

No9 Bulwer to Derby 26/4/83 p20

/Forwards message from Cet to Res Comm and latter's reply/

"Cetywayo's representations are, to say the least, remarkable."

He tries to put responsibility on Fynn for the attack by ~~xx~~ saying that he refused to send a messenger to stop it. This after Cet and Mnyamana concealed the calling up of the "sutu force" from Fynn and when he heard about it from his messengers on 26/4 he tried to persuade Cet and Mnyamana to disperse the force. He refused to consent to send a messenger to Ndaubko on the 29/3 to turn the force back because it was too late and if it would have been used by the usuthu to give authority to their plans and Bulwer agrees with Fynn for this"

Encl Osb to Bulwer 16/4/83 p20

Sunduzwayo and Gayiyana state

"We are sent to you by our Chief Cetywayo with these his words;- Cetywayo says he thanks you for having during his absence from the country taken care of the people, and for having always prevented ~~giving~~ fighting in the land. whenever the tribes assembled to fight you dispersed them and prevented the people from killing each other. But for you he would have found no Zulus alive on his return to the country. He says fighting has occurred lately between his people and Umsibebu, but Gwalgwal...would not go to prevent it and many got killed. Cetywayo now asks you to allow the men ~~21~~ living in the Reserve to go to him and to see into and inquire into the proceedings of ~~the~~ some of the Zulu people who are seeking to kill him." Ends

Reply:-He cannot allow men in the Reserve to go to him and objects to messages

being spread in the Reserve threatening those who will not obey the order to join usuthu impi and he objects to the violations of the border of the territory for which he Osb is repsonsible._/

12068/N/83

C3864

2 on 30/3

108

No9 Bulwer to Derby 22/6/83 pl9

/Forwards message from Zibhebhu Bulwer has met the messengers and told them that Z was right in attacking the Usutuhu and he did not blame them because 'in the immediate heat of the pursuit' he crossed the boundary line but when two weeks later they crossed the line and retaliated he was in the wrong. Bulwer admitted that with the latter exception Z had kept the conditions. Bulwer also denied the stories that the Queen had placed him over all Zululand and said that she had placed both Cet and Z. Bulwer deeply regretted the attack that had been made on Zibhebhu and / "I was anxious for him because I knew how small a force he could muster when compared with what Cethwayo had means of collecting" / but it had been Z's wish that he should be left independent and / "upon his assurance that he could hold his own; ~~but~~ that I greatly feared now that he might not be able to do this for long if he was again attacked; but that whatever he did he must keep within his territory, and that it was by keeping there he would best be able to defend it should he be attacked.

Enclosure Statements of Maqondiyana, Lagatyana, and Nongai, messengers from Z Maqondiyana states that they were sent by Z because of the messenger from the SNA sent last month to ask why Z /20/ had attacked Cet's people. Z says that soon after J Hepstone left Zululand Cet had sent three ~~xxxx~~ columns (Imzila) into Z's territory for four days. On the third day the burnt Z's Inkungwini kraal, and one of ~~his~~ his brother's Rara. The next day they burnt Z's Upangekweni kraal, Betyana's, (Z's brother), Umrow's, Mbonembine's, Maliba's, and Songwacaza's. All this time Z was retiring

GH 685

Account
of 30/3

until he reached his Banginomô kraal, and as the "sutuhu approached this kraal Z attacked them with 29 companies (Amaviyo) and defeated them and ~~px~~ pursued them for two days into Cety's territory.

Z ~~said~~ says, that despite sutuhu claims, he never used J Shepstone's name in connection with the fight. / "He says if he had received that authority he would not have left them where he did after their defeat" / He only defended himself "When a man is attacked by wolves he must defend himself and drive them back to the bush ~~where~~ they came from."

"Usibebu says he has always lived quietly and peaceably since he was appointed Chief, and it is only now, that Cetywayo has returned, that there has been any disturbance. He, Usibebu, will remain loyal to the Government as long as he lives, but he does not wish to ~~gainst~~ recognise Cetywayo as his Chief. Usibebu wished our message to be taken by some one else than Mr. Shepstone, as Mr. Shepstone was spoken of by Usibebu in his message."

105

8780

H/lanair

112

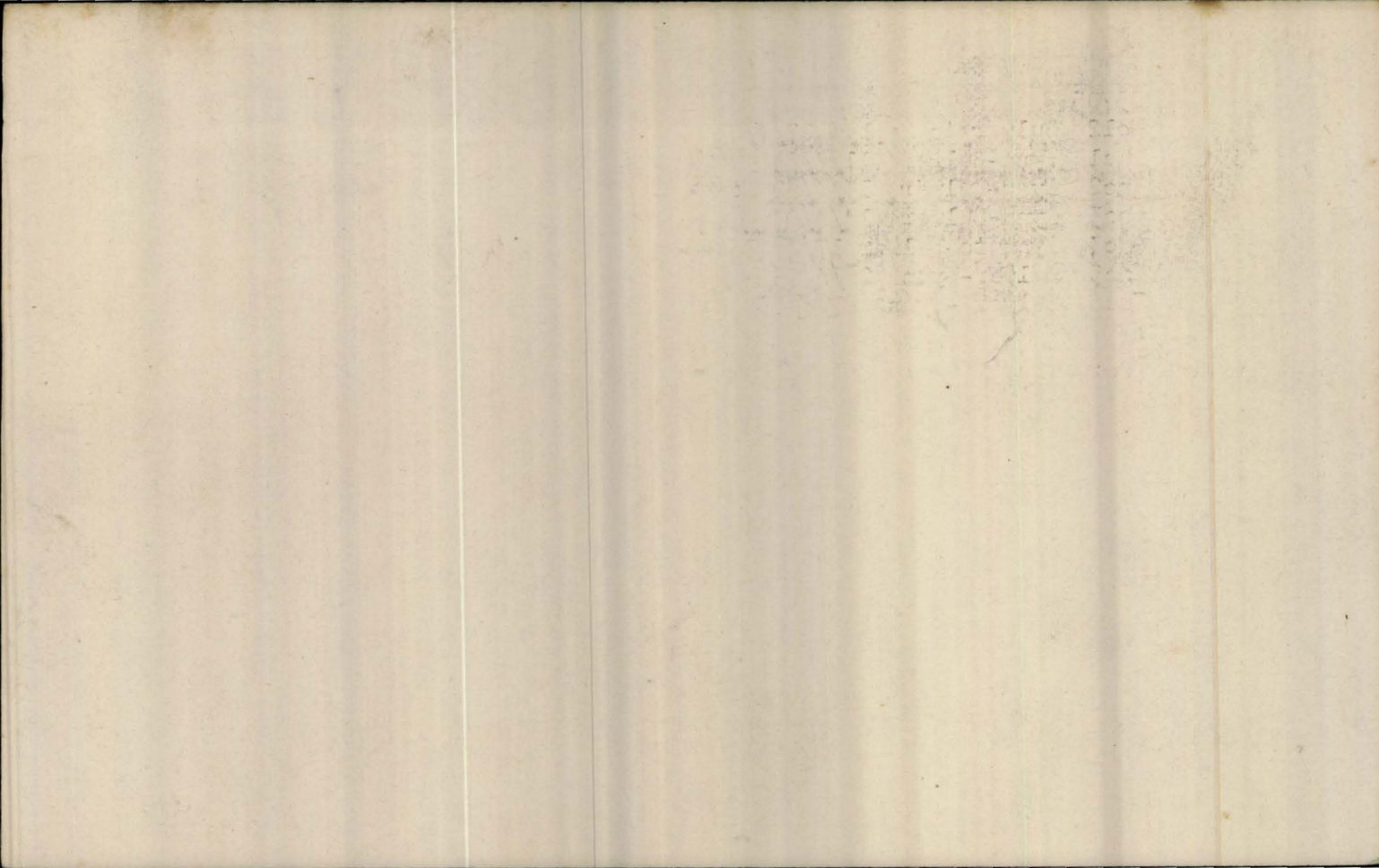
C3705

Nol2 Bulwer to Derby 27/4/83
Encl Fynn-Bulwer 11/4/83 GH683
Enc2 Fynn-Bulwer 13/4/82 GH683
Enc3 Fynn-Bulwer 14/4/83
Enc4 Fynn to Bulwer 17/4/83 GH683/79
Enc5 Bulwer-Fynn 26/4/83
Enc6 Bulwer -Fynn 27/4/83

26/9/69

[Have been unable to trace notes of above]

M/Sole



9423/N/83
C3705

Hamu

114

No26 Bulwer to Derby 4/5/83 p43

The Colonial Secretary has received a letter from Hamu written by J. Eckersley saying that Hamu has received a letter from the Truimvirate in the Transvaal forbidding him to settle in the Transvaal. See

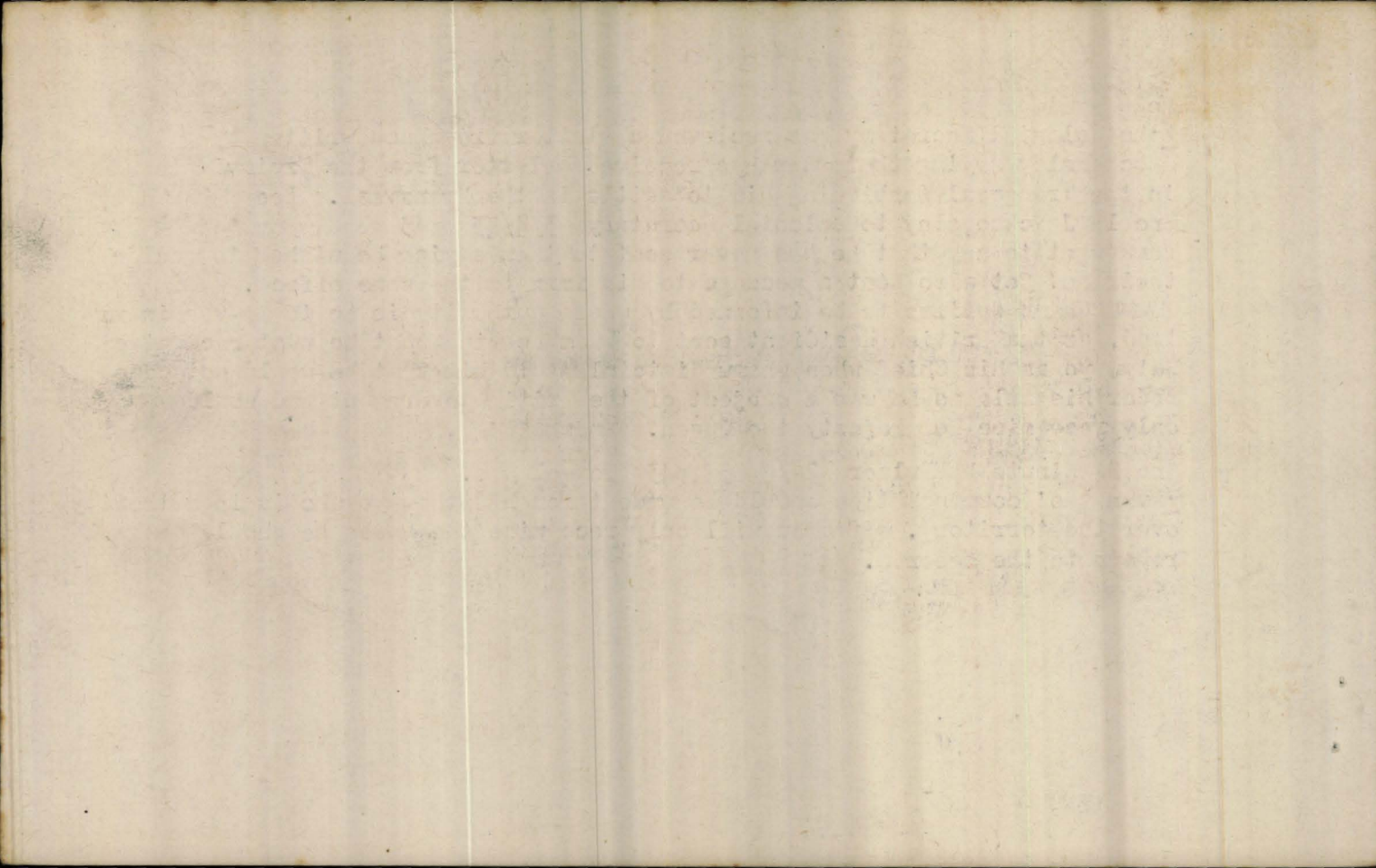
Enc 1 J Eckersley to Colonial Secretary 3/4/83 p43

Hamu want to say that he has never sent to them saying he wishes to reside their and Cet also sent a message to him ~~forx~~ to the same effect.

"Uhamu desires to be informed by whose quthority is he to leave his ~~xi~~ land, as the British Residient sent to Uhamy saying that he must recognise Cetywayo as his Chief when Uhamu distcinly told him that he would not come under his rule as he was a subject of the Britih government and would only recognise Her Majesty the Queen. ends

Enc 2 Minute by Bulwer 26/4/83 p43 To Col Sec.

Even tho' communciation should be made through Cethswayo who is in authority over the territory. If Hmau will only recognise the Queen he should remove to the Reserve. /



67

8555/N/83

3705

Hamm

115

No2 Bulwer to Derby 21/4/83 pl

Enc~~2~~ Fynn to Bulwer 8/4/83 pl

"I have complied with your Excellency's instructions, and Uhamu replies he will not go to the Transvaal; but as regards his acknowledging Cetywayo I am of opinion there is no hope now of that, seeing that Cetywayo failed to check in an effectual manner the Abaqulusi outrages towards Uhamu, and disturbances are goin on, and Uhamu is retaliating as reported in my Despatches to your Esceelency." nds



13/

9901/N/83

H/Qulusi

116

C3705

No40 Bulwer to Derby 12/5/83 p65

/Covers Encl Rob to Bulwer, 7/4/83 Tel, p65. Enc2 Bulwer to Reb, 9/4/83 p66

Enc3 Bulwer to Fynn 12/4/83 p66. Enc4 Fynn to Bulwer, 28/4/83, p66

Statement of Mguni 28/4/83 p66 ~~xxx Bulwer xxx~~ Enc5 Bulwer to Smyth 12/5/83 p67

/Covers complaint by the Transvaal Govt that fights between Qulusi and Hamu have taken place in the Tvl and calls for investigation and damages.

Dargely on the ~~xxxxxx~~ grounds of the statement, ^{and because Fynn hasn't heard of any} below this story is not believed/

Statment of Mguni, an Induna of the Abaqulusi 28/4/83

"I know of the occasion of Uhmau's forces, who were joined by some of his people from the Transvaal side of the Pemvana, attacking us, Abaqulusi, on the Zulu side of the Pemvana.

None of Uhmau's forces have gone into Transvaal or interfered with Abaqulusi there; had there been any disturbances between Uhmau's people of this side and our Abaqulusi people in the Transvaal I should have heard of it, and therefore say no disturbances have taken place. Ndidia (Of people formerly Swazis years ago) of Abaqulusi, near Bivana or Pongolo, Transvaal, was upon an accusation of Uhmau's taking prisoner by the Boers, but released a month or so ago, and told to move with his people under him to Zulu country.

Uhmau is very bitter towards me, and has threatened to take my life some time ago."

H. Shepstone

9426/N/83

179/146

Minutes Desps removed and printed in 3705

"I suppose we must print for Parliament all these voluminous reports of the small disturbances among the petty chiefs of Zululand. ~~I~~ We might perhaps ^{defer} ~~withhold~~ printing in order to see whether ~~perhaps~~ there will be any demand for such papers. RLW 5/6

"What does Mr Ashley say? D 6/6

"I fear that the question as to who was the first aggressor Cetewayo or Usibebu is a 'burning' question and all papers throw^{ing} light on this will be asked for. but omit instructions to H Shepstone as they are continued sufficiently in Bulwer's desp/

Bulwer to H Shepstone 4/5/83

Long missive - details the whole history of the calshes once again to the preset moment when Cet is gathering his forces once again to attack Z and B wants to break the enterantl attack deprival and this is the reason you have been asked. Z must be told again to restore women and children and stop acts of depridation and retaliation. You will try and persuade Cet to stop the aggressive attitude he takes up and warn him of the onsequences (of further retaliation - not of course of Govt action/

"Our object is now to stay all further acts of hostility on either side, and this can only be done by the cooperation of both the parties to it, and by the simultaneous dispersion of all the armed forces assembled."

Take representation to Hmau on the subject /

"Your personal acquaintance with Cetywayo and the circumstances under which you accompanied him to England lead ~~to~~ me to hope that any representations you make to him will have weight with him, and I must have weight with him, and I must leave it very much to your discretion to see in what way you can best secure the immediate objects we have in view, - namely the cessation of hostilities on either side, and of all acts of retaliation and depredation, and the restoration of the women and children taken by either party.



9426/N/83

C3705

No29 Bulwer to Derby 5/5/83 p50

/Most of the covering letter contains nothing new. Tells again of the messengers he sent to Osoborn. Was about to send to Z himself to get the return of women and children but since receiving Fynn's desp of 1/5 it appeared that the situation required more than this.

The present disorder is due to the aggression of Qulusi, Pangisweni and some Mnyamana's people against Hamy (which sprung from "mau's rule as appointed Chief.) Cet did not stop Qulusi aggression and then came the usuthu invasion of 30/3 and Hmau used it to revenge himself. Two weeks later Zibhebhu / "most unfortunately and wrongfully determined to proceed to acts of reprisal" and crossed into Cet's territory to plunder in the middle of April

Bulwer tried to stop further retaliatory raids, but when he heard that Cet was gathering more men round him at Ulundi, which if he attacked would have even more disastrous consequences / "I decided, therefore, instead of sending the message to Sibebu, to send someone on the part of the Government into the country who would be able to enter into communication at the same time with the three principal parties to this disturbance... and who would bring whatever influence could be exercised to bear upon them simultaneously, with the view of averting a renewal of the hostilities.

Mr Henriques Shepstone, at my request has undertaken this task, and has gone to Mr. Fynn's place of residence with the object of placing himself in communication with Cetywayo and Sibebu, and, if thought proper, with Uhamu also; and I have desired him to take such steps as he may think

expedient to procure the surrender of all the women and children who have been taken on either side in the recent hostilities. To do this will in any case remove one of the worst causes of irritation between the two parties, and the one most provocative of immediate hostilities, and if a renewal of immediate hostilities can be stopped and the forces dispersed it will give time for the fiercer passions that have been aroused on either side to calm down.

/The instructions to Shepstone have not been printed_/

2 on 30/3 + Somkele

152

C3705

94684/15
✓
Nol6⁴³ Bulwer to Derby ¹⁴15/5/83 p75

/Forwards O's desp in connection with Bulwer's tel of 29/4 reported in Nol6 to Kimb dated 30/4. Also a message from Z on the attack of 30/3 /

✓
Enc⁴³ Osoborn to Bulwer 5/5/83 p74

/Forwards message from Z. On getting Bulwer's tel of 29/4 sent 2 messengers to Z asking him to stop retaliation. /

"Appear Umbulawa, Nongai, and Umsutu, who state they are sent by Usibebu with the following message to the Resident Commissioner:- /During Cet's absence Ndabuko and Mnayamana ~~sent~~ tried to send impi against him, and when Cet returned things got worse. Cet sent a large impi under Ndabuko against Cet which Z drove back. Cet Ndabuko and Mnaymana sent the impi and Cet says the whole of Zululand was given him by the Queen, and the officials who deny this are /"isignificant servants (Izicakana) who know nothing of the matter" / Z could not leave this unpunished so he burnt kralas of those who attacked. Z's forces captured usuthu women and children because Somkeli had captured those of his people, but Z returned them. When the messengers left Z was calling up an impi to recover the women and children from Somkele's / "Usibebu says he has been obliged to do these things in his own defence, and to prevent his enemies from again attacking him in his territory where he wishes to remain quiet. He had no wish to go beyond his boundaries against anyone. He ~~asks~~ asks the Governor to rely that he will always abide by the conditions under which he was appointed and the orders of the Government. /Reply: regrets Z's retaliation and sends advise not to cross his borders again /



136

Cet/Hamuy

153

9905/N/83

C3705

No 44 Bulwer to Derby 15/5/83 p75

/Covers despatches from Fynn. The situation in Cethswayo's country is growing worse. Has learnt privately that Cet is at any moment to attack Hamu and the impi is assembled under Mnyamana. From the source has learnt that Mlandeal wants to come into the Reserve but is afraid to move and no Zulu can move into the Reserve without risking death and the certainty of having his cattle looted by Cethswayo. Cethswayo's actions must bring disaster to the country or to himself.

Encl Fynn to Bulwer 5/5/83

134/91

/In response to Bulwer's telegram received by O on 1/4 has sent messengers to Hmau and Z, and informed Cet, and asked him to order Somkele to return the women and children captured from Z. Cet replies that Somkele did not capture any women and children from Z and will not send a messenger with Fynn's to Hamu. "who is at war with him,..., and he therefore is not going to coax Uhamu to leave him alone; that the English may do this, but he is at war with Uhamu and Usibebu, who purpose endeavouring to defeat him...

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer ~~XX/XX/XX~~ 5/8/83

/On the subject of the quickest post to PMB. Post leaves weekly from Eshowe but he points out that it leaves on alternate days from Pomeroy which takes much the same time to reach as does Eshowe.

Enc3 Fynn to Bulwer 8/5/83 p76

PTO

GH 88
684/95

/Explained Bulwer's Despatch of 26/4 omitting para 2, and Bulwer's of 27/4 of sending messengers to Z and H / "Cetywayo did not speak, but a personal attendant of his, Bejeana, remarked that the Government only attached blame to Cetywayo. / Fynn replied that Z was 'blamed ' for coming across his border and so was H. / "Bejana asked what would be done to thm by the Government." / Fynn explained that these raids were in retaliation for suthu and Qulusi agressions.

" / Fynn asks for instructions on what he should do about the cattle taken on 17, 18, 18/4 by Z and H /

C3705

No38 Bulwer to Derby 10/5/83 p61

Enc 1 Bulwer to Fynn 10/5/83 p61

/Has informed Fynn in Desp of 1/5 of steps taken ^{him} by Bulwer on receiving his (Fynn's) Despatches of 20, 21, 22 to ~~assess the situation between~~ stay the retaliatory proceedings of Z and H, and also that he Bulwer had instructed O to stop Hlubi ~~xxx~~ interfering.

From Your (Fynn's) desp of 23/4 sees that although H might have sent messages to Hlubi the latter appears only to assembling his force and stopping some of Sirayo's people from entering the district.

But on receiving these despatches he (Bulwer) realised that something that the sending of messagexs was not enough - ~~had thought the~~ for in Fynn's desp of 26/4 Cet ~~said~~ was said to have a large force at Undini and that he intended attacking Z and H/ "It was important to bring influence to bear upon all three at the same time and simultaneously, with the view of effecting some permanent cessation of hostilities; and as one means to that end it was important to procure the mutual restora- /62/ tion of the women and children " /taken by Z and Somekele/ It was important to do this on all accounts, and to remove so burning a cause and assist you at this critical juncture in putting an end to the present hostilities, I decided to send Mr H Shepstone into the country. Mr Shepstone accordingly left for Zululand on the 4th instant furnished with instructions by me and with a private letter to you, in which I briefly explained to you the object of his mission, and I trust that you will be enabled, with this help and assistance, to bring about a more settled condition of affairs in disturbed parts of the country."

/With refernece to your desp of 26/4 Cetshwayo still fails to undersatnd that the people not in his territory are not 'his' people - they are only his if they move into his territory. He has failed to reconginse that Zululand is altered since 1879 and continues to interfere with people outside his territory.

His account of 30/3 does not stand up to examination. The people (Mahu's) were not his: they were in Zibhebhu's territory. Furthermore the fight was not between Mahu's and Zibhebhu's but a large sutu force, organsied in Cet's territory by Ndabuko which invaded Zibeh u's territory.

Cet has not kept the conditions. He has interfered in the other territories, and a force organised by his brother in his territory invaded antoehr. The Government does not approve of Zibhebhu's retaliatory attacks but they sprang from the 30/3 raid.

Permission of course cannt be given for Cet to attack Zibhebu / ends

135

9905/N/83

C3705

155

No44 Bulwer to Derby 15/5/83 p75

Enc4 Fynn to Bulwer 9/5/83 p77

G# 634/96

/The messengers sent to Hamu were warned by Hlezebana*in charge of the Mgazi forces that they would not reach Hmau. Hmau's forces were seen firing kraals and the Mgazi, Butilizizi, Qulusi, Mhlalaoase of Seketwayo and Mpangise were preparing to fight Hamu and had gone twoards Ngotye near the Pongolo to hide. Hlezebana* said he was expecting Cethswayo orders to fight on 8/5

Now
clock at
work.

Mabijana for Cethswayo reported on 8/5 that Z on the 6 and th had burnt and plundered what was left of Masipula's peoples kraals and / "he...

can no longer continue looking on seeing his people subjected to this treatment and being killed, as has alr ady taken place twice recently, and that Uisibebu's actionx now was to clear the way between him and Uhamu so that they should unite against him, Cetywayo, who now asks, what is this?

saying they are retaliating, who are they that they should presume to retaliate, knowing him to be their king and ruler? /Cetshwayo will now go to war with his attackers. Fynn points out that he tried to send messengers to hold Z and H back and Cet refused to send a messenger with his (Fynn's) to Hmau and thus his messengers were turned back by Hlezebana as it was too unsafe to proceed. /

arrived at

/the messnegers sent to Z have just returned and they report that they ~~found~~ Z ~~at~~ his chief kraal B'nganoma on the 7/5 and he had taken two divisions towards Masipula's and Mnyamana's people as they were said to be 'assembled imf force against him' Fynn's messengers told him that Z was not to cross his boundary and Mrou* sent on to Zibhebhu to tell him /

"My messengers report that they heard that six messengers of Uhmau's had come to inform sibebu that forces of Cetywayo's were about to attack him and that four companies of Uham8(s had joined sibebu near the Mkuzi river in sibebu's district, and that there were two forces of Cetywayo's, one to act against sibebu and the other against Uhamu, and said to be in the direction of the Ingome."

On their return trip the messengers had heard that Mfanawenhlela and Zibhebhu's people had been driving pigs into the B Umfolosi for purposes of witchcraft and that Mfanawenhlela's people had been ordered to assemble at Undini /77/ or they might be attacked by the young men on their return from fighting with Zibhebhu and that Cshwayo was dissatisfied with Mfanwehlele saying that he had no young men to send. Mfanwenhlela wishes to remain neutral and keep the peace. Last night war preparations were going on round Unidni."

9907/N/83

179/146

Minutes. Bulwer to Derby 15/5/83. (confidential)

Enc Fynn to Bulwer (confidential) 3/5/83

GH683/90

Minutes "Not a very likely story I should think AQLH

"I don't believe it but it wd. not be a bad solution of 'what to do with Cetewayo'. E A 12/6 "Put by" D 12/1

Bulwer to Derby 15/5/83 (Conf)

/Does not think it likely but not impossible that Cet should arragne for a place of retreat. /

Fynn to Bulwer 3/5/83 (conf)

/Refers to his desp no45 of 16/3 which mentioned that Cet had been ^{visted by} three

Trvl Boers - ~~omxxxx~~. Now hears ~~xxxxxx~~ secretly that 5 days pvsly

Cet sent messengers to these Boers saying that he would caputre all the cattle he could force a way through Hamu's and be received by the Boers on their border seeing they have refused to come into Zululand -

Swazi Chief Mbandini was co-operating in this by blocking Hamu's retreat /



143

11282/N/83

C3705

Messages 102

159

No56 Bulwer to Derby 2/6/83

p100

Enc Osborn to Bulwer 15/5/83

ppl00

Statments of Nozitshina and Gohloza

p101

/Statement of messengers sent ~~to~~ by order of Bulwer's tel of 29/4 to tell Z o f the Governor's displeasure at his actions and to try and get him to cease his operations agaisnt the king. Covering letter contains all relevant details. /

p100 "...owing to the disturbed state of the country, the messengers were unable to reacy Usibebu, who they ascertained was with an impi on the Pongolo, and that therefore they delviered the mess age at Usibebu's kraal, Bangenomo, to his brother Umrau and his induna Mazizi, and that these undertook to forward it on to the Chief."



144

11283/N/83

179/146

Cet complains of Zallah
Suthe vs 2.

160

Minutes (nothing worth while)

Bulwer to Derby 2/6/83

Encl Fynn to Bulwer (no121) 18/5/83 [Cet reports through Manxele and Sambula that +- 18/4 "ibhabhu's forces killed elderly female Nomacunu, daughter of the late Sogodi and wife of the late Somatambo residing near the Sihlala sa ka Manyosi in the kraal of Cet's brother Siteku as she was of the royal household when given in marriage to Somatambo.]

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 19/5/83 [Reports that H Shepstone's messenger Ngalanduku and reported that Cet said that Ndabazambi has been stabbed in the leg by Mahlahleni (before the restoration). Ndabazimibi (after rest) fired blank shots in a kraal of Z's people - the people fled and Ndabzimbi took their cattle which were subsequently returned by Maru to whose kraal Ndabazambi belonged. Ndabazimbi then retaliated* on Mkomazi because of Mahlahleni having stabbed him in the leg.

Explains 31/3 in terms of Z crossing the border and the Sututu following him. It was not sure what Mahlebheza ka Mmaymana said that Cet had sent the 10 times to call them back. Ndabuko and Tyanbezwe had tried to follow the force but Cet held them back but they escaped. Cet appealed for the whole country as promised to him in London - it was ridiculous for H Shepstone to think he could settle matters when Z had Cet's cattle - from before the restoration through raids after it.

Cet called upon H Shepstone to witness that he had kept the conditions so far but that now he would protect himself and fight Z and H. /

Sututu force he
had sent

Gilbey

With ref to para 3 & 4 of my desp of 16/5 No101 Cet reports that on 14/5 4 compnaies of Z's forces crossed the Bl Umfolosi east of Ulundi and wouldned Mabuma ka Myoko and Cet said that he had sent 7 companies to guard agsint furture attacks.

GH684 Ngalunkulu's statement on which Ecnii is based 19/5/83

Went to Z with the message / "'that the Government finds serious fault with you for haveing corres your border...". Z said that the women and children were reased and that Cet had started the trouble. Admitted supporting Hamu against the UmGazi and the Tumpangisweni (11/inst).

Speaks of NdabaZimbi of Haru's kraal (Z's first cousin but an suthu.) and Mahlahleni, his first cousin but of his party. Clashes with Maboko who ~~he~~ said the whole country had been given to Cet in England /

"Mahetsheza - son of Mnymanana's ~~and brother~~ ... informed him, that it was untrue that Cetshwayo had not ~~xx~~ sent the forces out against Zibebu, for he had even sent after them, saying, 'Why did they not come back if they were afraid to go?' That Cetshwayo had said, 'the whole country was given to him in England, that the country was being spoilt by the insignificant white people, servants here in Natal, who divided the country! Aibix ~~xx said xx~~

/Fynn told aīl this to Cetshwayo and heamen./

140

10490/N/83

C3750

No51 Bulwer to Derby 21/5/83 p83

[Covers arguments between Fynn and Cethswayo - includes the Oh you
gwalagwala speech should be Xeroxed.] ✓ *Xeroxed*

Cethswayo - notes

166

GH684/97



191

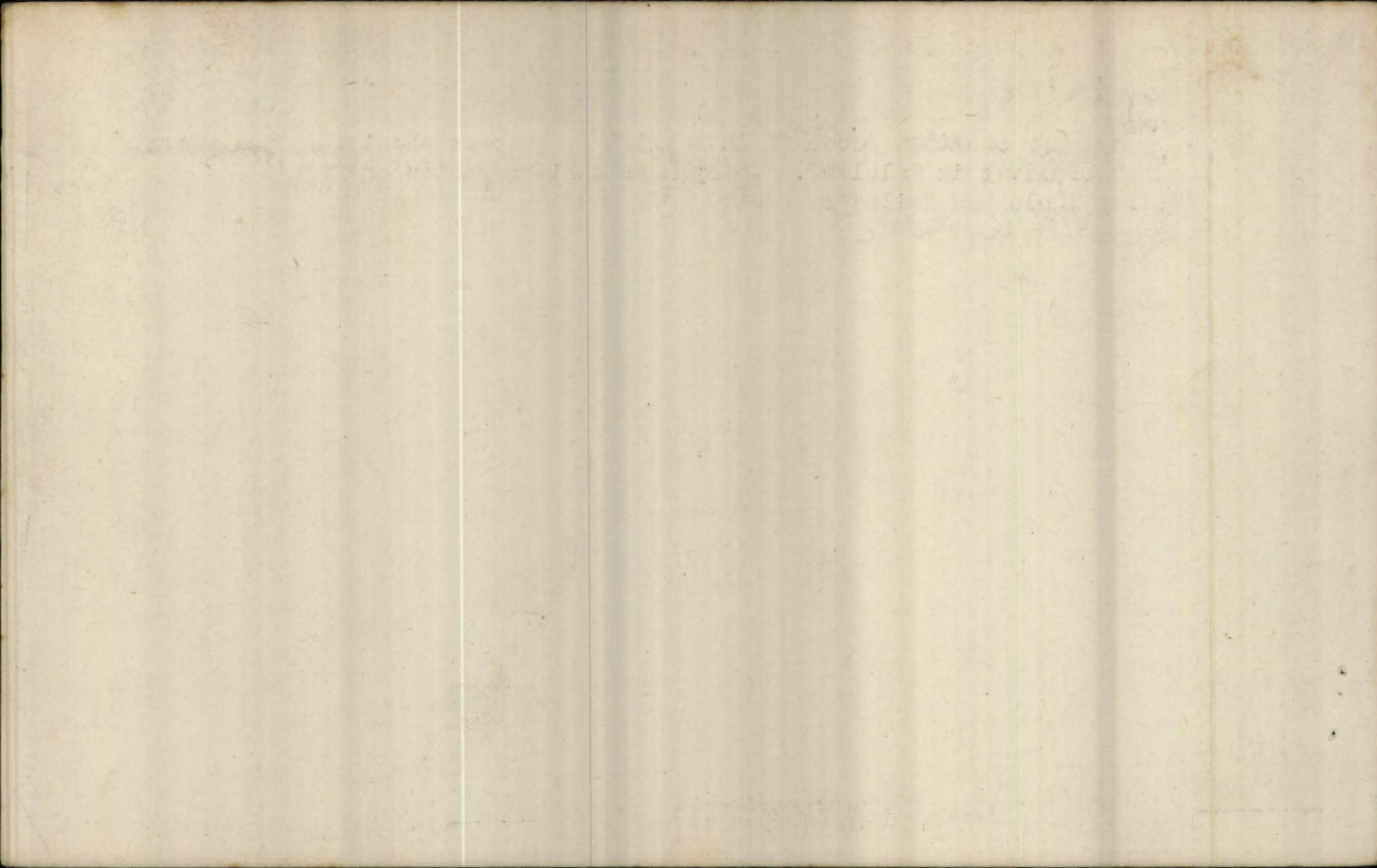
(1184⁴/N/83)
C3864

to Hama

180

Nol Bulwer to Derby 11/7/83 pl

/Has telgramed that accounts in English newspapers about 18/5 exaggerate
loss of lives in Zululand. Today hear that an Usuthu on Hmau's
stronghold had failed_/



180

See
front

GH 624/15

12228/N/83

C3864

No 5 Bulwer to Derby 18/6/83

Mnyamana is still pressing hard on Hmau but apart from the disome info, on the results of this is conflicting

Encl Fynn to Bulwer 3/6/83 plo

/Informed by his messengers that on 30/5 Seketwayo's Mhlalsose attacked Mekeza and Msiana of Uhamy in crags at sources of B Umfolosi but were reuplised 7 casualties one fatal.

Mcwayo, foremrly Qulusi, but joined Msebe and went to Hmau after the 1879 war has now feld to the Tvl.

~~Ndabankulu~~ Ndabankulu passed here on his way to Mnyamana from Cetshwayo. A brother of the late Mbilini and a son of Masipula's has been sent to Mnyanana to help attack on hamy.

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 4/6/83 pll

/Cet reports Zibhebhu is muster ng to support Hmau but Cet refuses to send his messengers with Fynn's to tell him to keep within his borders, / "as he was not going to coax sibebu to leave him alone, in the face of the Natal overnment, having taken his land and given ti to his subject usbebu, who has sent messsngers to the overnment, via Blood river, and past Matyana ka Mondisa, to Natal.

Cethswayo informed Fynn that Hmau 2(ogher) with some Swazi allies) was still beseiged in the Ngotye stronghold, and had been attzcke dwith some success by usutuhu under Mnyamana. "epeats the story of the kraal fired at night at which Mnyamana lost his 8 comapnies, the ~~Falaxax~~ 5 com anies of Falaza which then beat Hmay , Msebr being killed by Qulusi, the defeat of Msebe's people at Hlobane by the Mhlalaxoe and the Qulusi.

182

/On the subject of the murder of Ingram Cet wondered ~~what~~ whether Hamu might not have done and broought the body to a place where it might be blamed on Cethwayo's people - but where was the body. Cet said that Fynn had rported to quickly to the Government and the truth would come out in time and the present story was just the conctction of the luntaic Mlandela/

~~xx/Cet's story said~~

179
12228/N/83

C3864

183

No5 Bulwer to Derby 18/6/83 pl0

See from
[A third topic from this despatch - on the subject of the king's cattle and Zulu conception of ownership]

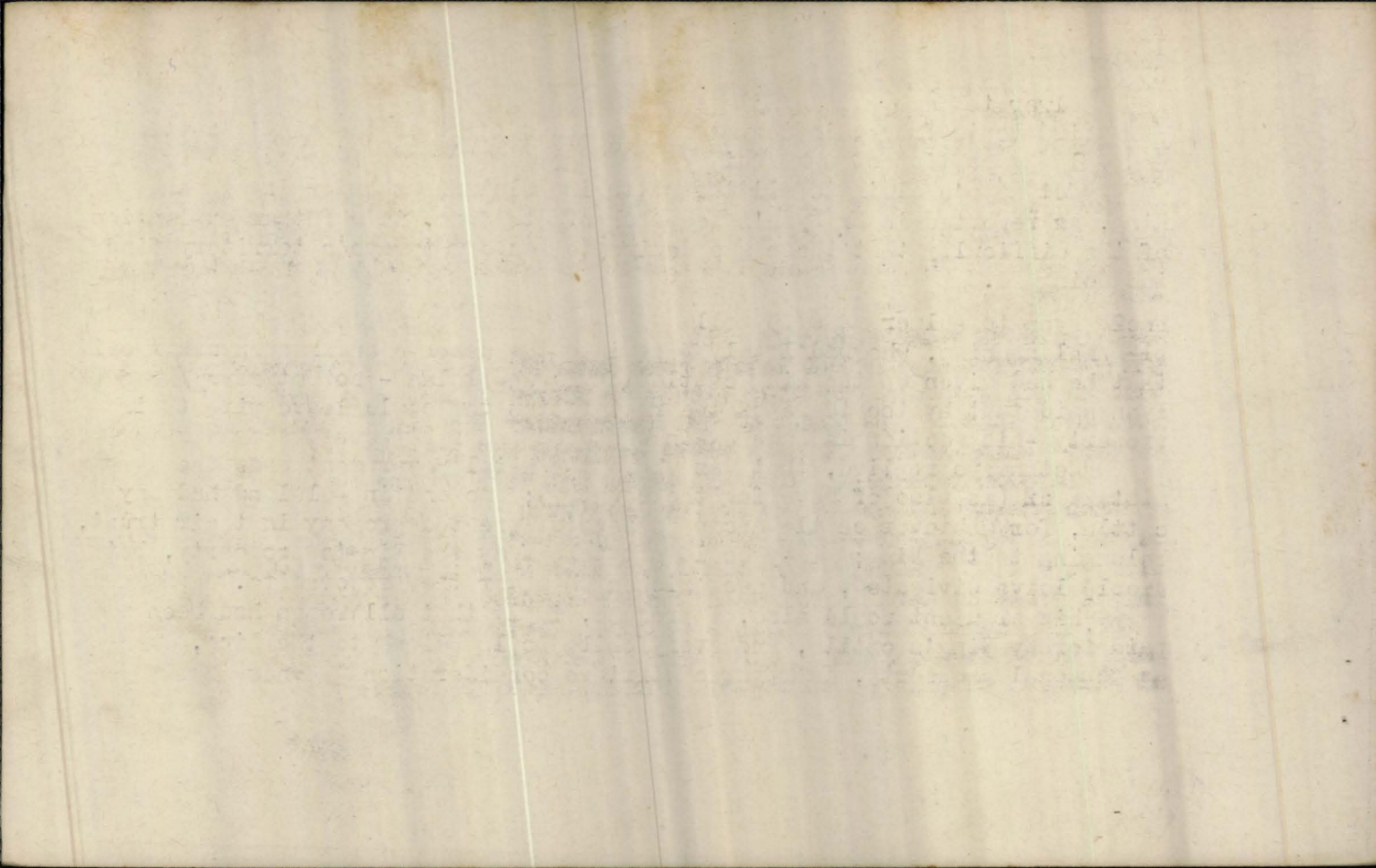
"Cetywayo's claim to all the cattle in Zululand as belonging to the King, as reported in Mr Fynn's Despatch of 4th June, is a further explanation of the difficulty that those who desire to leave Cetywayo's territory find in doing so."

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 4/6/83 o11

pl2 [Mhlanganiso, who had lately gone into the Reserve and ~~handed over~~ said that he had given up the king's cattle to Mfanwenhlslea - so Cet says / Fynn said that by the terms of the restoration they could leave with their property **This section is once again confused and ambiguous**

"Cethswayo replied, that was where the Natal Government made the mistake ~~of~~ (as also of severing the country); no one in Zululand had any cattle, for whatever cattle anyone possessed were the property in their trust, belonging to the King; they could not take away the King's property, but should leave divested, and seek riches wherever they removed to.

Fynn's a fool
his argument would also, I presume, imply that all women had been paid for by King's cattle, and every child would belong to the King, as personal property, as regards marriage consideration " Ends



C3864

Nol3 Bulwer to Derby 25/6/83 p24

/Transmits despatches from Fynn. Hamu is still besieged by the 'suthu' in his stronghold in the Ngoye. Of the three major conflicts between the factions Hmau ~~2~~ - despite being numerically smaller - seems to have done best. Hamu has, it is said, applied unsuccessfully to Zibhebhu for help. It is also said that some of Hmau's headmen have / "thought it prudent to throw in their lot with the more powerful side."

Encl Fynn to Bulwer 8/6/83

/ Forwards Zeize's statement regarding Hmau's movements. This statement was ~~was~~ previously made before Cetshwayo. Hamu, unable to move, and whose sons Kambi is too young to 'act independently' has asked Z for aid but has been refused on the grounds that H has not helped him in spite of aid against the 'Ingazi and Inhlalaose' given H by Z.

Cet said that a few days previously 5 ~~parties~~ of Z's 'parties' had entered ~~the~~ the area between Somkeli's and the sea but 2 of C's parties had made a night attack and driven them off.

"That now Uisbebu was surrounding him and he Cetshwayo, has to-day sent off two companies as scouts, and he would now send out forces from Undini in self defence, to resist Uisbebu, who had combined with Hamu's forces, and were coming to fight against him Cetshwayo."

Mabijana for Cetshwayo 'forwards Zeize' who makes the following statement?

/Information derived from a daughter of Mondulo (of Zibhebhu) married to an 'suthu' ~~who went~~ who was driven away by Z, who has been visiting her father.

/Z's forces gathered at the Banganoma kraal ~~for~~ in order to help H ~~and~~ against Mnyamana. This was reported to Mnyamana by Sityalaza of Masipula. ~~the~~
~~XXWifeXXofXXtheXXsonXXofXXtheXXlateXXMapitaXXandXXtheXXdaughterXXofXXMajiyaXXandXXanother~~
~~wifeXXofXXaXXsonXXofXXMapitaXXtheXXdaughterXXofXXSibonkoloXXofXXtheXXusutuXXpartyXX~~
"A wife of a son of late Mapita(a daughter of Majiya), and another wife of a son of Mapita (daughter of Sibonkolo, Usutu part), came on a morning visit to their parent's homes, and then returned to their husbands and induced their mothers (viz.: some of the women who had been captured during Usibebu's raid) to escape! /they bought the information that Z had procured the aid of a 'onga doctor to 'nqambisa' his forces and had sent a little wagon to fetch him. /

/Hamu as sent to Isikali for help - and encouragment for he states that although Mnymana has takne some of his cattle he has attacked and killed many of his people. Hamu also sent Manzini and Gengana for help and Z two companies with these messengers and will fight with H 3 days ago. These compnies skirmished with a company of "Falaza(late Msizi) of Masipula's section. Z lost five men and the messenger Manzini.

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 12/6/83 p26

/confused and difficult to sort out but it would seem that Cethswayo and a messenger of Fynn's who had been sent ^{on 5/6} out to discover what was going on in Z's territory have given further~~more~~ information on the Clash mentioneed above between the people of Masipula(Gazini?) (above under Falaza(late Msizi) but here said to have Maboko's and the force of Z's going to meet Hmau) The above is incorrect - the info from the messenger enclosed see next statement. the inf immediatley below is from Gudu from Masipula's people sent to Cet to give info on the clash. is enclosed.

C3864

Nol3 Bulwer to derby 25/6/83 p24

Enc 2 cont Fynn to Bulwer 12/6/83 p26

/Info from Gudu sent from Masipula's people to tell Cet of clash.

Hamu sent two messengers to ask Z for assistance and they returned with a force of Z's and "Of Mtabatas of Hamu". they clashed with Maboko's people five of Z's people killed and Hamu's messenger Manzini. Z's forces tried to attack Maboko's 'stornglhold' using guns but failed and last eight before gleeing. Z is plundering Maboko's people. / "hat all this comes about by reason of Masipula's country and people having been placed under the lately deposed Chief Umgojana, to whom they were told to look up to.

Also that Masipula's people have never been informed of any alteration of the boundaries or arrangements by the Government, but Usibebu with armed force and by weapons, informs them Umgojana's country has been given to the, and he has destroyed their homes and good, and he is befriended by the Government, by reason of their not checking them. Cetywayo remarked, "When would they do so by active measures.?"

/Fynn explained to Cet, Sirayo, Ntuzwa, Maboko's messenger (Gudu) that Umgojana's district was given to Z and the Zulu chiefs became angry asking why was Z befriended and Cet not, for why hadn't the country been given to him. Fynn explained that it was not his place to argue with Cet's terms of restoration, only to persuade Cet to keep the laws of his restoration.

Cet also said that Makhlileka had come from Mbandeni the Swazi Chief to congratulate him on his restoration. (Fynn also heard that he had brought ~~some~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ two girls as wives as well / ends

94684/120

12612/N/83

Statement of Messenger 'Mlambo' 12/6/83 p27

/On 5/6 with Mcamame went to Z to see what was happening and tell Z to stay within his boundaries. At Z's kraal Banganoma Z was absent but arrived on 9/6 with 12 compnaies. He said his forces were for defence only and would not go beyond his boundaries. Messengers Fokoti and Manzini had come from Hamu to tell of his fights and what was he to do? Said sent back four men with the ~~and~~ two messengers and two women and they were attacked by Maboko (of Masipula's) people **Maboko ~~ix~~ and his people are nearly always refereed to like this and not as Gazini - this might be significant** Z went with 12 companies to investigate. Maboko had fortified himself between the ^{Mt.} Hlomohlomo and the Mkuzi river. Z was fired upon, one man killed named Isibaxa and then Z returned home.

Z said Cet had summoned the Nozizingili forces, Sambani, and other Tongas between Somkeli and the sea, for the purpose of attacking Usibebu should his forces go to H mau's assistance." / Luzipo, induna of Noziyingili has sent to discover from Cet when they were to attack Z and some of Z's Tongas had fled to Z in consequence. /

194

12611/N/83

C3864

Cet. Projects official advice

187

No12 Bulwer to Derby 25/6/83 p23

/Continuation of No58 in C3705 dd11/6 Cet said that O's answer/~~was xxxxxxxx~~'
 "was no reply, and that he did not wish to hear anything more about the matter;
 that he wished his people to remain in the Reserve which belonged to him,
 as it was all Pnada's country; that it was the Natal Government which was
 depriving him of his country, and that Mr. Osborn had better wait awhile,
 as he was now appealing that the whole country should be given back to him.

this reply by Cetywayo is, perhaps, a more significant instance than
 we have yet had of his determination not to abide by that part of the conditions
 which made the Reserve territory indepednent of him; and from private
 information I have received I fear this open declaration on Cetywayo's
 part is one of the first resutls of Mr Grant's visit to him." Ends

Enc Fynn to Bulwer 8/6/83 p24 /ncloses copy of Res's letter dated oned
 31/5 in reply to mine dd23/5. A copy was forwarded by Bulwer in No58 abovementi
 Enclsoes copy of his, Fynn's, reply

Fynn to Osborn 8/6/83 p24

/Explained contents of his letter of 31/5/ "during which explantion he
 /Cethswayo/ repeatedly told me he did not wish to hear anything more about
 it, it was no reply; he wished his people to remain in the Reserve, which
 belonged to him; it was all Mfande's country, and you (Mr. Osborn) had better
 wait a bit, for he (Cethhwayo) was appealing for the whole country to be
 given back to him; that it was the Natal Government who were depriving
 him of his country. " Ends

FH684/118



150

1161/N/83

C3705

188

No60 Bulwer to Derby 11/6/83 plll

/Interviewed Cet on the subjects of Bulwer's desp of 10/5 and 12/5

Cet then turns on the arrangements for Zululand saying that Kimberley had said oncy a small strip along the Tugela would be reserved - presumably for Dunn, that the Natal Government had ruined the country by severing sections for appointed chiefs. that the strife and bloodsed was a conaintuiton of that while he was away and therefore was not **repponsible**, that there was no room for the people in the Reserve who wished to be under him in his territory, and wanted to know those there w o did not wish his authority. When ^{Fynn} argued that both ^{H and Z} ~~sides~~ were condemend for their reprisals, but that they were reprisals C t said: / "That was only mellow milk to them, and no punishment, but he^a (C tywayo) was day after day eing blamed for all that went wrong, while hê was keeping the terms of his restozation, and remianing quietly at Undini("

When Fynn spoke to him on the armed 'Swazi' he said they were his subjects driven across the Pongola in the distrubances. On their guns he s said they should not be deprived of their weapons of self-defence when H and Z had guns many of which had been given with U'sborn's knowledge and consent. / "WAs he...now told to give up arms(guns) so that he and his people should not have guns to defend thsmelvw agsint th guns of Uhuamu an d Usibebu" /Fynn said that all guns should have been given up and that his people possessed large numbers - and Cet replied that they had few in comparisim with H and Z

remainder of despatch on previous card

Enc 3 in

C3705/60

Also

GH 684/13

Enc5 Bulwer to Fynn 11/6/83 p115

"As for Cetywayo's declaration to you that he has nothing to do with this fighting, which is a continuation of disturbances commenced during his absence, and that he himself remain quietly at Undini and keeps the conditions, ~~subject~~....it is useless to argue with an assertion which contradicted every day by Cetywayo's on acts and ords. But I desire to express my approval of the firmness with which you have not failed to impress upon Cetywayo his repsonsiblity for the deploable disoreders and loss of life that are taking place in his countrm and of your endeavours, which I am sure you will not cease to exert, to ring about a better state of things".

149

Hama / Mnyamana da n

Bos. 107

1161/N/83

C3705

No60 Bulwer to Derby 11/6/83 pll1

/Transmits Fynn's despatches on fighting between Hmau and Mnymana.

General fighting in the area round the Pongolo towards the end of May
 an particular havy engagement being on 27/5. On top of the info given in
 Fynn's despatches Bulwer has been told by another source that on 27/5
 Mnyamana was soundly beaten by Hamu - but it is not yet sure what happened exactly.

Enc1 Fynn to Bulwer 24/5/83 pll2

94684
1107
/From same source as info obtained in ^{despatch} message of 25/5 has learnt that
 Hamu's people living beyond the Pngola and Cethswayo's people (Badeni
 (foremerly Swazi), Mgazini of Masipula, north of the river, joined by
 the Mgazini on the south side (those driven from Zihebhu's territory of
 30/3). Beleives that 37 lost on Cet's side which was repulsed. Info unreliable

Enc2 Fynn to Bulwer 29/5/83 pll2

94684/111
/Has heard ~~that~~ a few days previously that Hmau's forces drew Mnyamana's on
 and then attacked and defeated them. That about 10 coers were fighting for
 Mnyamana, but wit drew when fired upn and Hmau's people forced Mnyaman s
 over præcipies into the Pongolo. On the 27th/5 someke and friign came from
 Hamu's district. Bro of the late Umbilini (sons of Mswazi) was seen at
 Ulundi with 5 others carrying guns. Would not give info to Fynn's messangers. /

Enc 4 Fynn to Bulwer 1/6/83 pll4

94634/114
/Fynn's messengers report that Uhamu is still in his strongold at the Ngotye
 between the Hlangweni Mountain and the Pongolo. Msebe has been killed by the

200
350

Qulusi but it is doubtful whether Kambi ka Hmau has been.

Four companies on their way to meet Bantubensume's force from beyond the Pongola where surrounded and attacked at night by seven companies of Hamu killing all but one - who was given to with doctors (Nqamzana of Hamu) and then sent to Mnyamana to say that in 4 days Hmau would attack Mnyamana but this did not take place. The next day Bantubensume's forces defeated those of Hmau.

There is a Swazi force, many armed with Basuto battle-axes, with Mnyamana. There have been continual skirmishes between scouting parties but no all-out battle by all the forces. Some of the women and children of Hmau's people, including those of Mtabata have been captured by Mnyamana's forces. Mtabata's were captured and killed by a force of ~~Maboko~~ Maboko of Masipula.

Mseve was killed and a force made up of Seketwayo's Mhlalose and the Qulusi plundered his people. The cattle ~~cattle~~ were ~~xxxx~~ captured by 1 / "three companies of Falaza and Kandempemvu, but of Mhlalose tribe of Seketwayo"
 whatever that ~~x~~ may mean

"Nozaza, of Seketwayo, has gone (two weeks ago) on a mission from Cetywayo to the Boers.

The grass in northern part of Seketwayo's district has been burnt; the people there say by the Boers for winter pasture."

Enc3 Fynn to Bulwer 31/5/83 p113 (cont) /Cet reports that 8 companies of Mnyamana were attacked by Hmau at night and all killed. Mnyamana sent 2 companies

of Falaza (late Msizi) which beat three of Hmau. That Mnyamana has besieged Hmau. Mseve had been killed by the Qulusi and that Cet had nothing to do with old disturbances.

The Magazin under Maboko claim most of the cattle captured from Hmau by Mnyamana

Mahlangampisi, son of Chief susu, ~~xxxx~~ resident at Nhlakazi, east of Sanhlwana, is sent by Cet to complain that Mkelebeli, indau of Hlaubi captured horses, also Gwilikazi for his father, Matshobana, and the daughters of Majubana whose kraal is at Noutu

12229/N/83

12064

12613/N/83

Schroeder

191

179/146

Minutes. Bulwer to Derby 18/6/83. Re Dalzell to Bulwer 18/6/83

~~Cecil~~ F Weber to O Witt 10/6/83. Bulwer to Fynn 17/6/83Reports the murder ~~xxxxx~~ of Rev Schroeder and plunder of his property.

He was living alone when attacked and killed this was near the Hlobane in Hamu's territory on 6/6. His cattle had been taken 3 or 4 mths previously by the Qulusi and a son of Mkosana 'took his house by force' a fortnight ago. He lived alone - his servants having left, and his intended is coming or is about to come out to him. Mr Weber expects the same treatment he has already had his cattle taken by Hmau with Nunn's sons as izinduna. We haven't heard from Rev Hormann in Masipula's district since early March and he is reported killed. Mr Kick has also been plundered - first by Z and then by the usuthu. Hmau's district is a ruin. Bulwer instructs Fynn to tell Cet to make every enquiry. /

12613N/83

179/146

Minutes Missionaries ask that their identities be kept secret. /

Bulwer to Derby 25/6/83.

Fynn to Bulwer 13/6/83. /Has received letters from REVs F Weber and F Stalbam German missionaries. Msebe's people 'who have taken refuge in an a natural strongld at Hlobane iare suspected. Some of Msebe's people left property for safety with Schroeder and some of Seketwayo's Mdhlase demanded these things, they were given up and the woners murdered him. Mapelu /?/ a son of Mkoasna living with the Mhlalase had his horse stolen from there and it is believed to have been seen at Hlobane Cet says that Stalbam and Weber are his

frineds and he has appointed Luji to look after them but Msebe is his
enemey and they killed Schoreder hoping to implement Cet, /

60
12069/N/83
C3864

Traders complaints

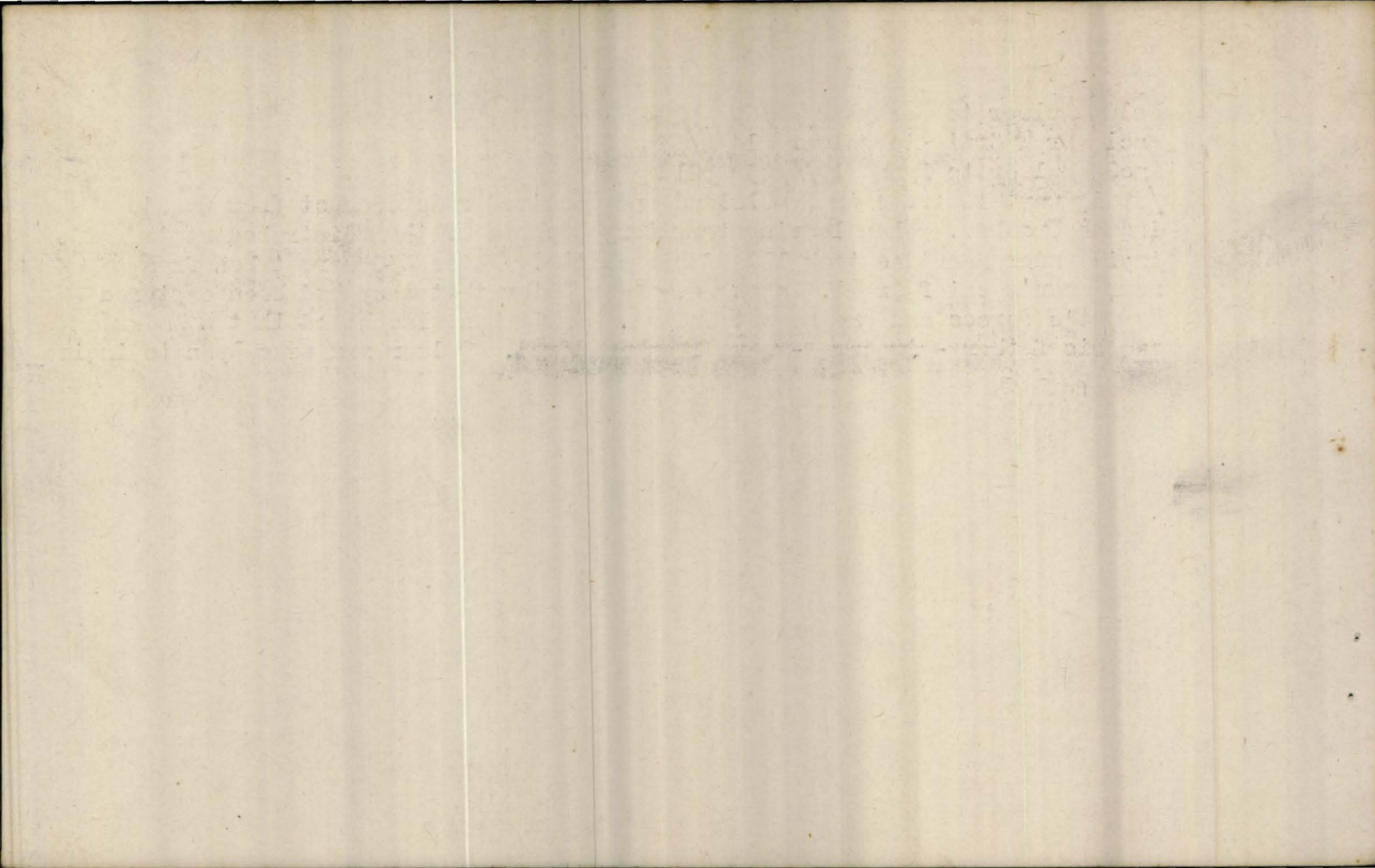
193

No10 Bulwer to Derby 23/6/83 p20

Encl Mr T Craig to Bulwer 14/6/83 p20

Enc2 Bulwer to Fynn 19/6/83 p21

/Craig went to trade in N Zululand and received safe conduct from Hmau's induna Umsabe . When leaving territory because of the distrubed state Hma's impi sunder Manziene took 120 of his cattle. Later 130 were taken from near Hmau's chief kraal, Engengwe. ✓ Hear later that they had been captured by Cet's forces and are now at Undini. Craig has also heard that R Anderson and his father - traders - have been murdered. Bulwer ~~six~~ asks Fynn to inquire /



188

At. compans of H & Z

194

12606/N/83

C3864

No7 Bulwer to Derby 20/6/83 pl3

GH685
 /Forwards statement made by Cethswayo's messengers which H Shepstone gave permission to come to Natal for speaking to the Governor/_

Enc Statment of Mabulukwena, accompnied by Ngequene, Godi, Nxubugeza to Bulwer.
 /Sent by Cet to say he is being killed by H and Z. Soon after Cet's return Hamu entered Northern part of Cet's territory. Then Fada, a Zulu who had been in Natal returned saying that J Sheptone had given him permission ~~to~~ for H and Z to attack Cet. Z entered Cet's territory and the sutuhu impi which followed them into Z's territory was turned on and killed. Hamu then entered Cet's district and plundered Mnaymana and then Z raided as far as the Wh Mfolosi - at the saem time that a Government messenger was in Zululand going to Zibhebhu. / "Cetywayo says he feels he will have to extract the assegais they have thrust into him, and return them. That he has not yet done this as he has been afraid of the Government." Dunn H and Z have cattle that belonged to Cet from befere the war."/_

"His Escellency replied -

"I am sorry you have been delayed so long in Pietermaritburg; I did not know you wanted to see me before, I have been away from Pietermaritzburg, and did not understand this till I come~~x~~ back. I have heard what you say; you give me one account of what has happened. Of course I need not say I have recieved other accounts, and that those accounts differ frm the one just given by you. As for what you /14/say about Fada having got permission from Mr J Sheptone for H and Z to attack Cetywayo, that, I know, is utterly untrue / and put about by mishchief - makers. that Z and H and Dunn do not

have King's cattle as an inquiry has been made. After the war all Cet's cattle were confiscated and dipsoed of, some to Dunn. Fynn is still insturcted to find more agout this_

"Give Cetywayo my greeting. Tell him to put away the assegai and to live in peace."

*Notes taken by Fynn on the day after
in Orix Bulwer has needed them*

13097/N/83

Nol8 Bulwer to Derby 30/6/83 p30

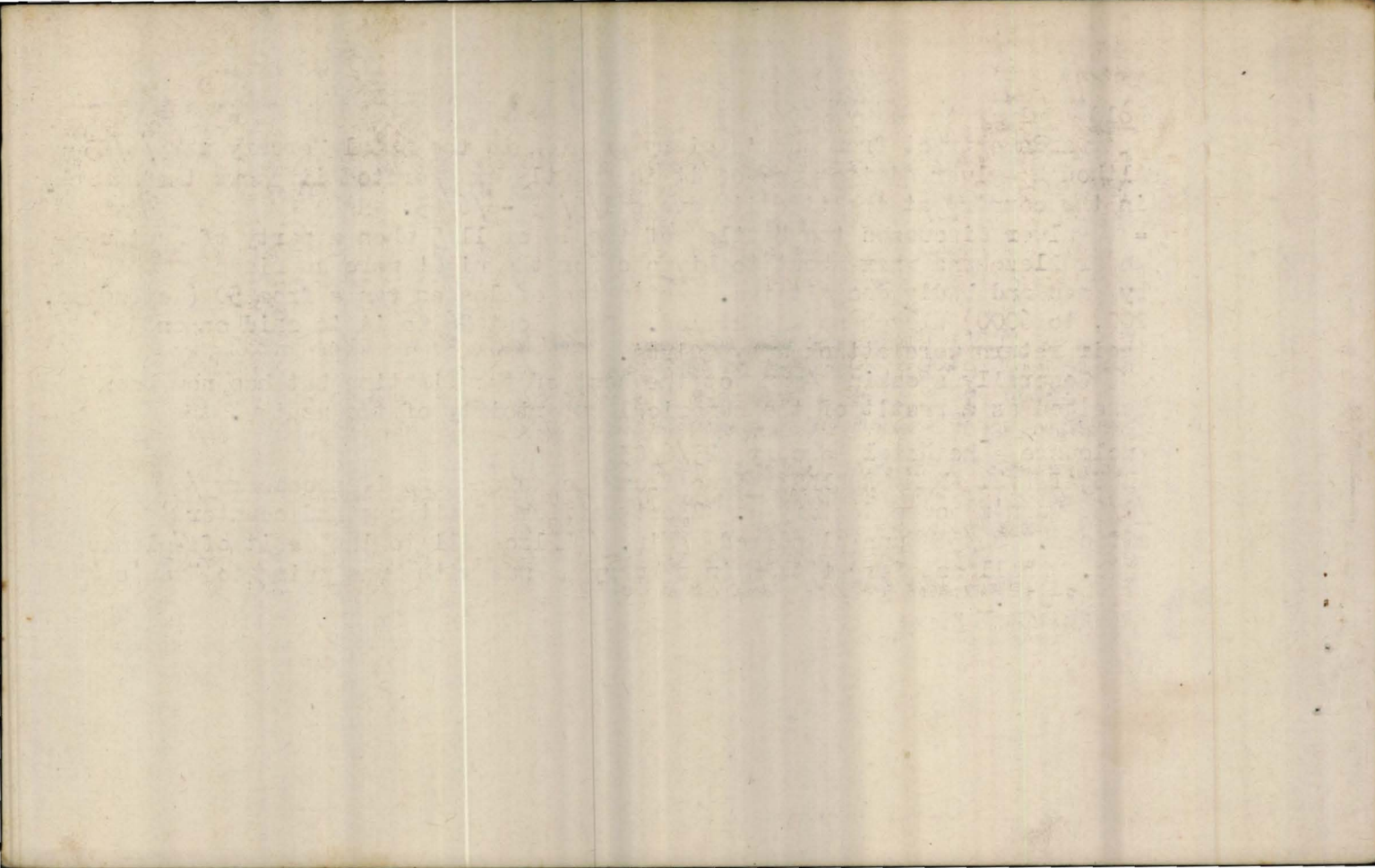
Forwards extract from Nunn's diary printed in the Natal Mercury 23/6/83
Although Bulwer admits much of it is greatly exaggerated it shows the anarchy
in the country at the time it covers 1/5/83 -6/6/83.

= Bulwer discussed the battle of the 10 or 11/5 when a party of usuthu
under Hlezebana ~~whom~~ about to bivouac for the night were surprised
by Hmau and badly decimated. Estimates of losses range from 50 (Cethswayo,
200, to 6000) Hlezebana was killed. Hmau lost 26 so it is said on
their return were attacked by Qulusi.

Generally speaking Hmau got the best of the fighting but has now been
besieged as a result of the numerical superiority of the usuthu.

Enclosure the Natal Mercury 23/6/83

NEWS AT LAST FROM MR NINN /take from the newspapers if necessary/
/1/5 Nunn's house destroyed. Short entries of attacks and counter
attacks. 26/5 Nunn plundered again./ "Place all to the debit of Colenso
& Co. shall not forget them in a hurry" Ends with Nunn going to Hmau's
stronghold./



198

13100/N/83
C3864

Disturbances to W or N.

202

No20 Bulwer to Derby 2/7/83 p36

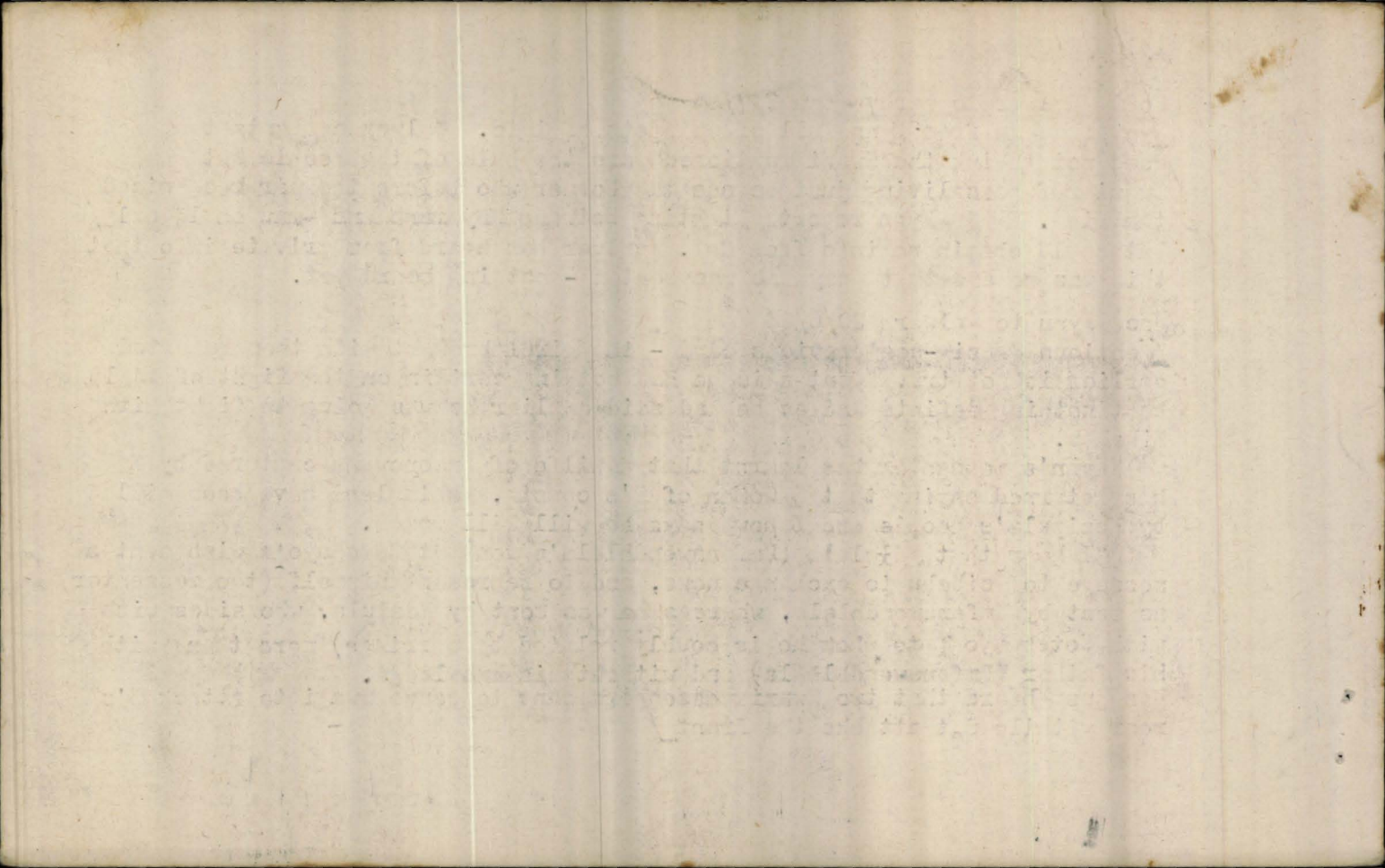
✓Covers desp from Fynn full of snippets of info. Bulwer comments that he does not think the Swazi mentioned are the bulk of the people but Swazi refugees living just across the border who before the war recognised the King. Fynn reports fighting between Mnyamana and Hmau on 14 or 15/6 but could obtain no info from Cet. Bulwer has heard from private info that this was so and that Mnyamana was beaten - nothing heard yet.

Enc Fynn to Bulwer 20/6/83

✓entions Swazi - see previous card - the ^{story of} girl brought with them reported earlier is not true Cet said he had nothing certain on the fight of 14/15/6 but nothing definite and as he had said earlier he was going to fight with Zibehbu.

94685 h
Fynn's messenger has learnt that a wife of Unconcwana captured by Z has returned saying that 5 women of Z's cousin, Mahlahleni have been killed by Masipula's people and Z now says he will kill women.

"I hear that Mdalula (Umfanawendhlela's son) at Cetshayo's wish sent a message to sibebu to exchange news, and to represent himself (the messenger) as sent by Umfanawendhlela, whereas he was sent by Mdalula, who sides with Cetshwayo (to whom he is closely related by marriage) more than with his father (Umfanawendhlela) and without his knowledge. Has just heard that two ~~Swazi~~ messengers sent to cause Swazi to attack Z's rear while Cet attacks the front ✓



Who are. 419/84 from Rexene

Fogoti (Ntuli?) ✓

Matshinane ka Pakatwayo

Mfusa mu

Mgihla ka Ndwandwe

