb to Bulwer 7/9/83 pl66

/Messenger returned yesterday, ment aremd usutu on their way and the usuthu attitudede was defian and insolent. the men of the force are quartted at the neighbouring kraals of Signananda, ~~Q~~ Qetuka, and Lurugu /

Statement by Nozithina and Unguna 6/9/83 pl66

/Ndabuko, Siwetu and Maranana and othe headmen refused to let them see Cethswayo but would deliever the message. After a day they were conducited by Magedama and Umbulawa to the bwer kraal, of ~~Q~~ Ncapai (Ncapai in ?) whe re Undugunya a 'usuthu' headmen came back with Cet's reply.

/He said that he had no force with him, tho' is would be right for him to collect one to guard against Z who attacked him under Fynn's nose. He says he has not come here to dispute the possession of this Teriitory with Res Comm and he would like to know the person who said that he had said that he claimed the Reserve after he comae into it. He knows he said that he claimed it before 21/7 but would like to know the name of the one who said that he claimed after that. this was his onlu answer.

/Cetshwayo then asked question, through Ndugunya. Had Siyunguza sent Baleni to seize cattle from those of his tribe living in his ~~territory~~ (Lunguza's?) ~~territory~~ (Cet's?) territory. Was it true that Umgijwa was taking cattle form the Bujela\* tribe for Zibhebhu.

then Ndabuko, iwetu, Maranana, and the "sutu heamdnen, Magedama, Mb<sup>l</sup>alwa, Ndugunya, Hlekizana, Mgazi, Ncapai, and others said that the Gov's message was 'a calamity' to them. People coming to see Cet were disramed, Cet was not to call upon Reserve people for cattle, Mnaymana and Somkele

were told to sit still and were then eaten up by Z. The Res Comm did not help get the Sigohla girls back. / "All these things mean calamity to us."

they asked who informed the Gov of matters in the Res and the messengers said it was not their business and they did not know. / "they then said 'All these things tend to drive Cetywayo,' but they did not say where to.

Ncapai said to us in presence and hearing of all, that they had told us only certain things, but there were other matters which they did not mention to us. This he repeated three times.

Magedama told us afterwards that it would now be best that Cetywayo should go to England and remain with the Queen." ands

Enc4 Statement of two messengers from the Nkandhla pl67

Heard at Mafand's kraal that Cet was ordering supplies of corn from Godeide, Tobolongwana, and Zetuka, say armed men of Sigananda. Headman Faku complained of Cet's presence and D'manzi just arrived from Natal said the Gov had given Cet permission to build in the Nkandhla.

We heard that Bogojwana, sent by Cet to the Boers, had reuned with Tyanibezwe, Mnyamana's principal son / "that the Boers sent word they would not come to fetch Cetywayo at Nkandhla, but they would meet him on his way to them. Heard from usutu that D'manzi was recommending a massacre of all those who opposed Cetshwayo and Cet did no comment beyond saying that /168/ that was how he won at Ndondakusuka. These men - the messengers are spies - and their identity is not known to the usutu.

"We saw at the kraals of Lurungu and Matambu, and at two kraals of Umbangu, a large number of armed usutu men... We hear that the usutu were at first doubtful and uncertain, but since D'manzi returned from Natal ~~they have~~, things have changed with them. They are now full

get rid of  
him - bring  
in the Boers

GH686



of confidence and very insolent to tohers;  
they feel strong in their position  
because of the words D'manzi said he br  
ought from the Government to Cetywayo.  
We heard the usutu say that this terr  
itory belonged to man, and they would  
never allow anone who is not descended  
from Jama to govern it, the <sup>U</sup>sutu say  
openly that the overnor, Mr John hepstone  
and <sup>M</sup>r osborn are Cetywayo's great enemies,  
who seek to kill him. /<sup>H</sup>heard two usutu  
say that Fynn should be killed and the  
soldiers are here to attack Zibhbhu .  
the peope in the Nkandhla to the Qudeni  
sleep in th hills. Umqundane is in  
the reserve with <sup>M</sup>athsna ka Sityakuza /

of our interest and very important to them;  
and feel strong in their position.  
Two of the words I want to say  
about from the Government to the  
people, the main is that in the  
time, I thought for many, many years  
never allow more and is not associated  
from me to give it, the main  
originally that the Government, the main  
and I thought to give a year or two  
who, I think, I think, I think  
any that I think, I think, I think  
solidity and to think, I think  
the two, I think, I think, I think  
step in the life, I think, I think  
the main, I think, I think, I think

20097

179/148 (Drafts printed in 3864)

"Mr Bramston I annex prints of the previous telegrams. Unless Cetwayo is definitely & permanently removed from Zululand there appears to be no hope of peace. If that were done the usutu party would probably collapse. But an extension of British control & protection is, I think, inevitable - if not immediately, at no very distant date. AWLH 28/11 "the best way to make progress with this question is to decide what can & what cannot be done with Cetwayo personally.

We cannot put him back or help him back into Zululand: because we should ~~have~~ have to support him there.

We cannot put him ~~back~~ into Natal against the will of the Colonists; nor into the Cape Colony, if they will have him! or beyond seas against his own will.

We can keep him in the Reserve, where he now is taken sufficient precautions to prevent him from causing trouble & danger within & without the Reserve - as long as he is willing to stay there; and? perhaps longer.

We can tell him that we will not help him back to Zululand or relax our control with him while he is in the Reserve and ask him if he wishes to elsewhere, out of Africa.

xxixixixixix Is it not the only clear & safe course to decline to favour any claims to the chief authority in Zululand and simply to maintain the peace of the Reserve? The question what is to be done to keep the Transvaal Boers out of Zululand is another - & a difficult one." RLWH 28/11 "He must be left in the Reserve - not as a prisoner but under strict surveillance to prevent his organizing or gathering his followers. He should not be



allowed to reside too near the frontier; and he should know that if he ~~live~~<sup>leaves</sup> the Reserve to make a foray into Zululand his cattle &c would be driven after him to follow him and he very probably would be prevented coming back again into the Reserve. This will, I think, keep him comparatively quiet. But he is very much in the way - only I don't see how it can be helped. E A 28/11

I don't either: if there is another Cabinet the matter might be discussed there. D 28/11

"Draft telegram herewith on 20/11 on verbal instructions. EL<sup>1</sup>WH 6/12

Substance of Tel from Bulwer 27/11 /<sup>R</sup>reports on feeling of Zulu and strength of parties /

Substance of tel to Bulwer 6/12 /<sup>A</sup>Asks what he recommends as to order in Reserve C<sub>e</sub> tywayo remaining.

299

21251/N/83

179/149

*Future Govt*

/No sign of telegram - the man who went through destroying papers couldn't find it -/

Minutes "Sir H<sup>D</sup> Pulver repeats the suggestions which, he has been told, are inadmissible, & does not propose any fresh course which appears likely to succeed. /para/ He appears to lean to the proclamation of Cetywayo's son as King, Cetywayo being removed out of the country.

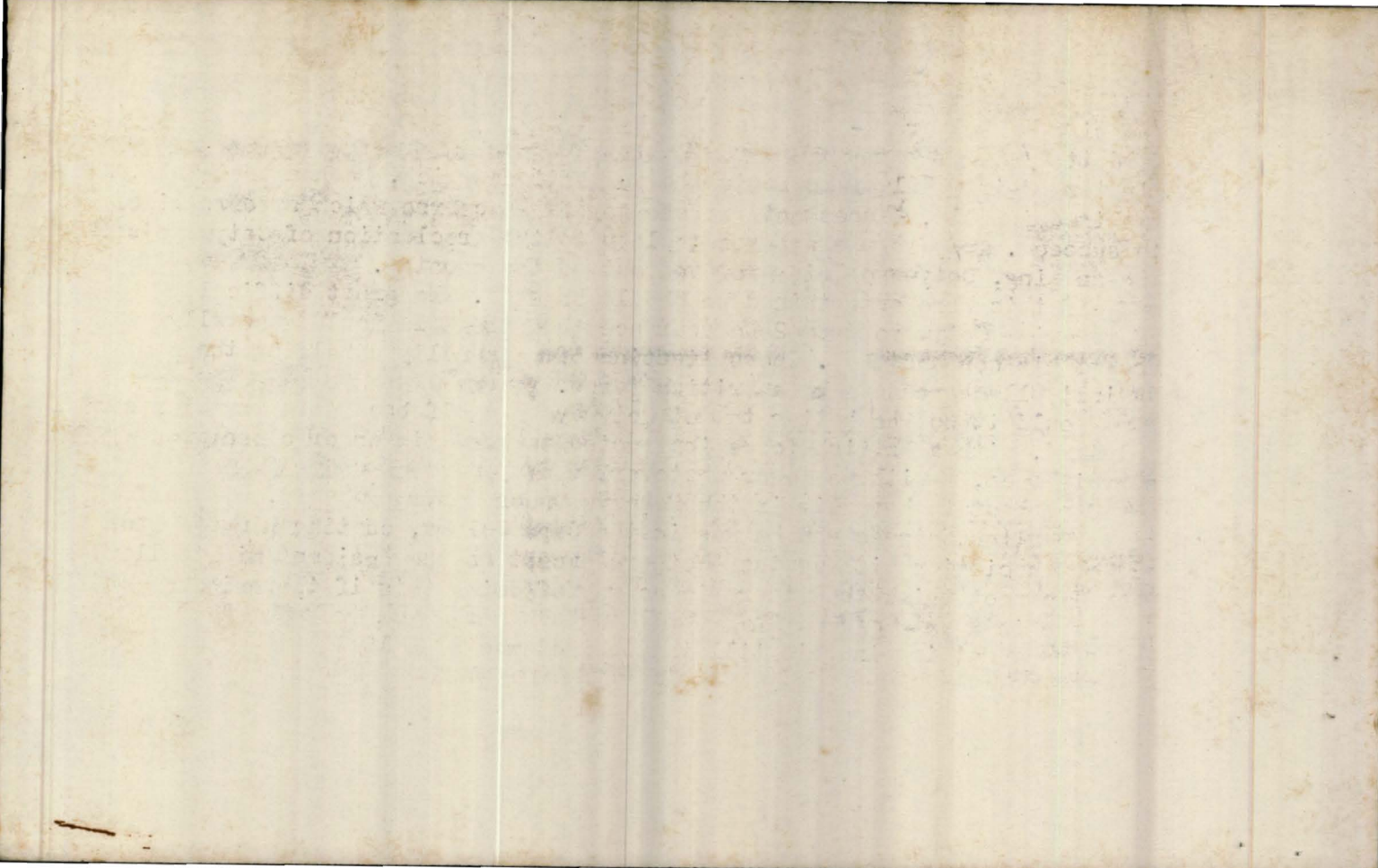
If this were entertained we should have 1. The great difficulty of removing Cetywayo 2 No assurance that the Zulu would generally accept his son and 3. The obligation of permanently upholding the son against all aggressors by a British force.

Could it not be better to put Cetywayo himself back into ~~central~~ central Zululand, with a British force instructed to keep him under close surveillance, & with no power whatever?

And best to keep him in the Reserve under a strong guard, with a few wives & attendants as when he was in the Cape Colony, cutting him off from all communication with us & others except as the Resident might allow?

I cannot think that there is no way of doing this if there is if there is a *way*. RLMH

/I can do nothing in this till the Cabinet meets D 18/12





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21319/N/83

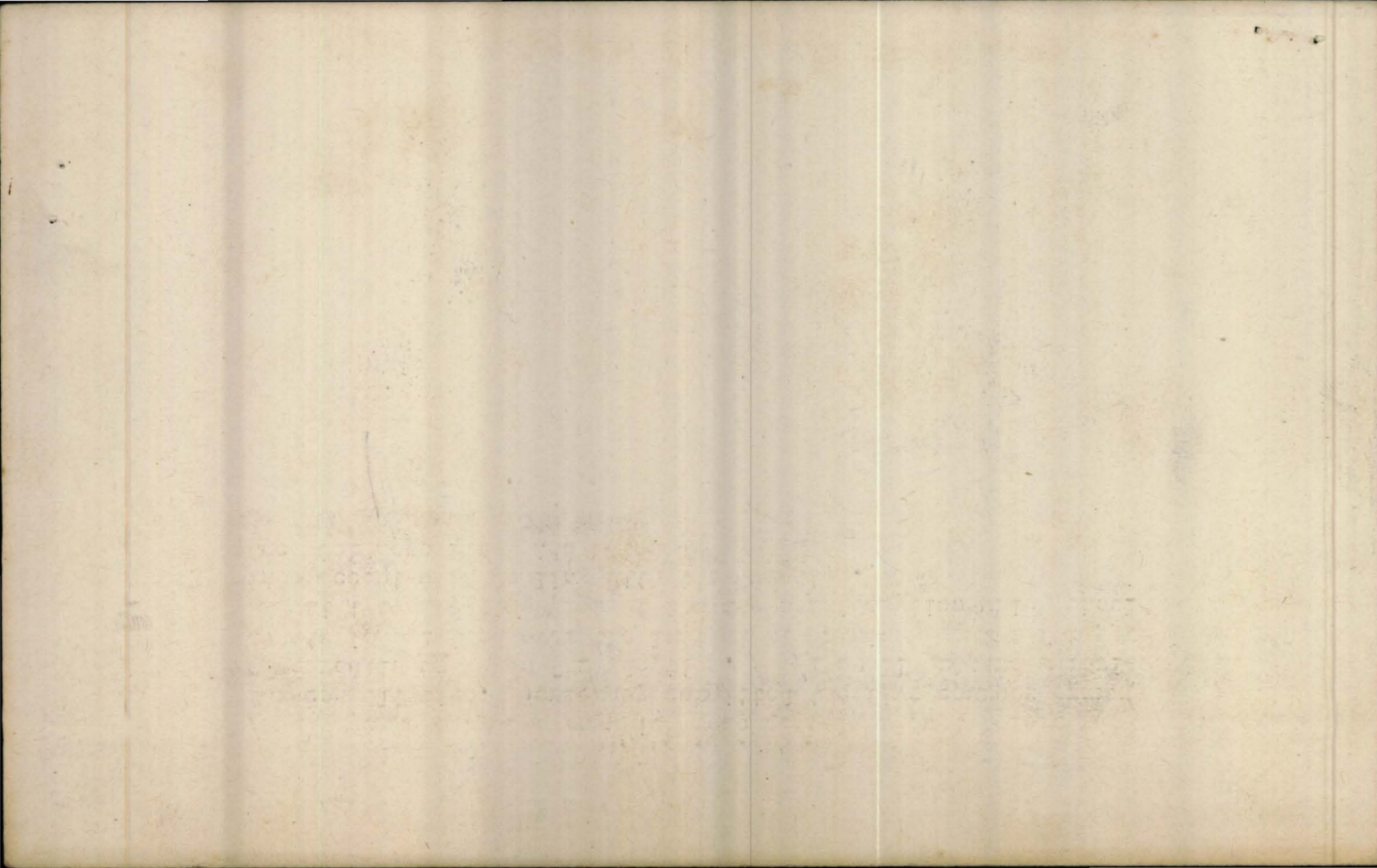
C3864

Future Fort

Nol34 Bulwer to Derby 17/11/83 p264

<sup>10</sup>Encloses Memo by Osborn which reached Bulwer just before his arrival for consultation. Yesterday submitted the five courses ~~open~~(nol02) which appeared to us open for adoption. / /I shall ~~pre~~pare a review of the evnets in Zululand over the last eight or nine months for your information and at the same time presnet the the consideration which should be taken into accout when dealing with the Question.

Enc Osb Repperts Add Notes



292  
21321/N/83

179/146

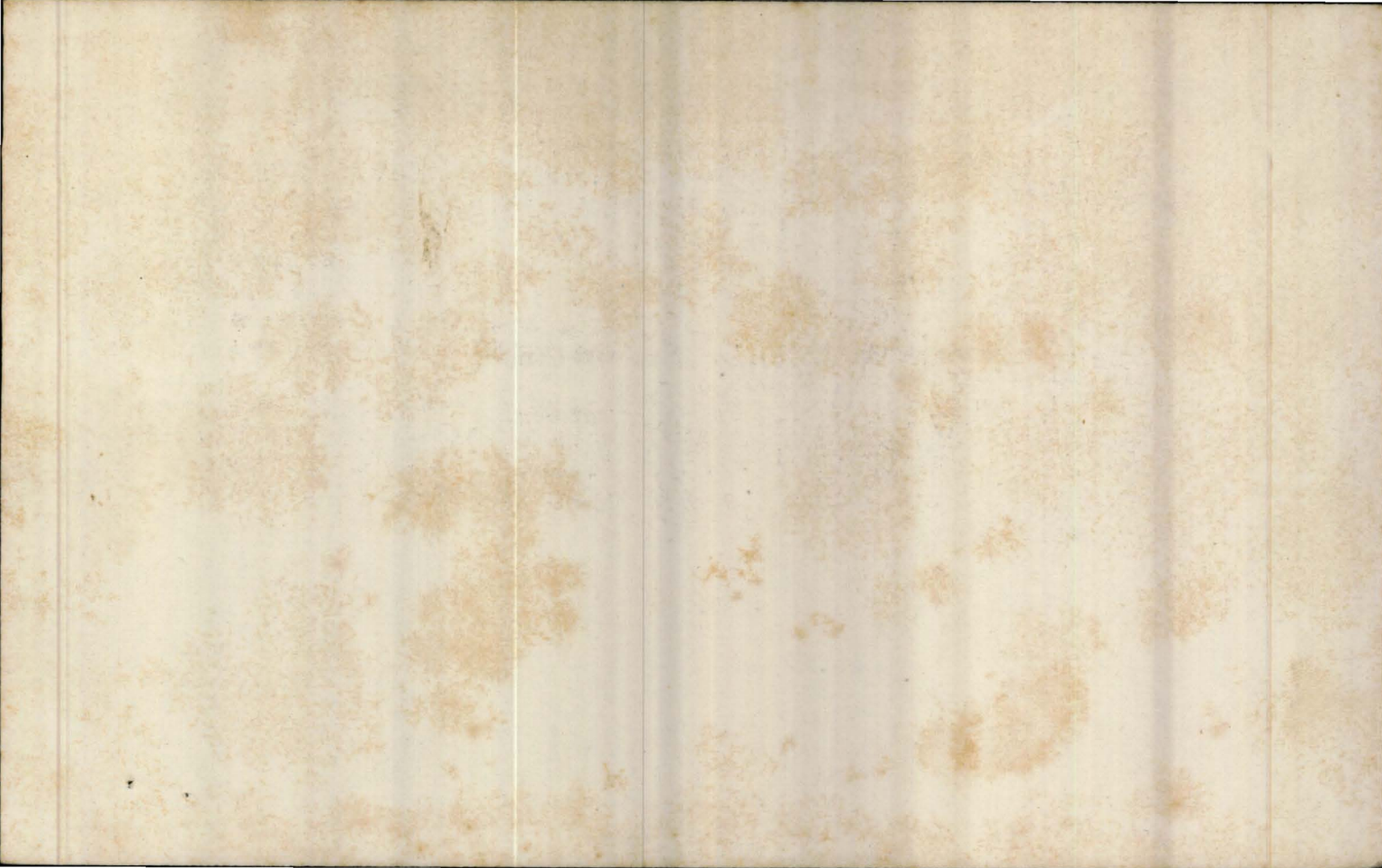
Minutes (Desp removed and reprinted in 3864)

"Mr Branston A terrible state of confusion & anarchy" AWLH 20/12

"This pretty well accounts for Cetewayo's presence in the Reserve preventing matters from settling down: - As to the communications which go on from Cetewayo to persons in Zululand I should have thought that Sir H Bulwer and Mr Fynn could manage to stop them. Anyhow Cetyewayo should be told that he will be removed & to the Cape if he is detected in sending orders to Zululand or about the Reserve. I am not sanguine that anything short of this will solve the difficulty.

But then we should (as Sir H Bulwer does) be treating Cetewayo as a prisoner - while technically I suppose he is not - But before Parliament meets it wd be convenient if we could settle whether we consider him a prisoner or only a refugee. E A 24/12 /No comment from Derby/





19861/N/83

179/148

*Bray*

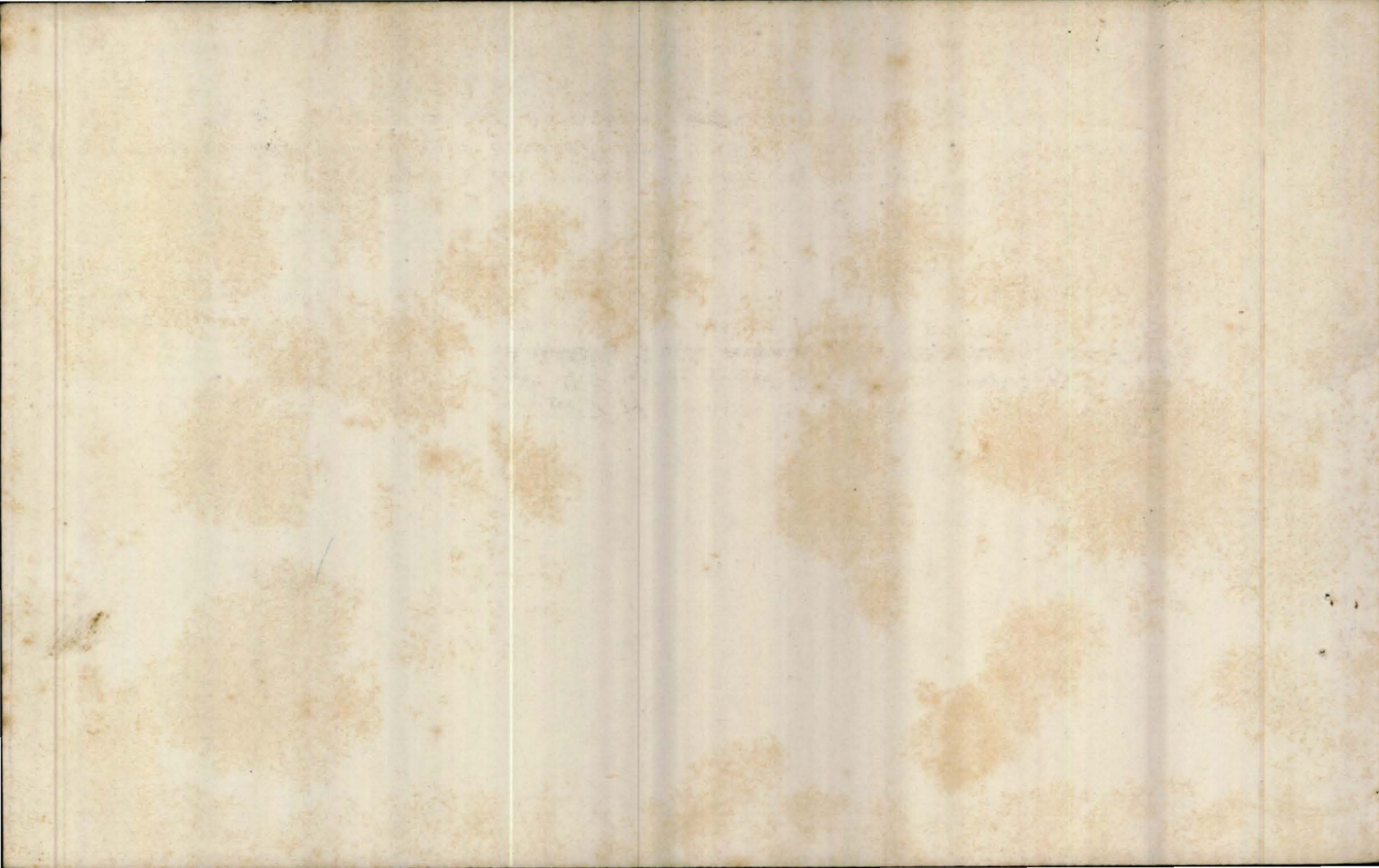
Mintues (Secret teleg of Bulwer's not printed but reply is in 3864)

"The last para, about the Transvaal is ominous; but if an understanding about boundaries is come to with the delegares, Usbebu might be left to take the ~~reserve~~ - if he can. JB 23/11

"this does not directly answer Lord Derby's telegram of the 20th and I fail to gather what Sir H. Bulwer means or recommends.

I think it will be necessary to reply that HMG do not propose to declare that Cetwayo, or his son, or any chief may make himself ruler in Zululand

beyond the reserve, and desire Sir H Bulwer to say whether under such a course Cetwayo can remain where he is and under what arrangements. RL WH 23/11  
Lord Derby has seen this. I instruct / a draft telegram on verbal instructions.





376/N/83-4

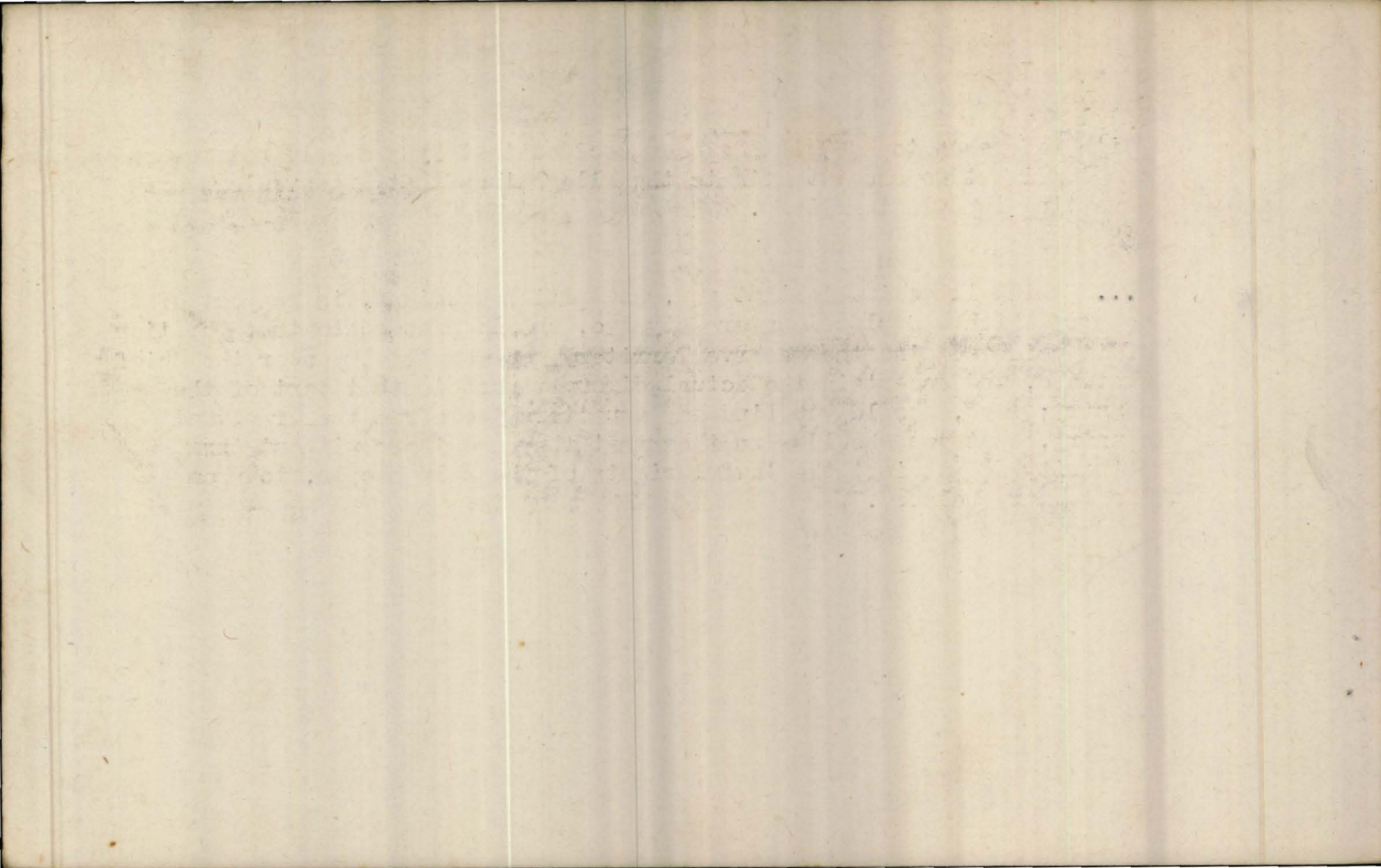
C3864

No151 Bulwer to Derby 6/12/83 p292

/With reference to No97 it has been decided that Fynn should not return to Ulundi but go and investigate the allegations that Transvaalers are squatting in Zulu territory./

Enc Bulwer to Fynn 30/11/83 p293

"...I think it desirable that you, as British Resdient, in respect of the country which was placed under Cetywayo, should proceed to that porition of it which adjoins the Reserve Territory and was lately under the Chief Sketwayo, and ascertain the actual circumstances in that part of the country; and, should you find any aquatters therefrom the Transvaal country, that you should warn them that they are there without ~~the~~ authority and atainst the lawful rights af the Zulu people, to whom the country belongs."



30v

21688/N/83  
C386420097/N/83 *Future Sort*

No109 Bulwer to Derby 22/11/83 p236

[In reply to 104 had today telegraphed you that Osb says / "there can be no doubt whatever of Uisbebu's acquiescence should the fifth alternative course be adopted" / With ref to no 106 / "there is at present no rule in the territory placed under Cetywayo, that all awaits our action; that usibebe has not claimed the rule of that territory, although he is said to have declared that he will not allow Cetywayo to return here. I have added that if we desire Cetywayo to return we must ourselves send him back, and, on the other hand, that if we agree to Usibebe becoming the ruler, we must tell him, but that the usutu part is strong, and that usibebe could not establish himself without a resort to force, and perhaps not without a struggle."

No110 Derby to Bulwer 24/11/83 p236

[Today telegraphed you asking / "whether it was not possible to ascertain what ruler would be most acceptable to the Zulus outside the Reserve, as they were the persons principally interested, and there were no menas in this country of knowing what party was the strongest."

No111 Bulwer to Derby 27/11/83 p236 20097/N/83

[Reply to above today telegraphed you / "that the Zulu people are not accustomed to select their rulers, and would not dare to 237/ any preference, fearing the consequences of their doing so, but that there is little doubt that generally they would wish to come under British rule, so that they might have peace and good order. I have further informed

21734 O-B  
21/11/83 Tele. Est.  
[Certain I will  
acquiesce & will  
be satisfied to  
know that a Res  
with D. will  
check aggression]

As above - 26/11.  
[Outside Res.  
as far as I can  
judge 1/2 wd. like  
to be under Act  
1/2 not



your Lorship that there are two parties in Zululand; that one is the  
Usutuparty, and that the other includes all persons who are opposed to,  
or are not ~~xx~~ favourable to, that party; that neither party is strong  
enough\* to establish itself without a struggle, which might be prolonged,  
and of which the result would be doubtful, and that the ~~sutus~~ are  
stronger accidentally than really\*, because they have on their side  
dynastic prestige, i.e. the prestige attached to the position of Cetywayo,  
who is the head of the party, as the successor of Chaka, and because of the  
uncertainty of Cetywayo's future, i.e. the uncertainty in the minds of  
the people as whether he will not be maintained by the Government as  
their ruler, whom, therefore, they must for their own safety's sake obey."

44687 /Paraphrases of telgs from Berby to Bulwer. /for ~~dates of letters~~  
~~xxxxindex~~ 16/11/87 17/11: replying to yours of 16/11 says said  
that extension of the Reserve impossible. What security would there be for  
Z's acquiescence if the fifth course were adopted. 20/11 Restoration  
of Cet by British troops not desirable and desire Zulu outside Reserve to settle  
their own affairs. I Z stong to hold his own. 24/11 What ruler would be most  
acceptable to the Zulu outside the Reserve - we do not know here what party  
is stongest. 6/12 "Zulus should decide the question of their sovereignty  
for thesmelves./

*C.O. on future policy*

21688/II/83

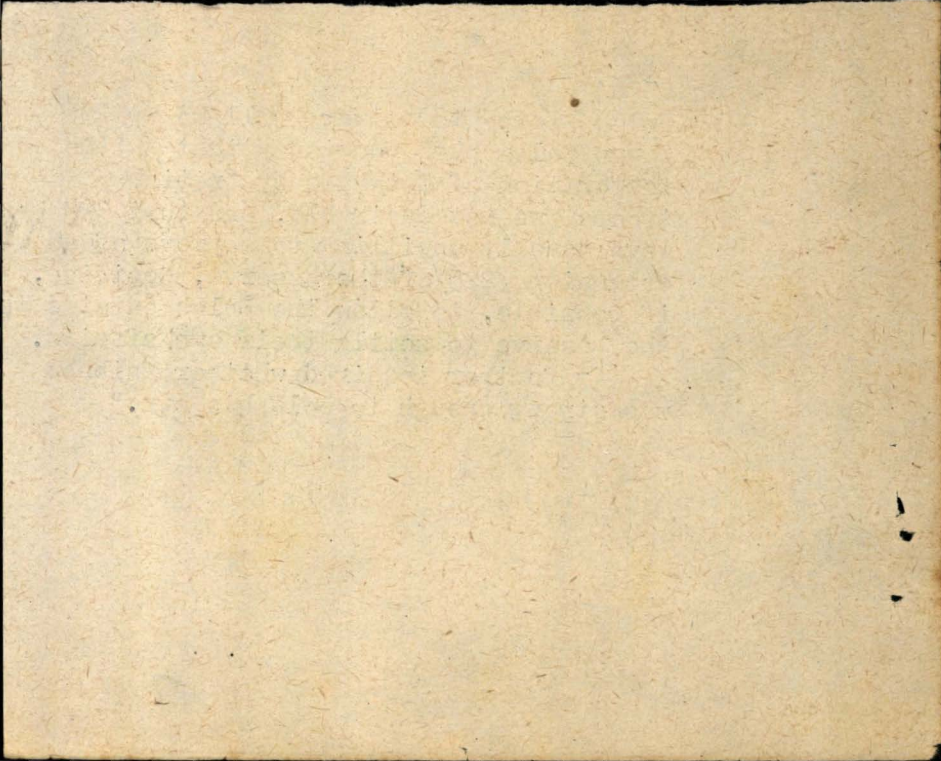
179/148

Minutes (desp reprinted as 107a in 3864

"Remove Cetewayo to Cape- as a disturbing element making all settlement impossible. His presenece in the Reserve or in Natl or in the Transvaaal fatal to peace and he himself declines to return into Zululand prooper - being naturally afraid to do so. then having removed Cetewayo adopt plan No.5 whereby Usibepu no doubt as the conqueror recieves a needful accession of territory necessary to enalbe him to hold the "sutu party in chec"- ~~But Cetewayo is not~~ not Cetewayo. and /3/ will get the son to rule over them which presumably they would desire: and we shall postpone for a time at least the extension of our "eserve territory. This is a solution which, I think, could be fairly defended if attacked. We should send the son escorted by troops as Cetewayo did but only authorize his taking /2/ the sovereignty. E A 29/12







C3864

No106 Derby to Bulwer 20/11/83 p225

Have telegraphed you today that "the restoration of Cetuywayo by British troops was not desirable, and that HMG were equally unwilling to approve of an extension /225/ of the Reserve, desiring, if possible, to allow the Zulus outside the Reserve to settle their own affairs.

I further inquired whether Umsibebu was strong enough to hold his own."

304  
C3864

Nol23 Derby to Bulwer 6/12/83 p245

/ I telegraphed you today today / " that it appeared to me that the removal of Cethwayo from the Reserve was impracticable, and that it was very desirable that the Zulus should decide the question of their sovereignty ~~thex~~ for themselves.

I also inquired what measures you would recommend for maintaining order in the Reserve and preventing the presence of Cetywayo there from exercising a disturbing influence on the minds of the natives."





305  
21108/N/83

179/150

Sir H Robinson to C014/12/83

"Sir H Robinson states clearly his opinion that this country should commit itself to the extensive undertaking of keeping the Transvaal people within their borders and of protecting adjacent natives from them.

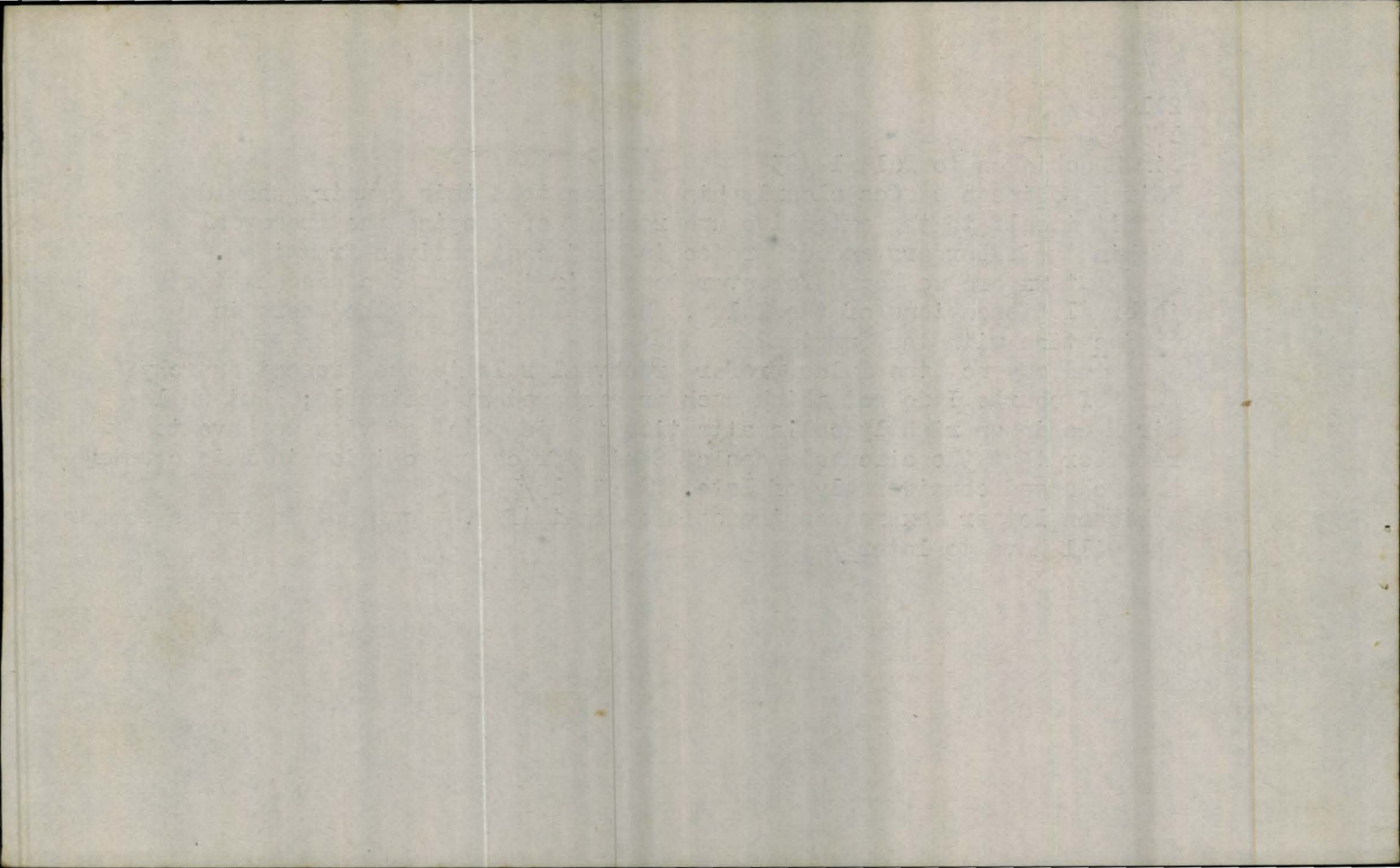
But ~~we~~ are we bound for ever to repair the damage caused by the internal dissensions of the Zulus, who could keep out the Boers in conjunction with the Swazies?

and may not the Zulus prefer Transvaal rule to the present anarchy?

Of course I do not think such an arrangement desirable; but while Sir H Robinson mightly calls attention to his point of view we have to remember that the circumstances of South Africa and opinion in this country have changed considerably of late. RGWH 15/2

Robinson letter expresses the opinion that if H,G does not intervene sooner she will have to later\_

(M)





*Bulwer Apper for Unesur*

C3864

Nol32 Bulwer to Derby 16/12/83 p263

/Telegraphed you today in reply to your telg of 6/12 Nol23 that\_/  
with reference

(1) If the question of the future sovereignty of the country is left to the Zulu people to decide, the result if fear, will be a prolonged anarchy, and a condition of serious civil war. \* . . \*

(2) Mr. Osborn states that if Cetywayo is left in the Reserve, it will be impossible to maintain order verly long, and I cannot see any practicable means of doing this. Cetywayo's presence in the Reserve is incompatible with the peace of the country. Some of the chiefs and headmen near Etshowe, accompanied by eight hundred followers, have been to Mr. Osborn, and have openly protested /263/ against Cetywayo's presence in the Reserve. Mr. Osborn reg rds this protest as a serious warning, and urges Cetywayo's immediate removal. It would not be reasonable that we should keep Cetywayo under our protection to direct the usutu party; on the ohter hand it is impossible to prevent him intriguing; and hence we shall become compormised by his intrigues, and also by the exasperation provoked on the other side by these intrigues. Consequently, if Cetywayo is not removed, it will be necessary to withdraw our protection from and leave him to take his chance, although if we do this he may perhaps excape to the Transvaal.

(3) For the sake of the Zulu people themselves, and for the sake of peace, I would asy, let us take over the country and bring it under our rule; but, if HMG will not agree to this, not to the extnetion of the Reserve, then

the fifth course (see my telegram of the 16th ultimoNol02) is the only feasible course that

I can see. In any case, however, the removal of Cetywayo from Zululand is necessary for the peace of the country." ends

179/149

/Seen and minutes - the follwing portion left out  
in which case the Transvaal may interfere and th t interferece may end  
in the annexaiton of Zululand.

21403/N/83

179/148

Tutue Jori

Minutes "Mr Bramston : Another weighty opinion in favour of the extension of the Reserve"

"It is also a weighty opinion against restoring Cetewayo. But why cannot some other ~~'xxxxxxx'~~ 'Usutu' raise himself to the sovereignty of the territory minus that of Oham which will remain as it is. E A 23/12

"It is rather an argument for leaving Zululand to settle itself 28/12

Bulwer to derby confidential 20/11/83.. Fynn to Bulwer 13/11/83 private and confidential. Robertson to Fynn 12/11/83 private  
 /Wagons have just come back from Z's district. Has tried to sound native opinion and the result is they feel that Z will not be able to rule the the whole country north of the reserve as i there are to many who will never recognise his authority iihis own poeopœ have suffered to much already, and Hlomuza is ready to fall on them, he will not be able to scatter forces and leave his people undefended. There are to coursed -for HMG to extned the Reserve to the Balc Umfolosi - which is certain to give peace - and to re tore the king - which will also mean peace - but only after untold misery and bloodshed. / "and another thing, as soon as the usutu party fell themselves to be strong enough they will attack isbehu, no matter what promises the king may make.

!

\*

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*Future Govt*

21647/N/83

179/148 (desps removed : printed in 2864

/ should be printed and given to Cabinet when it reassembles /

"The indictment against Cetywayo is strong & complete - & his reinstatement would seem to be impossible. What should be done with him is a more difficult question, upon which no doubt Sir H Bulwer will have something to say in the further desp: he promises. / suspended till Cabinet reassembles see 21521 /

AWLH 1/1

"I still see nothing more feasible than to keep Cetywayo under strict control within the Reserve. RLMH 2/1

"We have not got his argument as to the choice to be made between the other alternatives. D 3/1





282

*Resumé*

20096/N/83  
C3864

No 117 Bulwer to Derby 29/10/83 p243

~~Enc~~ /arrangements for consultation with Fynn and Osborn Chagned as  
sb has asked for ten days leave while Fynn stands in for him

Osborn will then be able to confer with ~~Fynn~~ Bulwer on the future of Zululand.  
Granted

Enc 1 Osborn to Bulwer teleg (from Lower Tugela) ~~24/10~~

24/10/83 /Eshowe request for leave Fynn will stand in. Reserve perfectly  
quiet /244/ Zibebhu is on his way home. should collection of hut-tax  
being on 20/11

9#627

Enc 2 Bulwer to Osborn Teleg 25/10/83 p244

/Granted. Make all arrangements to guard against any Usuthu movement.  
Leave the question of hut-tax until you see me.



247

20411/M/83  
179/149

*Reserve / troops*

Minutes (Teleg seems to have been mislaid)  
(see further minute on 20027)

"The question of the reduction of the troops should be considered in connection with the larger question referred to in this telegram, that of Cetywayo's future.

could it not be well to inform Sir H Bulwer definitely that H M government are unable /to/ to adopt any of the courses proposed by him, & therefore are of opinion that Cetywayo must remain in the Reserve under surveillance (as in Mr Ashley's minute on 20027 herewith) & ask whether if the troops, or some of them, remain there for a short ~~time~~ longer the natives in the Reserve will be able to prevent him from doing mischief within it.

RIMH

~~/XXXXXXXXXX~~ Ashley agrees. and Derby says speak to Herber & Ashley. /





239

21321/N/83

C3864

Siunguza

No136 Bulwer to Derby 20/11/83

p267

Covers confused messages and despatches fromynn and occurrences in the Reserve during the third week in the Reserve. The deal mainly with Siunguza's flight into the Reserve. Bulwer gives his history/

"Siunguza became Regent of the Pongosi\* tribe after the death of the appointed Chief Gaozi. He was averse to the restoration of Cetywayo, and when the restoration took place he left the kraal in which he lived in the territory placed under Cetywayo, and came into the Reserve, where one portion of his ~~tribe~~ tribe was already located, the ~~tribe~~.... Some of those who remained accepted loyally enough Cetywayo's restored authority, and took part in the hostilities against Uisbebu; and it would seem that on this account Uisbebu, when he was at the Ibabanango or on his way back thence, determined to punish those of the tribe who had taken part against him by demanding cattle from them. Before doing so, he sent to give notice of his intention to Siunguza, who, although he was in the Reserve, was still looked upon by the people of the tribe across the Umhlatusi as their Chief. Siunguza, to save the tribe and to prevent Uisbebu from sending an impi among the kraals, is said to have agreed to deliver up to Uisbebu a number of cattle. The cattle were taken from those members of the tribe who had joined Cetywayo's forces; and those who were unfavourable to Cetywayo assisted, as I understand, in the collection of the cattle and in handing them over to Uisbebu. This act gave umbrage to the Usutu party; and the anti-Usutu section of the tribe, fearing an Usutu attack, decided to /268/ remove into the Reserve and there join Siunguza and the portion of the tribe living south of the Umhlatusi. In carrying out this intention, or before carrying it out, a force appears to have been



assembled by orders of Siunguza, who alleged that it was assembled for fear of an usutu force that was about to attack the tribe. "Whether this was the case, or whether Siunguza's people merely assembled in force in order to cover their removal into the Reserve and to prevent their cattle being seized during the removal is not certain; but I think that the latter is the most probable explanation of the movement. The gathering of Siunguza's force appears to have created some alarm among Cetywayo's adherents at Etshwoer, and Dabulamanzi even assembled at the kraal occupied by Cetywayo some 20 or 30 men of his followers. The disquiet, however, <sup>away</sup> passed

As reported in 125 and 130 Z attacked Ndabankulu during his return from Babango and Ndabankulu and Thsingana attacked ~~xxxxxx~~ anti -Usuthu in retaliation - among them members of Siunguza's tribe.

Cetywayo's repudiation of responsibility must be taken for what it is worth....it is quite probable that disturbances of this kind would take place without any instigation by Cetywayo" /although as Fynn told him as long as people come and went from his kraal at Eshowe to the territory north of the Mlatuze he ~~xxxxxx~~ was not free from responsibility. /

/Osborne has been instructed to do what he can to stop these disturbances. /

Enclosures repeat in great and confusing and often irrelevant detail what Bulwer has summarised above - notes taken are short therefore.

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 9/11/84 p269

/8/11 Siunguza and people fled to reserve on hearing that the Usuthu were to attack him on Cet's orders. When Siunguza was at the Residence a messenger heard Cet make threatening remarks about him saying what business had he to make reports. "Did he report that Zibebu when at the Babanangu had killed Marubulwana and Nonkaimba, and their people, the

Baqulusi. That Siunguza was thirsting for him, Cetywayo. Siunguza should have continued to remain quiet; but he, Siunguza continued to harass him...Siunguza shall not grow great with age!



294

GH687

not clear

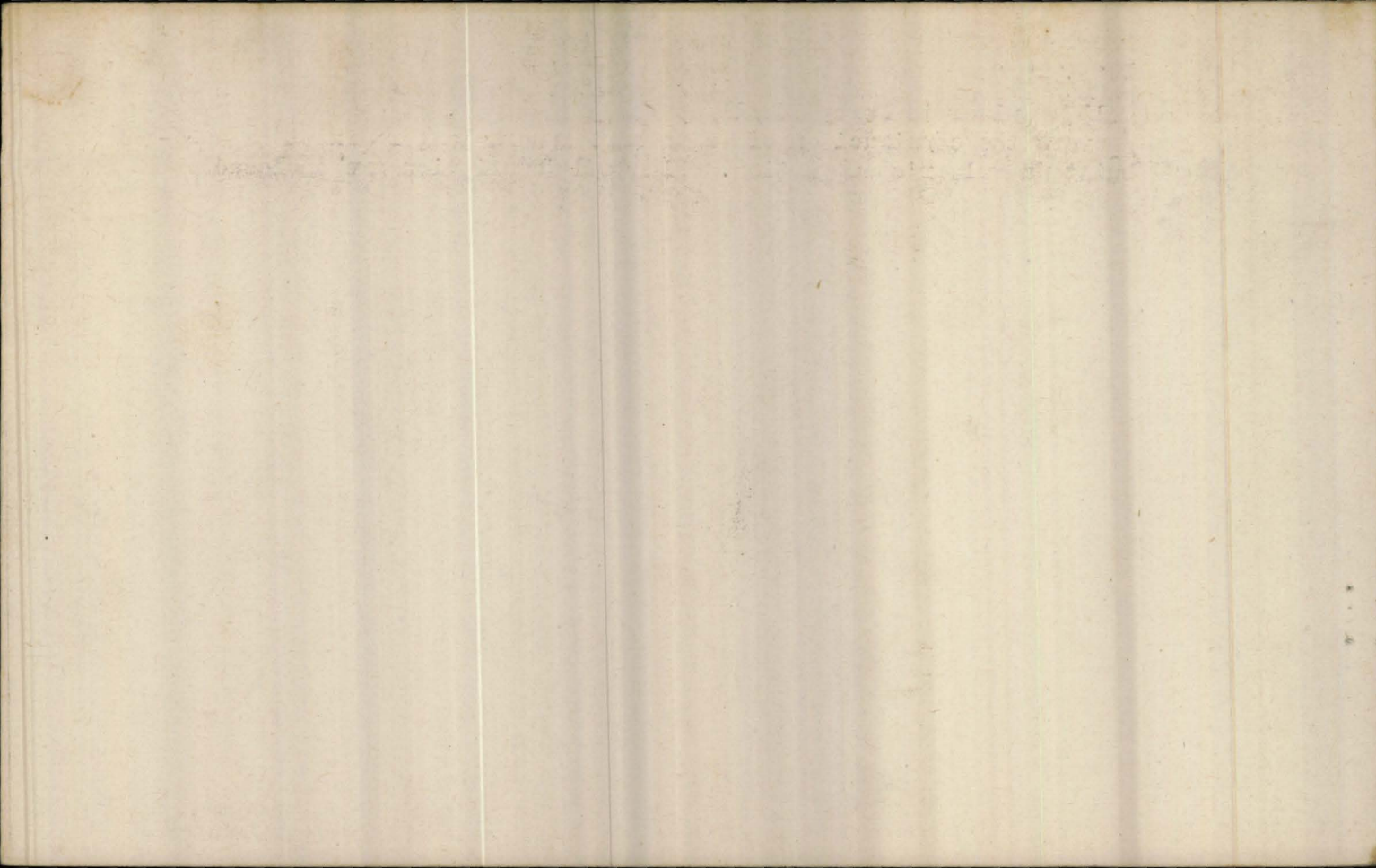
21322/N/83

C3864

Nol37 Bulwer to Derby 20/11/83 p273

Lovers the construcion of a an earthenwork laager ~~in~~ at Eshowe -  
built on <sup>B</sup>Bulwer's suggestion. Plan and description are enclosed

Fort



251

17599/N/83 18072/N/83

Reserve Troops

C3864

No82 Bulwer to Derby 17/9/83 pl72

Enc Bulwer to Osborn 15/9/83 pl72 Telegram

"The troops will probably cross on the 20th September. I would impress on you the imperative importance of taking precautions, as mentioned in my private letter to you of yesterday, to secure the line of march. You should have an outlook kept well into the interior towards the Inkahlala, along the whole line from the Tugela to Etshwoe. Consult Chiefs Dunn and Matumengwana and other Chiefs. Why should they not send 500 men to act as scouts. This is particularly necessary about Matikulu Valley, but advisable also whole way. You will consider yourself responsible for securing the line of march by means of Natives. You should either yourself meet or send someone to meet the troops, so as to conduct relations with Native scouts. I think the former." ends

No89 Bulwer to Derby 24/9/83 pl88

Enc1 Osborn to Bulwer 17/9

"The troops will be perfectly safe; I will meet them at Tugela, and take every precaution desired. Had friendly message ... from Cetewayo to say he had no force with him, and has no intention of going to Boers as reported. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ He C<sup>H</sup> has strengthened border watch at Hlubi's and believes Cet will come to terms when troops enter. Enc2 Osb to Bulwer 19/9/83 pl88 Goes to meet troops on 20/9 / "there is not the slightest chance of troops being molested." Further message from Cet repeating that he had no force with him and did not intend to go to the Boers. /



7

17996/N/83

179/k150

/On e of the many desps in this volume on troops movmenebts uin the Reserve. /  
 W0-CO 22/10/83 )C troops Natal to Gen OC troops SA17/9/83

/1 Division R.A., 1 squadron 6th Dragoons left 16/9 & 18/9 and will  
 reinforce the Border column on their way to Eshowe.

Instructions to OC the Border column 17/9/83

1 Reinforcements (above) 2 Date of arrival Your camp 22/9  
 3 Proceed to Eshowe in complainace ofx with request of Spec Comm  
 4 Designation 'Etshowe Column' 5 Polticial situation. Cetshwayo and  
~~the~~ Usuthu are in the Nkandhla bush. Res has informed ~~xx~~ <sup>him</sup> that by  
 collect ng axfxxx an armed force he is infringing the regulations of the  
 Reserve Unsatisfactory anawers have been recieved and the Usuthu party  
 seem hostile and defiant. Troops are being moved as moral support to  
 the British authority & are not to be used in active operations & will  
 occupy entrenched position at Eshowe.

"If active operations should be necessary in order to enforce the  
 orders of ~~the~~ Government, this duty will be carried out enitirely  
 by the Loyla Natives of the Reserve under the direction of the Resident  
 they will ~~take~~ no part whatever in such opertaions."

6 Secrécy 7 Object in view Moral support to Residenot & confidence t  
 to loyals. 8 Select a defensive post. 9 Precuations to be taken on  
 line of march 10 Precaustions to be taken on arrival 11 "isturbed  
 state of country 12 Native assistance 13 Communciate with the Resident  
 14 Compoistion of Column 15 Descripton of tactics recommended in  
 case of attak - concentrate troops - dfensive tacticis.





16894/N/83

C386 4

Cetwayo / Ntshondle

No66 Bulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl30

/Covers thirteen enclosures dealing with events in Zululand during the last week in August. I have here attempted to make rough subject divisions after noting the covering despatch/

"The refusal of Cetywayo to see the messenger whom Mr. Osborn had sent to him, the tenor and tone of what was said to the messenger, the accusations brought against the Government of having authorised Sibebu's attack on Ulundi, and of having persuaded Someko to sit still in order that he might become an easy prey to Sibebu, the positive refusal of Cetywayo to come to Etshwee, the presence and gathering of a large number of armed men in the Inkahlamba, and the fact of their going through the process of doctoring for war, all of which too plainly show the flagrant and open disregard of Cetywayo and the <sup>u</sup>sutu leaders for the constituted authority of the territory into which they have come, and the defiant and violent course they are bent on.

Cetywayo is a 'fugitive' in the reserve: if he had come to the R C and obeyed him he could have had protection, and some decision could have been made about his territory; but he has defied the authority of the R C and ~~thus~~ with an <sup>u</sup>sutu force backing him intimidated the people in the Reserve. Our authority in the Reserve must be maintained and the only way this can be done is through a show of force - although every effort will be made to get him to obey the Res Comm without coercive measures.

A private letter from O dated 28/8 says that a ~~final~~ another message has been sent to Cet and if this fails Bulwer says he will send a message

"pointing out the untenable character of the position he has assumed, and the necessity of his dismissing his force and of at once recognising the authority of the Resident Commissioner.

If all fails, then active measures must be taken. "What their precise nature will be, must depend upon the circumstances of the time as they arise; but they will be taken by the Res Comm in concert with the loyal chiefs and headmen of the Reserve, and by means of the natives of the Reserve.

The Res Comm however is convinced that troops must come into the Reserve, to give confidence ~~the~~ to the 'loyal' Zulu. No action must be taken until this happens it might even lead to an sutu attack. but the presence of troops at Eshowe will convince the loyalists of the Government's intention to protect them./

In Hlubi's district all is quiet. Hlaubi can put 9000 men if in the field 368 mounted. He has disarmed all refugees

Fynn says that H is capturing cattle in C's territory and as reported in No 59 Z has attacked Somkeli and it is rumoured he has been killed. Sokwethsatha supported Z from the south./

"Cetywayo's territory being without a ruler, it is more than ever desirable to exercise our influence in that part of the country to stay as much as possible the disorder there, but, with our own authority defied by Cetywayo in the Reserve, this is rendered somewhat difficult." ends

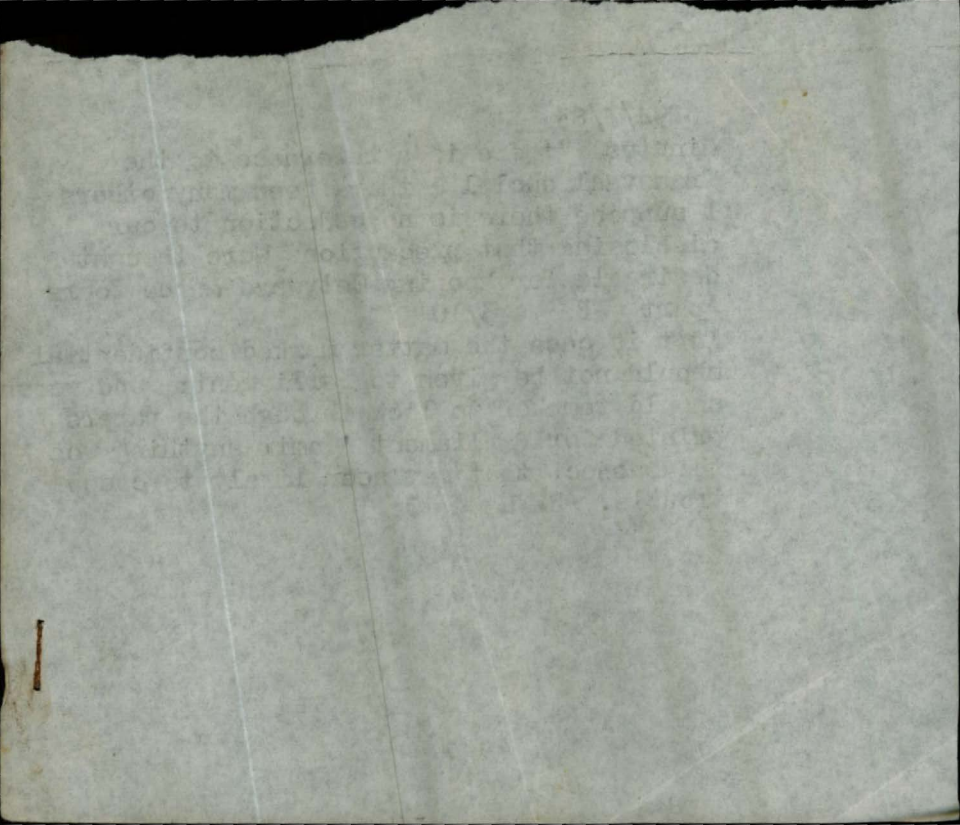


16894/N/83

Minutes "There is a refernece to the Transvaal encl 1 & there been many others - I suppose there is no objection to our disclosing that precautions were thought desirable for keeping Cetywayo & the Boers Apart JB 3/10

In t is case the matter marked confidential should not be given to Parliament: and we sh should remeber to lóok through the papers printed for Parliament ' omit anything on the subject that may seem likely to cause trouble. RLWH 4/10





124  
ZA 39

Osborne-Bulwer Teleg cypher 24/8/83 Eshowe

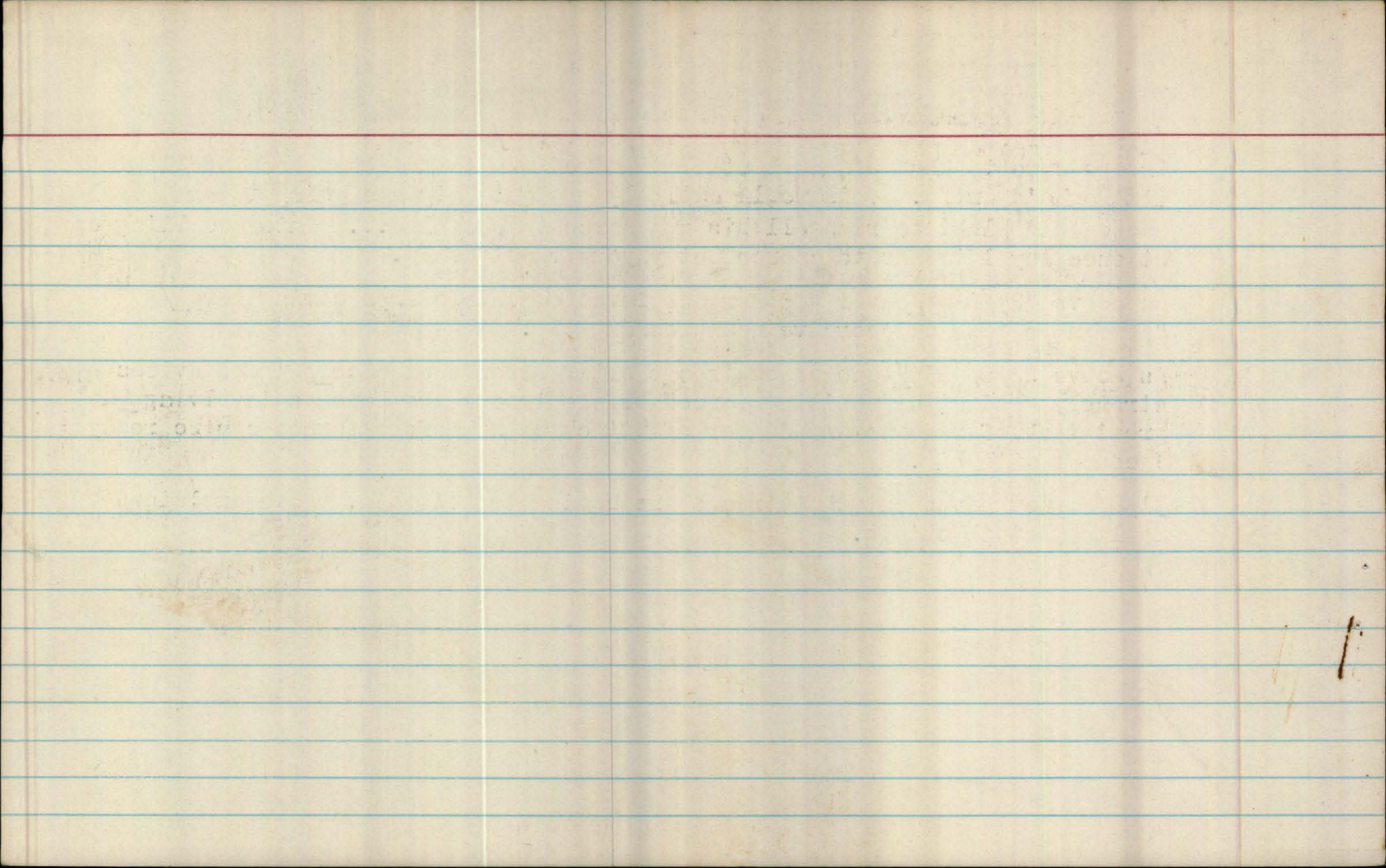
/\_Yours of 22/8 recieved ~~weather very severe~~/ "I think it important that troops come to Eshowe and about two hundred men to neighbourhood of Hlubi via Rorke's drift. This would entirely prevent Cetwayo going to Transvaal and enable Hlubi to bring all his own force to Nkanhla ...I intend calling up at once loyal tribes to coerce Cetwayo without delay.

As above 25/8 /\_Severe weather has prevented chiefs from coming here/\_  
"I mean to push on coercive measures rapidly."

As above 28/8/ 83 /\_Dunn urges troops enter Reserve at once/\_ "and advises strongly against organising forces before troops are here as involving great risk of reverse and danger of attack on me before forces can be ready I concur with him.

31/8/ /\_Cet gives out that troops are coming to help him. Have explained real object to chiefs.

17/9





24d  
GH686

/Covers two letters from Preto ruins on the state of Nqutu area and arms and ammo. Pret to Bulwer 25/8/83. /Acks Bulwer's of 21/8/ "In reply I have to inform Your Excellency that immediately on receipt of Mr John Shepstones last letter....I arranged with Hlbui to have a regular muster of all his men on Monday next the 27th. .../ At present the district is quiet. Have been to the border to see the fugitives

//////<sup>1</sup>here follows series of mem's and minutes and messages about getting Eventually (with the help of Dartnell) Bulwer sends off 7940 rounds Snider Ball cartridges at £3/9/11 , 50 lbs gunpowder at 3/-lb 5000 caps at 6/3 a thousand 10 bullet moulds and 7cwt of lead at £1 a cwt. and then a further 7260 Snider ball. Total cost +=£70 plus 26 for the two waggon

Pret - Bulwer 28/8/83 /Has now inspected the forces/ "1 Hlubi's force numbers, in round figures fully 900 men. Of this force 368 are mounted and 532 infantry. " /2Virtually all the firearms ~~xxx~~ are possessed by the mounted ~~xxx~~ men. (16 Martini Henry. 6 Westley Richard. 3 Snider 56 Enfield and Carbines. 50 double barrel and others) These are inspected and the last two categories wouldn't be much help in fighting. There is no ammo worth mentioning. In the district the following Zulu can be relied on. Maweira with 45 men; Katryn with 67 (9 mounted) and Manjonoba with 12 men making 124. / Feels no need at the moment to acquire arms and ammofor defence. the district is quiet and 26 inferior guns and many assegais have been taken from the fugitives. If the force is needed to fight elsewhere will require arms and ammo. To equip Hlbui

will need 350 M Henry or Westly <sup>R</sup>ichard rifles\_// "Hlubi think , and I agree with him, that 100 of his men mounted and properly armed are sufficient for the defence of the distrct. Hlubi says that if he is called out he would be very pleased to have a sword.\_/

GH686 Pret - Bul 22/9/83 /Reports the arrival of part of the arms consignment.\_/ "This morning at 9 a.m. I received a letter from Mr Osborn requesting me to send 50 mounted armed men for the prupose of patrolling from the Lungeni down to Nkandhla, it being supsected that ~~xxx~~ Cetewayo will attmept to pass through that way." /Making arna nments to prevent wuch an occurrence\_/



227.1

ZA 2

Bulwer to Osborn 29/8/83 132

Bulwetr to Osb 29/8/8 Teleg

"What I have told you is that you should <sup>a</sup>organise and that you <sup>h</sup>ould get ready but you <sup>s</sup>ould not proceed to act against Cetywayo until it has been shewn that there is not any other course open and until such a course has been approved by H M G.

400 soldiers are procceding to border only at present.

I have not hear d from you what you pain of operations i not whether you consider your force sufficient"

ZA2 133 /As for above but more detailed. "You will of course understand that the Troops will be sent into the Reserve to give you that moral support which is required and that they are not to be used in the active operation that you may find it necessary to conduct in that part of the country where Cetywayo has taken refuge. I am sure also that you will agree with me that nothing should be wanting on our pant, before committing ourselves to active measures of coercion, to induce Cetywayo to withdraw from the hostile attitude that he has assumed and to disband the <sup>u</sup>sutu force that he has collected. Nothin, I sasy, should be wanting on our part to bring about this object without a resort to force."





228  
Reewe : hoop

C3864

No41 Derby to Bulwer 30/8/83 p74 (14356/N/83)

/On 21/8 in re;y to No32 of 19/8 i telgramed that I was arranging with the WO the movement of troops to t e border - to be used only if absolutely necessary\_/

No42 Derby to Bulwer 30/8/83 p75 14753/N/83 \*

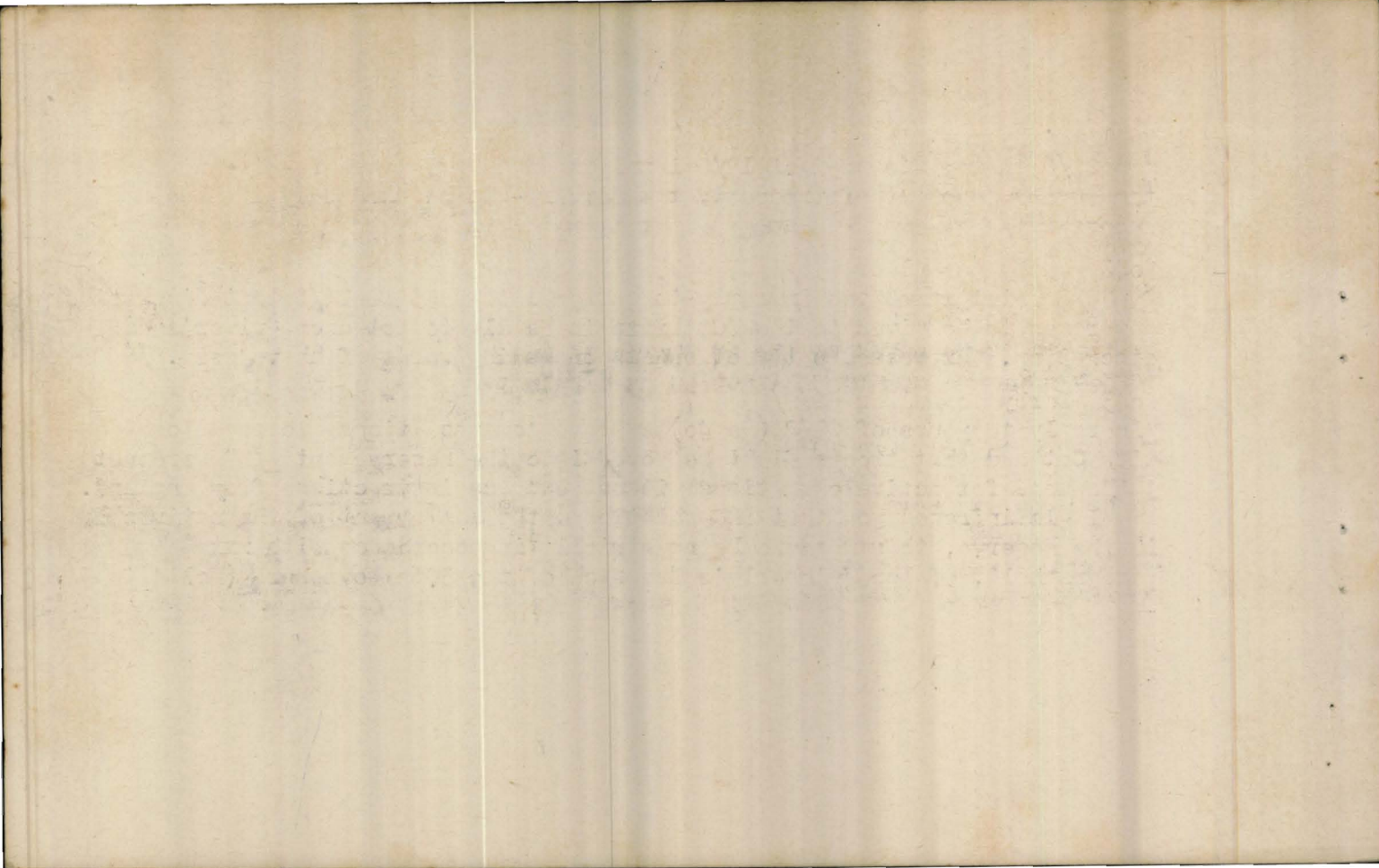
/On 29/8 I telgramed you in reply to query 21 in No33 DD 24/8 that discretinary power was to be given to the OC ~~thxxxx~~ in Natal to act upon Bulwer's discretion. Expressed satisfation at concluding words of above desp.\_/

No43 Derby to Bulwer 2/9/83 p75

/In reply to yours of 29/8 (No 4o) approve commun cations proposed to made with Cet and that troops might be moved into the Reserve but \_/ " were not to be used for active operations without express instructions from England.

I ls infromed you that HMG sanctioned the employment of the natives in the Reserve, this measure being strictly in accordance with ~~Para~~ paragraph 18, of Lord Kimberly's Despatch of the 30th Novmeber" (Noll4 in 34660)

\* Seen minutes discuss the difficulty of having the C.O. in the Cape 1000 miles away.





253  
15927/N/83

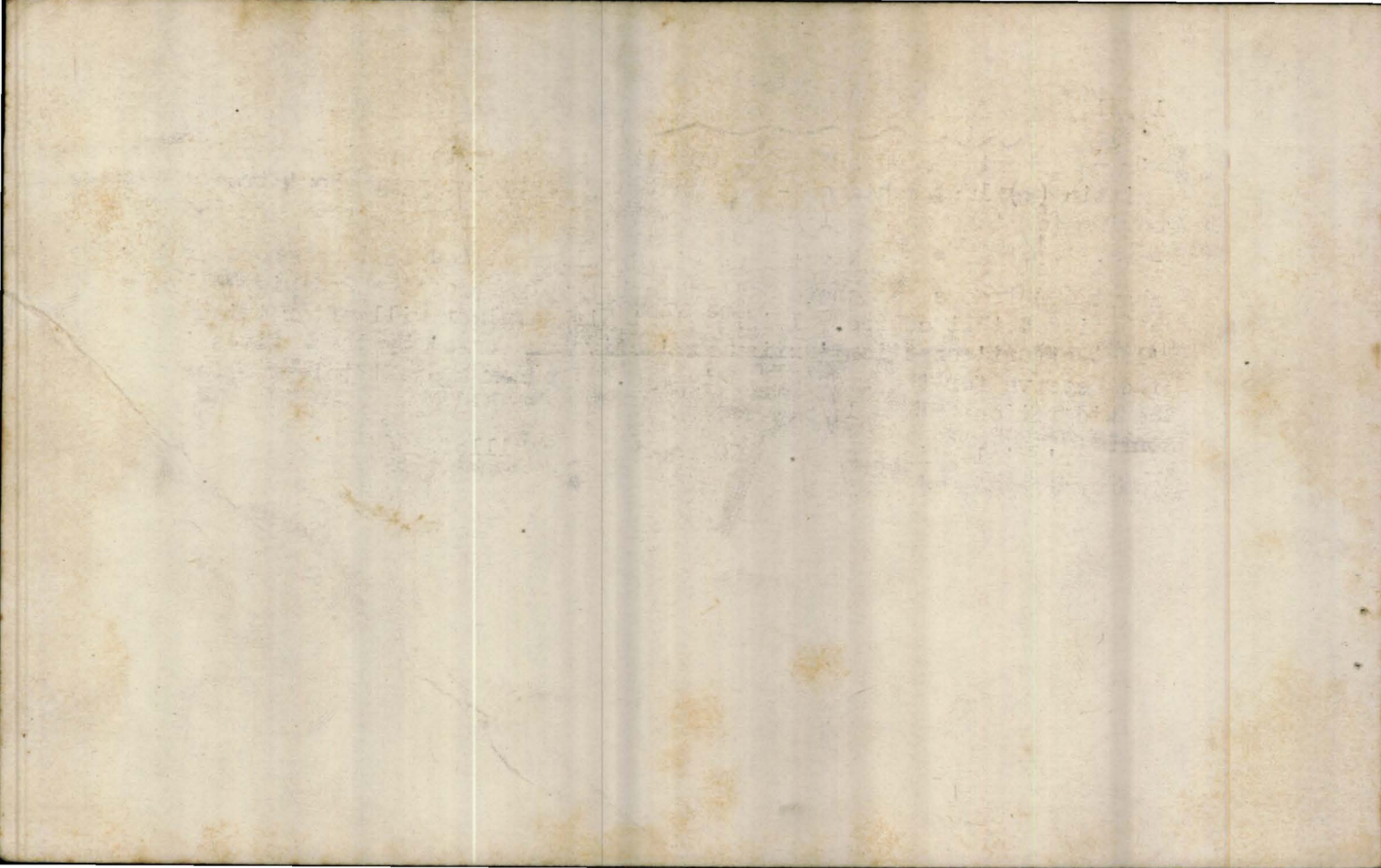
179/147

Minutes (no sign of despatch or teleg)

*Reave / keep*  
Sir " Herbert " Send a copy to WO with eference to previous confaspondencee-  
omitting(?) last sentence - but what answer to fist part about troops  
moving to Etshowe JB 15/9

In his telegram of the 29th ~~Aug~~ Sir H Bulwer stated that he proposes to move  
about 600 troops to Echowe & Lord Derbysreply of the 2nd virtually  
sanctioned that course. I infer that Sir H Bulwer will after this  
'last effort' sanction '~~xxxxxxx~~ 'active measures' by the Natives in  
the Reserve for the arrest of Catywayo. I annex a draft telegram for  
consideration RLWH 17/9

/Bulwer's teleg is secret. CO reply is on plll of 3864



220  
15251/N/83

179/146

C3864/44

Minutes (desp and reply in 3864)-*Where.*

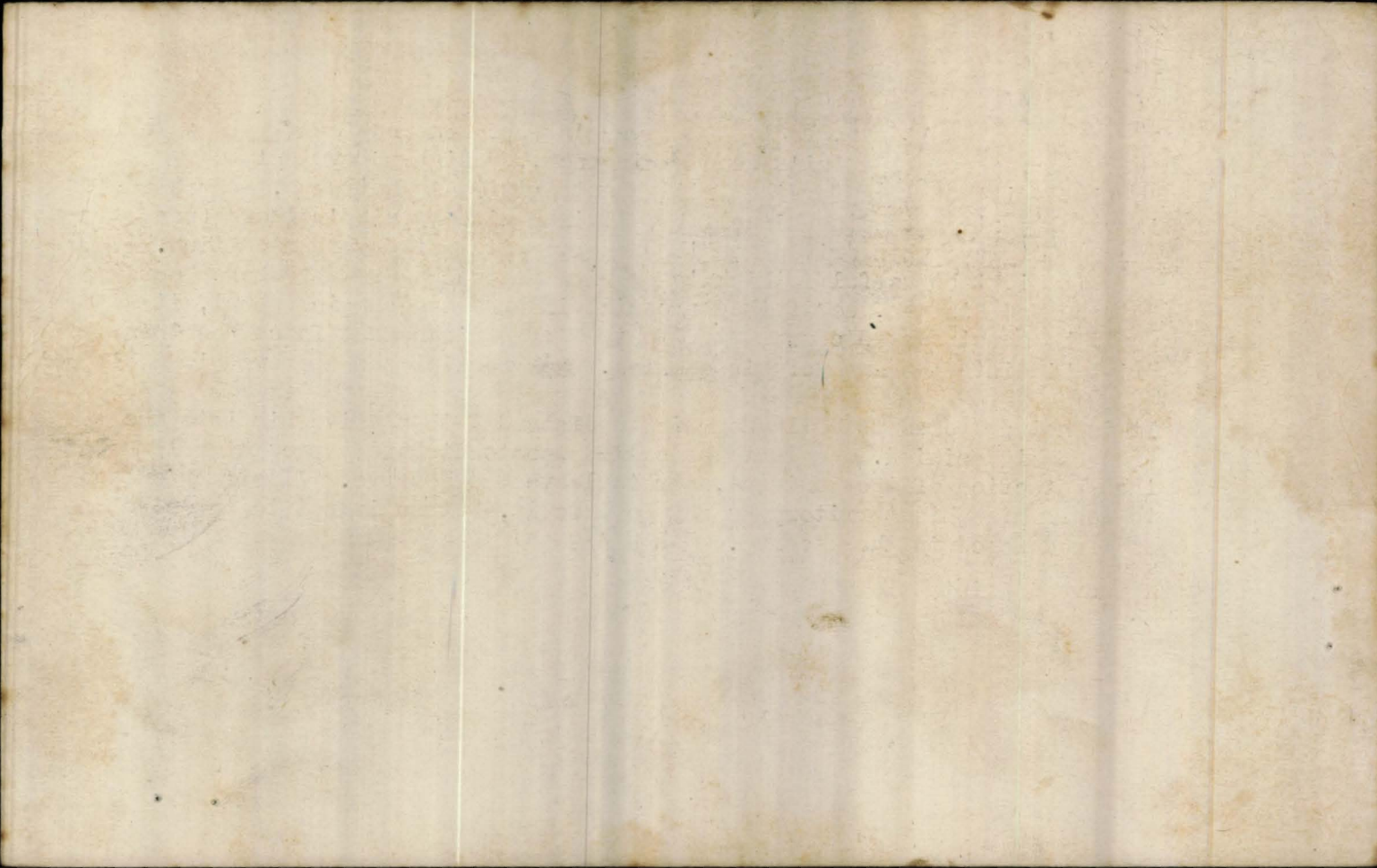
"Mr Bramston It appears that Cet wayo's force was completely taken by surprise, see Dablamzizi's account in enc6.. Eisebebu evidently cares as little if not less for the British authorities as Cetywayo, and as he is evidently strengthening himself by alliance with Swazis & others (see enc 2) Cetywayo when driven from the Reserve will get a warm reception.

It might be useful I think to enquire as to the present whereabouts of Usibebe and his men, as if they are still in arms and hanging about, it would be monstrous to ~~caspe~~ Cetywayo to <sup>b</sup>disband his force and then drive him into the arms of his enemies. Ack receipt and approve Sir H.B.'s action 4/9

It is not proposed to call upon him to disband & then drive him into the arms of his enemies. He is to be called upon to disband & place himself under the protection of the Resident, or to leave the Reserve. If strong enough to reorganise his territory he may go & do it, but he is not to organize an armed force in the Reserve. R M 4/9

Approve & print D





231

21/7 Afternoon / C.O. on

15114/N/83

179/146

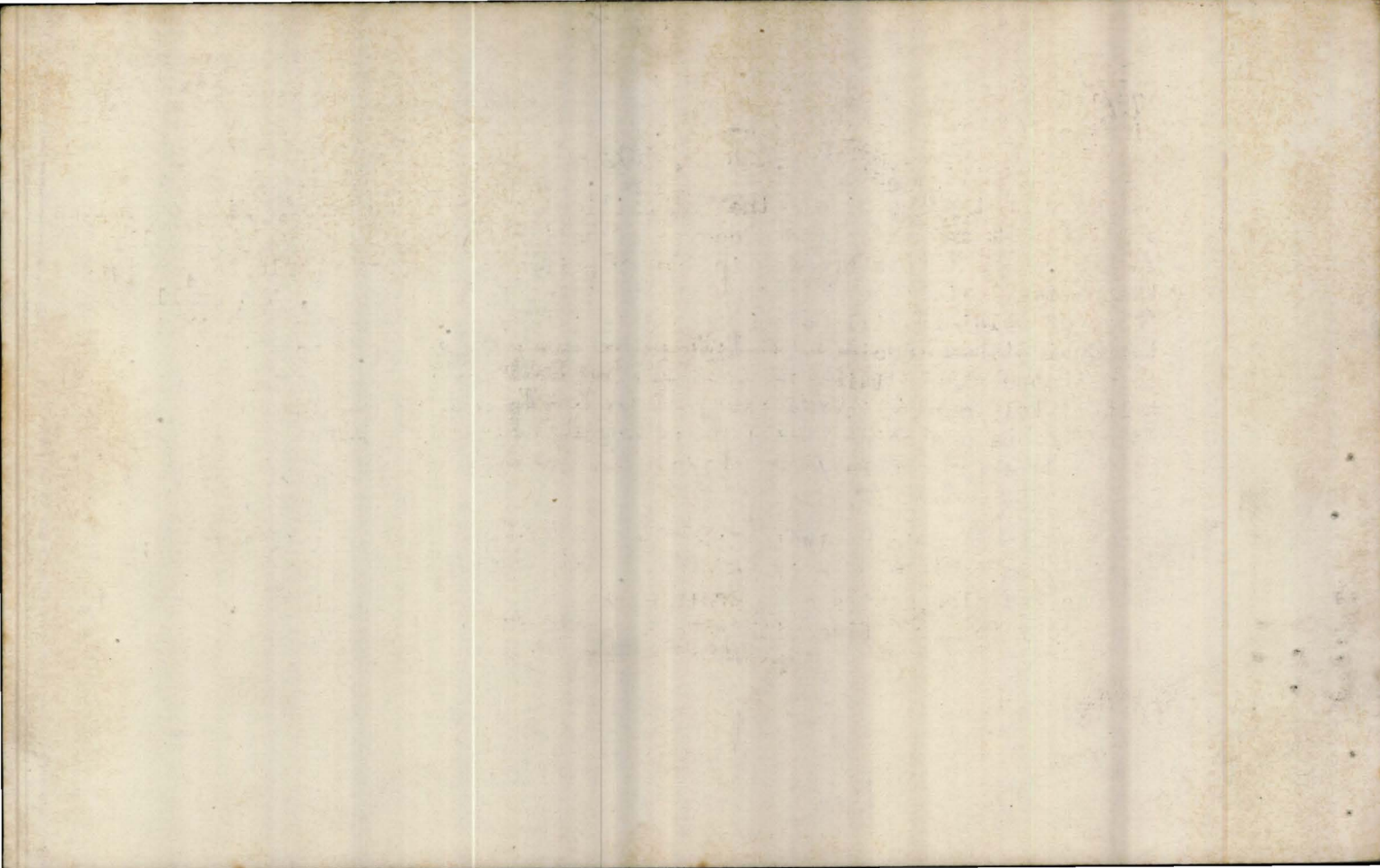
Minutes (reply No43 in3864 see 14356) (Bulwer 's teleg secret)

"We are drifting into another Zulu War. With this attitude of Cetywayo on the one side & the authorities on the other we may find ourselves committed at any moment to a course of action for which we are physically unequal. The troops are few in number & if any reverse should happen to the native levies organised by the Resident in the Reserve, the small force of soldiers will be compelled to intervene. I understand that the Cabinet have decided to maintain the Native Reserve. If this be so, more troops should I imagine be sent to Natal, and the War Office should be told plainly our policy as it is a material factor in the

Troops are being sent to India via the Cape and they could be stopped at the Cape for orders / RM 31/8

"Lord Derby has sent to Mr Gladstone the Draft of a telegram which he proposes to send in reply to Sir H Bulwer, with a copy of this telegram asking him to telegraph if he agrees.

He has also sent a copy of this telegram to Lord Hartington.  
Snc a copy to War Office with reference to previous correspondence 1/9.





232

Reserve / maps

C3864

No50 Bulwer to Derby 14/9/83 pl00 (Extract)

/Have just telg you to say that today recieved reports from Osb that the  
sutu and Cet still defiant in the Reserve, and threatening loyal Zulu in RES  
Osb is pressing for troops and Bulwer will try and send a message from PMB  
before sending a force to Eshowe. ✕ this is to maintain the authority of  
the Res Comm, to try and bring about stablisation in rest of Zululand.  
"ave decided that Fynn is not safe and has been called to Eshowe. /

No57 Derby to Bulwer 21/9/83 pl11

/In reply to avoe telegrammed you on ~~14~~ 19/9 that / "I presumed you  
clearly understood that Her Majesty's troops were not to be employed  
in active mesarues against Cetywayo, and instrucitn you to convey to  
him a special warning agaisnt inviting the interference of the inhabitants  
of the Transvaal state in the affaris of Zululand, contrary to the  
covnetion, and to report immediately any action of the Boers with regard  
to Zululand upon which a representation to the Transvaal Government could  
be based."

179/147 portion deleted reads "and, in a confidential papapgraph, I have  
informed your Lordship that there is no doubt that Cetywayo has been in  
negotations with persons in the Transvaal State, and tha in a private  
letter received from Mr. Osborn he mentions a report to the effect that two  
carriages had been sent to bring Cetywayo out of the Reserve."

No60 Bulwer to Derby 25/9/83 pl27

/Replies to No57 and has telegraphed today that/ "it is clearly understood that the troops will not be employed in active operations; that they have now crossed the Tugela; that the Resident Commissioner has informed me that there is no chance of the usutu party interfering with them on the line of march, but that every precaution is nevertheless being taken; that Mr. Sborn has received a message of a more moderate character from Cetywayo; that the latter declares that he has no forces with him, a declaration, however, which cannot be accepted, as it is not true; that Cetywayo also denies any intention of preceeding to the Transvaal, but that the British Resident Commissioner is of opinion he will attempt to go to that country if he can do so; and that I sent my message to Cetywayo on the 19th of this month."

No61 Derby to Bulwer 25/9/83 pl27

/Acks No53 and says he has already telegraphed HMG opinion on the subject of troops in the Reserve./



242  
17127/N/83  
C3864

Dunn / Compensation

No69 Bulwer to Derby 8/9/83 pl43

/Concerns the question of the compensation to be paid to the deposed appointed chiefs. ~~It is decided~~ Shepstone recommended that no chiefs should get it. Osborn said that only Dunn claimed compensation and he asks for £20,000. Correspondence covers numerous letters on the subject which I am not taking notes from. The most interesting one is that of a letter from Dunn giving his story of the history of his appointment\_

Enc4 Osborn to Bulwer Mintue 30/7/83 pl45

Dunn to Osborne 24/4/83 pl45 /Gives grounds for compensation\_

"I held an acknowledged independent position as a chief before the war, with two districts under my right, and any people leaving any of the chiefs or headmen, and coming into these districts to live under me, were considered my subjects, and they were not subject to the call of the King; in fact, were considered to have left the Zulu power.

On the war breaking out, my intention was to have remained neutral, but was not allowed to do so by Lord Chelmsford, who promised that if I removed to Natal with my people, he would see me reinstated in my possessions on the termination of the war. This I did, but having taken an active part in the war, I decided not to return to Zululand, and it was only Sir Garnet Woseley's offer of the chieftainship and his word that Cetuyayo should never return to Zululand, that I accepted the chieftainship.

146 "At the meeting of the first headmen who in to surrender to General Crealock at Port Jurnford, (these men had been induced to come in by me) when Sir Garnet came, and was present, he told them that if they had



anything to say they were to speak out. /Spokesman Undhlandaga said they wished to have a white king - Dunn / "he knows us and knows our ways."

After the meeting, Sir Garnet took me to his tent, and on thanking me for my services said he understood that I had held the position of an independent chief in Zululand before the war, and if I should like my territory extended. I said I should.

After the final battle of Ulundi, I asked Sir Garnet to allow me to return to Natal; this he refused to do, saying, I think you will find it to your benefit to remain with me until this is settled.

On arrival at Ulundi, I mentioned in conversation the loss of all my household furniture with building, &c., Sir Garnet asked me why I had not removed all before the war: Mr J. Shepstone was present, ~~I~~ answered that I had ample time to have done so, but was misled by a letter I received from Mr. Shepstone officially requesting me on the part of the Governor, to inform Cetshwayo that there was no intention on the part of the English Government to make war with him.

On the capture of Cetshwayo, Sir Garnet sent his private secretary to me with a rough sketch of the intended settlement, asking me if I would accept a chieftainship. My answer was yes, provided Cetshwayo should never be allowed to return to Zululand; to this Sir Garnet gave his promise, and on these conditions I accepted the position which I otherwise would not have <sup>done</sup> /I went to Zululand originally 'at Cetshwayo's\* earnest request' and with a promise of a piece of land and he has worked for that land - to a certain extent he obtained his wish. On these grounds he claims compensation - he should be classed with the other appointed Zulu chiefs. /

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17523/N/83

C3864

No81 Dulwer to Derby 17/9/83 p164

Enc5 168 Osborn to Dulwer 7/9/83 p168

9/1686/88  
/Position in the Reserve still hopeless. Despite Cet's denials there is a large armed usuthu force in the Nkandla. Os has now sent to the royal brothers asking them to come to him when he will try and persuade them of the illegality and danger of the present attitudes.

/Osborne writes of the recent interview with the Chiefs and heamen explaining that to prevent disturbances the Gov had ordered troops to the Tuglela which would cross if necessary into the Reserve. This was proof that the Gov would maintain the Reserve as established. / That having thus a distinct assurance of the permanency of the existing arrangements, they and their people would now be able to do their duty loyally in the maintenance of peace and good order within the Reserve when called upon, without fear of threats held out to them <sup>by</sup> others."

/Chiefs thanked him for this news as they had doubts of the Government's intention towards the Reserve / "as they saw that the conditions under which it was established were, notwithstanding remonstrances, repeatedly infringed with impunity by others from outside its boundaries.. They said they will be glad to see the troops enter the Reserve for those who seek to overthrow the Reserve will not be deterred if the troops remain beyond Tuglela. They and their people will be found always ready to do their duty when called upon, but their arm would be much stronger if the troops came in, as a proof to all that any proceedings found necessary to be undertaken by them are not against the orders of the Government.



/Mavumengwana said he hoped that none of those from the Reserve who joined Cet at Ulundi would go unpunished.

/Osb requests that proceedings be taken against Cet to compel him to respect the lawful authority and disperse his force. These proceedings as I have said / " could...be satisfactorily carried out by local native forces, provided the presence of HM troops in the Reserve can be secured, not to take any active operations that may be found necessary, but as a moral support and as a visible restraining element over the local native forces themselves. /The troops would be a restraining force - preventing reprisals from loyalists if the war and Osb 'earnestly begs' that troops on the Tugela be allowed to come to Eshowe. /

Enc9 Bulwer to Osborn 14/9/83 p171

/Acks above and has given orders that the detachment should be moved to Eshowe. they are / "intended solely to support by its presence at Eshowe, your position of authority in the Reserve, and to give confidence to the loyal ~~ex~~ people of the territory, and that it is not to be in any way used for military operations." ends



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18034/N/83

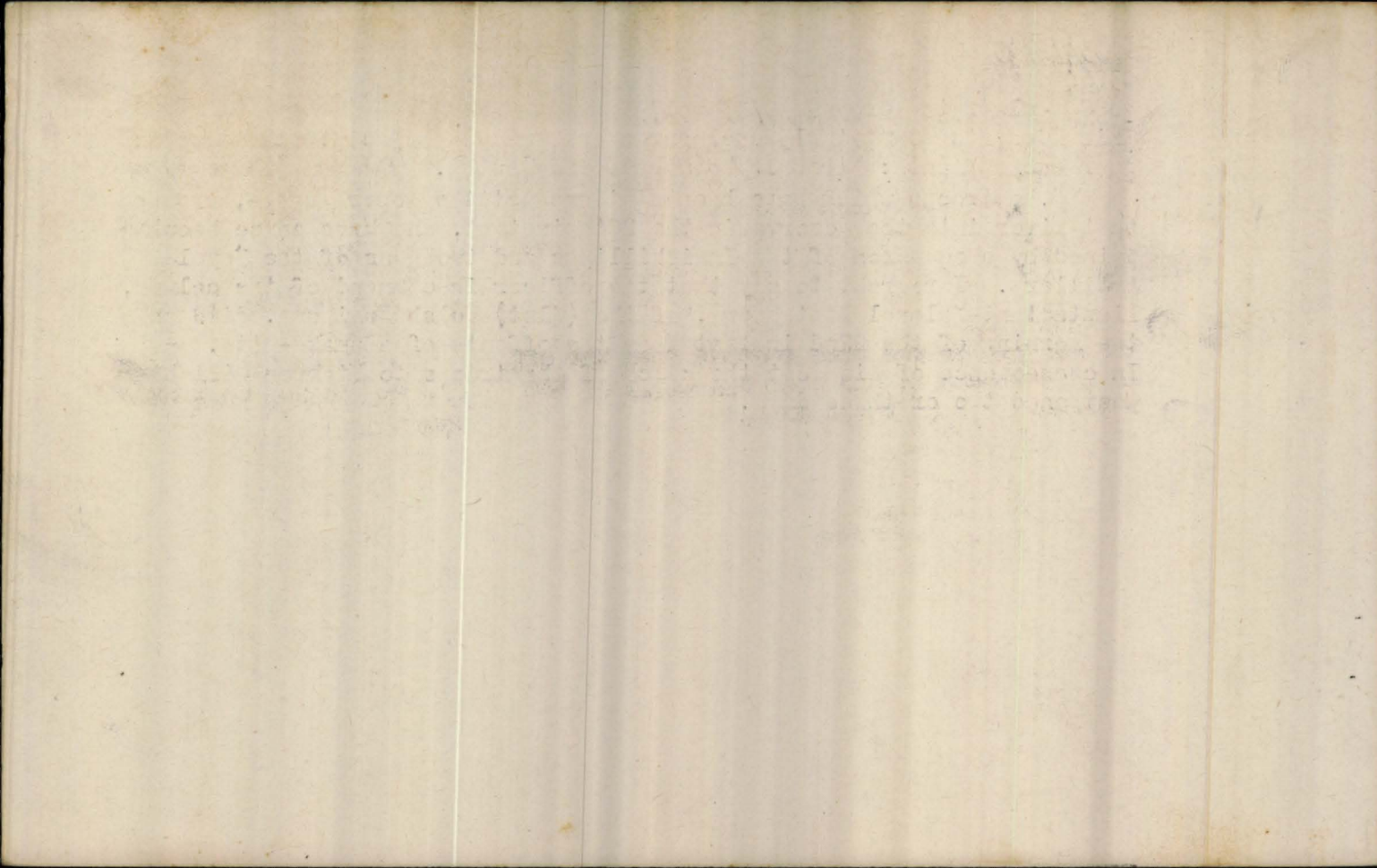
C3864

Reserve / troops : Boers  
Z. / Union

No88 Pulver to Derby 24/9/83 p179

This despatch contains 13 enclosures on various subjects: the troops:  
boer encroachments: trouble between Z and Suthu.

"The troops which have been stationed at the Lower Tugela, crossed that river into the Reserve on the 20th instant, and have since been joined by a squadron of the Inniskillings and two guns of the Royal Artillery. I regret to say that the officer in command of the column, Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery, of the (41st) Welsh Regiment, died on the morning of the 22nd instant from the effects of a snake-bite. In consequence of his death the march of the troops to Etshwoe will be postponed two or three days."





C3864

Encloses ten enclosures covering the last week in September on various subjects.

Mr Osborn reports from the Reserve that on the 23rd of September he received a letter from the officer who had succeeded to the command of the column on the death of Lieutenant-colonel Montgomery, informing him that four messengers had arrived at the camp with a communication from Cetywayo, in which he asked if the troops would come close to the (Inkanhla) Bush so that he could place himself under their protection. Mr Osborn desired the messengers to be told, for the information of Cetywayo, that any communication or representation the latter desired to make regarding his position in the Reserve Territory must be made direct to him as the British Resident Commissioner in that Territory.

Another instanc<sup>e</sup> of this is to be found in one of the accompanying papers. This is a letter addressed to the RC It is signed by Cetywayo, but it is evidently the production of the Mr Grant who is mentioned in it. /Have referred to the 'mischievous character' of his proceedings in Nos 19, 21, and 28. Grant wrote to Bulwer on 9/8 (Encl in 48 informing him he had heard Cet was alive) "and asking my permission and authority to go and visit him in the Reserve Territory.....I was of course obliged to decline to give the permission. Whether this had influenced the advice given to Cetywayo by his partisans in Natal, and whether their advice has influenced him in his refusal to go to Etshwee and in his proceedings in the Inkahlamba Bush, I do not know. "Nevertheless Grant is with Cet and the letter written on 20/9 by ~~him~~ in the name of Cet is the work of Grant. "I was about to say that in this letter another instance is to be found of the extraordinary misconception taken by Cetywayo of his position in the Reserve; but would not I think, be fair to hold him responsible for the terms of Mr. Grant's letter. By this letter Cetywayo, writing from the Inkahlamba, is made to inform the Res Comm that Mr. Grant has arrived there, and will remain for the purpose of conducting all communications between HMG and Cetywayo. The letter then proceeds to say that Mr. Grant ~~has arrived there, and will be remaining for the purpose of conducting all communications~~ 'has laid before' Cetywayo certain papers; that Cetywayo 'notes' notes a certain circumstance; that Cetywayo 'has submitted to him' certain other papers. "Really to read these phrases one might suppose that they were the words of a ruler writing from his seat of government, in the lawful exercise of his lawful authority in his lawful



territory, and that Mr. Grant was a Minister of State, instead of the words of a fugitive ruler, who has been forced to fly from his own country and to take refuge in another country, addressed to the lawfully constituted authority of the country in which he has taken refuge. But let that pass. The fault of the phrases and their extravagance is that of Mr. Grant. The fault of Cetywayo is that he listens to such men as Mr. Grant, and allows them to /193/ write words which, we may be quite sure, he would be ready if, at any time it suited his purpose, to disown.

the messengers who brought this letter brought also to Mr. Osborn a confidential message from Cetywayo which it is pretty certain was sent without Mr. Grant's knowledge, and in which Cetywayo asks Mr. Osborn to assist him in ruling the territory that was placed under him, offering to give him in return for his personal services the proceeds of a hut tax to be levied on the people of that territory.

Osborn answers that messages could only be considered when he had complied with what the Government required was the only one possible.

On 23/9 Osborn heard that Z and a large impi was approaching Inshlatashe and then the next day arrived at the Babanango. Osborn warned him not to enter the Reserve, and Z promised not to. The reason that he gives for coming with a force so near is that he has heard that Cetywayo is assembling an usutu force on both sides of the Umhlatusi in order to send it against him, and is trying to obtain armed assistance from outside Zululand, and that it is on this account he has taken up arms. My messengers who went to Sibebe in the early part of the month heard whilst with him that a force had ordered to assemble, and from what they could gather they were led to believe it was about to be sent against Umayamana, who is still in the Ingome forest; and whether the reason given by Usibebe for coming so far as the Babanango is the correct one, has yet to be seen. Our object, at any rate, is to prevent him violating the independence of the Reserve Territory by entering it in pursuit of Cetywayo; and here again we are brought face to face with another difficulty occasioned by the conduct of Cetywayo in defying the authority of the Reserve Territory and in abusing the refuge of the territory by making it a centre of "usutu intrigue."

Mr. Osborn informs me in a private letter that when composing the usutu force in the Inkanhla had been gradually leaving it since the troops crossed the Tugela, but that there still remained such portions of the force as are contributed by Sigamanda, Qetuko, and other chiefs in the Reserve, who are Cetywayo's adherents, and which are occasionally mustered. And although the men composing the main usutu force have gone away, there is nothing to prevent them coming back in small parties by night in the same manner that they have gone.

Troops left for Eshowe from Lower Tugela on 27/9 and arrived 29/9.



10491/N/83

C3864

No92 Bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 p193

Enc 5 Fynn to Bulwer 198 21/7/83

/See relevant card/

"Mfanawenhlela came to me this morning, and, after clearly explaining my message to him, he replied:-

"He had been appointed as Chief over this district, the land of his forefathers, by the British Government; he had not been guilty of any offence; he had all along objected to come under Cethswayo's rule, and did not advocate Cethswayo's restoration or rule. He wished to be under British rule, and after Cethswayo's restoration would only have left her to go to the Reserve, if necessitated to do so, but was imperilled and could not move without the danger of loss of life and property. p199 Cethswayo had been conquered by Zibebu and driven out of this country, and had gone to the Reserve. That he, Mfanawenhlela, had then gone to the Resident Commissioner himself to see about a suitable locality to remove to, and found the land which he was to have had, and pointed out to him by Mr J W Shepstone, and been given by Mr. Osborn,...., to his headman Yamela; and Mr. Osborn pointed out other land which was not suitable or large enough for him...and his people. He found

Cethswayo was solely enforced with Zulu forces at the Nkanhla, and openly resist the authority of the RC, and asserting the Reserve Territory was his, given to him by the Queen on his restoration, and that the Umgnei was the southern boundary, and it is so promulgated in this country; and as Cethswayo held his position with a large force in defiance of the RC or Natal Government, and support his rights to that country upon the Home Government, it was the general belief that there was truth in it. Under these circumstances he, Mfanawenhlela, could not move into the Reserve in the face of Cethswayo's forces being there, and would, for the present, remain here and watch the results of these difficulties before he could come to a decision. Fynn impressed upon him that the Reserve was under British 'rule' and if Cethswayo was restored to his territory M's position would be worse than it had been previously. /

"Mfanawenhlela said every person believed that the English or Home Government was sending authoritative persons to put this country right, including the Reserve, implying it would come under British rule, which he firmly believes will take place sooner or later; it suits his convenience to do so.

I explained to him that I had not received any intimation of even any\* likelihood of such a step being taken.

It is evident Mfanawenhlela will lean to Zibebu so long as Zibebu remains victorious, and if Cethswayo returns it is probable Mfanawenhlela may find it more convenient to remove to Zibebu than to the Reserve. I can see in his manner he anticipates that if Cethswayo attempts to return here, Zibebu and those who join him will endeavour to demolish Cethswayo. /22/9 Zinecku has returned Fynn's messenger saying that he is a British subject like his father, but cannot move to the Reserve for British protection because Mnyamana has heard that intended to 'and throw himself into the fathomless waters' and now has him watched to prevent him leaving. Zinecku asks for a British force to escort him and his people and cattle out of the Reserve.

The messenger said that he had an opportunity as the Zulus were fleeing to the west from H and Z's forces. H's was killing Gazini people on 20/9 between the Bl Mfolosi sources and the 'late Pangisweni kraal of Mnyamana on 21/9 the force was at Gehleni, a stronghold of Mnyamana's where his cattle are. Sunset 21/9 it was amongst Zinecku's people half way up the Taka river and the sounds of battle were heard. Fire seen from Nshlatshe to the sources of the Ivuna. /







264  
8491/N/83

C3864

No92 Bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 pl94

Enc4 Osb to Bulwer 22/9/83 pl95

Cetywayo to Osborn pl96 20/9/83 pl96

pl97 "The planting season is advancing, and unless my people can cultivate with some sense of security, the additional misery of starvation will be added to their troubles. /198/ /Mnayamana said a few days previously that he had Z for permission to paint and Z had said he would not as he intended to destroy the king completely / *Sol'm 94686 or written by Grait & signed by C. H.*

Cetywayo to Mr. Osborn 22/9/83 pl98

"Umlando and Sibatya state:- We are sent by Cetywayo who ordered us to deliver the following message him privately. We see your induna Yamela and Nozitshina (chief messenger) present, but we do not object to their presence.

*6844*  
Cetywayo's words are these:- I ask you, my father, to assist me with the affairs of the territory to which I have been restored by the Queen. You know the country and all the chiefs and people in it and they know you. You looked after all of them during the whole time I was away from you; you prevented them from fighting, and all remained quiet, and I found my people alive and doing well when I returned to them. The Government in placing you in Zululand when I left, placed one who knows how to manage people. Now they have placed you here to manage this territory (the Reserve). I ask you to help me by ruling my territory for me. As you are away, I left my territory and came to you for protection, for you are my father. I ask you, my father, to take my territory into your

hands and to rule if for me.) A hut tax could be collected from all my people int it, and all the tax recieved shall be yours for the trouble you will have in mamangaing the affairs of my country. You will gea ly help me and my people if you will consent to do this.

Cetywayo ordered us to tell you that Mr. Grant who is with him at Nkandhla is his frined and his agent (umelâ), but he has no other position, nor can he take any part in ruleing the country."

/Reply Beofre considering a reply to the message Cet must comply with the Gov order/

8491/N/83

C3864

No92 Bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 pl943

Enc4 Osb to Bulwer 22/9/83 p 195

/Letter from Cet written by Grant and a confidential message from Cet  
 "I ~~have~~ sent no written answer to this letter, but directed the messengers  
 to tell Cetywayo that I have recieved it."

Cetywayo to Osborn 22/9/83 pl96

/Umlanbo and Sibatya say that Cet has always thanked Osb for the way in  
 which he looked after his family and wishes to come to him but but  
 his foot has been painful / "He will come" / Reports that Z is about to  
 attack Mnaymana, and has aksed the Reserve chief, Umbuso, to assist Z  
 attack him in the Reserve. /

Cetywayo to Osborn 20/9/83 196

"I have the honour to inform you, for the information of the Right  
 Honourable the Secretary of State, that at my urgent request Mr. William  
 Grant, of Durban, Natal, who was appointed by Resident Adviser and  
 Counsellor, at my desire, and with the full concurrence and approval of  
 my principal chiefs and headmen, fully expressed at a meeting held at  
 ulundi on the 9th day of June 1883, has arrived, and will remain with me  
 for the purpose of conducting all communications between HMG and myself."

**The letter, a long one continues in this style**

/Protests against Bulwer's refusal to recognise Grant. Reports the attack  
 of 21/7, the flight to the Inkandhla /

"The Special Commissioner, I understand, charges the 'sutu party, who  
 are my adherents with 'an unprovoked invasion of Usibebu's' territory

*Cetywayo / Ndaballa / Bulwer, Osborn*

*GH686/4*



with the evident object of takin his life, or of upsetting his authority' . And of this 'deep laid plot,' says, 'there can be no doubt , too, that it was devised and carried out with the knowledge of C<sup>e</sup>tywayo, and, I fear we must conclude, with his sanction,' thuspractically charging me with an aggressive act of war upon Usibebu.

Upon this statement made by the special 'Commissioner, without any personal knowledge of the circumstances, and without instituting proper inquiry, the conduct of the Chief 'Usibebu towards my strongest adherents both ~~and~~ before and subsequent to my restoration, inclduing his last attack upon my home and life, is apparently justified!

I can only say that such a charge coule not have been founded except upon partilal and misle~~ading~~ statements, and I have earnestly to request that HMG may be pleased to direct that a full and exhaustive official Commission, inquiry be made into the whole question by the appointment of an independent

YSince the attack on Ulundi Z has attacked Somkele / "under cover of an alleged ancestral dispute, which is in istelf fictitious" . / Hamu who massacred the Qulusi, disregarded Wood's order has continued to rebell againt my authority and attack my people. Cet wants to return to his territory but knows that this would mean my attacks and <sup>probably</sup> ~~possibly~~ his death . Requests HMG terminate the allaince between H and Z force H to return the cattle and Z to stay within his boundary. this must be done soon as unless his people plant now starv<sup>ation</sup> will overtake them.. Last parpa taken on

next card /

267

8491/N/83

C3864

No92 Bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 p191

See a

Enc3 Osborn to Bulwer 23/9/83 p194

/Captain Douglas informs him of the death of Colonel Montgomery., and of the arrival of messengers from Cethswayo.

Ca tain Douglas to osborn 22/9/83 p194

/Reports the death of Liet-Colonel Montgomery at 2a.m. from snake bite received last eveing. Has assumed command of column.

In the morning four men arrived Cethswayo and have been detained pending O's instrictuions.

p195

"Four emissaries , supposed to have been sent from Cetywayo in the Incanhla Bush, made the following statement;-

"I was sent by Cetywayo, and told to lay my complaints before the Government at the Tugela to say that Oham and Usbebu were destorying all Cetywayo's people; that he is sleeping in the bush, and that he is afraid to go and see Mr. Osborn, as he is afraid of 'sbebu's people killing him, and I would like to know whether the British would come close to the bush so that I could place myself under their protection.

Usbiebu has taken 30 of my wives and children and all the good s given me in ngland.

Cetywayo says he had applied to Mr. Osborn, but was informed that the latter had no wpoer to send people to the bush without ~~xxxx~~ the sanction of 'overnment."

Osbron to Douglas 23/9/83 p195

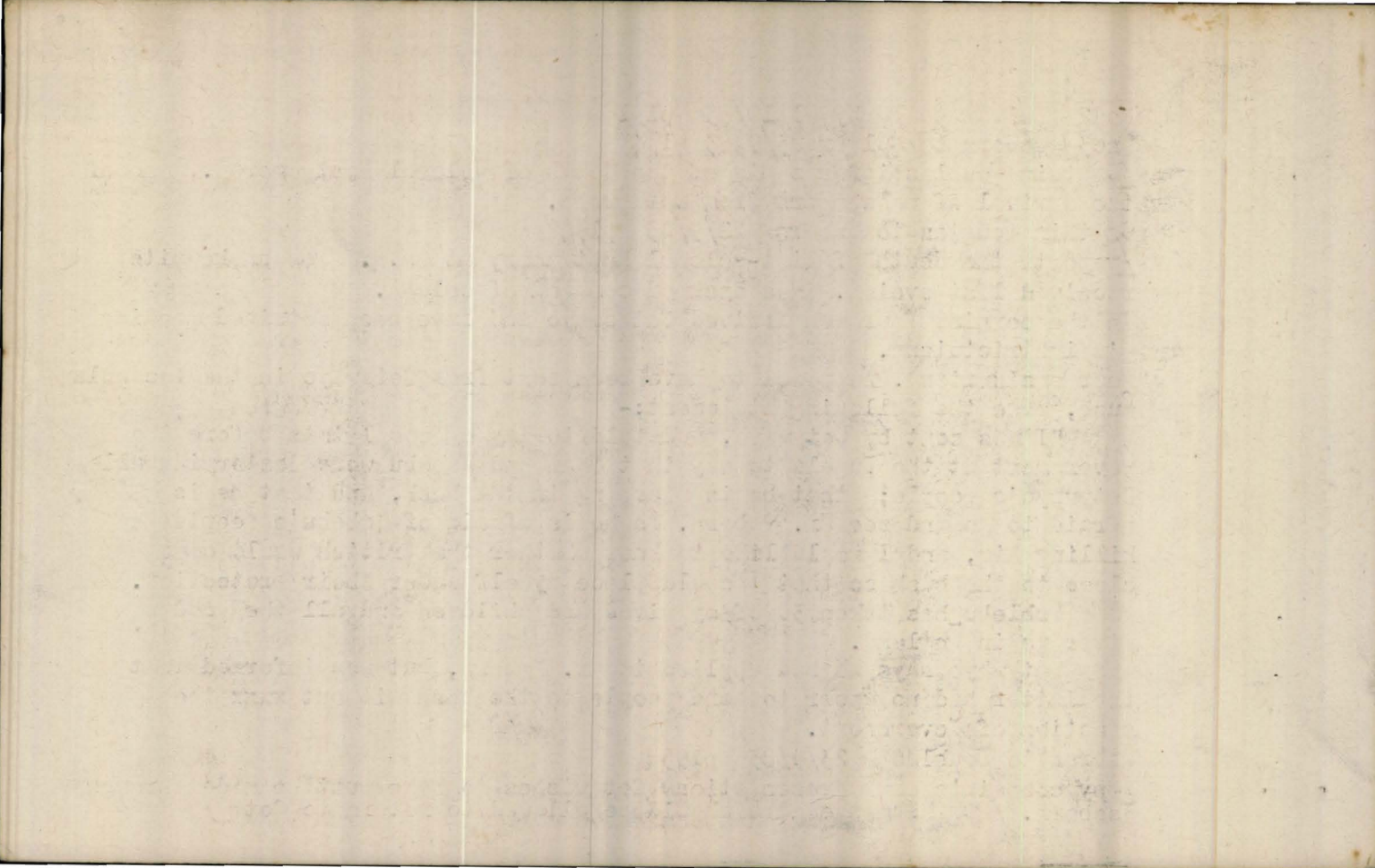
/Any compaints or representations Cet wishes to make must be made through soborn. / /the messengers should be allowed to return to Cet /

GH686

43

GH686

43





18856/N/83

C3864

No98 Bulwer to Derby 9/10/83 p206

The messengers Bulwer sent have returned <sup>on 2/10</sup> without persuading Cet to obey. He accused the messengers of being spies - spies in a territory under the Government. / "That they should be told this is, perhaps, but incidental to the present false position in which Cetywayo has placed us and himself by his behaviour in the Reserve.

"The answer given by Cetywayo to the messengers was, however unsatisfactory. He told them that he had fully intended going to Mr Osborn, but that he could not now do so, as armed parties were ready to fall upon him, and that the only object of the message was to get him out of the bush to be killed." This was only another excuse and there was only one thing to do but plan for a use of force and the Res's instructions on this matter are enclosed.

Meanwhile after this Cet sent another message to Osb saying he would come in if given a safe conduct. Osb sent an escort of Mr Oftebor and 100 mounted Hlubi but Cet changed his mind and refused to see them and denied that Zaiize had ~~sent a message~~ carried a genuine message. The Res must now act on my instructions.

~~XXXX~~ Enc8 Bulwer to Osborn 4/9/83 p210

Messengers sent to Cet returned on 2/9. Bulwer pointed out in clear, firm but friendly terms the necessity for him to dismiss the suthu force and recognition of the Res Comm. The reply was unsatisfactory. He accused J Hepstone of causing his troubles, did not refer to the dismissal of the force round him and he could not go to Eshowe as he would be killed. He said his words must go to the Queen and he would await her reply. /

"It is clear that this answer cannot be accepted; that the continuance of this present false situation is most dangerous to the peace of the country, and that the time has come when immediate compliance with the reasonable demands of the Government must be insisted upon, and steps taken to give effect to them by persuasion, if persuasion will yet avail anything, and by compulsory means if persuasion is of no avail.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I have therefore, to instruct you herewith to proceed to take such steps.

It seems to me that the best course for you to adopt will be at once to send a force, of such strength as may appear to you to be necessary, both for the purpose of its own /211/ safety and for the purposes of serving as an escort for Cetywayo, to some suitable and convenient spot near the Inkahlala, to some spot which is conveniently within reach of Cetywayo, and where also the force can take due precautions against surprise; that with this force you should send some reliable and responsible person in charge to receive and conduct Cetywayo to Eshowe, that on the arrival of the party at the place appointed trustworthy messengers, you who should be known to Cetywayo as your messengers, should proceed to him with a message from you, urging and requiring him to accompany the messengers to the place appointed, where the escort party will be in waiting to receive him, and to conduct him to you at Eshowe.

You will know best how far this suggestion is practicable or advisable, and in what way it can best be carried out so as to give assurance to Cetywayo of his personal safety, so as to secure his safety during his journey to Eshowe, and so as to ensure the safety of the escort party from treachery or surprise.

You will, of course, understand that the escort party is not to be composed of any portion of Her Majesty's troops.

Your message to Cet will assure ~~of~~ him of his personal safety and his good treatment at Eshowe. If it is unsuccessful you will have to take other measures of compulsion, which will ~~mean~~ mean raising loyal natives in the Reserved Territory as will be sufficient to search the Inkahlala Bush and the neighbourhood, to overcome any resistance that is offered to them, and to secure the person of Cetywayo.

"In the performance of this task, ~~if~~ you will take care that no violence is resorted to except in self-defence and against violence offered, and only then, and, in any case, such as may be absolutely required to assert lawful authority and secure the object in view."

HM troops will remain at Eshowe only being employed if they have to defend the station /







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C3864  
18856/N/83

Cet / Nkandla  
No98 Bulwer to Derby 9/10/83 p206

Covering letter and instruction to Res Comm in add notes

Enc 2 Statement of Natal messengers Swaimana and Sihloi 3/10/83 p207

G/14886  
/Reached kraals of Lurungu in "eserve on fourth day and there met Mfunzi /208/ who ~~had~~ was conducting Grant to Cet. Campbell had just left Cet. Messenger were charged of being spies but were eventually taken to Cethswayo sitting in the bush (note not in a kraal - and they did not follow a path to get to him - everything being done to hide his position) Cetshwayo said angrily that John Shepstone had ordered Z to kill him. "is only reoply to the gov was that he had inteneded going to sborn but could not now as armed parties were ready to kill him. "I shall give my reply to you on paper; that reply will be written by the white aman with me... This we declined, as we said we did not know what Mr. Grant was, and what authority he had to write Cetywayo's words."

Cetywayo ~~xxxx~~ then said, "I will then send my words on paper through Melimata, which words of mine must go to the Queen, and I shall here await the reply of the Quuen to those words." "

/Cet taliked for a long long time - but they were all complaints and we said we could not hear them and they should be spoken to sb. /

"We left, fully believein in our hearts that he would not go to Mr. Osborn, though we had constantly urged him to do so."

Enclosure 12 Osborn to Bulwer

/Because of enclosed message sent Yamela to see Cet and accompany him to Eshowe, and gave instuctions that a ~~parx~~ 1000 of "lubi's men should accompany him if wanted /"additional security for his personal safety indana on the way, beyond what would be afforded by the presence with him of my messengers



Zeize and Nomaquaba state. Ehsowe 1/10/83 p213

94686  
Cetshwayo said theat he would come to you but that Z is at the Babanango in pursuit of his / 'yamazana' (prey) which escaped from him with two wounds, and is now hiding in Nkandhla. One of Cet s spies was captured by Z near Babanagno and Z told him that he was doing these things on the orders of the Government.. /

"Cetywayo sas he wants to come to you, but he cannot walk all the way, he therefroee, aksks you to give him a horse to ride, aless a pari of trousers, a shirt, and a hat.

Cetywayo syas he belongs to the Queen and to the Governor, and he aksks who it is that is pulling him away from under them. He aks you, because you were always good to his family and his people, during his absence..

214 /Cet deipies the presence of Boers with him and he did not want to go to them. unn has spread this rumour. The interview with the Colonel is recounted. / on the question of what prop rty Z has stolen he says / "they consist of one hat, one stick, one coat, one mug, and one ring, fice articles, all ow which were given to him by the Queen with her own hands. /para/ Cetywayo says he did not send to the miliatry authorities in disregard of you; he sent to them because John unn had told them, untruly, that there were Boers with him at Nkandhla. He is coming in. /Osb replies that he will send Yamela for him - he cannot go himself or send the soldiers - and make aother arragnments for his safety.

Z won't cross the into the Reserve

Encll 11 Osb to Bulwer Tleg 5/10/83 /Yamela has returned Cet denies that he gave Zeizi authority to say he was coming in. Grant says that he will bring Cet to Eshowe if requested without escort /

"I have no business over the Umhlatusi, because the country there belongs to the <sup>U</sup>nglsih, and the Umhlatusi is now the Tugela; no one carries his arms beyond the Tugela. I am looking after the country on this...side of the <sup>U</sup>mhlatusi.

/Osborne replies that he gave no authority for Cet to report to Oftebro. Cet is expected without delay with Yamela.

Encl4 Oftebro to Osborn 4/10/83 p216 Mabuto's kraal nr Nkandhla

9H/687  
/received your letter of 1/10 and <sup>on 3/10</sup> proceeded to Mtubeni's kraals and was joined by Yamela and the Basutos. Sent to Cet that he would be at Lurungu's kraal Eziggilexni. Cet said that he might see Yamela alone. "We told Zeyize that if Cetywayo did not come to us we would go on to his stronghold, and take charge of him there." Mfunzi came from Cet 15 mins later saying that Cet was surprised at their being there and had asked for horse and clothes. Santinge then came repeated this and said that Zeyise was not to be trusted. Grant came and said that he would bring Cet to Eshowe with no escort. "I believe Mr Grant has advised Cetywayo to wait for an answer from the Governor to his letter. I believe Cetywayo would have come with us if had not been for Mr Grant's interference; I have no doubt that the message Zeyise and Nomagqwaba delivered ~~came~~ to you came from the king. Mr. Grant was not present when Cetywayo sent Zeyise. Iibebu has destroyed the Baqulusi, and killed Marubulwana; to day I hear he has returned to his camp at Babanango..."



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18856/N/83

C3864

No98 Bulwer to Drby 9/10/83 p206

Enc 13 Osb to Bulwer 3/10/83

Transmits letter from Cet and a message --

Cetywayo to Mr Osborn 28/9/83 p215

GH686  
"I would further acquaint you for the information of the R H S of S, abbreviated that the rumours which I am informed exist, and which have possibly been brought to the notice of HM Spe Comm, to the effect that I now am or have been in communication with either the Transvaal or Free State Government for the purpose of obtaining help, or that I have around me an armed force of my own people, or that I entertain any other than the most friendly feelings towards HMG, to which alone I look in the confident hope of obtaining help and relief, are wholly and entirely without foundation in truth, and that such rumours can only have been circulated in ignorance or malice."

Messages by Umtenyama, Utshingwana, and Nkunzmyama 3/10/83 p215

See below

Cet thanks for the message saying that Oftebro is looking after the Nkandhla. / "Cetywayo says, he would have come to you already, but he fears Usibebu's impi. He is like a snake in a hole, if he shows his head outside the hole Usibebu will cut it off.

Nkunzmyama and Thsingwana say they were sent with Mateni (oftebro) to Zibebu with the warning that he was not to cross the Reserve.

"Usibebu made no reply to him nor to Mateni, but asked me what I had to say, as from Cetywayo, I replied, Cetywayo sent no message, but he feared that Usibebu would /215/ attack him. To which Usibebu replied,

not yet received any acknowledgement."

dated 25th June last, and of which I have addressed to his Excellency by Mr. Grant,

Special Commissioner, in reply to a letter  
July 1883, written by direction of HM's

by me in terms of of a letter dated 2nd

written by my adviser, ... and duly signed

Resident Commissioner, "and" active Reserve

20th instant, and despatched that to the

beg to refer to the communication dated the

my feelings and attitude towards HMG, I

I at present occupy in the "Reserve, and of

HMG and myself in regard to the position

possible grounds of misunderstanding between

"Sir" with the view of avoiding all

"first para of Oct to Oct 28/9/83



First para of Cet to Osb 28/9/83

"Sir With the view of avoiding all possible grounds of misunderstanding between HMG and myself in regard to the position I at present occupy in the Reserve, and of my feelings and attitude towards HMG, I beg to refer to the communication dated the 20th instant, and despatched tht to the Resident Commissioner, Zulu Native Reserve written by my adviser, ,,,and duly signed by me in terms of of a letter dater 2nd July 1883, written by direction of HM's Special Commissioner, in reply to a letter addressed to his Excellency by Mr. Grant, dated 25th June last, and of which I have not yet received any acknowledgement."

270  
18856/N/83

C3864

No98 Bulwer to Derby 9/10/83 p212

Enc 9 Statements of Swaimana and Sihloi Natal messengers.

14826  
While ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ / Report their visit to Cet. All the way and in the reserve heard the rumours and saw the people frightened by rumoured attack by Zibhebhu on the Reserve - which they did not believe. In the kraal in which they first slept they were alone as the people were in the bush. They warriors they saw going to and from Cet were not fully armed as if for battle. After they left Cethswayo's stronghold was described to them. / "...as a circular kraal of rocks, there being only one way of ingress or egress; that only one person could pass over or crawl through at a time, and while doing so had to leave their assegais to be handed to them by another; that a strong fence was outside this kraal of rock, with a gateway that was kept closed; that a stream of water ran through this kraal, with its name to the natives as 'Emome'; that the people who were there to protect and guard him have their huts round and outside Cetywayo's hiding place.

Cetywayo did not appear happy or easy, he appeared to us to be startled by every sound, and we also observed that the same deference did not appear to be paid to Cetywayo as it was the custom to show when he was in full power in Zululand as king of it.

The men, and especially the women and girls of the Reserve, complained bitterly to us of having to keep Cetywayo supplied with so much corn and beer, and asked us when the Government would remove him and let them plough, as the season was passing; they also attributed all



the losses they had sustained in relatives to Cetywayo and in no way  
~~not~~ to Sibebu, who is held in great dread by all; Cetywayo's women we  
were told were scattered among the kraals on the Natal side of the Indanhlá.  
We could not ascertain whether any armed force was in the forest with  
Cetywayo, as we were kept from even the fastness we have already spoken of."

274

19499/N/83  
C3864

19500/N/83

Cet / Ameson

No78 Bulwer to Derby 12/10/83 pl62

/Snet a telegram / "(1) that Cetywayo had denied having authorised his messengers to say that he desired to come in; (2) that thereupon Mr. Fynn with an exhort had gone to him with a final message; and (3) that a report has since been received by Mr. Osborn from Mr. Fynn to the effect that Cetywayo will, he says, now come in."

17/1/47

Seen.

No  
difference

No79 Bulwer to Derby 15/10/83 pl62

/Sent telegram today saying / "that I have received a message from Mr. Osborn reporting that Mr. Fynn was on his way back to Etshwoe bringing Cetywayo with him."

(17765)

~~Max~~ C3864

No83 Bulwer to Derby 17/10/83 pl72-3

/Telegraphed you today that has heard from O that Fynn has arrived with Cet at Eshowe /





299

19598/N/83

179/148

Tutue fort

Minutes (desps removed)

"This requires a great deal of consideration - 1&2 are I think out of the question JB 17/11 "I think the fourth course much the best; but it is out of the question, I assume, for political reasons, and therefore I conclude that we shall come down to no.3 taking an explicit declaration from the Transvaal that they will not interfere in Zululand. this declaration will, however not be adhered to and it might be better to face the question now by placing the present reserve under the control of Natal and giving the Transvaal a strip of Zulu country on the frontier of the new State.

And what is to be done with Cetywayo's corpus? His removal from Zululand is urged in this teelgram, I is obviously most desirable. But I do not know that there is at presen sufficient justification in his conduct since he has been the 'guest' of the Resident for car carrying him out of the country against his will; nor do I see where he can be put. I think he will have to remain where he is ~~like~~ till some further development takes place

RIWH 17/11

This will have to go before the Cabinet D 17/11

/Desps to Pulwer dd ~~11~~ 17/11 and 20/11 in X864. Res of corresp is secret.\_@





280.1

19859/N/83

C3864

No107

*Usibebu's Director's Col*

No107 Bulwer to Derby 23/10/83 p226

Encl Osborn to Bulwer 13/10/83 p226

*2439*  
 refers to article / "As the statements made therein are not an accurate representation of the facts, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 3rd instant I received a message from Usibebu inquiring whether and when active operations would be taken against Cetywayo in Nkandhla; and stating that he thought it likely he would experience some difficulty in feeding the force he had with him if he kept it much longer at Babanango.

In my reply thereto, I expressed my surprise at the message sent by Usibebu. I said I had not asked him to come or to send his force to the border of the Reserve, and I had nothing to do with its coming there. And further, I could not understand how it concerned him whether or not forcible measures would be taken against Cetywayo, with whom I was still in friendly communication respecting his presence in the Reserve, for even at that moment my induna was away with message to Cetywayo, as he, Cetywayo, had sent to tell me he was desirous of coming to Eshowe. I concluded by again warning Usibebu against crossing the border or in any way interfering within the Reserve."

Enc2 Extract from TEm of N 11/10/83 see overleaf Headed "The beginning of the end. A last chance for Cetywayo. Usibebu to the rescue."

No119. C.O. to Dillwyn 3/11/83 p.244  
 [Forwards above & supports it]

C3864

Nol05 LLDillwyn to CO 19/11/83 p225

[Reports article and editorail in the Times of Natal dd 11/10/

"A correspondent whose testimony is worthy of all credence, and whose opinion should carry considerable weight, writes from Etskowe on the 6th instant, stating that on the previous Wednesday (that is the 5th), Johan Colenbrander came to Mr. Osborn,...with the information that Zibebu was tired of waiting at Ibabanango, ....and intended returning to his place ....,unless something was to be done at once in regard to Cetywayo. the reply sent to Zibebu was in the form of a request that he would wait a little longer; that a final message was to be sent to Cetywayo, informing him of what would be the consequences if he did not surrender to the British Commissioner, and giving him a certain time in which to comply with the order. If Cetywayo persisted in defying the authority of the British Commissioner, then Zibebu would be allowed to cross into the Reserve and proceed to the Inkandhla to deal with Cetywayo."

[The T of N although hostile to Cet complained of this in their editorial/

"It may be stated that in official circles in Pietermaritzburg the report of our correspondent at Etshowe to the effect that the British contemplated availing themselves of the services of Zibebu to capture Cetywayo, is said to be incorrect. We can only add, that if the report is incorrect there must be widely divergent views held at Etshowe and at Pietermaritzburg as to what is and has taken place."

[Dillwyn requests inquiry/



Nol08 Bulwer to Derby 23/10/83 p227

/Fynn has brought Cet in he is now at Eshowe. He aksed the R C if Grant could to stay with him but this was refused. The danger of the suthu force in the Inkandhla has no been got rid of without bloodshed but now antoher one arises - what is to be done with Cetshwayo?/ "Cetywayo is a fugitive from his own territory, forced to seek safety in foight by the daring courage and the military capacity of the chief whom he was endeavouring to destory, and at the very moment when he was garhering together his forces to overwhelm ~~h~~ him by sheer strength of numbers.

p228

/The disiaster of 21/7/ would indeed call for our sympathy if it were n not for the/conviction that he brought that misfortune entirely upon himself, and for the consciousness that had he not been overcome in that contest, which he himself had provokied, a far greater calamity would have come upon the Zulu country than even now has come upon it." /from the start he did not keep the conditions of his restoration, he was/dissatisfied on account of what he had not got, and he returned to Zululand in this frame of mind, and so spoiled by many circumsntaces t that he seemed tto have lost the astuteness and ~~sga~~ sagacity of which he had given proof in former years; so changed in this respect, and so headstrong, that he came to be talekd of in the Zulu country as a man 'bungukile' - as one who was 'off his head.'

In a great measure, I think, his conduct afterhis return is to be attributed to the injudicious sympathy and advice of his sympathisers outside Zululand. or in this way he was led to believe that he was being ill-treated; that the whole country ought to be his; that it had

and still was the intention of HMG that the whole country should be restored to him; that it was only the Natal authorities that had interfered with this intention; that the Natal authorities and those who were placed in official relations with him were personally unfriendly to him; that, however, they were nothing; that it was to HMG at home he should look, and that he could approach HMG in other ways than through the official authorities on the spot.

Thus it was that he came to distrust the local authorities, to look upon them as hostile to him, to disregard their advice, to disown the conditions and to break them. And thus it was that, by listening to others and not to the advice and warnings of the Resident, he was borne fatally onwards in a headstrong course.

In June and July 1883 it seemed that Cet had decided to conquer Z and then to make the position of the Res Comm untenable and induce HMG to restore it to him. All these plans were "at a stroke, stopped short" by Z's "surprising strategic stroke" but no sooner than Cet had arrived in the Indkanhla, he refused to obey the Res Comm and only now has he submitted.

"Cetywayo, it must, I think, be said, has lost the position to which he was restored by HMG. He has, strictly speaking, forfeited it by his non-observance of the conditions of his restoration, and by the violence

he has done to those /229/ conditions, and, practically, he has lost it by his flight from his territory, which has been left without a ruler, and by his inability to hold his own any longer unsupported, an inability which is unquestionably the result of his non-observance of the conditions, whilst his conduct in the Reserve and the serious embarrassment he has caused us, do not entitle him to our good office in re-establishing his authority.

What is to be done with him. Osborn is to report and Fynn to visit me for discussion before I submit the report.

243

17127/N/83

179/147

After long  
discussion

Minutes "I should be disposed to refer Sir H. Tulwer to Par 24 of Lord  
Kimberley's despatch of Nov 30 1882 and say that do not feel satisfied  
that compensation can be given to the three Europeans who have held what  
they of course have known to be a most precarious employment under Dunn -  
nor does it appear that local funds could meet the proposed changes.

As to Dunn's claim I would simply say that it is impossible to  
entertain it and that there are obviously no funds from which such a  
demand could be met if it were admissible. RLWH 30/10

I agree: But do not sword it as to shut out all consideration of  
such claims as the parties may be able to suggest. We hardly know  
which they are D 31/10



August .

240 17130/N/83

C3864

2 / Somkele

CM

No72 Pulwer to Derby 10/9/83 pl57

Forwards desp from Fynn on the subject of the messengers sent to Z telling to restore the campured women and children and Siteku. Z's reoply is not satisfacoty. / "His expeidition against Somkeli appears to have been undertaken with the sole object of capturing cattle. This diregard on Usibebu's part of the injuction sent to him by Mr Osborn about the end of July, I attribute in a alrge degree to the bad influence of some of the europeans with him. It is, indeed, to the mischevious interference, influence, and acvice of irresposnible white persons in Zulu affairs, that I attribute half the clal mities that have come upon the Zulu country sicne Cetywayo's restoration.

9H/684/162 Enc Fynn to Pulwer 27/8/83 Sitshwili

Zibhebhu returned to the kraal Nkungwini on 18/8 from Somkele's with Eckersley olenbrander Dark and another white. the messengers delivered their mssage.

"Zibebu replied:- How could his white bhiefs say he was making war? \* Cetywayo was killing him in continuation of the attacks upon him by Mdabuko and Mnyamana propor to Cethswayo's restoration. /recounts the attack of 30/3 /158/ another attack of 14/7 to the Tokazi hill against Mgo jana's people How could he remian still after that and be killed.

On the subject of the caputed girls he had released C's wives but according to cusitm the household girls were his peoples. /

"Cetshwayo\* had killed his brother Mbugazi...and had taken his household girls; if Cethswayo had, as he inteded to do, succeded in defeating or killing him...would the englsih overnment have clalled upon



Cethswayo to release all captive women and girls in the saem way as is now being done to him. that he was the child of the <sup>E</sup>nglsih Government who had conquered the Zulu nation to which he belonged. that he...had heard Cethswayo's people shouting on the hills to him, saying that, although he...had captured the girls, Cethswayo had sent to Gwalagwala... to sent to him for the release of all the Nkelile girls (marriggeable girls wearing their hair in knobs) who were to be considered as Cethswayo's wives. "As regards Siteku...Zibebu had said he could be released here with Cethswayo's families, but his <sup>(Zibebu's)</sup> people had taken him on. that Siteku was at liberty to leave whenever he desired. Siteku told my messengers he was coming, but the rains were delaying him.

<sup>/</sup>He had attacked Cethswayo to put an end to warfare. He had attacked Somkele to recover cattle taken before restoration. "That there was only one way of making Zulus keep the peace, when they became troublesome, eat up their cattle and make them submissive.

My messnegers replied " he should have have as the Englsih did with Cethswayo," bur Zibebu said, "the goodness of the <sup>E</sup>nglsih was very great, but wasnot befitting to balck people; see now what has happened, so many people dead."

<sup>/</sup>Z reports that a small force of Maboko's came from where he had fled with Hlomuza? across the Pongolo after 21/7 ~~was~~ while Z was at Somkele's and attacked Z's people near Mondula's kraal near and north of the Tokazi. Fynn's messengers learnt that Sityalwza\* <sup>✓</sup> of the Mgazini and bro of Masipula had offered to become Z's subject. That Mbandeni the Swazi chief had sent to tell Z that he had stopped Maboko <sup>✓</sup> fleeing with Z's cattle, and also Hlomuza, Z's brother in league with Maboko

On Z's attack many of Somkele's people and their cattle had fled to the island of Mhlanzi, (between the Cweba lake and the sea) and were not attacked. <sup>/</sup>



244

17131/N/83  
C3864

Mfanawendlela - Mabele Res.

No 73 Bulwer to Derby 10/9/83

Enc 1 Fynn to Bulwer 30/8/83 p159

SH  
686/63  
/Mfanawendlela Zungu, left on the 26/8, Sithileli (son of late Mqandi) and Sukana (brother to Cet) left on the 28/8, to interview the Res Comm on whether they should remove to the Reserve ~~in~~.

Zinecku (ka the late Tshingwayo) / "called here this morning, and expressed his fears regarding the safety of his people, and fear of sowing his crops. their early crops would have been sown before this.

On the 27th instatn, Ndaba Zambi Ka Tokotoko, and a son of Nogwaja, brought a cow as food from Cethswayo to an eldrly wounded woman here, Nomayibiya Ka /160/ Mecana Butelezi (wife of late Tokotoko), and formerly of the royla household. On the 28th Ndabzambi proceeded to Mnaymana with a message from Cethhwayo."

Enc2 Bulwer to Fynn 8/9/83 p169

/Acks above. Bulwer has always understood that Umfanawendhlela and Tshingwayo desired to come to the Reserve but were prevented by intimidation. /  
~~Tshingwayo~~ and chignwayo was believed to be forced to stay at Ulundi.  
~~Rax~~ It appears to Bulwer that if Umfanawendlela and Zinecku wish to come in now is the time - nomatter how great the inconvenience. the same applies to Sithilil and sukana who Bulwer is tld have always opposed Cet's authority been unwilling to accept



245

17522/N/83

C3864

Mfanawenhlela

No80 Bulwer to Derby 17/9/83 pl62

[Forwards statement from Mfanawenhlela on his situation/

"I would add, that I have ascertained also from other headmen and people residing in Cetywayo's territory, that no preparations are being made there for the putting in /163/ of crops, although the planting season has now arrived; and that this is owing to the unsettled condition of the country, the people having no assurance of being able to remain in peaceable occupation of the land upon which they are living long enough to ~~ex~~ bring to maturity any crops sown now." ends

Statement by Mfanawenhlela 3/9/83 pl63

"I have come to speak my words which I ask you to write down and send to the Governor. I wish the governor and the other great Chiefs of the Queen to know the things that trouble me and the other people in the country over which Cetywayo has been restored. I am Cetywayo's uncle, his mother being my own sister, and I do not seek to do him ~~x~~ any wrong, as he is of my own flesh. But I cannot remain quiet after all that has happened in Zululand since his restoration. Many lives have been lost, kraals have been burnt, and ~~xx~~ cattle and grain have been extensively seized or destroyed. There has been no rest in the land since Cetywayo returned. Many of the people of my own tribe have been killed, their huts burnt, and their cattle taken, without any wrong done by them. I ask, who is to blame for all the trouble. I ask, has Cetywayo observed the laws (conditions) under which the government restored him. Can it be shown that he has kept any one of them.



Taken as additional note

247

# Cetway Reserve Trouble

17523/n383

C3864

No81 Bulwer to Derby 17/9/83 p164

/Forwards despatches from Fynn and Osb and B's replies. Notes attmetp to divide them into section on the Ret and the reserve - and Cet's territory/

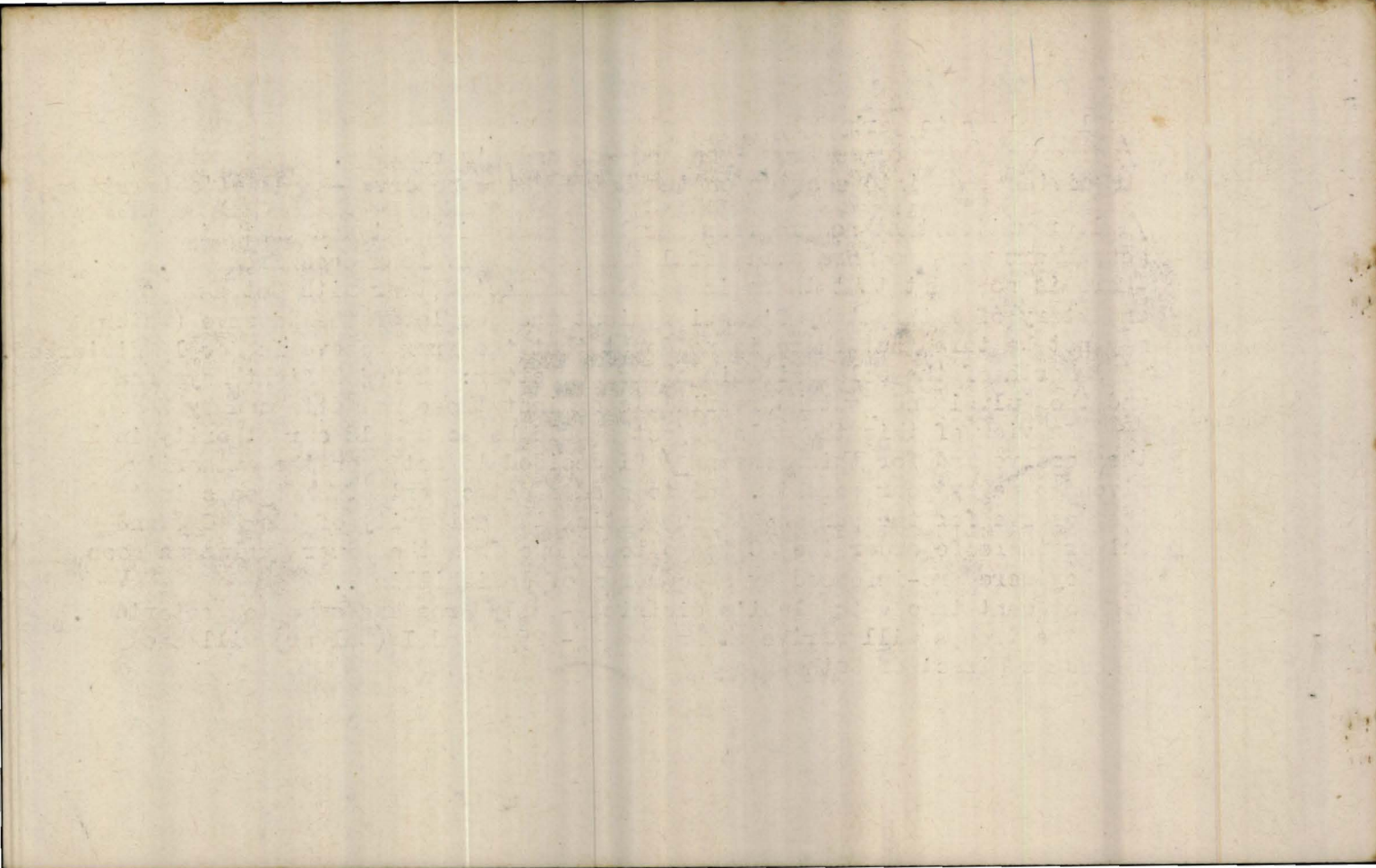
/Bulwer writes that no progress has been made with Cet and that his messengers were no more successful than the preivuous ones from Osb. There is no doubt that there is a force collected ther with Cet shwayo and story of a threat by D'manzi agaisnt the people of the Reserve (which may not be ture) but there is no doubt that the ~~apex~~ Reseve is deeply disturbed.

North of the Umlatuzi things are no better: H and Z fight Mnyamana and the Qulusi and sutuhu reprislals against those not attackcd by Z

"In view of this the main object should be to uphold our athority in the Reserve and for this reason / "I decided to act upon the authority given to me by your lorship, and to send a detachment of HM troops inot the Reserve for the purpose of supporting the authority of the R C / and Bulwer thereofe order the OC to go to Eshowe from the Lower Tuglea as soon as they were re-inforced by a squadron of Inniskilling..

Has not sent troops to Hlubi's district - only arms and ammo to Pretorious.

the troops will arrive at Eshowe +/- 25/9 and I (Bulwer) will sned a message direct of Cethswayo /





17525/N/83

C3864

No81 Bulwer to Derby 17/9/83 pl64

Enc6 Fynn to Bulwer 5/9/83 pl69

94686/164  
/With ref to 11th para of Fynn's desp of 27/8 / "Siketu\* passed within a few miles of this, ~~xxxxx~~ on the 27th August, on his way back from Zibebu with 30 head of cattle, and an escort from Zibebu, who are to proceed to Siunguza to receive surrender of cattle from Siunguza's people..." pl69 / "as learnt that six companies of Mahhlakazi have ~~attacks~~ been sent to attack Mabhoko for his attack on Mondaul's kraal (see above desp)

that+- 25/8 Z sent 20 companies on H's request to aid him against Mnyamana and the ~~xxxxx~~ Qulusi in the Ngome forest and ~~on~~ from 31/8-4/9 fire and shots were seen and heard from the Ngome forest.

~~xxxxx~~ It is rumoured that Cet has advised the Qulusi and Ntombel to remain in their places of refuge but wanted them against submitting to ~~Cet~~ H or Z

Enc7 in 81 Fynn to Bulwer 8/9/83 pl70

686/165  
94686/165  
/Territory in turmoil and refugees have been flocking to the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Fynn at Sitshwili. A Suthu force consisting of / "Msebe, Mambata, Guqu, ~~of~~ Maphela and Baqulusi people, and is assembled at the Mlandelelanga kraal of Simoi, a few miles this side, and east of Nhlazatye, and is preparing to make an attack upon Batonyile, Sukana, and Mfanawenhlela's people. That Cethswayo had directed these forces to join Mnyamana in defence against Zibebu's and Hamu's forces; but the Baqulusi objected to do so, so long as Mfanawenhlela's, Sukana's and Batonyile's people remained, as they are at their homes and unmolested by Zibebu's forces during the attack upon Cethswayo on the 21st July 1883, and were, therefore in alliance with Zibebu.

The Sutu force is under Ndabuko. Ukana's people are making for the Reserve and Mfanwendhlela's are about to but hestiating and Batonyile took refuge here this morning unable to go on after being out all night. Fynn has advised the epeople to escpae to the reserve/  
p171 "Mahabela (my private post-runner between this and the Nisinga, and residing nearer the Nhlazatye ~~with the~~ this) reports that Hlozi Sibiya, of Siteku, informed him he had been in company with the Sutu forces last night, and they had been collected by Gehleza (of late Dilikana) as an order from Cethswayo. That, last night, the force questioned Gehleza, as he had been sometime back from Cethswayo, how it was he had not mentioned the order before, and that this assembling was being done without Mnyamana's knwoledge, and were, therefore, ~~dispersed~~psed to taking further action in the attack. that the force, being insufficient, dispersed last night, arranging to reasemgle at the Ngome forest with Mnamana. Gohleza proposed that a capture of cattle be made, but the force objected to do so."  
Makuza of Batonyile saw a uthu force near the Nhlazatthe mission./

Enc2 Osb to Bulwer Ehsow 8/9/83 ~~xxxx~~ p166

Fynn rewuests permission to retire to Umsinga/

Enc3 bulwer to 'sborn Teleg 14/9/83 p171.

Fynn can move to Ehsowe/

252  
18032/N/83

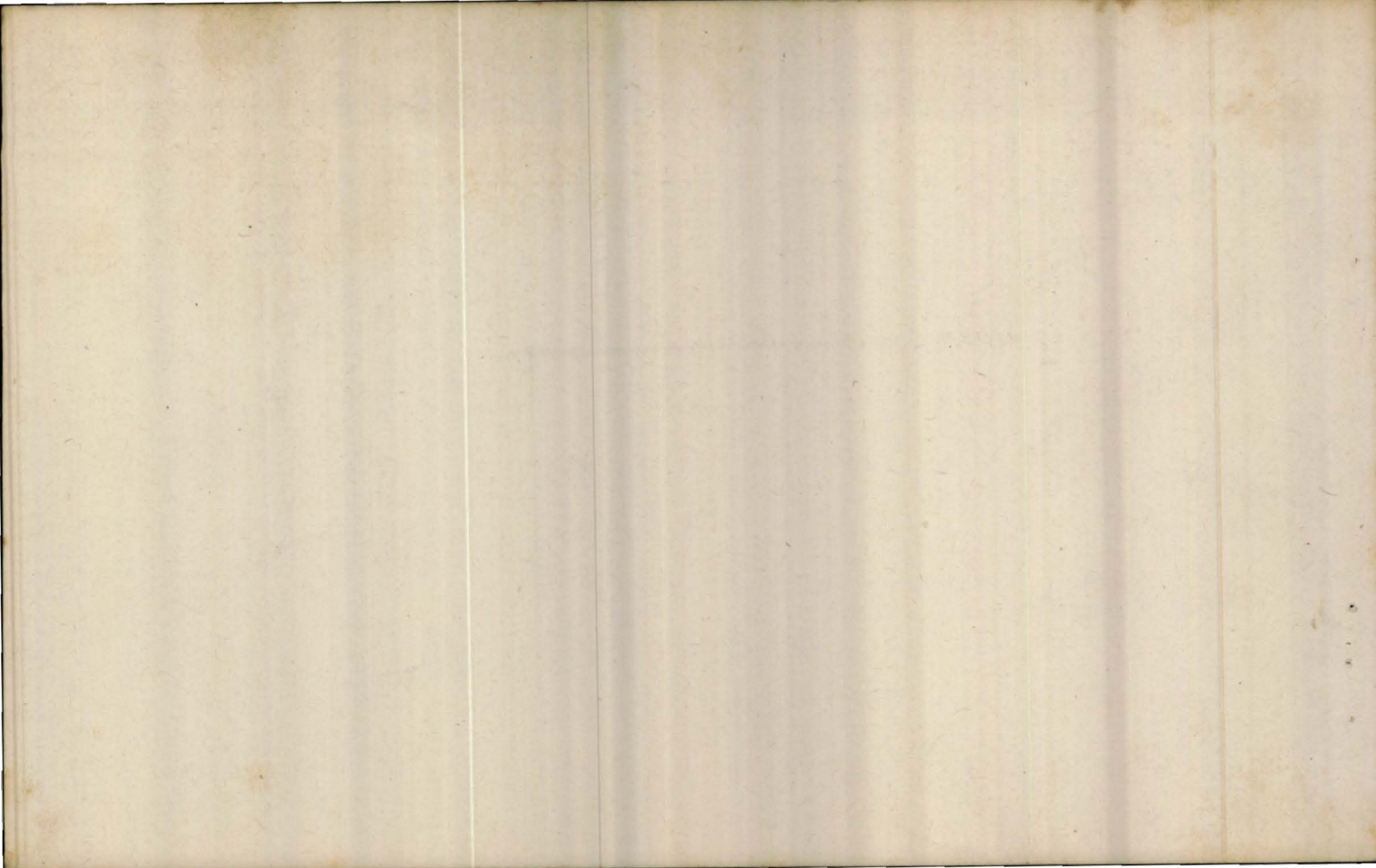
C3864

No 86 Zulwer to Derby 19/9/83 pl76

Enclosure Message despatched by messengers on September 19, 1983  
the Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for Zulu Affairs to Cetywayo

XEROXED





2001  
GH685  
13482/N/83

179/146

Minutes /nothing.

Bulwer to Derby 7/9/83, (Confidential)

Statements of Umtanti and Uqlela, messengers from Umfanawendhlela.

/We are sent to say/ "to the Governor that he is anxious to remove out of Cetywayo's territory into the Reserve but that Cetywayo has informed him that he won't allow him to remove with any of his property or cattle.

Umfanawendhlela asks that the Government will assist him in removing and have someone present to prevent from eating up all his cattle and property - he feels that he dare not remove without some protection from the Government and sends us to ask that he may be assisted by someone being present with authority from it. "

Enc 2 Bulwer to Fynn 7/9/83 \_confidential .)

/Informs Fynn but says he could not receive the messengers and M'wendhlela ought not to have sent them as he is in Cet's territory. He could not give an answer either but had then told he would refer it to you Fynn.

Suggests that he says nothing to Cet about it and should give M'Swenhela all the help you can. If you think a formal representation to Cet will be any good I will do it but must consult with you first. \_/

M'fanawendhlela

GH 685

Minutes /Bulwer aksks SNA what can be said to the messengers and he replies on 28/6 that they should be told to apply to Fynn for a safe conduct. Bulwer on 29/6 agrees / "But I am afraid that there is a certain amount of danger which would be incurred by Umfanawenöhlela in any representation that he makes on this subject. Perhaps the best course for me would be to send the correspondence confidentially to the British Resident with Cetywayo and for you to tell the messengers that I have refereed their request to Mr Fynn.



256  
18034/N/83

C3864

No88 Bulwer to Derby 24/9/83 pl79

Enc4 Fynn to Bulwer 12/9/83 pl81 *Sitshithili*

*GH 86/167*  
/Add info to his desp of 8/9. the *Sitshithili* forces mentioned / "consisted of sections of Sibeni, Gazini of Simoi, and Mambata of Gehleza (of *Nkombe* late Dilikana), who had assembled upon a message brought by sungula from Cetywayo to Gehleza, who delivered it to Simoi, viz., that these people were to capture cattle from any people leaving Cetywayo's territory..

/Sitshithili (son of late Mquandi, section of Sibeni) started on night of 8/9 for Hlubi part of Reserve but a position was intercepted by a force of Sigodo Mbatshana, and Mda~~du~~ of the Sibeni. On 8/9 Simoi of Gazini captured 10 head from Mguluza of Sitshithili but dispersed when it was rumoured that Z and H were coming - Rumour proved false.

Batonyile left on 11/9 for the Reserve ~~and Mfengwana~~ Rumour has it that the troops are coming on C's behalf. /

Enc 5 Fynn to Bulwer 16/9/83 pl82

*GH 86/18*  
/ "...on the 16th instant, Nyantshana (son of late Mfengwana, Mambata section of the late Mbuyazi) Fokoti, Maxibana, and Bekapesulu, were referred by me to the Chief Zibebu to solicit the restoration of 26 women, 1 man and 25 children, and 500 head of cattle, alleged by them to have been captured by Zibebu's forces from 14 kraals on the 22nd July 1883, of the Mambata section, and representing themselves to be adherents of Batonyile, whom I personally requested Zibebu not to interfere with.

/Hoping to effect a restoration of these women and children to the ~~'Mambata section'~~ 'Mambata section' fynn sent to Z to request their release.

Zibhebu agreed to release those women and children not already freed but refused to make restoration of the cattle as the applicants had taken up arms against him. / "It was true they formerly belonged to the Ziqoza (of late Mbuyazi, late Mpande's ~~son~~ son) but had joined Cethswayo in warfare against him, Zibebu; and since Cethswayo's defeat had, with a view of strengthening their claim for the restoration of their cattle, attached themselves to Batonyile (the sister of late Mbuyazi) "he would, however, release their captured families as I...had requested him to do" <sup>sq</sup>

+/ The messenger reports that Z was assembling his forces to stop nayamana harrassing mau's people who had to plant their crops now if they were not to starve. / / Qulusi have been visiting Cethswayo / Mr JEckersley to Fynn / orig in GH66/168 gives date as 10/9/83 / Z says that he has given up all Batonyile's property for which they thanked him and those who now make the claim are those people who left Batonyile and joined the Ki g and fought against him and he does not think it right that he should return their cattle as they have only returned in order that they might get their cattle returned. and Z finds the claim quite / 'unreasonable' /



260

18073/N/83  
C3864

Somkele / Z

LM

NO 90 Bulwer to Derby 24/9/83 pl89

GH 686  
/Forwards copy of a statement by Somkeli which bears out what ~~Osix~~ Bulwer said in No72 of 10/9 that the attack by Z on Somkele was due to 'other influences'. / "Under the present circumstances it is difficult to say much to Mr Dunn, ~~as I understand that messengers~~ who is giving very loyal support to the Res Comm in the Reserve; but as I understnad that messengers from Usibebu are on their way to me, I shall take an opportunity of speaking very strongly to them on the subject, with the view of preventing any futher action of this kind.

/It must be remembered that one of the points from which a general attack was to be made on Z was from Somkele's country, and that Z's people had alrady benn meslested by Somkeke's and it mibht be said that Z was now retailating / "Still it was an unncesarry act of retaliation and committed in face of the admintion of the Government; and it would not, I feel sure, have been committ4d but for bad advice given to usibebu."

Enc 16/9/83 pl89 Umhlelewa and Umsundwa state:-

"We are sent to you by our Chief Somkele to say that he has been attacked and is now being threatened with more trouble becuase he will not acknowledge the government, and this is why he is hated. Somkele says usibebu had no quarrel with him, and would not have made the seizures of cattle from him and his people had he not been put up to do this by others who hate him.. for thereasons stated. usibebu attakced him and made seizures immediately on the arrival at Mnhlagazi of Johan (olenbrander), who camfrom John Dunn, and it was these two who induced Usibebu to take



the proceedings stated against Somkele.

Somkele says he reports to you that messengers from Uisbebu come to him two days before we started to come here, three days ago, to say that Uisbebu ordered Somkele to collect all his men and send them to him ~~armed~~ armed as an impi. the messengers did not say the purpose for which the men were required. the messengers were still with Somkele when we left. Somkele says he does not see how he can comply with uisbebu's request, as he has no armed men to send. If he had an impi he should have offered armed resistance to uisbebu when he lately seized his, and his people's cattle."

/Osb replies that he will inquire/

18496/N/83

C3864

Cetywayo / contacts troops

No63 Bulwer to Derby 28/9/83 pl28

/Has that day sent tel saying/ (1), that Cetywayo had sent a message to the troops to say, that if they would go to where he was, he would put himself under their protection, and that with respect to this message, Mr. Osborn had directed an answer to be given that nay communciation should be made to him; (2) that Mr. Osborn also had received a message from Cetywayo which was of a more amenable tone; (3) that U<sup>u</sup>sibebu with a force has appraoched the Reserve Territory with the object, it is statedm of preventing Cetywayo from escaping; (4) that U<sup>u</sup>sibebu has been warned by Mr Osborn against entering the Reserve Territory; and (5) that it would seem that the sutu force is not at this moment in the Reserve Territory." ends "





# Dunn Compensation

No96

C3864

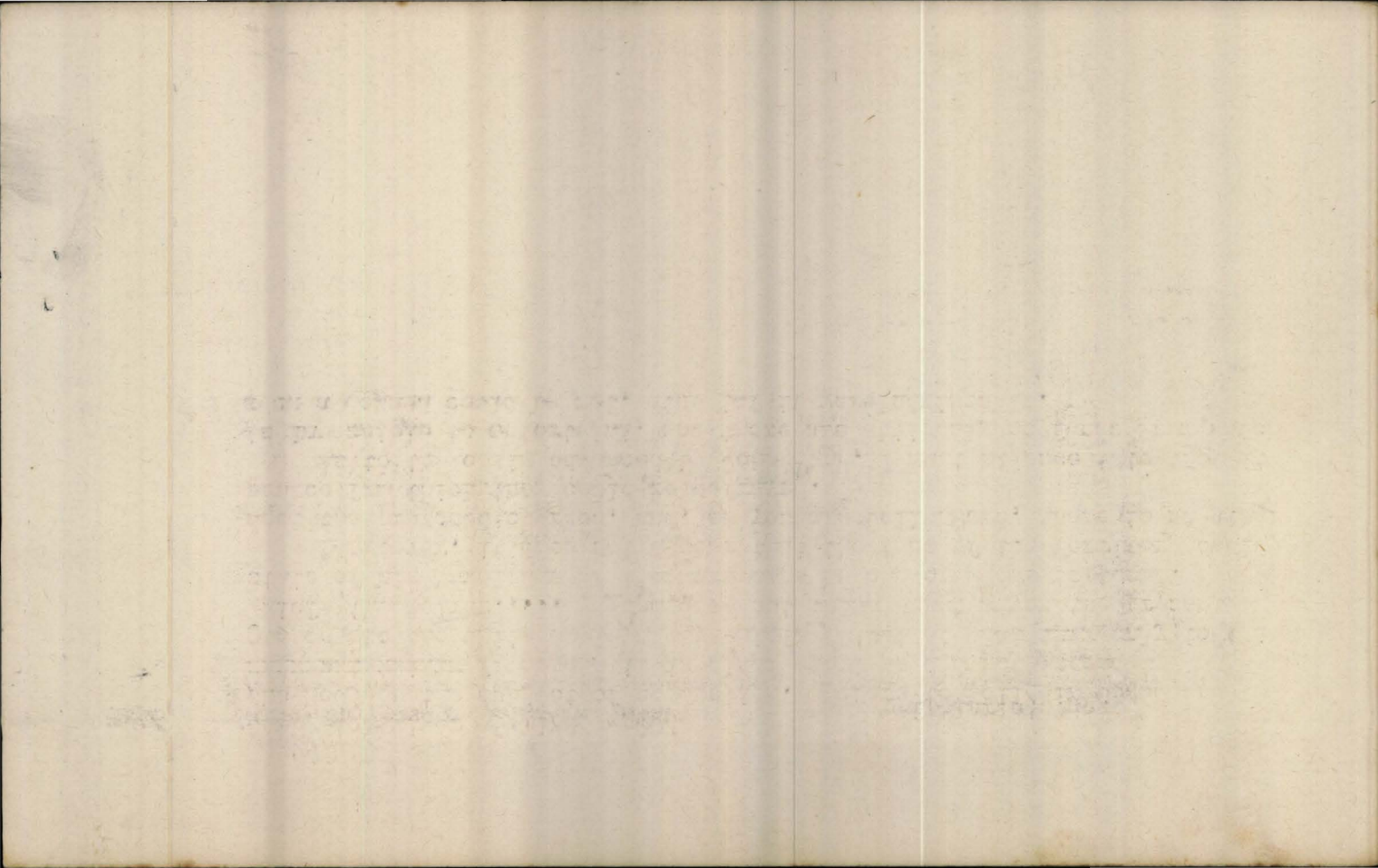
Derby to Bulwer 5/11/83 p204

<sup>Kimberle's despatch</sup>  
Lks No69 on the subject of comenstion. Refers to Noll4 in C3466 and  
~~does not think~~ from this it is clear that e did not intend to  
compensate the whites employed by Chiefs/ 'but at most ~~then~~ only to the  
hiefs themselves.,.... /and does not think that given the present  
state of his knwoledge of the uropeans he can comepens te them ./

"Moreover, it does not appear that the funds of the Territory could  
meet the propoded charges, and, as you are well aware, there is no other  
source ~~from~~ which they could be defrayed.

As to the calim advanced by John Dunn, I must at once state that it  
is impossible to entertaini, and there are abviously no funds from which  
such a demand could be met, even icf it were admissable.

GH684





179/155

5314

A Reuter telegram dated 30/3/84 speaks of the alarm in Zululand and the missionaries are now leaving as the country is considered unsafe for whites and news of fights. /

Minutes "The thing presses. I wish we ~~could~~ ~~had~~ had settled it before Usibepe was so much worsted. But a declaration now may stop further attacks on him if it is known he is to be relegated to north of the Umvolosi E A Mar 31

Seen D M.31"





201 8491/N/83

C3864

No92 bulwer to Derby 1/10/83 p191

/nc 2 Reply of Zibhebhu to messengers sent by Bulwer 24/9/83 p194

[It is now 22 days since we left to visit Z. We reached Z on the 10th day stayed two and left on the third.]

G/H 636  
S/N 643/83  
"Sibebu said:- that he thanked for words of the Governor; that the words of Melimata... had reached him after his attack upon Ulundi; that he ... wished to sit still in the country given to him by the Governor, but that Cetywayo would not let him do so; that Somkeli had cattle of his, which he would not give up when asked to do so; Sibebu had, therefore, to go for them himself, and he had succeeded in finding them and taking them; he did not go to Somkel's to kill ~~ex~~ people.

As regards the women and girls that were taken captive by his people in the attack upon Ulundi, he wished us to say that every married woman had been allowed to return to her own people, but that unmarried girls - of which there were 20 at his own kraal - could just as well, he considered, marry the men of his tribe, they were not kept as prisoners, and were happy and contented.

We say these girls, and they were quite happy, dancing, talking, and laughing with the people of Sibebu, and were, as far as we could see, well cared for. [Z pointed out that a few days before 21/7 59 women and girls had been taken by the usuthu and not returned,]

Enc ~~xx~~ 8 Statement 29/9/83

G/H 636  
S/N 643/83  
[ade by Ngalonkulu and Felepu the aboe messengers]

[hey describe their journey. Passing the Inkanhla heard that Mhauamana's



men and Qulusi were passing 'in one continuous stream' every night to see Cet. Crossed the Umhlatusu and saw the burnt out remains of Mfanwendlela's people's kraals. Left Tynn and crossed the Black Umfolosi where the kraals were deserted and burnt out. ~~Saw~~ In Zibhebhu's country saw large numbers of skeletons of men killed by Z in the March invasion and on reaching Zibhebhu's kraal found that Z was collecting a force to 'open the way to M for Uhamu to get to Sibebu's' but others said he had gone to attack Mnayamana in the Nogme forest...

Z treated them very kindly saying that he respected the Govt, had only attacked to defend himself. Returning near the Inkhahlala found the usut overbearing and insolent and some of the Reserve people complained bitterly of Cet being allowed to <sup>settle and</sup> interfere in the Reserve /

Enc9 Bulwer to Shesstone Mintue 29/9/83 p201

/Does not find Z's answer satisfactory. Mutual restitution of women should be attempted. The messengers from Z should be told that his attack Somkele seems 'totally unnecessary' and he should be warned against taking advice from certain Europeans ~~which~~ / "because in most cases those who give advice give it for their own ends, or, at any rate, are apt to give imprudent, unwise, and sometimes mischievous advice.

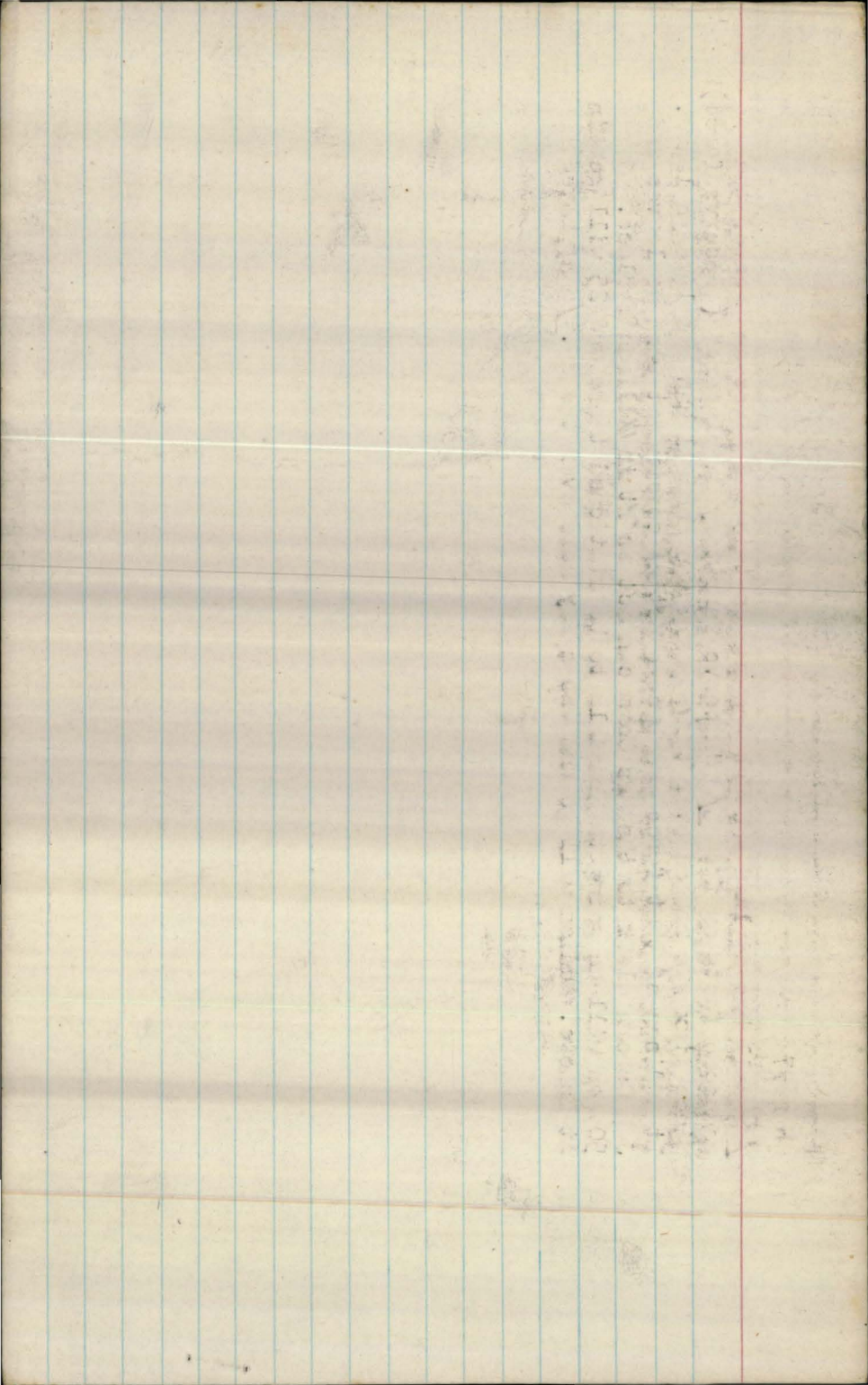
do not believe in the instance of Somkele, that Usibebu would have attacked him had it not been for advice of this sort. And Sibebu should beware of this kind of advice, and listen only to the advice of the government." /para/ Usibebu, I am told, is arrived with an impi at Thabanahgo. Tell the messengers that I have heard this, and that I must impress upon Usibebu the paramount importance of nothing being done by any of his men in violation of the Reserve Territory, for to do his will be an act of aggression against the government." ends



GH 697

Nongui / Addison

~~/Mansell has applied and Osb recommends this and gives an idea of the~~  
~~and some facts on the~~ / "REserve Territory Carbineers" ( Reserve force)"  
Since it~~xx~~ was raided over three years ago Mansell has had 14 days leave.  
Lt Addison of that force can become acting commandant when he leaves and  
J H Osborn clerk to the Res Comm can act as Lt in Addison's place.  
50 men will be going to Nkandhla to be stationed there and 25 will remain  
at Eshowe. Addison will go and Osb s aay here over the 25. / Approved



Zululand : Revenue

GH 709

Z12

Holland to Havelock 14/12/87

CO to The Treasury 1/12/87 <sup>Ref to</sup> ~~the~~ Hav's desp No52 of 20/10

in which he asks that in the 1888 Estimates there be included an additional Magistracy and Staff at Eshowe the seat of Government and an additional sub-inspector and thirty seven men at an extra cost of £2059 / " he political state of Zululand has been considerably disturbed owing to the intrigues of certain white men among the natives, and has necessitated, and will for some time necessitate, constant and anxious attention of the part of the R C . /

Treasury to CP 10/12/87 / Rather reluctantly granted but ~~hopes~~ says the police post must be temporary not carrying pension or compensation.



1. The first part of the report is a general  
description of the project and its objectives.  
2. The second part is a detailed description of the  
methodology used in the study.  
3. The third part is a description of the results  
of the study.  
4. The fourth part is a discussion of the results  
and their implications.  
5. The fifth part is a conclusion and a list of  
references.

179/165

1080

Minutes Geneally approving

Hav to Stanhope \* 15/12/86 / Reports on gold prsœcting and mining in  
Reserve / / here's gold there but whether it i economic to mine has not  
yet been decided. Permanet occupition has been denied prsepctors  
& Enclsoes fo corrsponce between sborn and Hav follwo the diggings are in  
a deep valley of the Mfongosi Diggers at Mfongosi about 200 and two more  
areas in the Nkandla discovered one at the junction of the tugela and Buffalo  
and the other at junction of Mhlatuse and Vungweni and  
Revenue from old fileds at Mfonsogi by November over £900 poinds but  
it had been used up b messnegers on gold giled business







179/165

789

Mansel and the deficiencies in his stores

Minutes /Inefficient bookkeeping write ti off\_/

Hav to Stanhope 8/12/86

Rnc 1 Mansel to Res Comm and 11 enclosures

1875

and the whole of the year 1875  
the first of the year 1875  
the first of the year 1875  
the first of the year 1875



1892

17,590 Ngutu

50,434 Estate

17,541 Nkondwa

22,293

85,565 \* ~~3~~  $\frac{10}{10}$   $\frac{3}{10}$

8556.5

3

25,669.5 no. of huts

1884.

9182  $\times \frac{10}{3}$

30,607 ~~huts~~ pop.



1815

1815

1815

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1815

11  
Dunn  
GH 682

His desp covers compensation of ex-appointed chiefs. I am here interested in Dunn's account of how he was given his territory not his claim for £20,000. /

"John Dunn states in reference to compensation claimed by him :

I claim the sum of Twenty thousand pounds £20,000: as compensation for having been deprived of my position as chief of my territory and for having been deprived of my territory granted to me in 1879 by Sir Garnet Wosley acting on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and for loss of the rank and emoluments appertaining to the position and territory both of which I have been deprived. I make this claim in addition to my existing right to a location within the Reserve for myself and the people who form my tribe and who live under my authority as their chief.

X All public revenue received by me, including hut taxes, during the period I held the position of an appointed chief was disbursed by me for public purposes within my territory and for the maintenance of myself and my family. I expended over £1,000 on road making I supplied without charge to the people in my territory fifty Ploughs to promote an improved system of agriculture. I appointed three European Magistrates and paid them at the rate of £200 per annum each and made them each an allowance of £20 for collecting hut tax and £50 for building to be put up by them also travelling expenses when specially authorised. I paid ~~salt~~ salaries to my clerk and to an overseer which together amounted to £270 per annum, and I defrayed the cost of postal communication. I paid the



Norwegian Mission Eshowe an annual grant of £50 in aid of the Mission. I defrayed the cost of all police and messengers, and during the great scarcity of food last year I relieved those of the people who were in want by supplying them largely with mealies and rice at cost price in Natal; to the poor natives I gave mealies gratis. During the long time the disturbances continued last year in other parts of Zululand which threatened also my territory I kept a large number of armed men assembled for protection purposes and these were fed by me on cattle and grain at a heavy cost. As chief of my territory I was bound to exercise and defray hospitably to the heamen and people under me and to all visitors arriving and messengers.

In this manner all revenue received by was expended and no balance remained for personal enrichment. As regards personal property I am now not as well off as I was when I accepted my appointment as chief in 1879 " Eshowe 21/4/83

Dunn to Osborn 24/4/83 Ungoye

"Not having received any communications from you in answer to a letter written by me on yours notifying to me on the 23rd of December 1882 that my authority as Chief of the Territory over which I had been appointed by Sir Garnet Wosley on the Settlement of Zululand after the war, would cease on the return of Cetshwayo, in which letter I stated that I claimed fair and just compensation for so being deposed.

/Brings a conversation he had with MO on 21/4/X/x and claims confirmation  
~~on the following grounds~~ /

"I held an acknowledged independent position as a Chief before the war, with two districts under my right, and any people leaving any of the chiefs or heamen and coming into these districts to live under me



Dunn to <sup>U</sup>sb 24/4/83 continued

were considered my subjects , and they were not subject to the call of the King, in fact were considered to have left the Zulu power.

On the war breaking out my intention was to have remained neutral but was not allowed to do so by Lord Chelmsford, who promised that if I removed to Natal with people he would see me reinstated in my possessions on the termination of the war. This I did but having taken an active part in the war, I decided not to return to Zululand and it was only on Sir Garnet Wolseley's offer of the Chieftainship and his word that Cetshwayo should never return to Zululand that I accepted the Chieftainship.

Shortly after I was in possession I brought to the notice of the Resident for Zululand the position I held in Cetshwayo's reign, and therefore consider that I should be classed as with one of the ordinary appointed Zulu Chiefs.

At the meeting of the first headmen who came in to surrender to General Crealock at Port Durnford, (these men had been induced to come in by me) when Sir Garnet came, and was present ~~in~~ he told them that if they had anything to say they were to speak out, Undhlandaga acting as spokesman said, you abelungu have conquered us, we wish no more for a black King, the King to rule over us must be a white one, and the one we mean is that one John Dunn, pointing to me, he knows us and knows our ways.

After the meeting Sir Garnet took me to his tent and on thanking me for my services said he understood that I had held the ~~pos~~ position of an independent\* chief in Zululand before the war and if I should like my Territory extended, I said I should.

After the final battle of Ulundi I asked Sir Garnet to allow me to return to Natal, this he refused to do, saying, I think you will find it

to your benefit to remain with me until this is settled.

On arrival at Ulundi I mentioned in conversation the loss of all my household furniture with buildings &c Sir Garnet asked me why I had not removed all before the war, Mr. J Shepstone was present, I answered that I had ample time to ~~do~~ have done so, but was misled by a letter I received from Mr. Shepstone officially requesting me on the part of the Governor to inform Cetshwayo that there was no intention on the part of the English Government to make war with him.

On the capture of Cetshwayo Sir Garnet sent his private Secretary to me with a rough sketch of the intended settlement, asking me if I would accept a Chieftainship. My answer was yes, provided Cetshwayo should never be allowed to return to Zululand, to this Sir Garnet gave his promise, and on these conditions I accepted the position which I otherwise would not have ~~done~~ done /;para/ When I went to reside in Zululand it was at Cetshwayo's earnest\* request with a promise of choice of land, and the object I had been working for in Zululand was to have secured a title to land from the King and people of the Zulu nation which object I had to a certain extent attained by being recognised as an independant\* Chief in Zululand.

/I lay my claim on the above grounds, and I consider that I am not an ordinary appointed Chief, and I would not have accepted the appointment if it had not been permanent but I would have procured land in Natal on which I would now be settled. /

Bulwer-JW Shep 28/2/83 [encloses extract from desp of 3/10/82 paras 22. and informs him that the S of S says that no announcement of compensation should be made but special cases should be reported. 13/3/82 JS

~~XXXXXXXX~~ says that Dunn and Hlubi have benefited from their appointments



RM(Z)Nqutu

5/1/12

Folder Emigrants Pass Cases /These seem to concern the movement of Basotho, and Natal Africans into the Reserve. JWS seems to start but soon afterwards Osborn's bans this, perhaps because of the refusal of the British Government to sanction such movements.\_/

/File opens with a Pass written by JWS for Matebe or Luputswana to go to the Free State to fetch property "and his people" to return to the Reserve. Signed at Isandlwana 2/3/83 Signs himself British Commissioner.

ALP to <sup>J. Knight</sup> ~~Bynd~~ 26/5/83 /Nonebele has presented a pass for nine others, property and cattle to report to Hlubi to settle. This is a mistake. Hlubi has not authority here now and "my instructions from the RC Mr Osborn are absolute, nm. not to allow for the present under any circumstances whatever, any natives from Natal or anywhere else to come into my district."

J. Knight <sup>Adx</sup> ~~From~~ RM Msinga 30/5/ /Sorry mistake out of habit

ALP to Knight 1/6/83 "Nondubela gave me trouble. He appeared to have had the hope that my orders would be reversed and consequently disobeyed them. I had to fine him for it / / Nondubela's father received permission from Mr Shepstone to build one kraal at Bloodriver as a watch on the border"  
/I have allowed this with 7 huts.\_/



1. Knight

ALP to Knight 1/6/87 "Wondubela gave me trouble. He's seemed to have had the hope that my orders would be reversed and consequently disobeyed them. I had to fine him for it. Wondubela's father received permission from Mr Shestone to build one kraal at Ploolriver as a watch on the border. I have allowed this with 7 huts. I have allowed this with 7 huts.

from Natal or anywhere else to come into my district."

nm. not to allow for the present under any circumstances whatever, any natives authority here now and "my instructions from the H. of O. are absolute, and cattle to resort to hunt to settle. This is a mistake. Hundi has now ALP to Knight 26/5/87 Wondubela has presented a pass for nine others, properly

Reserve. Signed at Tassilwa 2/5/87. Signs himself British Commissioner. to the Free State to fetch property "and his people" to return to the life opens with a pass written by JWS for Matebe or Imantwana to go

British Government to sanction such movements. afterwards Oshorn's name this, perhaps because of the refusal of the Basotho, and Natal Africans into the Reserve. JWS seems to start but soon

5/1/12

RM(2) Knight

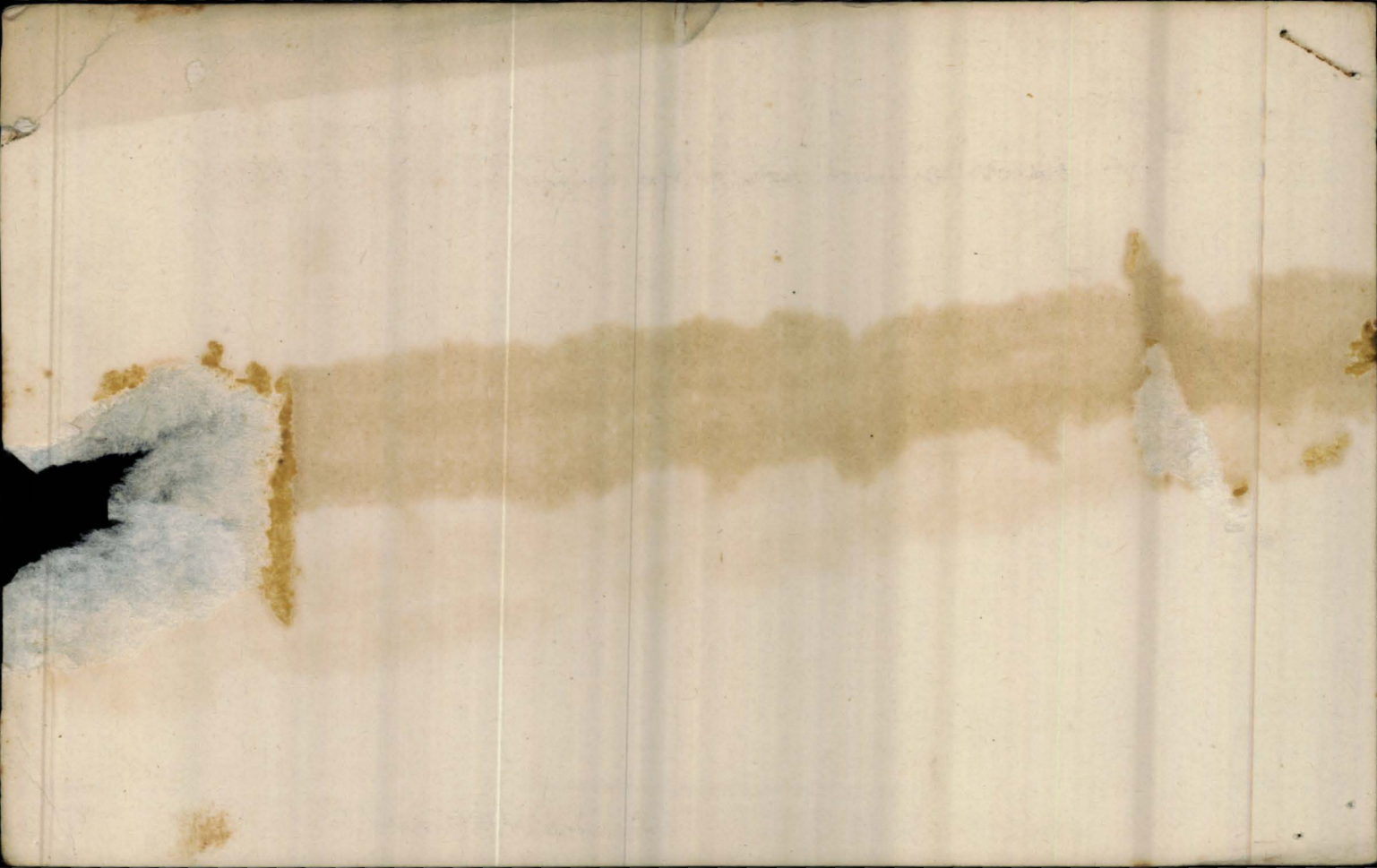
9903/N/83

Reserve.

C3705

No42 Bulwer to Derby p70 12/5/83

Notes taken in additional series. On the question of what extent HMG  
will protect the inhabitants of the Reserve\_





C3616

9903/N/83

No42 Bulwer to Derby 12/5/83 p70

encloses correspondence on the unease in the Reserve as a result of Cetywayo's interference there

2 Mr Osborn forwards a letter from Chief J. Dunn, in which he asks for information as to whether the people of the Reserve are assured of the protection of Her Majesty's Government in the event of molestation by Cetywayo.

3 The question is one of ~~the~~ great importance and gravity. I have all along submitted to Her Majesty's Government that the return of Cetywayo to Zululand and his restoration to any authority could alone be justified by Her Majesty's Government being prepared to undertake such a measure of responsibility as would enable it to secure the other interests and objects which, as I had shown, were bound up in the question; that if Cetywayo's authority were restored it must, therefore, be limited to one part of the Zulu country, and that in such case the other part must be taken under our direct protection and authority, and that if Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to do this I considered the objections to Cetywayo's return were insuperable. I sketched out what I considered was the fullest extent of territory over which it would be either prudent or right to restore Cetywayo's authority, and with regard to the Reserve Territory, which I termed the 'Protected Territory', I pointed out how necessary it was that this should be and should be declared to be under British ~~xx~~ protection and authority. Then, assuming the acceptance by Cetywayo of the conditions of his restoration, and assuming his observance of those conditions, I stated, from a desire to save Her Majesty's Government the necessity of keeping any garrison in the protected territory and any expense beyond that perhaps of the first year, that it would not be necessary to maintain a garrison there or to appropriate any ~~annual~~ grant to the administration, as the territory so long as it had the moral support, and was under the proper management be rendered self-supporting and independent of assistance. I felt sure, I say, that this would be the case, provided - but this was an important proviso - provided that Cetywayo faithfully kept his conditions. Of course if he did not keep his conditions but attempted to disturb the arrangements the case would necessarily be altered, and then it might become necessary, I said, for Her Majesty's Government to enforce its authority and take further safeguards for the future.

4 That is, in brief, the outline of what I said and submitted on the subject. HMG did not accept the limitation of territory I had suggested, but gave over to Cetywayo a portion of what was intended to be the Reserve Territory and by this alteration two-thirds of the whole country ~~xx~~ have come under Cetywayo. The term 'protected' was also withdrawn from the reduced territory left as the reserve, and by the withdrawal of that term the danger that I foresaw and pointed out in my Despatch of the 15th February (No 23 in C3616) as likely to arise has arisen, and intrigue is busy at its work, interpreting the withdrawal of the term in its own way and to suit its own purposes, and is telling the people of the Reserve, you had better acknowledge the authority of Cetywayo, for if you do not and he attacks you the Government will not interfere, and you will have to defend yourselves. Cetywayo has not kept his conditions; he has interfered in the Reserve and he has invaded Z's territory

p71 Under such circumstances our position towards the Reserve Territory becomes one of grave responsibility, for that portion of territory, small as it is, is the only means we have meeting our obligation towards the Zulu people, and the only obstacle that opposes itself to the great danger which, after all has happened, will threaten the Colony of Natal from any rehabilitation of Cetywayo's power as ~~xx~~ it was before the year 1879.

In accordance with the original understanding that the military detachment should be withdrawn from the Reserve Territory, as soon as a local force was established the detachment has returned to Natal, and its withdrawal takes away one of the most visible signs of our ~~connexion~~ <sup>that Cetywayo</sup> with the territory and of our responsibility towards it. And now ~~this territory~~ has so openly shown his disregard of the conditions with respect to this territory and with respect to Usibebu's territory, and I am afraid his intention to upset, if he can, the arrangements which would exclude those territories from his authority, it is a question I submit for HMG to consider if, looking to our responsibilities towards the Reserve Territory and the Zulu people, and looking to the important question of the safety of this Colony, the time has not arrived for establishing with a strong and firm hand our authority and protection in the Reserve." Ends



GH684/14

Enc 1 Osborn to Bulwer 3/5/83 p71

Forwards letter from Dunn asking if they are sure of the protection of HMG against Cethswayo. Osb has found it necessary to ask Bulwer for instructions on this important question. Cethswayo interfere in the Reserve, his assurances that the Queen gave the whole country to him, his threats of vengeance on those in the Reserve who won't join him all have the most unsettling effect. "The latest report that is being spread by those who interest themselves in his behalf is having a very mischievous effect, the report being that not notice will be taken by the Government of any action that Cetywayo might take within the Reserve for the punishment of those Chiefs and people who refuse to acknowledge his authority, and that they will have to defend themselves against any force sent by him. It is the prevalence of this rumour now being industriously circulated, which, I understand, has chiefly induced Mr. Dunn to ask the question contained in his letter transmitted herein.

I think it right to state my opinion here that should it be decided that any aggressive action that Cetywayo might take against natives residing within this Reserve will involve him in no direct responsibility to the Government and that the inhabitants of the Reserve will be left to deal with him by themselves, only one result can be expected, namely, open conflict, ending in a partition of those now opposed to him withdrawing their opposition and giving him their allegiance, while the other, and I believe latter portion of those who are against him, will flee into Natal.

That such a conflict, if it did occur, would be of the most serious nature, and terrible in its consequences to those natives who will not recognise Cetywayo's authority within the Reserve, cannot be doubted; for not only would they have to encounter any force he might send against them, but they would also have to contend against the hostile proceedings of many natives living in the Reserve who are either voluntarily in favour of Cetywayo, or who dreading his vengeance declare for him.

Mr Dunn to Mr Osborn 1/5/83 p72

"Sir, As one of the deposed chiefs I have the honour to request that you will make it known to me if the inhabitants of the Reserve are assured of the protection of HMG in case of molestation from Cetywayo, or whether we have to look to our own protection." ends

Mr Osborn to Mr Dunn 2/5/83 p72

Ref to above points out Cety's conditions, but if he disobeys has applied to Bulwer for instructions. In the meantime welcomes interviews with Chiefs on the subject of their apprehensions and possible ways of guarding against usutu threats.

Enc2 Bulwer to Osborn 12/5/83 p73

Approves of Osborn's actions and has referred the matter to HMG.

GH684/14



C3705

No37 Bulwer to Derby 9/5/83 p59

Enc 1 Fynn to Bulwer 24/4/83 p59

"Sir, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Cetywayo, per ~~Makewu~~ Makewu and Moblukweneni, asks for a pass for witnesses in the case of alleged assault by Mr John ~~Makewu~~ and his police.

2 Makeyu\* states that Rulumendi\* (Governor of Government) told him to bring the witnesses to him at Pietermaritzburg with a pass from me for the road.

3 I reply I have the Governor's letter (viz Des 29/3) acknowledging receipt of my Despatch enclosing statements of Pakatwayo, Rubu, and Cetywayo's regarding this matter, and I have told Cetywayo that his Excellency replied he would inquire of Mr. John; and it cannot be true that witnesses are sent for by the Governor without a letter to me; there must be some mistake. His Excellency cannot speak Kaffir, and I wish to know the individuals name, or description, who actually spoke to him, Makewu; was he sure it was the Governor himself? To this Makewu replied, 'Isay it was Rulumeni.'

4 I reply, that will not do; describe the individual who spoke the message into your ears. I wish to know him and asks the Rulumeni if it is true he sends for witnesses, because I did not send the statements as you, Makewu, state; did a native tell you this for the Rulumeni?

5 Eventually Makewu replies, "Isay it is Rulumeni as it was Sobantu who spoke." I said, but you know Sobantu (the Bishop) is not Rulumeni, and that he is the great teacher of God, why have you a man told me a falsehood for which the English punish severely; have you no shame; why did you ~~not~~ not say Sobantu sent you?/

/Reply to Cet was that he will send a message to the Gov but he will not give a pass without Bulwer's authority. / /60/

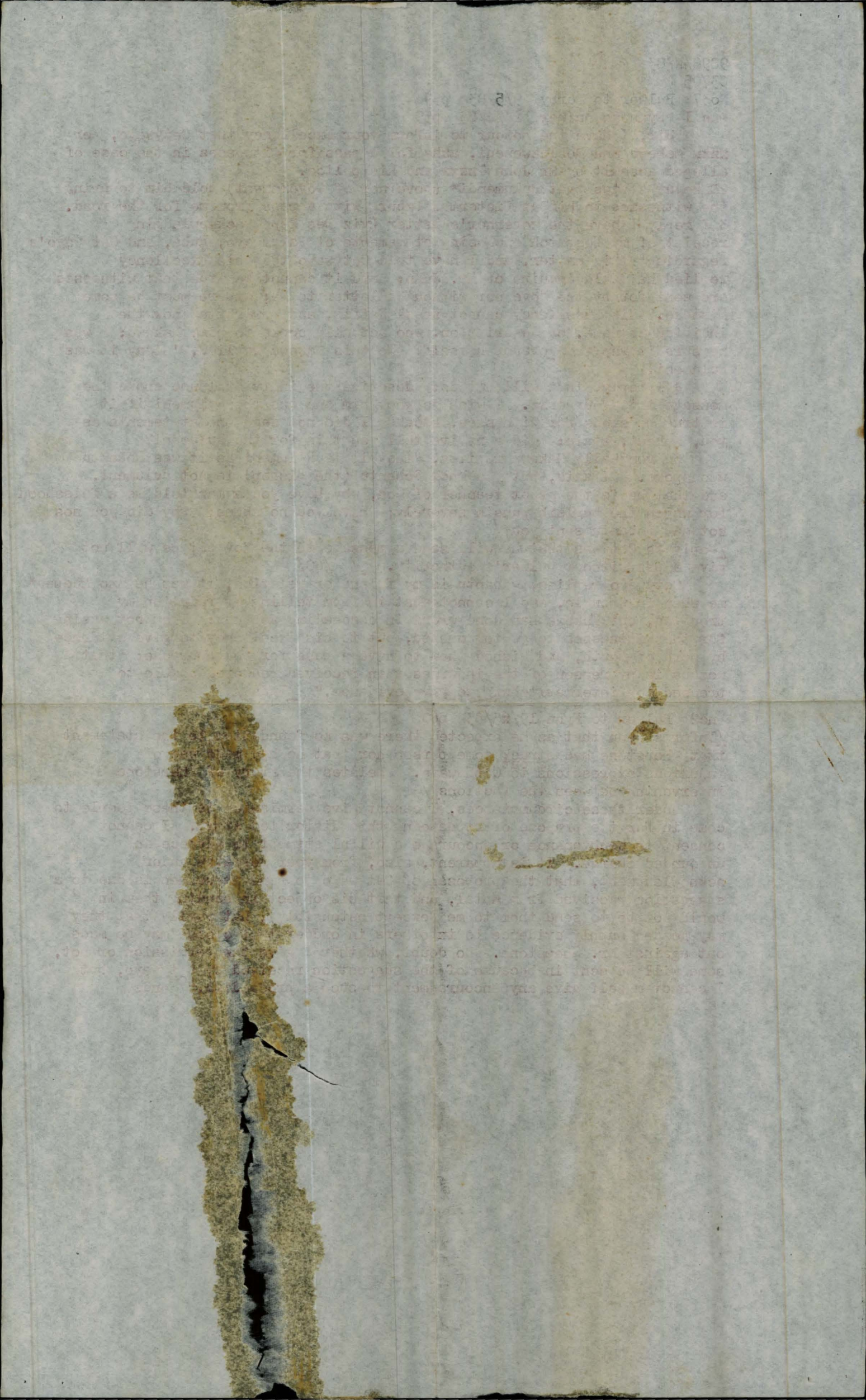
"Cetywayo replies, Sobantu is my friend or relation, it was he who kepted\* me when in trouble, and I cannot abstain from telling my relation my troubles, but Makewa has done wrong in concealing Sobantu; I am not asking for the witnesses to go to Sobantu, but to his Excellency to give evidence by word of mouth, and wished them to have a pass for that purpose; that Rozana is by reason of the injuries then received rendered unable to proceed to Pietermaritzburg to give evidence." /ends/

Enc2 Bulwer to Fynn 19/5/83 p60

/Informs Fynn that as he expected there was no foundation to the statement that Shepstone had struck some person nor that he had made use of injurious expressions <sup>about</sup> to Cethswayo. Relates the story of Shepstone intervening between the factions/

Under these circumstances, I cannot give permission to these people to come in for the purpose of repeating this distorted story. I cannot consent to countenance or encourage a wilful attempt to advance an unfounded charge. It is apparent, also, from your Despatch under acknowledgment, that the proposal of Cetywayo to send these men is due to a suggestion received from Natal, and that his object in sending them in would not be to send them to me (except ostensibly), but really that they may go and supply evidence to ~~the~~ others in order that a case may be made out against Mr. Shepstone. No doubt, whether I give the permission or not, some will be sent in because of the suggestion received by Cetywayo, but I cannot myself give any encouragement to such a proceeding." ends







161 Fine book continued 2

August

14 Umnyono 3

14 Nonzimema 2

September 7 Umavusa 1

7 Undukuzeszwe 1

26

26

26 Ten of

26 Dabulamznzi's

26 fine 1 head e 10

26

26

26

26

28 Ugwaza 1

28 Sibonko 1

28 Magolizingja 1

28 Umbobo 1

28 Ugunjini 1

28 Umagaza 1

28 Marwange 1

October

1 11 of Matun... people

and Bakanyan... people fined 11

8 Umseni 1

November

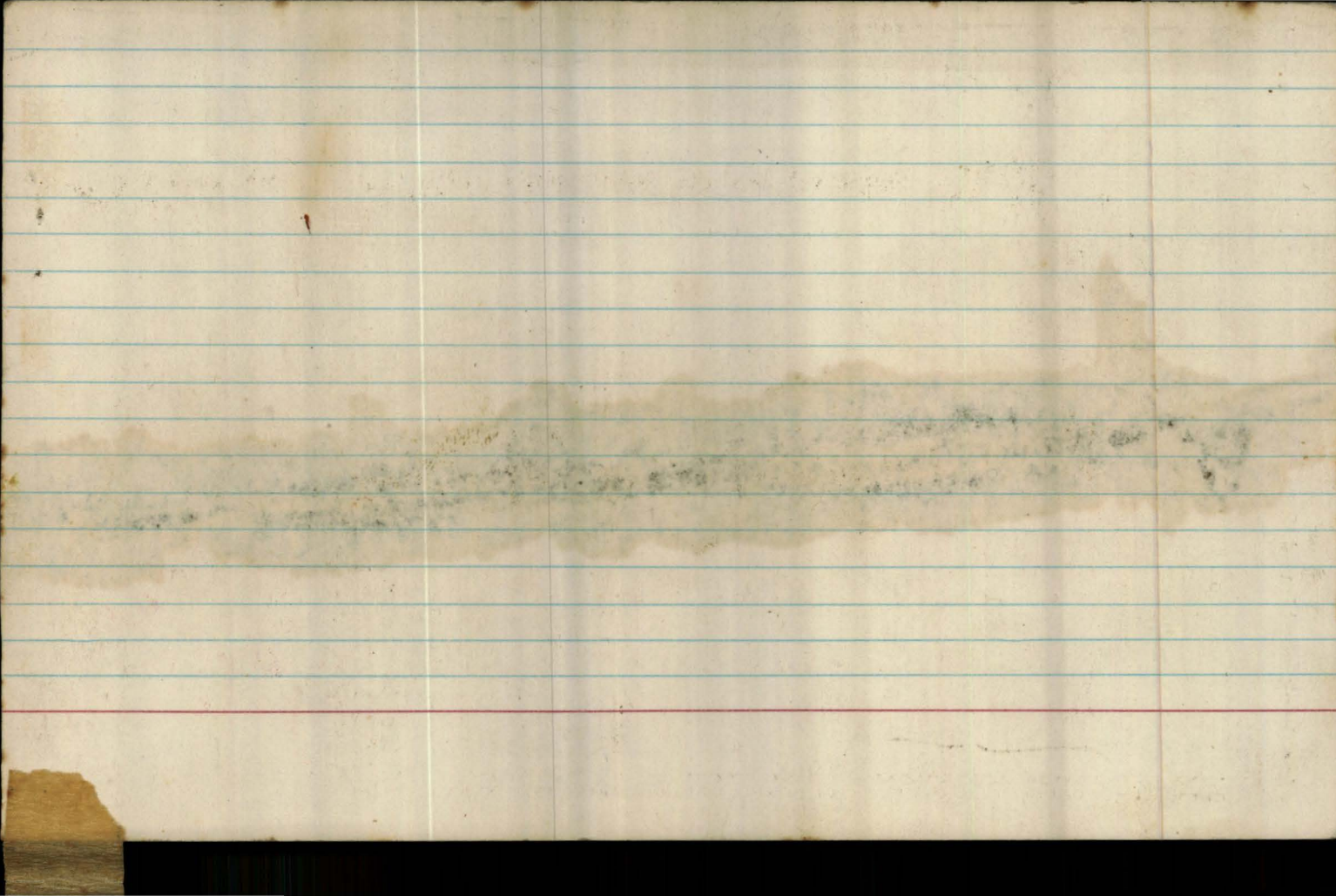
30 Habana 6

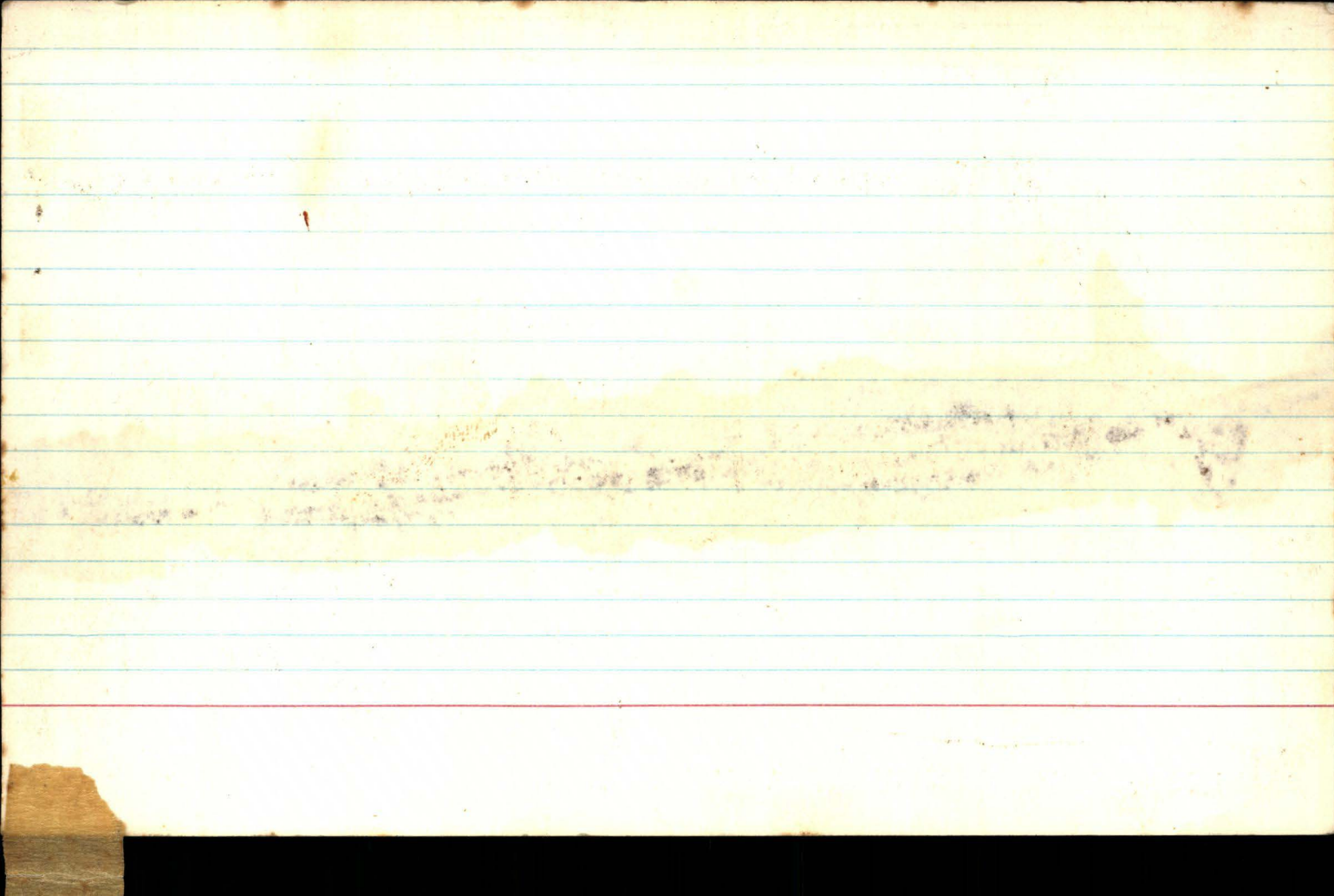
30 Uhaka 10

Umpalana 5

/Attempts are made to start the same sort of lists in 1884 1885 and 1886 but never get thrither than the first few weeks of January.









151 Fine book continued 2

August

14	Umnyono	3
14	Nonzinema	2
September 7	Umavusi	1
7	Undukuzeswe	1
26		
26		
26	Ten of	
26	Dabulamznzi's people	
25	fine 1 head e	10
26		
26		
26		
26		
28	Ugwaza	1
28	Sibonko	1
28	Magolizingja	1
28	Umbobo	1
28	Ugunjini	1
28	Umagaza	1
28	Marwange	1
October		
1	11 of Matunzi's people and Bakanyani's people fined	11
8	Umseni	1
November		
30	Habana	6
30 Uhaka		10
	Umpalana	5

16  
Attempts are made to start the same sort of lists in 1884 1885 and 1886 but never get thrifter than the first few weeks of January.