

4/84 ZNTL  
394

C4037

Nol06 Bulwer to Derby 17/4/84 pl09

/ Since my last Desp on Reserve dated 15/4 have heard from Res Comm that the armed usuthu at the Inkandhla have dispersed. Sigananda had disagreed with Oetuka and the latter has decided to go with his tribe to the <sup>In the north</sup> oers.. The usuthu forces have moved from the Nshlatshe to the Ngome. /



393  
38

4/84 Reserve Car

C4037

# Resistance

No103 Bulwer to Derby 15/4/84 p100

Forwards two despatches from Ost dealing with Qetuka's refusal to pay taxes and the removal of Cat's body to the Indkanla. Former considered here. Both are in Bulwer's opinion related - usuthu agitation. / Apart from Majiya (No85 no difficulty in tax collection and has received £5000 / heard, indeed some little while since, that certain persons in fatal who have identified themselves with the cause of the ultra-sutu party were giving out that the tax would not be paid by the people belonging to that party in the Reserve, and the conduct of Qetuka, after expressing his readiness to pay, in declining to do so and assembling his men in arms, appears to bear out the prediction. There is evidence to show that he is acting in consort with the usuthu. At a meeting on the 12/4 loyal chiefs met and advised the forcible suppression of the usuthu movement at the Indkanla - whether this is to do with the gathering at the funeral or with Qetuka is not stated. - Probably can be looked on as one movement. Bulwer has advised so not to make Qetuka's refusal an issue at the moment when there is enough tension in the Reserve and the usuthu are probably looking for a pretext to disturb the peace. He can be dealt with in time. what must now be done is co-operate with the loyal chiefs to maintain order and defend the district against usuthu aggression.

Enc 2 Osborn to Bulwer. 11/4/84 p101.

On 1/4 informed headman Qetuka that he was to pay tax on following Sat at Entumeni. xH /102/ He agreed but that wanted extension to Monday as

94688



porition of the people lived a long way off and this was granted. Late on unday heard that his people were assembled under arms and they had been joined by the people of the late ~~Nabiy~~ Nobiya taking up a position on the slopes of the Tsibuda Hill, near Nkandhla, and some declared that they were going to refuse to pay the tax. Monday Qetuka said he wished interment to take place <sup>before</sup> ~~there~~ payment and would not pay.

sb remonstrated and gave him till Wednesday the 9th April Qetuka has ignored Osb's words and his force has been joined by mem of Sigananda, the late Ndwandwe, Pagatwayo, the late Godide all near or at the Nkandhla. Sent for chiefs for Sat 12th for consultation. /

Statement by Zimu messenger sent to Qetuka 10/4/84 p103

/Zimu asks the meaning of the armed men. Q says that he told the Res that his people were numerous and he would collect them. He asked why he was being spied on, and that he had already told the Res about taxes.

911688 On the way back, Bukwana ka Mbora said that he had heard from a Natal Afir, Sigonyela who was at a meeting of Qetuka's that they would not pay taxes but resort to arms. Munumpofu, Q's brother said that if he knew that there was to be arms carried at the meeting he would not have come but paid direct to Mr Osb. Before they had armed and gone to Ndini against O's orders and had fled from the king and left him /?/ At Qetuka's, ~~Sigonyela~~ Zonyama's peoples were all armed with assegais shields and guns. /



Resistance

C4037

Noll14 <sup>~</sup>ulwer to Derby 22/4/84 pll8 (Rec 21/5/84)

/Refers to Nolo6. Osb reports up to 20/4 that Ndabuko and borthers still in Nkandhla but the burial has been dealyed. Osb think it is possible that they will be remvoed to Emahlabatini. for burial

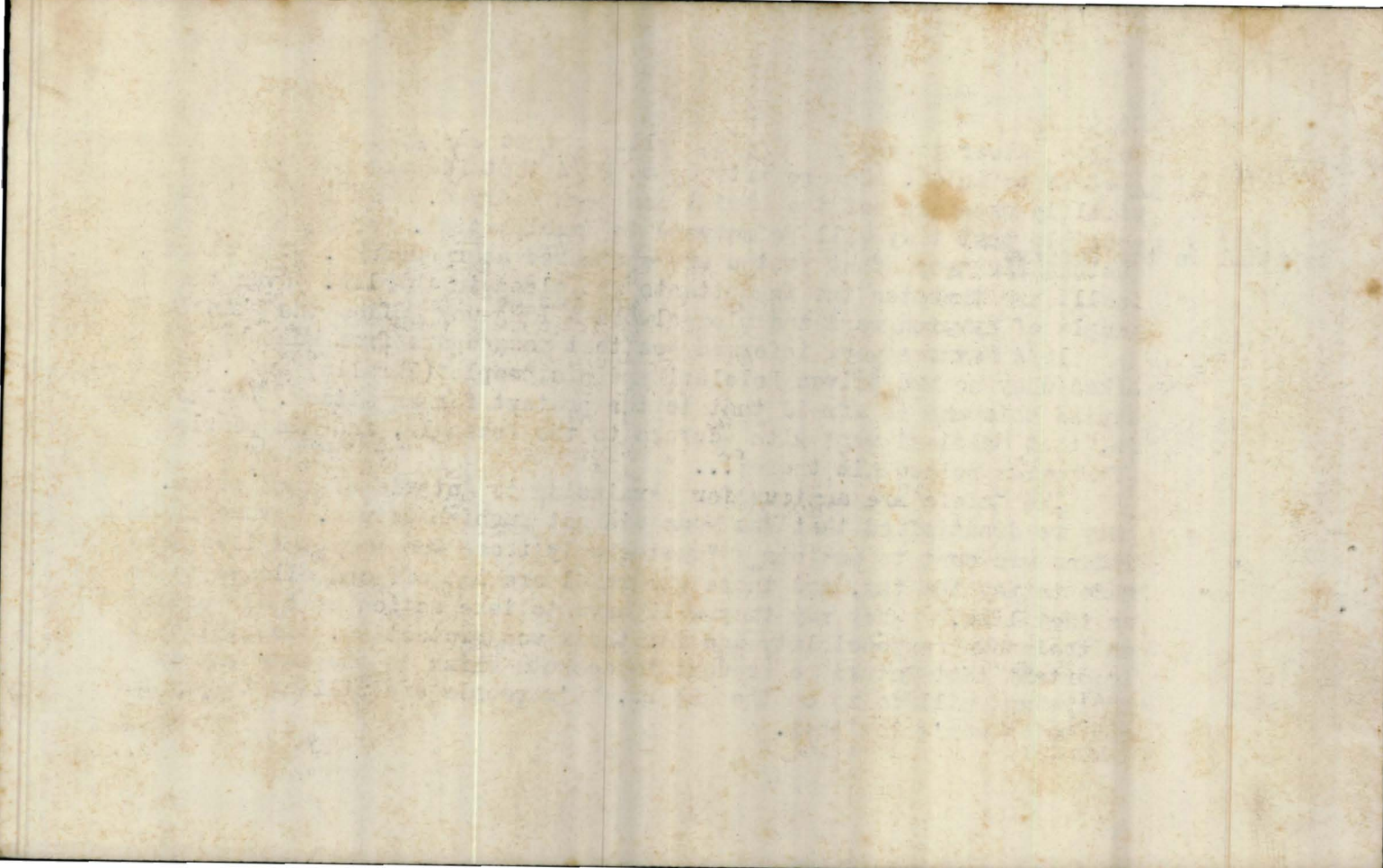
is still in the Reserve

Qetuka and many other <sup>U</sup>suthu are gathered near Ndabuko. the alarm, insult and threaten the inhabitants who sleep in th hills even the people of Mavumengwana and Hlongolwana <sup>who reside</sup> a long way from the Nkanhla

Nkul 11/6/84

16/4 Mavumengwana informed Res that messnegers from Ndabuko had asked whey he had driven Melelesi and his people (7kralls) away. Mavumengwana denied this and is afraid that is the pretext for an attack. / "the fact is, that Melelesi went with Ndabuko to the Inkanhla, and his people afterwards joined him there;..."

the Chiefs are anxious for permission to get rid of the <sup>U</sup>suthu. they are disatisfied that Res Comm did not pushish Qetuka. Mavumengwana's induna was sent to ask him / "whetheronly those who obey the laws are made to pay the tax, and those who rebel are let off and allowed to do as they like." they say they will have to take action on their accout f on their own responsiblity and for their won protection. Osb thinks it important that Qetuka be brought to accoutn ~~which~~ in the same way as Mayiya and will do so on the 23 rd. Q's people are willing to pay the tax but Q won't let them. /





325

Mldwone @ Bstone

GH687

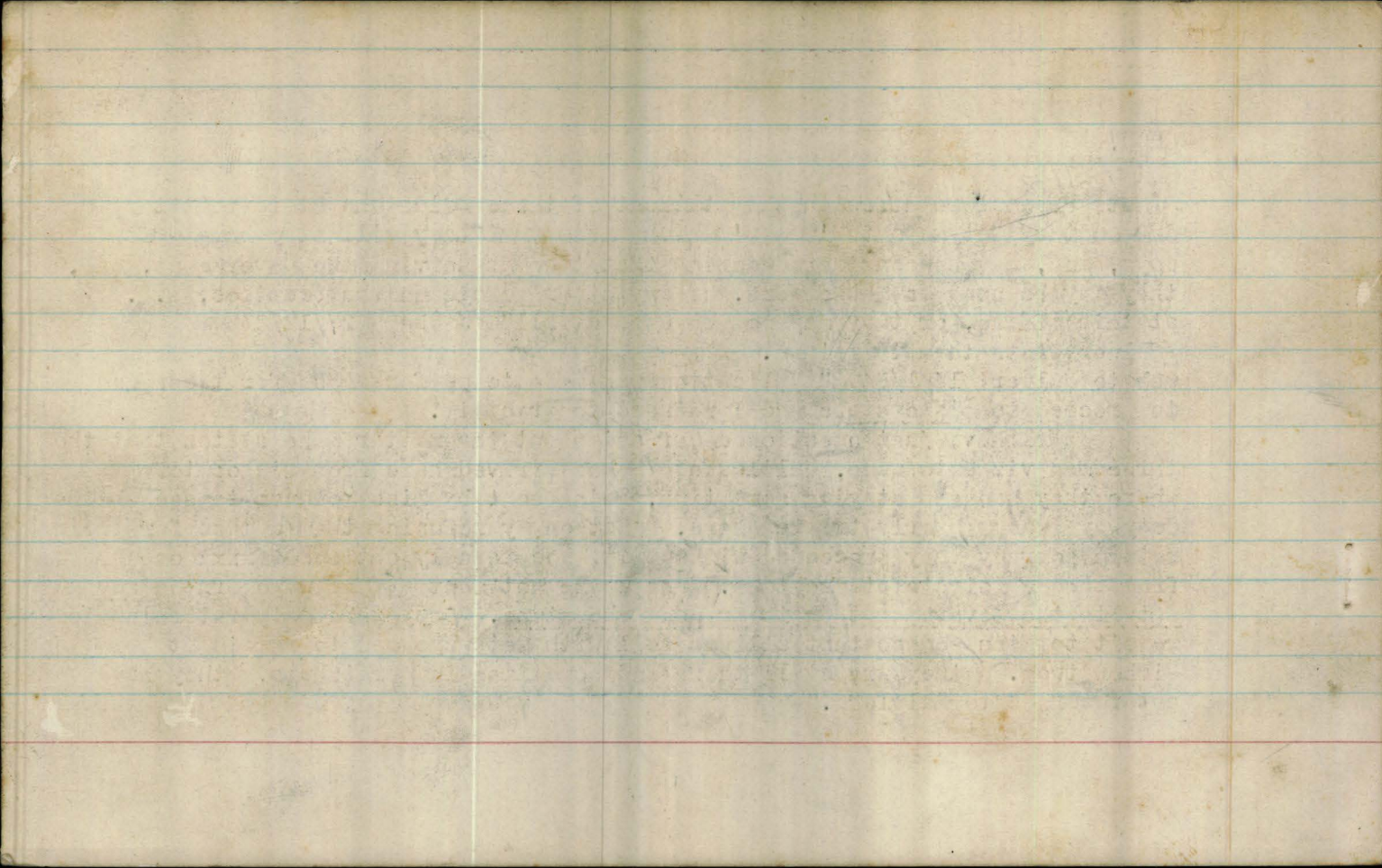
SNA 927/83

Minute "I enclose herewith the statment of three Zulus who state that they are sent by Cetywayo to 'Konga' which means that they will stay here a few days, and, may be considered during that time as serving the Government, or , they may be used as messengers, or any other sercie on the premises, i.e. at this office, or they may not be used at all" J Shep 27/12/83

/Bulwer wants them to return.

Osb to Bulwer 14/1/84 "Application was made to me for a pss for t ese men to proceed to Bishopstowe and I refused to grant it.

I have just questioned Umfunzi about the matter & he states that the three men viz Umto lwane, Umlilwane & Maken arrived here from Bishopstowe where they had been staying some time, being sent by Miss Colenso to see whether Cetywayo was properly treated here. That on my refusing them a pass for their return journey they proceeded without it, and readily obtained ~~from~~ one from the Magistrate at Greytown. They were not sent by Cetywayo ~~or~~ on any duty to the Govermnr t or to Mr John Shepstone. They were only returning to report to Miss Coneso that all was well with Cetywayo and to remain at Bishopstoe. they are still there and sometimes in Maritzburg. they have not returned to Zululand."





CO 879/22/ -

No 290 "Recent occurrences in Zululand" J A 1/10/84

/History since time of Cet's death. Bulwer pressed for HMG to extend reserve to induce Cet's territory HMG refused. Cet's funeral was postponed and it became obvious that despite excuses the funeral was going to be used as an assembly point for usuthu to join in an attack on Z. Bulwer refused to permit this. The Usuthu in the Reserve were defiant, Quetuka refused to pay hut tax. Then the Usuthu entered in an arrangement with the Boers. Osbont was attacked in May and on 10/5 Bulwer asked for more troops. Quotes at length from despatches of asuthu aggression and then eventually pacification which Bulwer was able to report on 17/9. /





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Rexue.

C4214

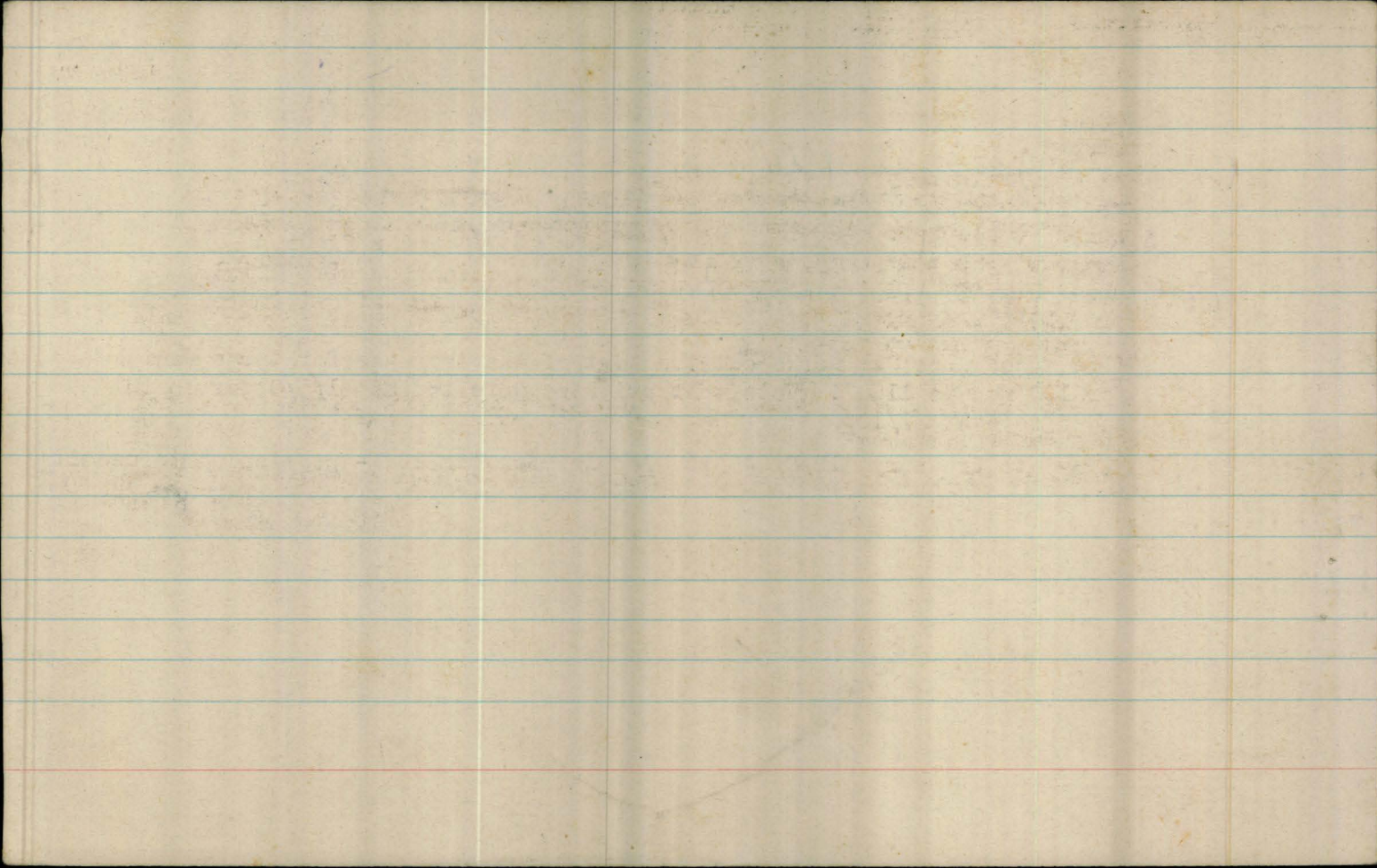
No2 Bulwer to Derby 8/7/84 p2

9/11/90  
/Cetnres around an application by Mansel, Commandant of the NMP and Osboin to increase the force in Zululand from 50 to 200. Bulwer inquired into this when he was at Eshowe at 7/6 and figures were asked from the Res. Financial costs made the increase impossible but Bulwer sanctioned 25 extra men for three months at estimated cost of £284 and asks for approval.

/Inc enkos ures Osb works out the cost of the increase for three months for 100 men as £1802. Note that privates were to paid £1/5/0 per month and a segeant £2/10/0

No C0 to Treasury 12/8/84 p6 /Apples for the £284 - permission to use it/

L  
£2/10





21319/N/83

C3864

Nol34 Bulwer to Derby 17/11/83 p264

Enc Osb to Bulwer 24/10/83 p265

Eshowe ZNR

MEMORANDUM for the information of His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Natal.

As Cetywayo has now come to Eshowe where he is at present remaining under the authority of the British Resident Commissioner, and being aware that the question as to what steps it will be advisable for the Government to take in regard to himself personally, and to the territory over which he was placed in authority in May 1881 is now being considered by your Excellency, I have the honour to submit the following remarks on the subject:-

I assume that Cetywayo will not be allowed to remain for any length of time in the Reserve; his stay if prolonged at all cannot fail to prove a continued cause of uneasiness in the minds of the people and unsettling of the territory.

It appears to me that there are three courses, any one of which could be adopted meet the circumstances of the case under consideration: they are -

1. To replace Cetywayo in power. To do this it will be necessary to send troops with him into his territory, and to maintain a garrison near to him for two or perhaps three years. If this be done, it should be borne in mind that the presence of the troops with him will unquestionably, in the eyes of the Zulus, make the British Government a party to all acts done by him as ruler of the country. It might be argued that he could be restrained where necessary by the presence and intervention of a British Resident to be placed with him, and thus no responsibility would be incurred by the Government from the circumstance of troops being kept near him for his protection. It is questionable however, whether he would deal frankly with a Resident, and whether he would submit to be guided by him; our past experience in this respect does not warrant us to believe that he would comply with such requirements.
2. To send Cetywayo back to his territory with a military escort and withdraw the escort at once. I think it is certain that Cetywayo will not go back to his territory under these conditions; he will not risk going to, and much less remaining in his territory without the protection of HM troops; of this I feel convinced. Indeed, he could not go unprotected without incurring great personal risk. This course therefore, will be impracticable unless the protection stated could be afforded as shown in the previous suggestion, marked No.1.
3. Placing the territory under British protection, and governing it accordingly through the Chiefs. This course would involve Cetywayo's removal out of Zululand. To secure in terms of this suggestion, successful rule and peace in the country on both sides of the Umhlatuzi, his removal from it would be absolutely necessary; for his support in comfort elsewhere, a fair allowance could be made out of the revenues of the country.

In this case too it would be necessary to station troops for, say the first 18 months with the Commissioner appointed to be Supreme Chief, as moral support, for without such support there would be no chance of success in restoring and maintaining order by anything the Commissioner might endeavour to do.

There is certainly one other place which could be adopted, and that is, to have nothing at all to do with the territory, and to simply abandon it to its fate. This course however, is one which I cannot believe will find favour with HMG, as to my mind, it is not possible for us to leave the people a prey to anarchy and famine. There are also political reasons as well as reasons of humanity which forbid such a course.

Of these courses herein-before indicated, the second, as ~~wxxxx~~ shown, is not practicable unless the question of troops be conceded as stated in the first.

I would therefore recommend the third course to your Excellency's favourable consideration. I make this recommendation with the greatest diffidence, knowing as I do, that the Government is averse to assume an responsibility in Zululand.

It is however, to my mind at least, an open question whether by the taking of any further action for the pacification and settlement of Zululand



any new responsibility would be incurred. I venture to think not. The responsibility of providing a proper settlement, it seems to me, accrued with the Zulu War of 1879; and the acts of the Government, or on behalf of the Government, since the conclusion of that war, in its endeavours to establish a favourable settlement, were acts done in recognition of that responsibility, and this would be the case in regard to anything that may be done now in that direction.

Any troops stationed with a Commissioner would not be required for active operations or to enforce his authority; their presence would, however, be of vital importance as moral support, and also for his protection; without the visible sign of power and authority which can only be established by the presence of troops, I do not think any favourable result could be expected.

But the presence of troops will fail to ensure the desired effect if Cetewayo remains in the country, or anywhere within such distance of it as would enable him to carry on with facility communications with parties therein. " Ends



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## Reserve: Usuthu Agitation

C4037

No25 Bulwer to Derby 29/1/84: 28 Encl Bul to Osb Tel 22/1/84 p30  
 Enc2 Osb to Bulwer Tel 22/1/84. Enc3 Osb to Bul 26/1/84 Tel  
 310 Enc4 Osb to Bulwer 26/1/84 Enc5 Osb to Bulwer 28/1/84

24  
 B-D  
 + enclosures

No25 Bulwer to Derby 29/1/83 p28 (Rec 27/2/84) 1  
 /\_On22/1 Bul recieved rprvate letter from Osb dd 20/1 saying that  
 Osb had been hearing rumours that the Uusthu in the Reserve had received  
 secret orders from Cet that ~~they were to~~ they were / "to have their arms  
 ready and be prepared." /\_Unable to trace the rumours but several trustworthy  
 natives said there was to be a mass usutuhu rising. Usuthu were crossing  
 from north of the Umhlatusi at night in ~~small~~ small parties, and others  
 were gathering near the border and they were to rise and / "'slay and spare not'  
 /\_The alarm was given on 20/1 and the Reserve chiefs began to muster their men.  
 Bulwer replied by saying that he should consult the chiefs on the  
 best action to take and if necessary give the Chiefs / "sufficient latitude  
 ...to enable them to defend themselves and their people."

/\_The suthu force beleived to gathering across the Umhlatusi was seen to  
 have and Siyunguza and others dispoersed their people. /29/

/\_Meanwh le Osb had received a letter from Dunn (No24) saying that he was  
 going to exple all the suthu in the lower part of the reserve in about three  
 days. Osb refused permission but invited the chiefs to meet him to discuss  
 the situation at a meeting. Took place on 26/4 and the Chiefs inisited on  
 the removal of the suthu and Cet from the Reserve.

Another letter"received from Osb on 28/1 saying that on the 27/1 Cet had /

"without cause and without notice given to the Resident Commissioner"  
/ gone to the fort and ~~applied~~ told the OC that his life was in danger.

As he had not applied to the RC he was not received. Ha s heard that a few days ago a severe fight took place between Z and <sup>u</sup>suthu. Usuthu loss 440, Z 60. /

Encl -5 Inform Bul of above and Bulwer's replies. Nothing of import not recorded above except the following.

Enc3 Osb to Bulwer tel 26/1/84 p29

/Meeting held today with Chiefs and they all insisited on expulsion of all suthu. Osb couldn't consent and they left him urging him to reconsider.

~~The meeting was~~ " Meeting was private, well attended, and Chiefs ver loyal. Dunn unwell, but sent a representative."



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Reserve: Usuthu Negotiation

C4037

No30 Bulwer to Derby 5/3/84 p31

In continuation of No25 further info has come from the Reserve.

17/10/83 -28/11/83 Cet resided in a kraal which he left out of fears for his personal safety, and went into into the Residency laager.

R.C's guards was removed instead  
 24/1/84 Cet left the Residency laager saying he would not return unless a guard of 60 soldiers was placed there. (on 18/12/83 the seargenant's guard on the laater was replaced by a guards from the R C's native force.)

On the night of 27/1 w/o making communication with R C whose house was 300 yards away Cet left the kraal and went to the camp of H M troops but being refused admission spent th night in a kraal about a mile from the camp. he next day he explained his actions ~~xx~~ saying he was afraid of attack by the Reserve Chiefs. Cet agreed to back to the laater on 29/1 but refused to do so/unless the guard was removed / Osb refused and Cet went to the kraal again.

/\_Why did he do this? His reason - that he feared attack - cannot be accepted. On his own accord he had left the laager -100yds from the Residency

The kraal where he stayed - without a guards- was 300 yds further from the Residency. Even there he could have contacted the Res if he feared attack but he chose to some distance to the military fort.

/The loyal people in the Reserve explain it in this way. The usuthu had planned a general rising that evening. Cet was to made safe before the rising /32/ and as a justification for the rising it was to be said he was attacked and had to fly to the fort. The guard was an obstacle - that was to be got rid of three days before to give him freedom of action.

"Had the plan succeeded Cetywayo would have said that he knew nothing about it; that he ran to the troops for protection, and that he was with them when the rising occurred. He would then point to the rising as a proof of the loyalty to him of the people of the Reserve. Bulwer does not know if this is a correct interpretation but loyal Zulu in the Reserve say it was the refusal of the CO at the fort to take Cet in that the ~~xave~~ broke the plan.

Cet's 'flight' to the fort was not taken in panic. He was attended by 40 <sup>U</sup>suthu mounted and armed with rifles / "an outrage against the authority of the Territory. Osb had been hearing rumours of a rising for some time before. <sup>U</sup>he men belonging to the <sup>U</sup>suthu - chief Nongena and Mabilwana joined with <sup>U</sup>suthu Chief Majiya <sup>with their cattle</sup> and the non-combatants ~~and next~~ took to the bush. <sup>U</sup>hey said they feared attack. This Osb says is not true and their congregation round Ehsowe looks like they were attempting to concentrate the <sup>U</sup>shtutu forces.

ON the other side of the Umhlatusi the <sup>U</sup>sutu of the Emongweni military kraal held a large hunt on the other side of the river to intimidate the people on this side. Dunn, Umjiwa, and Zimema - chiefs on this ~~south~~ side asked for permission to hold a counter hunt which Res Comm gave permission for them to hold.

Things are subsiding slightly quietly though Osb is to submit a full report. Whatever the outcome of the report is one thing is clear. The presence of Cet in the Reserve, where he is able to work 'intolerable mischief under the protection of the Res comm cannot be tolerated and he should be removed as quickly as possible. /



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Reserve; Scarce

C4037

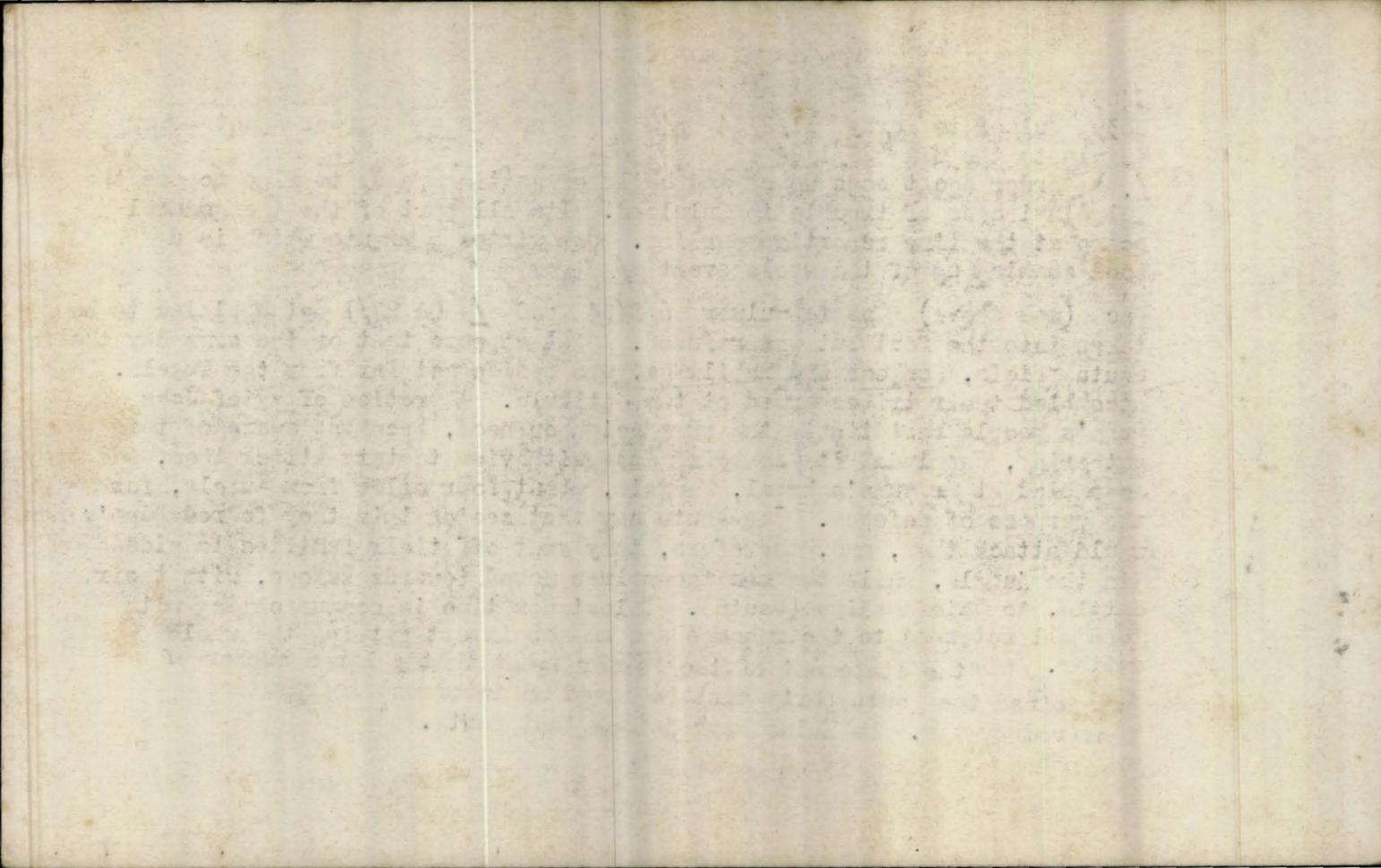
No39 Bulwer to Derby 11/2/84 p40

Enc Adm and Border Agent Lower

Tugela to the SNA 28/1/84

GH 638  
 The Border Agent sees women and children getting ready to flee across the Tugela in case of trouble in Zululand. It is all part of the general scare at the time reported earlier. Osb writes a minute which is a good summing up of the whole event /

GH 638  
 Enc (see above) Osb to Bulwer 6/2/84 p40 / On 27/1 Cet applied to be taken into the fort but was refused. / It appears that on the same day the usutu chiefs, Nongena and Mabilwana, who reside not far from the Tugela, assembled their tribes armed at the Matkulu. A portion of Chief John Dunn's people residing in the same neighbourhood, becoming aware of this gathering, concluded it was being done with view to ~~tax~~ attack them, and they assembled at Mr Dunn's kraal, Mangete, about four miles from Tugela, for the purpose of defence. The Usutu say that seeing this they feared Dunn's men would attack them, and, therefore, they sent off their families to hide in the jungle, while the men themselves moved towards Eshowe, with their cattle, to Chief Majiya (Usutu). I lost no time in communicating with / and all returned to their homes and am now investigating the whole matter. / "the statement of the Border Agent that a large number of men has joined the usutu party must be based on incorrect information received by him. No Zulus have joined that party."



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Zululand Archives 3

No 13

Bulwer to Osborn 12/4/84 /Notes that in your accounts of Re Ter furnished in three desps of 1883 and 1884 @ "that a very considerable sum, £327/17/9, has been recieved under the heading of "Fines and Fees: of which a sum of £140/12/0 was recieved by you up to the 31st of November and a sum of £187/5/9 by Mr Pretorius, ~~thru~~ during the six months ended, the 31st of October.

I shall be obliged if you will furnish me with a detailed statement shewing the nature of the Fines and Fees thus obtained."

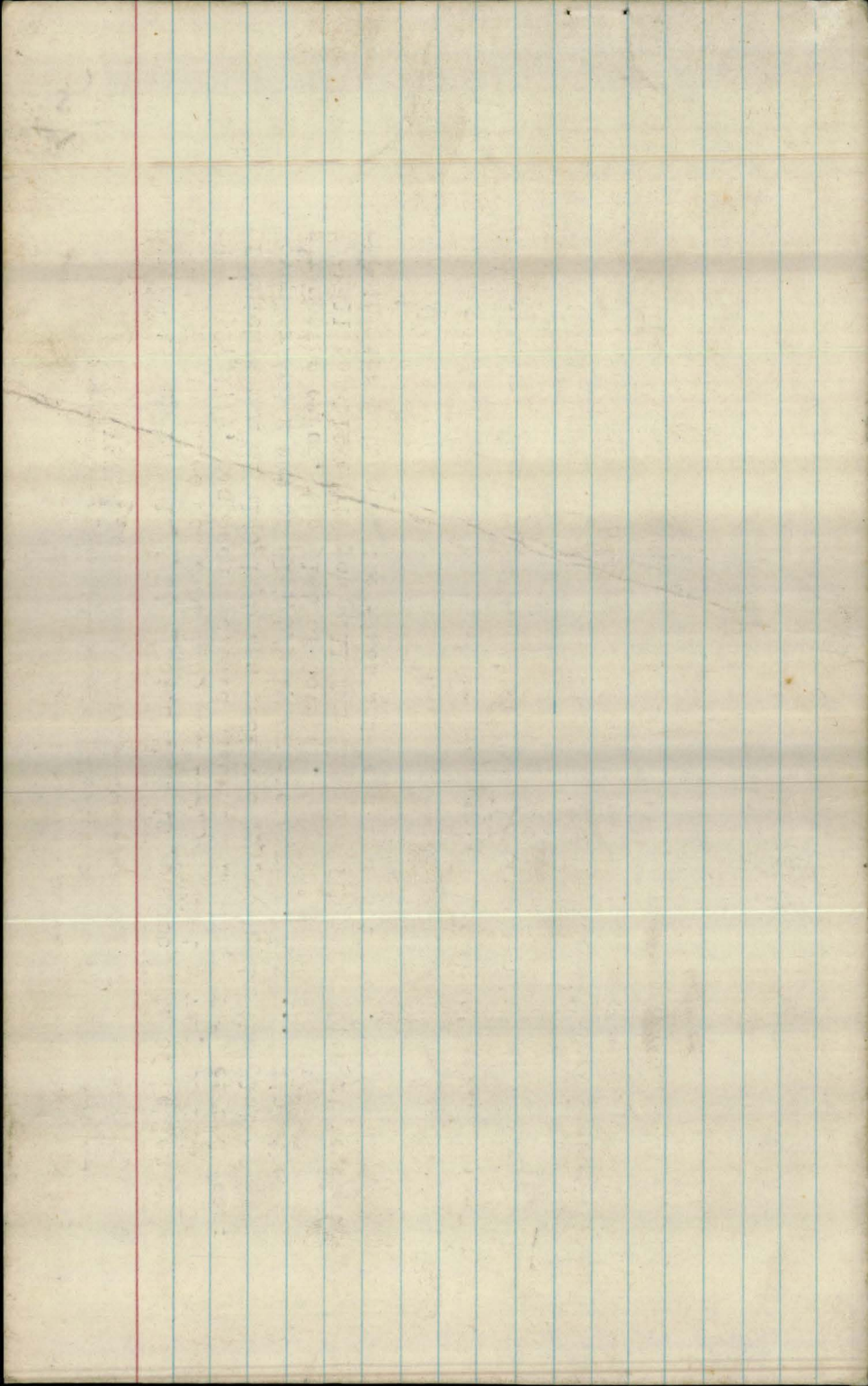
Bul. Oxb 27/6/84. 31. [I have just received the statement of the financial condition of the Reserve I asked you for as E. Osborn Nor the Estimates due in January.]

2142.

No 44

Bul-Oxb 12/9/84 [Both the above & numerous other requests for financial details referred still not answered and] "with great regret" Bulwer calls for them again]





317

1244/N/83-4  
C3864*Reserve / removed attacks*

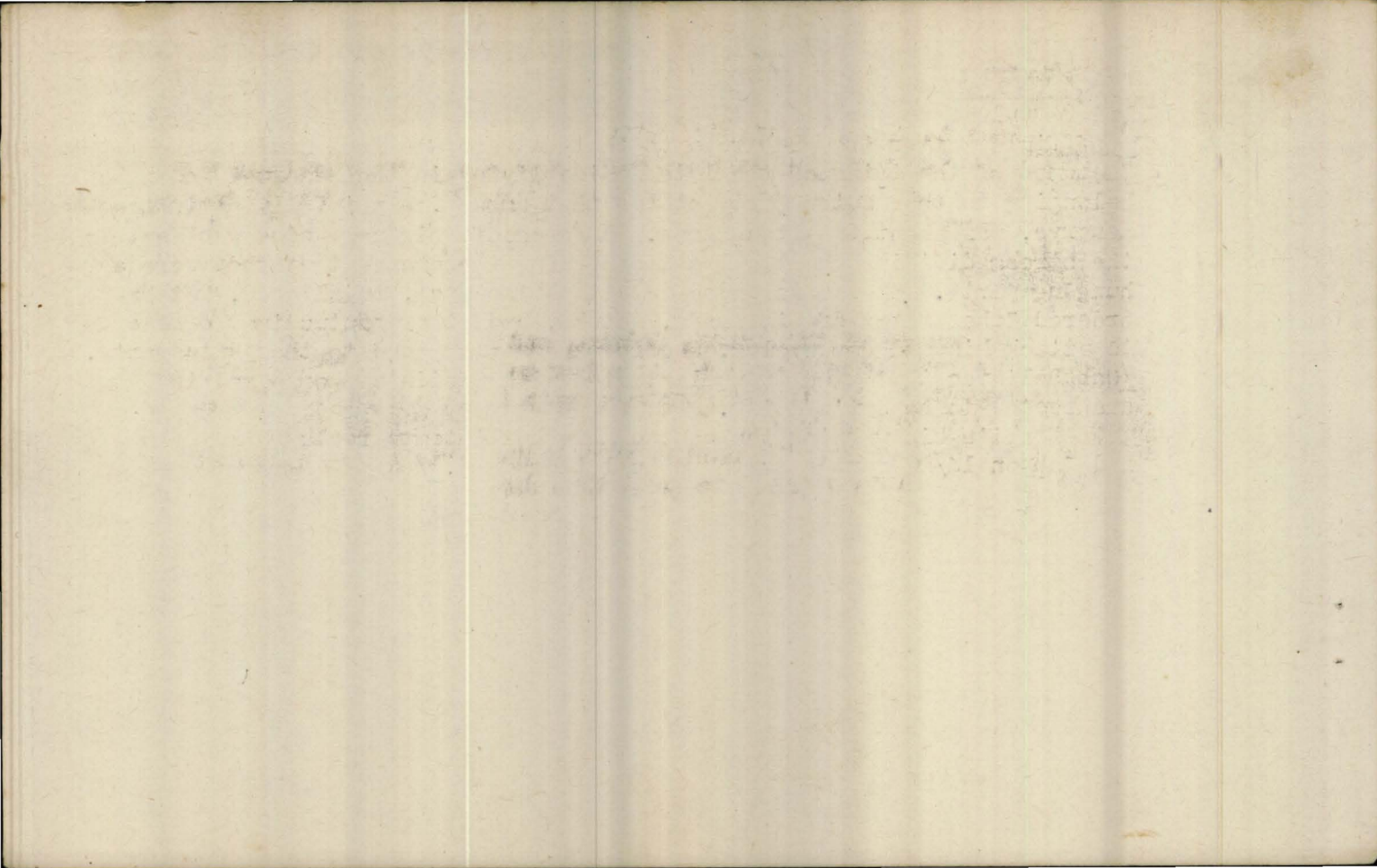
No162 Bulwer to Derby 24/12/83 p304

/Unofficial letter from Osb reports that a mess age from ~~Godide~~ the "headman of the tribe of the late Godide living in the Reserve" and ~~opposed~~ belonging to the suthu party states that Umbusa, a chief living in the Reserve, was about to attack them. A force of six companies was sent to the stream dividing the two locations using the excuse that they were a hanging party. Umbuza intended to attack them as, he alleged, Cet had ordered "the tribes of Sigananda, Qetuka, and other Usutu in the Reserve to attack him and Umvunyelwa, who is a heaman opposed to the „sutu party." X  
/Osb believes that the trouble started with Godide's people and is suspected to be Cet's doing.

Despite his warning the usuthu have built temp kraals round Eshowe and Osb on 14/12 sent a party to pull them down. /

ZLDC . Ntulo. Mbuzo





3v

Cet. Agelator in Rensd

No163

1245/N/83-5

24/12/83

p305

C 3864

Urtuhr complaints about Cetshwayo's intrigues in the Reserve / "Safe in his person under the protection of the Resident Commissioner, so long as he is able to hold any communication with the leaders of the hutu party, so long as he is enabled to direct the policy and operation of that party, and to pursue a course of intrigue and violence against those who are opposed to him or who do not belong to the party. Nor, under these circumstances, will any consideration prevent him from doing this, or even from stirring trouble in the Reserve against the good order of the territory and against the lawful authority under whose protection he is sheltered."

uvh a state of things is simply intolerable, and should he not be removed, it will be necessary, it seems to me, to adopt one of two course wi with regards to him. If he diesres our prttection for his person, that protections should only be given to him under such conditions as will effectually shut him out from all communciation by practically making a close prisoner of him. If t<sup>his</sup> cannot be done, then eh should be ~~practically~~ ~~xxxx~~ treated as any other fugitibe and left to take his chances and the consequences of his intruques."

Enc Osb to Bulwer 17/12/83 p305

As soon as it was known that Cet was alive and in the Nkandhla Usutuhu  
came to see him, when back to their homes to return when it was  
convenient. Others have remained with him as fugitives - not cultivating  
simply squatting near the permanent residents and saying they are  
Cet's subjects. and although, as far as is known there would be no risk

94685



to them if they left the Reserve, they say they are staying until the question of Cet is settled by the Government. these people are scatted throughout the Reserve although they concentrate round those kraals of ~~xxx~~ people who are known to favour Cethswayo poltically. /  
"Therefore -This desp is worth taking in full see add notes.



1245/N/83-4

C3864

Nol63 Bulwer to Derby 24/12/83 p305

Enc Osborn to Bulwer 17/12/83 p305

" As soon as it became known that Cetywayo was alive, and that he was in Nkandhla froest, amny Usutu men followed him, some remianing with him, while others returned to their homes in cental Zululand, but only to retrace their steops into this territory at their own or his convencience.

A considerabe number of these persons have since Cetywayo came to Nkandhla, entered the Reserve as fugitives~~xxxx~~, and are as such remianing in it. they do not cultivate, and are simply squatting with, or in the proximity of, permanent residents. these people openly say they are Cetywayo's subjects, and although, so far as I know, they~~xxx~~ would incur no risk by recrossing the boundary to reoccupy their former homesateads, they declare their intention to remain in the Reserve until the question in connexions with Cetywayo's overhtrow by sibebu, and that of his resumption of his position as King, is finally settled by the Government. The people referred to, amount to a considerable number, and are scattered over the greater part of the Reserve territory. Many are however, congregated in the kraals of those tribes within the Reserve who favour Cetywayo politically. Therefore, situate as they are and looking to Cetywayo only as their chief to whom they owe loyatly, the difficulty in securing effective control over them is very great, if not impossible.

I have reason to elieve that the number of these people is steadily increasng by their continuuing to cross the boundary of the Reserve, generally during the nighttime, in order to escape observation by the native border whatchers kept by me along /306/ the boundary line. Their posiiion in the Reserve is not only materially strengthened by the fact of some of the tribes living in the Nkandhla district, with whom they chiefly congragete, being openly in favour of Cetywayo, but it is on that account rendered much more dangerous.

It is impossible for me to state positibely the real object of intentions of these Usutu people, but I cannot for a mament doubt that their presence is a source of great disquiet and actual danger to the peace ~~xxxx~~ in the Reserve. That their presence is owing to Cetywayo's being in the Reserve is, I think certain.

I have reaasn to believe that some of these fugitibes took part in several massacres which occured lately in the territory out of which Cetywayo fled, and that they then returned to the Reserve. The massacres referred to, and those still be perpetrated in that territory, are, it is generally reported and believed by Zulus not belonging to the usutu section, done by orders of Cetywayo, secretly sent from Eshowe. Cetywayo ~~has denied to me~~ himself has denied to me that he authorised these acts of violence, and it is not possible fro me to ascertain by investigation what amount of truth, if any, there may be in the reports referred to.

I fell it my duty to state that I am decidedly of opinion that the presence of Cetywayo in the Reserve is a cause of great danger to the peace of the territory. The Usutu people, fugi tives, and permanent residents, are beginning to ~~show~~ evince very clearly an aggressive spirit towards those not on their political side, and unfounded rumours of a nature not only very insulting but of a disquieting tendnency are spread by them with the view to the intimidation of those not of their party. Much irritation and bad feeling prevail in consequence, and should any small ~~fray~~ affray occur - an event not at all imporbable at any time - there is a great danger of its leading to a faction fight, and to its spreading to such proportions as to seriously jeopardise the peace throughout the territory.

I ascribe this unfavourable condition of affairs in the Reserve entirely to the presence of Cetywayo therein. I cannot prevent him having communciation with the people, as although he remains personally at his quarters here, his attendants and some of his friends cannot be prevented from having access to him."







337

Usuthu / Mtonga

C4037

No37 Bulwer to Derby 7/2/84 (Rec 12/3/84) p38. Encl Pretorius to  
 bulwer 20/11/83 p38. Enc2 Bulwer to Fynn 26/11/83 p39.  
 Enc3 Bulwer to Osborn 30/11/83. p39 (Osborn comments on 15/1/83).

No37 Bulwer to Derby 7/2/84 p38 /Refers to no160 in C3864 dd24/12/83  
 and forwards rep rt on the attack on Mtonga's kraal in november 83 from  
 Sub Commissioner pretorius/

"Umtonga is one of Cetywayo's brothers, but bitterly opposed to him,  
 and it is not unlikely therefore that the attack upon him was made by  
 Cetywayo's orders. But, on the other hand, as the raid of Uhmaw's people  
 in the early part of December last, was in retaliation for the attack that had  
 been made on Umtonga in the preceding month, so it is quite probable that the  
 attack on Umtonga was in retaliation for some act of injury committed by him.

Umtonga is a man of turbulent disposition and has often occasioned trouble.  
 He was formerly obliged to take refuge in Natal, but had eventually to leave  
 the country in consequence of his intrigues and misbehaviour. Since the recent  
 attack upon him he has again come into Natal, but I have not given him  
 permission to stay.

Enc 1 Sub Commissioner A L Pretorius to Bulwer 20/11/83 n( <sup>nu</sup> ~~Gantu~~ ZNR)  
 /On the 18/11 a raid was made on Mtonga's kraal in Hmau8 s district in which  
 all males were killed, women and children captured, cattle taken. Mtonga  
 and six men escaped into the Reserve.

oes not think he can keep raiding bands out of the Reserve ~~any~~ much longer.  
 could easily cross at night, do there their plundering and be back in  
 Zululand by daybreak./

only 9 lines  
 removed

GH687

based on  
 message by  
 Fynn

GH 687

Info: Mtonga's kraal is  
 4-5 miles beyond the  
 Umvoti river



Enc 2 Minute by Fynn in 29/11/83 p39  
/\_Mtonga fled into Natal via Newcastle c.1865. Located near Bishopstoe and then elsewhere before fleeing to the Tvl where he had kraals near the Blood river. Has people in various parts of Zululand who acknowledge him, as he is one of Mpande's sons.\_/ "I have reason to believe that while disturbances were going on in Cetywayo's territory Motnga possessed himself of cattle improperly and secreted them at Ntabankulu." /\_Has the reputation in Zululand of being a rogue.\_/

Enc 3 /\_Osb says there is proof that G. t ordered the attack on Motnga\_/\_

C4037

Nol8 CO to AP S 20/2/84 p19

/Acks Nol4, tranmits Noll ~~and~~ which comments on Nol5 in C3864

"...~~for the information~~ for full inforamtion respecting what took palce  
with regard to Cetywayo during the period of his residence in the  
Reserve Territory, ~~to the~~ /Derby deisres me to refer you to / "the  
papers which have been laid before Parliament."





231-2  
16894/N/83

C3864

No66 Bulwer to Derby 3/9/83 pl30

Encl Osborn to Bulwer 24/8/83 pl32

*It would actually prevent Cetywayo going to the T.V. and [179/147 Conf - not provided]*  
/Troops should come to Eshowe and about 200 to Hlubi which would mean Hlubi could come to Nkanhla. / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "I intend calling up at once loyal tribes to coerce <sup>this</sup> Cetywayo without delay." ends

Enc2 Osborn to Bulwer 25/8/83 pl32 /Eshowe; have sent for chiefs, weather has delayed them. / "I mean to push on coercive measure rapidly." ends

Enc 3 Bulwer to Osborn 27/8/83 pl32 /Acks above. See desp 22/8 /  
"...organise and get ready, but you should not proceed to take actionsx against Cetywayo until it has been shown that there is no other course open and until it has received the approval of HMG.

"At present the troops go only to the border. they are 400 in number. You have not informed me of your plan of operations, now whether you consider that you force is sufficient."

Enc4 Osborn to Bulwer 23/8/83 pl32

*9/11/83*  
/Induna Yamela has returned from the King after urging him to come to Eshowe. From the enclosed statement you will see that Cet refused to see him, and refused to come him. The tone of Cet's statement ~~ex~~ indicate that he intends to maintain an independent position in the Reserve. There is therefore only one course open to us. Measures should be taken against Cet to compel him to abide by the regulations in the Reserve, and not organise his forces in the Reserve as he appears to be doing / "to be used probably against the people residing in the Reserve and against others elsewhere."



pl33 /Osb therefore states that he intends to consult loyal chiefs on the best way force Cet to obey the law and prevent his assembling an sutu force. Communications have been sent to them. Osb repeats his suggestion of the despatch of the 20/8/ "I think, the presence here of a sufficient portion of HM troops urgently necessary, and the success of any measures undertaken by local native forces will to a very great extent depend upon their presence for the reasons stated in my despatch." ends

/For Yamela's statement see separate card *statement by Yamela*

Enc 6 Bulwer to Osborn 29/8/83 pl38

acks O's desps of 24&25/8 and regrets the tone of Cet's replies/

"I cannot but agree with you in considering that the tenor of those communications and the attitude taken up by Cetywayo are hostile, and I fully recognise the danger of the situation"

/4000 troops are on their way -they must not go to Ehsowe unless absolutely necessary, and you should only adopt coercive measures if absolutely necessary. Goes over what has already passed between and has been noted. Bulwer is to send a final message; Osb is to consult with Chiefs; coercion only as the last possible resort; a portion of HM troops might go to Hlubi to release his forces; the M troops are only to be used as moral support and not in active operations./

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21323/N/83

C3864

*Rumour*

Nol38 Bulwer to Derby 20/11/83 p275

54687 [based on a pencil note  
comment by Osh(?)]

/Gives example of the 'idle stories' that are circulated in Zululand\_

Enc Fynn to Bulwer 9/11/83

/Munkwa and Zwangendaba of the Qulusi have sent their izinduna Mtakati and Fokoti, as they heard that the soldiers Hlubi, H and A had removed Cet from the Nkanhla and Z had given the Europeans £5 not to kill "as he was a child of the same family" but to take him across the sea again. Z was given 6 years in which to kill off the Uxuthu.\_/





3710/N/83  
C3616

The Newspaper

84

Nol4 Bulwer to Derby 29/1/83 pl3

/Ref to Nol40 of C3466 dd15/1. The affair of the Daily News Correspondent. Bulwer writes that from the report it will be seen that ~~that~~ / "so far from there being any difficulty put in the way of newspaper correspondents the facility was given to them of using the telegraph line that was established at the Lower Tugela Drift for military purposes. " The ~~si~~ rule requiring a signature by a staff officer was enforced so that military telegrams would have precedence. This rule was cancelled when the ~~excrot~~ left the Tugela but by a mistake on the part of a nco a Witness ~~me~~ telegram was refused for not having a signature / ~~17~~ 14/ / Steps <sup>were</sup> ~~never taken~~ taken by the CO to prevent such a mistake again. The other two statements by the Ed of the Witness alias the correspondnent for the Daily news are without foundation.

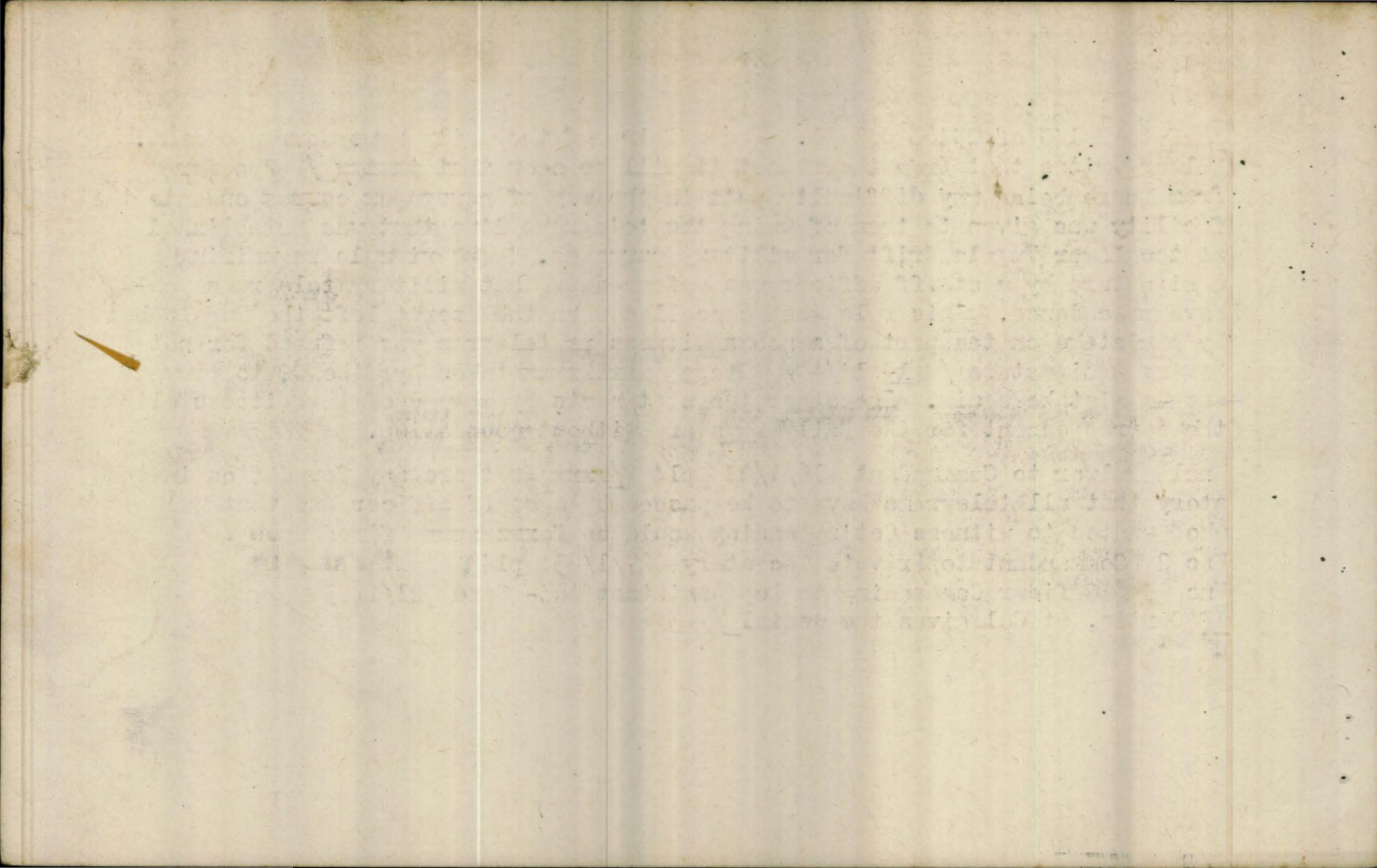
Encl Bulwer to Commandant 16/1/83 pl4 /~~may~~ Is there any foundation in the story that all telegrams have to be passed by a staff officer and that Zulu who wanted to witness Cet's landing would be ~~forred~~ fired upon/

Enc 2 Commandant to Private Secretary 27/1/83 pl4

Enc 3 Officer Commanding to Dep Assistant Adj- Gene 21/1/83

/F Curtis, Lt Col gives the denial/





329

# Dunn - demands official protection

C4037

No24 Bulwer to Derby 29/1/84 p24

/Covering letter - the facts emerge from this desp and No25\_/

Encl Osb to Bulwer 14/1/84 p25

/Covers ~~xxxx~~ letter from Dunn. His original letter referred was forwarded in Os desp of 3/5 and Bulwer's reply in Desp of 12/5. Asks for instructions\_/

Dunn to Osborn 12/1/84 p25

"Some considerable time now having elapsed since I wrote ~~to~~ you, requesting to know whether the residents in the Reserve were guaranteed the protection of HMG in case of molestation by or from Cetywayo.

I respectfully beg that you will be good enough to inform me if we are guaranteed such protection or not.

/Asks about his claim for compensation\_/

Enc 2 Minute Paper Osb to Bulwer 23/1/84 p25

Dunn to Osborn 22/1/84 p25

"Sir, On your appointment to the above position in the Reserve, I understood that it was for the purpose of keeping peace in here.

As your position has not that effect, and no confidence being placed in it, by the inhabitants of the Reserve, I give you notice that unless we are assured of some security, /26/ I intend to take action with others to clear the lower part of the Reserve of all who are known to be usutu.

I take this course as I have now repeatedly requested to know from you if we are guaranteed protection, and have received no answer to my request for information on this subject, and Cetywayo is allowed to cause

CH  
688

CH  
688



agitation in as well as out of the Reserve without hinderance.

/During the last three days threats from C't have meant that the people spend the night in the Bush and if not for Dunn's presence would have fled to the Tugela. Sokwetyata today asked for assistance as he feared he would suffer Mfanawenhlele's fate./\_

Osborne to Dunn 23/1/84 p26

(H688) /Refers to above and tell he has no right to take his proposed steps against the usuthu and prohibits him from carrying out his intention.

He is fully aware of the effect of the agitation and wants to consider the matter with the loyal chiefs of the Reserve and try and come to some plan to maintain peace and good order in the Reserve.. Asks the Chiefs to come in on 26/12 at 11am. All chiefs possible will be informed/\_

Enc3 Bulwer to Osborne 28/1/84 p26

/Refers to Dunn's first letter and says the answer to Dunn's question can be found in C3466 ~~Now~~ pp.197-210 and ~~and para~~ in para 27 and sub paras 21, 22, 23 where it will be found that defence of the territory rests in chiefs, heathen and people in concert and agreement with the Resident Commissioner. HMG concern for the territory is shown in the fact that it was prepared to send troops to the Reserve for public order

then refers to Dunn's second letter (above) and approves of O's reply but not of the letter itself./\_ "The tone of Mr. Dunn's letter is open to much

objection, and the course he proposed to take of his own accord is indefensible. Bulwer says he is aware of the danger because of Cet's presence /28/ but you the Res have troops to give authority to your position and, if you act carefully with my (Bulwer's) support can use the people of the Reserve to maintain order. Consider the possibilities of removing the Usuthu 'quietly' to the ~~Reserve~~ <sup>Cet's territory</sup> if they cause trouble in the reserve.

C4037

No36 Bulwer to Derby 1/2/84 (Rec 12/3/84 p36

Enc 1 F Weber to High Comm in the Reserve 24/1/84 p36

\* "The dangerous position we missionaries have been in since the beginning of the disturbances you know. We hoped the Imperial Government would take a decisive step, that peace would be restored to these unfortunate people. Our hope has failed." The position is getting worst. Hamu took most of our cattle last winter and the Uthutu are now interfering with the missionaries and their people. Requests that the king and Mnaymana and the indians of the 'Impangiso', Qulusi and 'Um pelu' ~~sh~~ to stop interfering with them and if they should leave the country not to interfere with their stations.

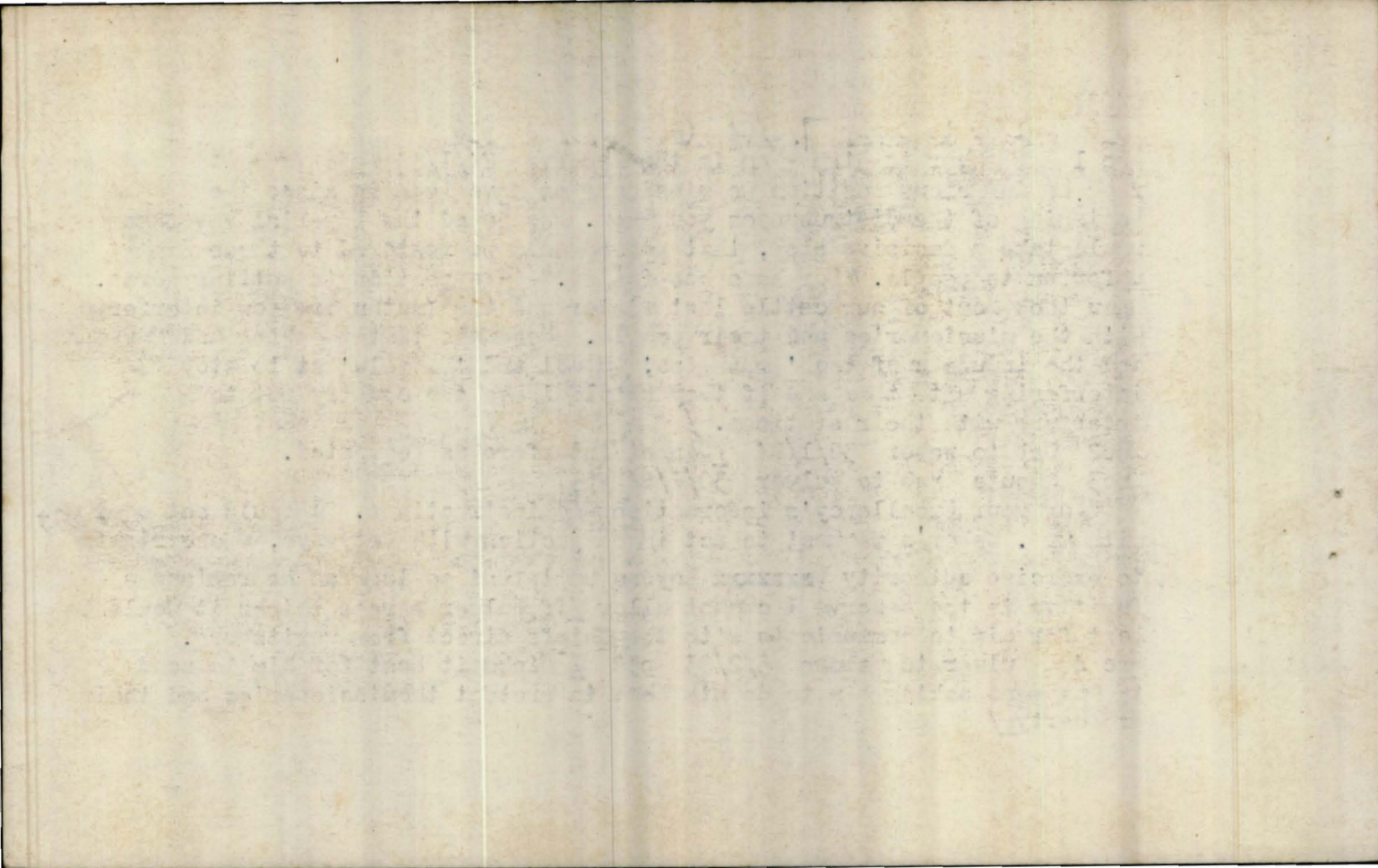
Enc2 Osb to Weber 30/1/84 /Cannot interfere as requested.

Enc3 Minute Osb to Bulwer 30/1/84 p37

"For your Excellency's information and instructions. I could not comply with Mr. Weber's request to act in conjunction with Cetywayo, whose right to exercise authority ~~beyond~~ beyond Umhlatusi so long as he remains a fugitive in the Reserve I cannot allow /If Bulwer agrees thinks it would be best for him to communicate with the Chiefs direct from Maritzburg./

Enc 4 Bulwer to Osborn 5/2/83 p38 /thinks it best for him to send to Mnaymana asking him to do his best to protect the missionaries and their property /





C4037

No40 Bulwer to Derby 14/2/84 p42. Encl Osb to Bulwer 7/1/84 p42  
Bishop for Zululand to Mr Osborn 26/11/83 p43. Enc2 Bulwer to  
Osborn 13/2/84 p45.

/A long letter from the Bishop asking for more security of tenure for  
the missionaries. Bulwer's comment in Enc 2 is good./

94688  
"I am not sure that I quite understand the object of Bishop Mackenzie's letter or the occasion for his remarks. I should not feel myself justified in holding out a promise of a grant of land for each and every station he may wish hereafter to establish throughout the Reserve Territory. I have not the power to alienate the land, and were it otherwise I should not consider it expedient or desirable to do so in the manner apparently advocated."





Tulwa Bay Proposals

C4037

No53 Bulwer to Derby 31/3/84 p57

/With the restoration of the cable to Aden if have informed you by tel that Mnaymana is favourable to the extens on of the Reserve to include his territory/ "provided that he is included therein; that he and half his tribe live on the northern side of the Balck Umvolosi "iver; and that he is desiorus of coming under our authority, but is unwilling to quit his own district. Mr Osbofn has suggested that the Reserve should be extneded ~~to~~ so as to include within its limits both Somkele and Umnyamana, Uhamu being left under Usibebu. "

/I also informed you that on about 23/3 the people of the late Mlandlela were attakced by Somkele and a seciton of the "suthu and driven to take refuge in the Reserve. Osb peported yesterday that the "suthu are gathering for an attack on Z. I have asked Osb to send a message to Mnayamana to prevqent this.\_/ /Paral on burial on next card.\_/





540

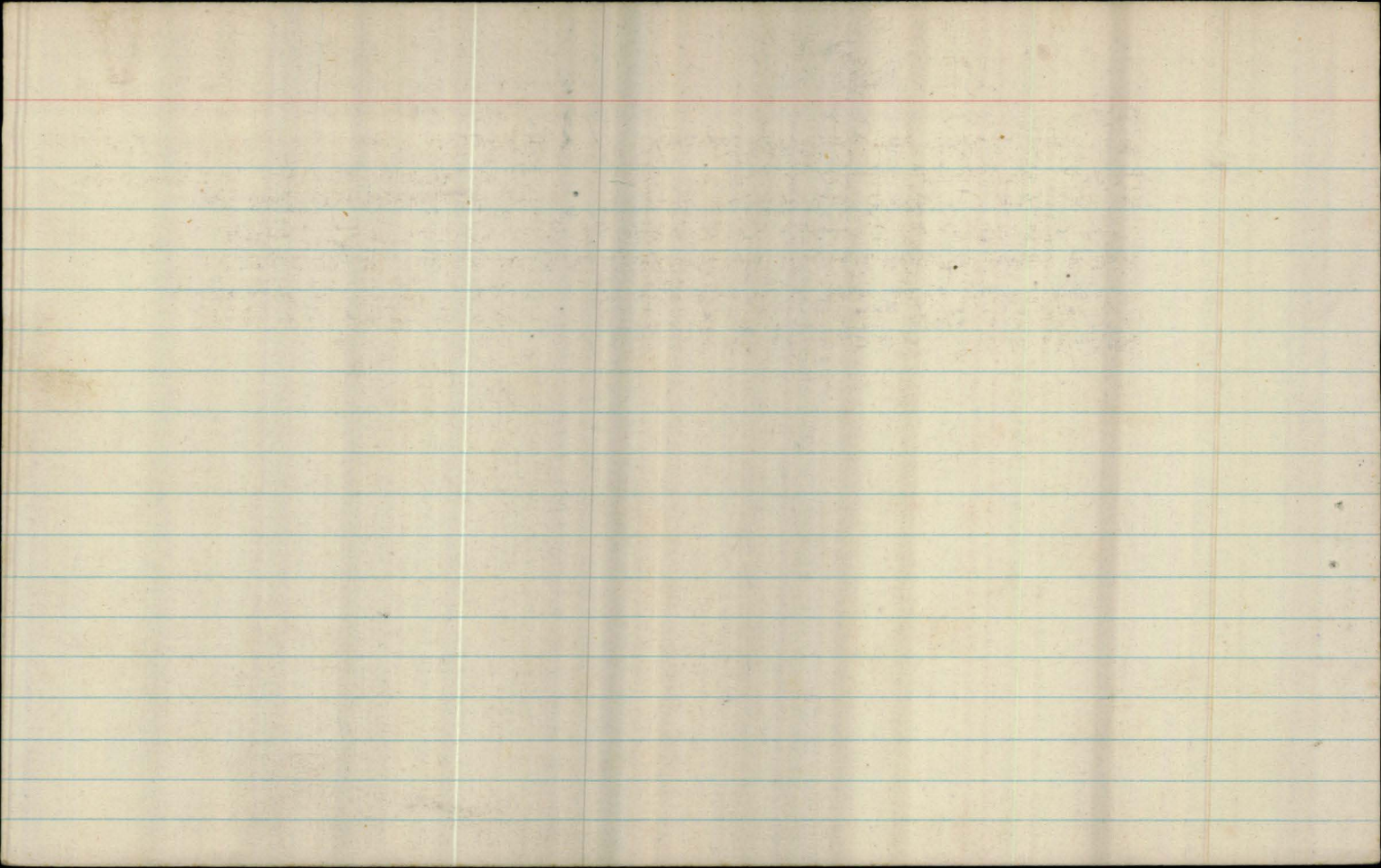
Residence: Smyth

C4214

No8 War Office to Colonial Office 21/8/84 p10

Smyth to Sec of State for war. / Infomrs of a recannaissance in direction of Nkandhla - about 400 troops invloved. Has talked to Rudolph who does not think there will be trouble in the Reserve as / "there was a fixed determination of the part of the Boers not to offend England, and that when asked by Mnyamana to join him in an attack on the Reserve they had decidiedly refursed, and had warned the Chief against maing any attmempt on his own part."





## The All important telegram

C4307

Nol10 Derby to Bulwer 16/5/84 pl17 Teleg

"After a full consideration of recent reports and recommendations, HMG adhere to the decision not to extend British sovereignty or ~~part~~ protection over Zululand, but the integrity and peace of the Reserve must be maintained. I will telegraph further shortly."

Nol12 Derby to Bulwer 17/5/84 pl18

<sup>I</sup> telegraphed today that after carefully considering Nol11 of 16/5, HMG decided / "that they were prepared to defend the Zulu Native Reserve, but they adhered to their ~~decision~~ decision not to sanction any advance beyond it.

I added that I should await the report on military reinforcements which you would send after conferring with the General Officer Commanding the troops."

(Note that the Boers were in the country before this - But don't act till its publication)





## Resistance:

C4191

No 30

Butler

7 Builw  
Foot  
Foot

force  
with

With



/As there would be a delay before troops could be used if permission was given Bulwer agreed to the disbandment of the force, (Enc6) whatever happens in Zululand we need more troops - whether to deal with the country North of the Mhlatusu or to settle the Reserve. Lt Gnl Smyth has gone to Eshowe to confer with the Res Comm and Oc of troops at Eshowe.

Have recied no positive information of the doings of the usuthu in the Inkandhla since 10/5. Qulusi were seen near border's of Hlubi's causing Pretorius to take special measures. Two small forces of usuthu around the Babanango, and Hlubi skirmished with one and on 13/5 met with Chief Umbusu to attack Odide's stronghold in the Reserve. Refugees have come into the Reserve.

/In defending Reserve chief difficulty lies in the broken, wooded Inkandhla district where most of the Usuthu chiefs reside and is of "convenient access" to central Zululand. The Boers have relieved the usuthu from the pressure in the rear from Z or H and can concentrate on the Reserve and upsets the minds of those "Loyally disposed" in the Reserve. The safety of the Reserve depends on what takes place in ~~Zululand~~ central Zululand; If the Boers encourage or suffer the usuthu to attack the Reserve preservation of peace and defence of the Reserve will be very much <sup>more difficult</sup> ~~greater~~ than would otherwise be the case.

Enc 1 Bulwer to Osb 13/5/84

/Informs him of Pret's decision. Attack on tom, fate unknown. Hlubi started for you but - if you've retired he may be in danger. Fynn says a report that Tom killed and Oftebro attacked.

No28

~~xNo26~~

C41919

~~Natix~~ ulwer to Derby 10/5/84 p2541

/Long series of statements by Res Magistrates in Natal and border watchers as they feel the affect of usuthu attacks in Zululand./

These reports contain information furnished by Natives; and although the information is, some of it, evidently inaccurate, yet it helps to throw light upon what is passing the Zulu country.

Enc 1 Minute By Fynn Res Mag Umsinga division 12/5/84 p41

/Has received no reliable info on the fighting the natives report. Read Bubesi's statement first

p43 Statment by Bubesi. /Lives just below fugitives drift . 11/5 /p44/ cattle and people of Nkebelele of the Mangwe or Putini tribe btween Sndwhlana Nhlazakazi and the Buffalo fled to the banks of the Buffalo fearing attack by usuthu. on 9/3 they killed Tom and Mahlatshana and some of Osb8s border police. Pretirous and Hlubi were on there way. Has heard that the oers have taken Dinuzulu to crown him King of the Zulu at the Mahlabatini.

p41

Mrilwa states on 12/5 that he lives on the Buffola, facing the Mange in the Reserve. For a month Hlubi's people and Zulu have been collecting near the Buffalo bringing women and cattle - including those seized by Pretorious. - especially those of Siroyo's people. 11/5 saw many women and children and their possessssions coming and he learnt they were fleeing from usuthu in the Nkandhla - and men of Faku ka Ziingo near the Babanangu. Heard that Osb force had driven usuthu into forest



but Martin Oftebor and Tom's were beaten on the western side of the "kandhla and they were about to sweep to the Nhlazatshe and many Usuthu joined to save themselves. People fleeing to Buffalo do so because they are cut off from Res Comm and without portection. "earnt from Zinti below my kraal that Gamdana the Chief was afraid of attack y usuthu and his young men had joined the usuthu as what happed before the Zulu war when Gamdama fled to Natal.

Mabunu states on 12/5/84 p42 that people of Faku ka "iningo were not allowed to ~~take~~ <sup>take</sup> their cattle into Natal. they fled from attack between the Qudeni and Nkanhla expected on Faku ka "ingo, Mathsna Mondisa and Matshana ka Sitshakuza: the latter have gone to attack the usuthu.

Sitnede from foot of Umsinga mountain nr Baffalo said on 12/5 p42 that on the 10/5 people of Mpunzi, Matshana Mondisa fled from to the bafalo said they <sup>usuthu</sup> were killing all traitors to Cethswayo. "he "eserve people fear that the Boers will throne "inuzulu in opposition to the nglsih

Gidi of Mathana ka NMondisa (the latter is with the Gov in PMB) on 12/5 p43 is sent by the wives of "atshana to report their arrival. they gled as the usutu were reproted to be near their kraals the previous afternnon killing all who did not join them.

Enc 2 Res Mag Umvoti to SNA 12/5/84 p44

/Umbuzo's ~~people~~ <sup>men</sup> women and children crossed the Dumudumu Drift yesterday.

Has heard that Tom Umkula was killed by some of the Amamluka, who professed to be loyal. Informant also says that Ndabuko and Siwetu advised people ot pay taxes but D'manzi preferred to fight.

C4919

Resistance

No28 "ulwer to Derby 19/5/84 p2541

continued

Enc3 Res <sup>Mag</sup> Umsinga district 13/5/84 p44

/usuthu seen near Pondo yesterday evening threatening to follow up the cattle of Matshana and Mbuza and the border natives are worried.

Statment by B.Kraft 13/5/84 p45

/Store keeper near Qedeni forest and Matshana Sityakuza. 26.12

"Godides \* tribe have divided, he and Fogoti section" /joined usuthu 2/5. the other portion of 'odide's tribe joined Chief Mbuza at the M Mfungose spruit and are opposed to the usuthu.

"Matshinane with a section of the people of his father Pakatwayo support Tom, Mr. 'sborn's border head policeman, and Mfusamuu, but Pakatwayo is with the Sutu party.

"About ten days ago people and property of Tom, ~~Mfusa~~ Mfusamvu, Lutoluni, Matshinane, came to my place " because of Usutuhu threats.

Fokoti and 'odide werexkillingthosex worrying those who paid tax.

Men gathered at the storekeepers Tom tried to call them up saying

"sborn would restore their cattle but they refused to leave their catt.e

8/5 Mgihla, chief son of Ndwandwa joined the Usuthu and 9/5 Mgwao, Pakatwayo's 'head man' 'came out' with a force to bring them to the Nkandhla. Tom and Matshinana tried to cut them off, were ambushed. Storekeeper believes Tom and some 20 or 30 were killed by Mgwao and Mgihla's parity.

11/5 Matshana Sityakuza's force ~~pursued~~ of 20 mounte men and 30 foot pursued Ndwandwa's Usuthu east of the Pinde and south of Tgogo. Mbuza has 900 men well organised for defence of his territory

Kongile



in the Reserve bordering the Buffalo and Tugela junction.

No news from Osborn as the Reserve is severed by the Nkanhla occupied by the usuthu. there numbers are being swelled by the loyal people of the Reserve who join the Uushtu out of fear\_/"...the loyal Natives and the Sutus also in the Reserve Territory firmly believe the Boers are to take over all the Zulu country, including the Reserve, and that Dinuzulu is to be their King."

Statment by Mgovolo 13/5/84 p46

/Last night families of Matshana ka Mondisa and old men (180 people) and cattle crossed the Buffalo having fked from the Qudeni. A suthu force was seen of hitherto loyal peo ple on the eastern side of the Pindo at sunset yesterday. / "The pople of the Sutu force say that Matyana, Mondisa, and Merizo are in possession of cattle belonging to Zululand " /and the Uusthu are going to capture them. Tom was killed so it is said by Reserve people he had collected who turned on him and killed him and said\_/"they were no longer Reserve pople but Sutus of Zululand. Heard that Osb on hearing Tom and the police's death has mustered forces near Fakusiningo's ~~Gez~~ Gezahlale kraal.

Enc 4 Statment by Ngola 14/5/84 p47 /13/5 100 women and children of Mbuzo's tribe fled from the Qedeni mountain with cattle ro the Buffalo. Mbuzo and force escaped suthu ambush but two of his brothers killed with Tom and the border polcie

Enc 5 Minute by Fynn 15/5/84 p48

"Matyana Mondisa has just arrived from Pietermaritzburg, and has gone home to his families on this side of the vorder and near junctions

420  
Cc4191

No28 Bulwer to Derby 10/5/84 p41

Enc6 Minute by Fynn 15/5/84 p48

(continued)

of Buffalo and Tugela Rivers.

He expressed that niether Matyana Sityakuza or Faku Ziningo should be trusted as loyla Reserve people. Wanted to send cattle into this division amongst friends but has refused as it would spread lungsickness.

Statement by Ncombo of native border police at foot of Babanangu Mt. 15/5/84 p48

Osborn attacked Suthu helped by siunguna, Monzamu, Hlongolwana Billbana. Before this Tom wh tching the Mhlatusi drifts supported by people of Matyamam, ityakuza, and Faku Ziningo on the morning of the Nkandhla fight, were induced by Nomandindi (brother of Faku-ka-Ziningo) whose section is located nearer the Nkandhla to attack the Usuthu being driven from the Nkandhla by Osborn. When the force advanced near the Mpnahhlani Hill it was ambushed by the Usuthu with whom Nomandindi was in league and Tom and his police were killed and people of Mtahsna Sityakuza and Faku. The Usuthu then swept towards the Mahlabatini, taking cattle in large numbers including Ndwandwas, whose people were considered loyal but then joined the Usuthu. Also says that a portion of Hlubi's force (not the half that has gone to the east of the Babanangu ~~wh~~ after the force which killed Tom) attacked a Suthu force of the people of Matshana sityakuza, Faku, and Ndwandwe who had recently become separated from their chiefs and joined the Suthu and beat them on 13/5/84. Except from Sikova son of Matshana Sityakaza all were killed

*Khangile  
Mama of  
Sikova*



/usuthu say they have killed M oftebro but there is no news about  
sborn and his force ans the suthu have separa ed us. Now~~effix~~  
~~Mahlabatini~~ Large porition of the surhu have left the Nkanhla and gone  
to Mahlabatini.

Enc 7 Res Mag, Umvoti ("heelwright to SNA 17/5/84) 17/5/84 p49

/All quite on our side in the locations. On 15th heard that Umbuzo  
and Hlubi were having victories of the suthu. Believes that at  
Etshaneni, Godide's stronghold, Umbuzo and "lubi had gained a victory./

MTW/TESS  
56/89

Natal Witness 21 May 1884 Wednesday

London Tuesday  
5 a.m.

Latest Telegram. Ladstone said in the house last night that the Government "woul ~~undertake~~ take steps to maintain order in the Reserve, but would not intervene militarily outside that territory. The Premier further stated that the Transvaal Government had promised to prevent illegal acts on the part of the Boers in Zululand."

Friday May 23 1884

Telegram from Newcastle correspondent

"My newd, dated Utrecht, Tuesday, states clearly that Mnyamana had signed the treaty after long opposition, and not till a second party had been to persuade him. My informant left the Boer camp on Saturday. Each volunteer gets a farm. The ground is on the old boundary, near the Penvane River. Dinizulu was to have been proclaimed yesterday (Wednesday)."



4037

4191

4274

C4191

No 30 Bulwer to Derby 19/5/84 p51

Enc2 Osb to Bulwer 13/5/84 p53 Teleg

~~/Entumeni~~ Entumeni - no accouter since night attack. Many of my border watch on Mhlatusi killed. Brothers and Usuthu impi beleived to have crossed to ~~the~~ other side with cattle.

Enc3 Bulwer to Osborn 14/5/84 p53

/ Congratulations on beating of attack. I conclude that you have retired because your force is insufficient. Something must be done if we don't give the central position of the reserve to disorder. What are you going to do. ? Leave the Nkandhla and lose the loyalists to the Usuthu. ~~Let~~ Let me know and don't lose time. /

Enc4 Osborn to Bulwer 14/5/84 p54

/ Not true that usuthu impi and brothers crossed the Mhlatusi - got their cattle at tho'. Usuthu coming in from Mnyamana - due to Boers. Dunn says coast people refuse unless they can cross Mhlatusi and drive of the usuthu in their rear. Without this help cannot take active measures. Must use troops if Reserve is to be held..

Enc5 Bulwer Osb 14/5/84 p54 / Greatly concerned why didn't you send your 3000 into the Nkandhla on 7/5 as you intended and follow up advantage on the 10th. ~~Was~~ Were they too strong or was your force unwilling. How many troops would you require and how would they be deployed and would would be the plan and object of operation.



What native troops could you use. What do you mean about crossing the Mhlatusi and the force in the rear. / "What force and where? Furnish by spot sketch of position."

Enc6 Bulwer to Osborn. 16/5/84 p54

/Your letter of 14th. Possibly be better to disperse your force. /

Enc 8 Osborn to Bulwer 17/5/84 p55

/Had given usuthu till 8th to come to terms thus force sent in on 9th force to fatigued to pursue. Also one third disappeared. usuthu force was trying to cut us off. Temper of force made retirmemtn necessary. 400 men with mounted men needed to support native force at Nkandhla. They aren't likely to clash with usuthu as the object is to bring the usuthu to terms. Could rely on the 2000 with me and Umbusu and Hlubi. Coast chiefs will not come as there is a force under Bejana just n. of the Mhlatusi which would be necessary to disperse before they left there homes.

Enc9 Bulwer to Osborn Tel

18/5/84 p55 /Im anxious about Hlubi/

447  
C4191

No2 Bulwer to Derby 24/5/84 pl

Telegraphed today that General visitied Reserve and considers operations in Inkandhla bush would need at least 1000 infantry. 'WE' are desirous of defensive action so the force in the Reserve will be increased to 800, 200 of whom ~~are~~ will be stationd at Entumenteni where Osb is with a force of natives. The Genral has sent fot his staff from C Town and recommends that one battalion of infantry on full war streghth/ "should be sent out." If things get worse more will be needed but it dhoulf be enough at first.





6449  
10649/N/84  
C4191

No43 Bulwer to Derby 27/5/84 p62

/Refers to End2 in No22 The Lt Genl and Bulwer anxious to ask for the least possible no of troops. The matter is complicated by what they <sup>do</sup>ers intend. If the spirit of the notice in No31 is kept to things will be easy. But doubts it and they might help in attack on Reserve. But for defence, and assuming that they don't help usuthu in "eserve Lt Genl believes that 1000 infantry willbe needed and telgrammed you to that effect (see No20\_

Enc5 General Sir Leicester Smyth to Sir H Bulwer 21/5/84 p64

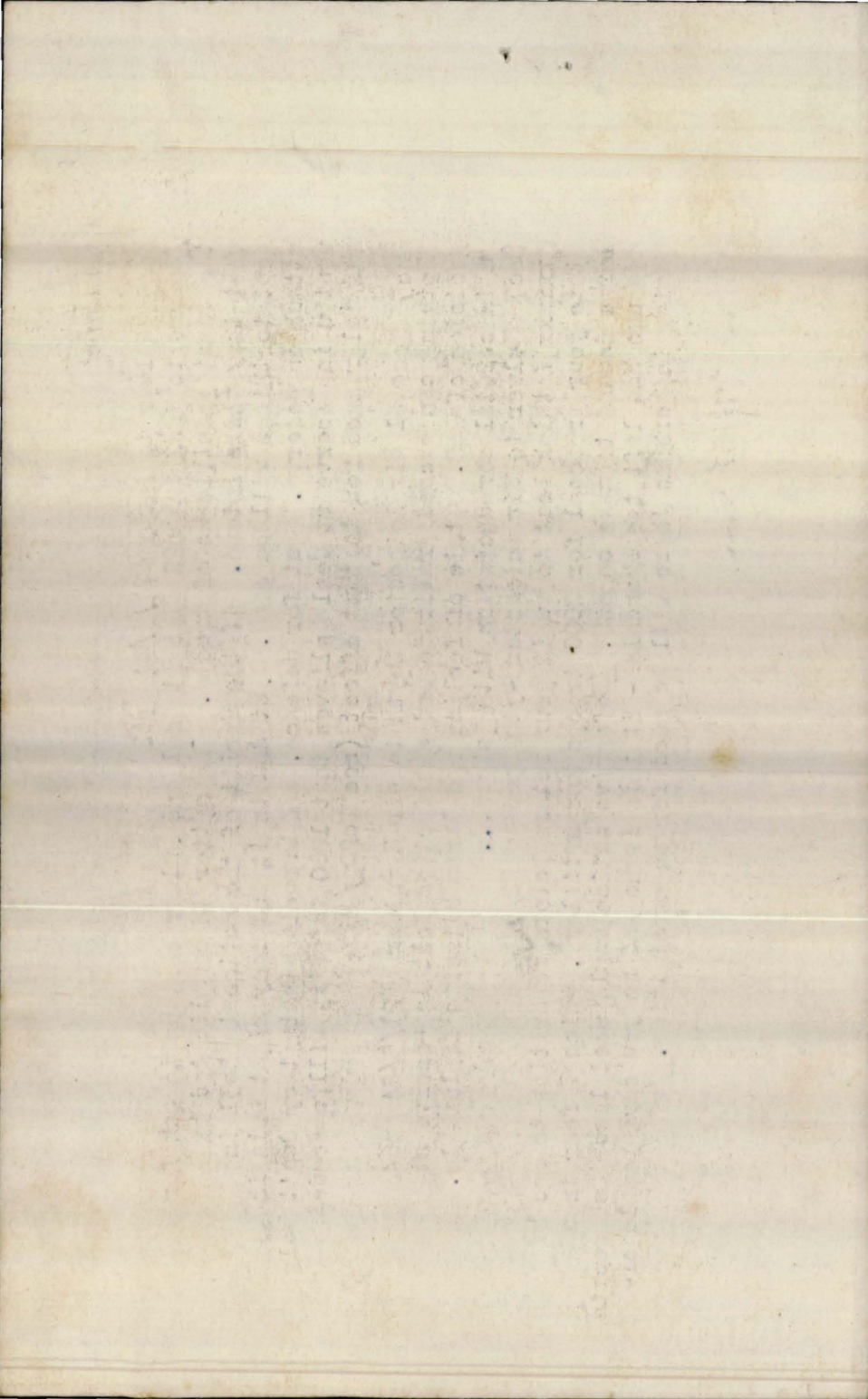
"Nothing can exceed gratitude and satisfaction felt in Reserve at decision of HMG. State of feeling and laram hitherto deplorable. m in cordial communciation with sborn..."

Enc7 Bulwer to Sir Leicester Syth p64 22/5/84

~~"I think~~ I think best to await your return before reporiting to Sec of State your proposal for 2000 troops and artillery, which I fear is a large demand to make on HMG!" /Defensive action would need less? Osb reorts "dabuko has left the Nkandhla - if this is so and as you say people are coming in perhpas there will be need for an expedition."

En8 in 179/152 sem





C4191

No44 Bulwer to Derby 27/5/84 p64

/Long confused, inchoherent letters from Pretorius. Bulwer sums up the gist of what is said in the covering letter./ "These letters relate mainly to the present position of Hlubi, who appears to have retired, with a great number of cattle seized & by him from Godide, on or about the 14th instant, and to be in a situation to advance towards the Indanhla should Mr. Osborn send for for him, or to fall back to the assistance of Mr. Pretorius should he be required in that direction."

Enc 1 Pretorius to Bulwer Ngutu 15/5/84 p65 G4689

Enc 2 Pretorius to Bulwer 18/5/84 p65

/Hlubi seems to be taking advantage of the situation to raid cattle. Rev Stallbom says that the Boers, whom he visited, told him that Mnyamana insisted on their fighting Mnyamana. the Boers refused and Mnyamana called the Qulusi. the Boers moved to Hmay/

Enc 3 Pretorius to Bulwer 20/5/84 p66

/Hlubi said today that he had instructions from Osb to wait six days and would then receive further instructions. Sent men today to Osborn - hope it will get through. *Have Asps to place while war with Hlubi*

Enc 2 Pret to Bulwer 22/5/84 p67

/Seen Hlubi personally. Hlubi says that soon after he left he received verbal instructions from Osb to attack Godide's people. With Umbusu and matshana he did this killing 20 losing 2 and seizing many cattle. Has not heard from Osb since. Hlubi, with 150 horse and 40 foot were



8 miles this (Nqutu) side of Ensigabanto. Umbus and Matshana's foot were on the Ensingabanto. Hlbi said he was back so as to be able to assist here and check the usuthu around the Zungueni said to be under Mehlakazulu.\_/

454

10651/11/84  
C4191

No45 Bulwer to Derby 27/5/84 p68

Enc Minute by Fynn 23/5/84 p68

/Mantshana ka <sup>u</sup>ondisa says his people are returning to their homes to see to their crops and reap them as baboons are destroying them.

Statement by Inbiko and Ngome Messengers for Faka ka Z 23/5/84

// "hen in trouble in Jan 1879 Fynn gave Faku shelter, and now he asks for it again. His people who went to help Tom and Osb's border police have been killed and others are on the border and therefore his people are so separated that Faku ~~cannot~~ muster them to resisit the Usuthu No fresh news: 2 days after Tom's defeat, Ndabuko and Ziwedu left the Nkanhla for Mnyamana at the Ngome with ~~thex~~ a Usutuhu force. Mehlokazulu has a Usuthu force with him. but they have also left for Mnymana. In reply Fynn saws Faku should follow Matshana's example and ask Pretorius for guidance.\_/

179/152 Minutscreen





C4307

No L.L.Dillwyn MP to CO 27/5/84 p7

/Notices outbreak of violence in Reserve and asks that Robinson ~~xxx~~ initiates an investigation to find out once and for all / "whether the outbreak in the Reserve is due to acts of mismanagement or oppression on the part of persons who ~~xx~~ represent British authority in that territory." /<sup>He</sup> writes on behalf of several MPS interested in South Africa. /

/ Hopes that the boundaries of the Reserve will not be extended without consent of Chiefs as they believe that the troubles in Zululand have been because the wishes of the people have been disregarded. Turns to Grant, the Bill introduced into the Leg Council to stop Zulu communicating with friends. /





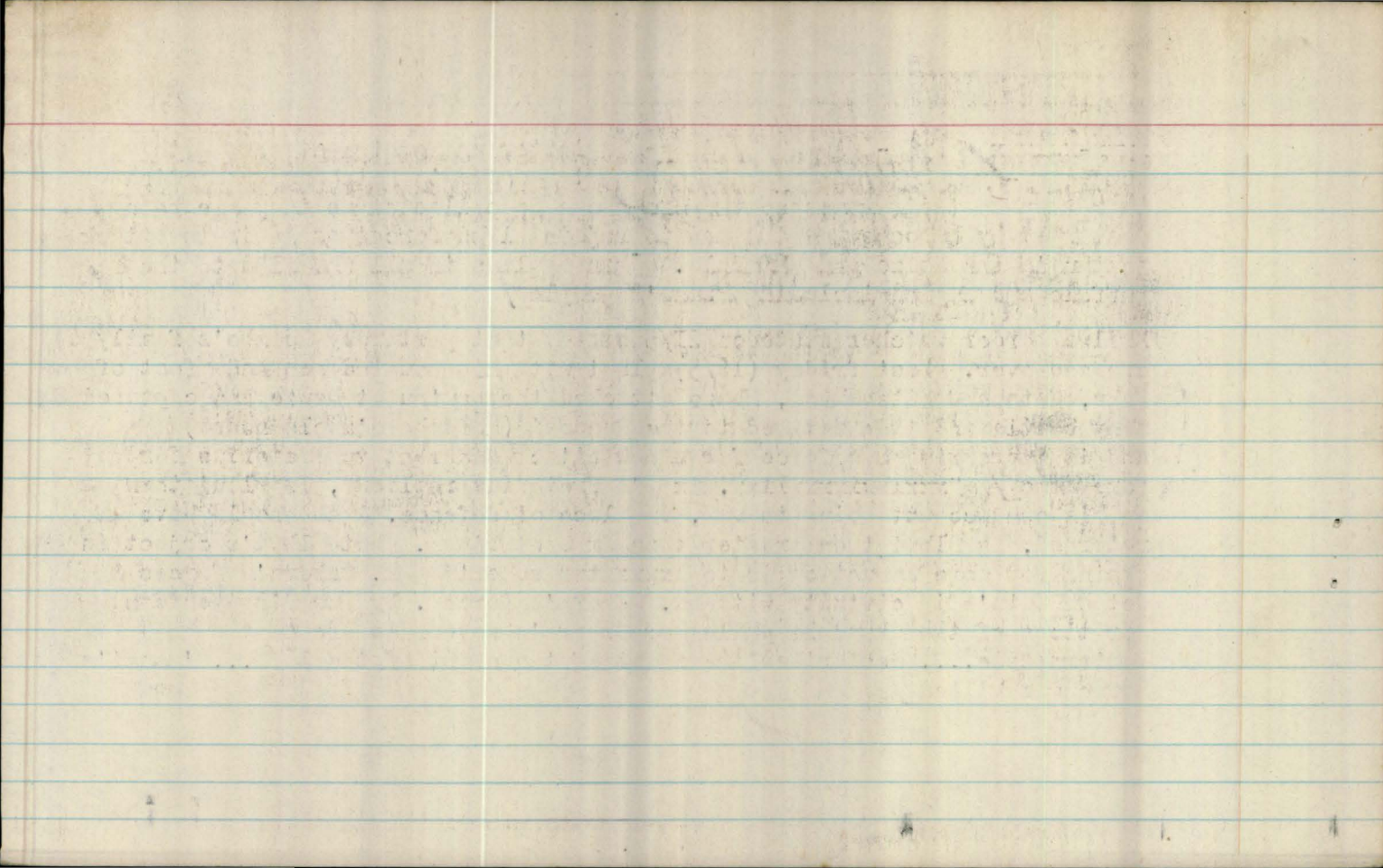
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GHZ689

~~Fynn-Bulwer~~ Fynn-SNA 20/5/84 / This letter and statement came with Eckersley-Fynn 29/4/84 / Hlubi has sent message to Matshana ka Mondisa to return to their homes so the crops can be collected as they are being destroyed by baboons and the men to rejoin Hlubi forces as he is to attack Uthutu in the Nsuze and Nkandhla. This applies to all who fled to the Buffalo and Tugela including Mbuza's people /

Mrilwa border wather stated on 21/5 states that yesterday Mcombo's family crossed over. Last friday (16/5) Hlbui with his mounted men and foot of Faku, Matshana Sitshakuza, Mbuza attacked the uthutu at Nsuze and captured many cattle and then retired to the Quedeni (Mofteboro's old house) and is increasing his force for a new attack and sent to Pretorius for more ammo / ~~"Addison replied, is"~~ & Pretorius replied, Is Hlbui then on his own account going to war, in place of defence, & he should have returned, Is Hlbui then greater than Mr Pretorius. but Hlbui's object in asking for more ammunition is to ~~support~~ support\* Mr. Osborn's forces & act on Sutu's in civinity with Mr. Osborn's forces, by guarding Western positions of the Nkandhla while Mr Osborn's movements are on the Eastern side.... / describes the fight of the night of the 16/5... D'manzi's horse was killed /







12089/N/84

No62 Pulwer to Verby 12/6/84 p88

Enc3 The Natal Witness 26/5/84 Coreespondence to the Editory  
The policy of despair.

"Sir Sir Henry Pulwer has at last carried his point, and at last has secured the coveted right to use Imperial troops in Zululand. the natural outcome of his policy in Zululand had reached such a pass that had his supreme effort for power to use Her Mjaesy's troops proves as unsuccessful as his many previous efforts, the Zulu question would have in less than a month settled itself, and in an unmistakable way which would have given lie to the whole Zulu administration of the present Special Commissioner. the fates have, however, favoured him, and he has gained breathing time and a postponement of the evil day; but it is but a postponement. A leakage in the cable lately would inform us that Sir Henry's lever, wherewith he completed compliance with his demand for troops, is composed mostly of messages to the Colonial Office to this effect: demands for troops, is composed most of messages to the Colonial Office to this effect: 'usutus invading Reserve, killing and outraging on all hands.' 'Osborn and officials in extreme danger.' 'Camp at Ethsowe may be carried any day' 'Loyal usutus in Reserve implore protection of troops, and are flying in hundreds to natal.' Possible usutu attack on Natal' 'Boers intend occupying Reserve in force.' 'Ndabuko raising armies in Indkandhla.' 'Natal in Jeopardy; if I don't get troops please relieve me of my commission.'

Nothing short of the foregoing would have brought the Cabinet to sanction the use of Imperial troops in Zululand again. the local official statement respecting the late flare up in the Reserve, and given to the public as official gospel, is that the usutu party in the Reserve, began to plunder non-usutu men in the Reserve, that tax collecting had nothing to do with it, and that Ndabuko went to Indkandhla ostensibly to bury his mother, but in reality to raise the country. so much for the story which the officials wish believed. I will give you the other side of the question; your readers can please themselves as to believing it or not. I know what I state is true, and that is enough for me. Long before Ndabuko left the Residency with his brother's remains resistance to the collection of the tax had set in. Many of the most influential Chiefs in the Reserve declined to pay. Mr Osborn coerced payment of tax before he left for the Indkandhla. Ndabuko reached the Indkandhla about the end of April. when he got there he found the whole country in a ferment with anger at the rumours that Melamati (the Resident) the whole country in a ferment with anger at the rumours that Melamati...was coming to compel them to pay, and bringing some hostile tribes with him. they said they would die before they would pay. Mr Osborn called a meeting of all the head men, and quietly but firmly told them that all this defiance must cease. he told them that now he and the other brothers had come into the district any disturbance would at once be attributed to them by Mr Osborn. he insisted there should be no defiance ~~on~~ an no disturbance. He advised them to pay under protest, but to pay quietly and not get into a row. He pointed out the unseemliness of shedding blood also over the very /89/ bones, as it were of their late King. the heamen fell in with his views, and messengers were at once despatched to Mr Osborn to tell him that the people would pay the taxes quietly after the funeral. the obsequies of the late King took about a fortnight, and when they were nearly at an end Ndabuko sent Undungunye and other Chiefs sent other men to tell the Resident that the funeral was over, and they were ready to pay up. Great efforts were being made all through that portion of the Reserve, selling cattle, &c. to raise the needful. Despite this avowed willingness, however, Mr Osborn went to them on a war footing with a mob of hostile tribes. the whole thing now assumed a new and fell aspect. A large seizure of cattle was made by some of these hostile natives. the deploiled ones resisted and righteously, because a clean sweep was made of even cattle belonging to people who were in no way implicated. In the resistance blood was shed, but the cattle driven off to Mr Osborn. the enraged owners followed, and tried to recover them by midnight attack on the place where they were, but being few in number they were easily repulsed. This is in short the whole history of the event which has been so skilfully used to compass long defeated aims!

Now as to the fugitives going into Natal, and said to be fleeing from the 'Usutu', let us see not the lever-to-secure troops side, but the other.



534  
- 22 470

About the middle of this month, when the news reached Emangete (John Dunn's place) that there had been a skirmish in the Inkandhla, and that Mr. Osborn was on the war path, John had at once called up his forces, in all 27 mavio, say 1,000 men. There were present also the contingent of whites described by the natives as Izirafuze ka Dugusu i.e. 'the Stanger disreputables', under the ~~xxxx~~ direction of John Colenbrander, some of the latter being members of one our volunteer corps, and armed with Natal Government rifles. The whole force went off in the direction of the Umhlutuzi to go and join Usibebu, and make a clean sweep of the 'sutu, leaving Mr. Osborn to make a clean sweep in the Reserve. But, lo and behold, after three days the impi returned home in a state semi-mutiny. As they neared the Umhlutuzi their courage fell, for they learnt that between them and their goal lay an impassable gulf of molten 'sutu. Having been thus foiled, and having thus declined battle, notwithstanding all the threats of both John and Johan, they came back and started a harry in the Reserve, and made a circuit, taking in all kraals they though had a leaning towards the National Zulu party. They killed all the men they could get hold of, burnt the kraals, and carried off the cattle. People under the Chiefs Zeisa and Nongena were the principal sufferers. The booty was immense; The Inyoni falt was dense with the stolen cattle. The hearts of the 'S'anger disreputables' grew stout at the sight, for they looked on the loot as in a measrue their personal propoerty. Meanwhile the wretched fugitives who escaped poured into Natal, and the pppr cabal quivered with mock agner at the riotous 'sutu. When it was all over John Dunn (I quote his own men) carefully repudiated the whole business, and said he never old them to 'shlaselau' in the Reserve.

Howx However, all this has been adroitly used by the genius of despair, and 'order is to be maintained in the Reserve.' But how? Imperila troops will not do it. the iniquitous and un-Englsih polciy of trive against tribe will be used, with the troops for a base, and this scientific applaication of the Kilkeeny cats principle will pass as maintainin order. Sir Henry Bulwer and his whilom apostate, but now zealous apostile the 'Mercury' (i.e. that the Usutu or National party of Zululand comprises the buko of the population both in and out thex of the Reserve) was on the point of proving too strong. Another year of the present anarchy, however, will invert this. The Usutus will have been decimated and then Sir Henry Bulwer and the 'Mercury' can affirm with conscientousness that the usutus are but a few headstornig marouders. Duraban May23, 1984 Yours, &c. (Signed) IQINISO

9H  
626  
690

Enc4 Osborn to Bulwer 9/6/84 Eshowe  
/My proceedings at the beggining of last month with an armed force at Nkandhla had nothing to do with taxcollection which had been postponed. The Usuthu began by attacking at least 12 loayl kraals before I consented to the urgent applciation of several loyla and influential chiefs including Siyunguza and Mavumengwana. My action was to protect the loyal people. he 'suthu brothers had forbidden thei people to pay it by threats and did not send to me to say that they would pay after the funeral. Moreover tax collection had been posponed. Ndabuko and his brothers ordered that attack on the night of the 10th and D'manzi led it. It was not a small force but 1300 strong.

It is true that Dunn assembled under arms but this was because an 'suthu force under Bejana, Somhlogo, and some of Somkele's people had taken a posioon just over the Lower Umhaltusi and was threatening to invade the Reserve.

As far the contingent of white men there were 10 altogether, 8 white and 2 coloured. Two of them were from Natal and the rest were traders mostly from Central Zululand. They were under Colenbrander who was using them to try and escort some horses to the Mnadhakazi. Because of Bejana and others we could not get through and advertised for more volunteers, intending to offer them for the defence of the Reserve if he could not get through. Meantime the ten men were employed by Dunn who disca rged them on the 5 from 15/5 to 5/6 at £10 per moth when the attack was no longer imment and as Colenbrander could go up to Z the men returned. they did not take part in cattle seizures of 'unn's force and killed no men and burnt no kraals. /



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# Resistance - Overflows in Natal

GH689

/Telegrams from the Border Agent Lower Tugela on reports of his clerk.

"The people referred to in telegrams fled into Natal out of fear of

John Dunn's men who were seizing their cattle" /MO 29/5/44

Clerk Tugela - ARM Tugela /several hundred women and children crossed the Hlungwini drift seeking refuge in Natal. they belong to the

Matunjani, Nkedemanana, Mkiliga tribes. Report the Zulu is killing

Iuluridana's people. no other report says they are people belonging

to Logoza and Mankaijana. The reply on the 17/ don't let the refugees go into Natal

20/5/84 Border Agent Lower Tugela to SNA /Yesterday petty chief Mkitiga and 6 kraals of men women and children entered this division from Reserve. suthu women and children as well and say friends are following.

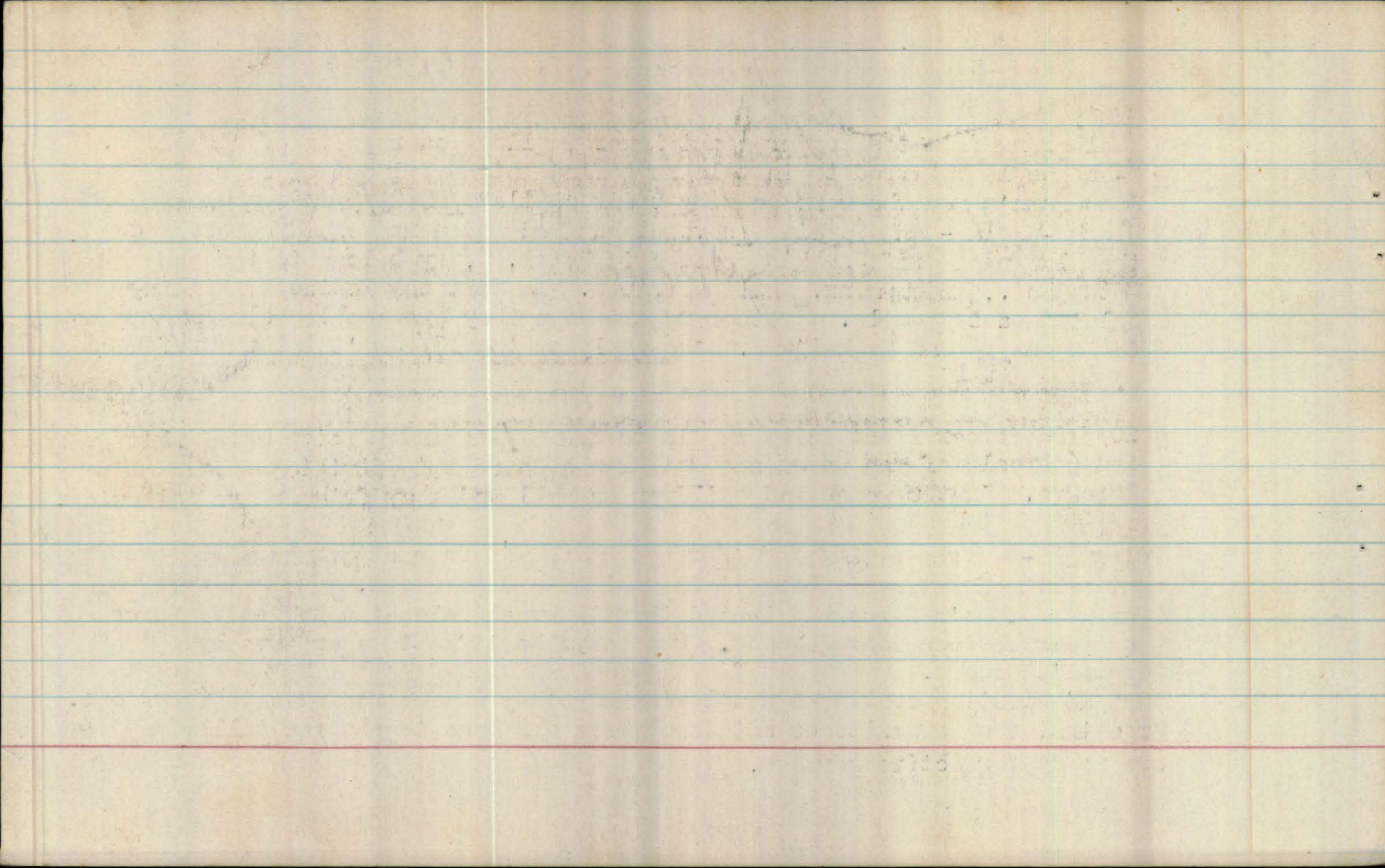
Telegraph MO-B Eshewe 28/5/84 /Urge that Dunn's force either be disbanded or sent north of Entumeni where it is useless and dangerous.

29/5/84 Dunn's force has looted thirty kraal belonging to Native force and fear serious consequences. Dunn says he is kept under arms by General's orders.

30/5/84 Looting continues and levies say they cannot remain with the troops. Urge that the General does not issue arms and ammo to natives till they are ready for active service.

16.07/5/84





[23/5]

C4191

No54 Bulwer to Derby 31/5/84 p79

/Refers to No7a and have now received more info on the crowning from pretorius who took statement from a Mr. Wilhelm, who was present. Bulwer's account is better than the original.

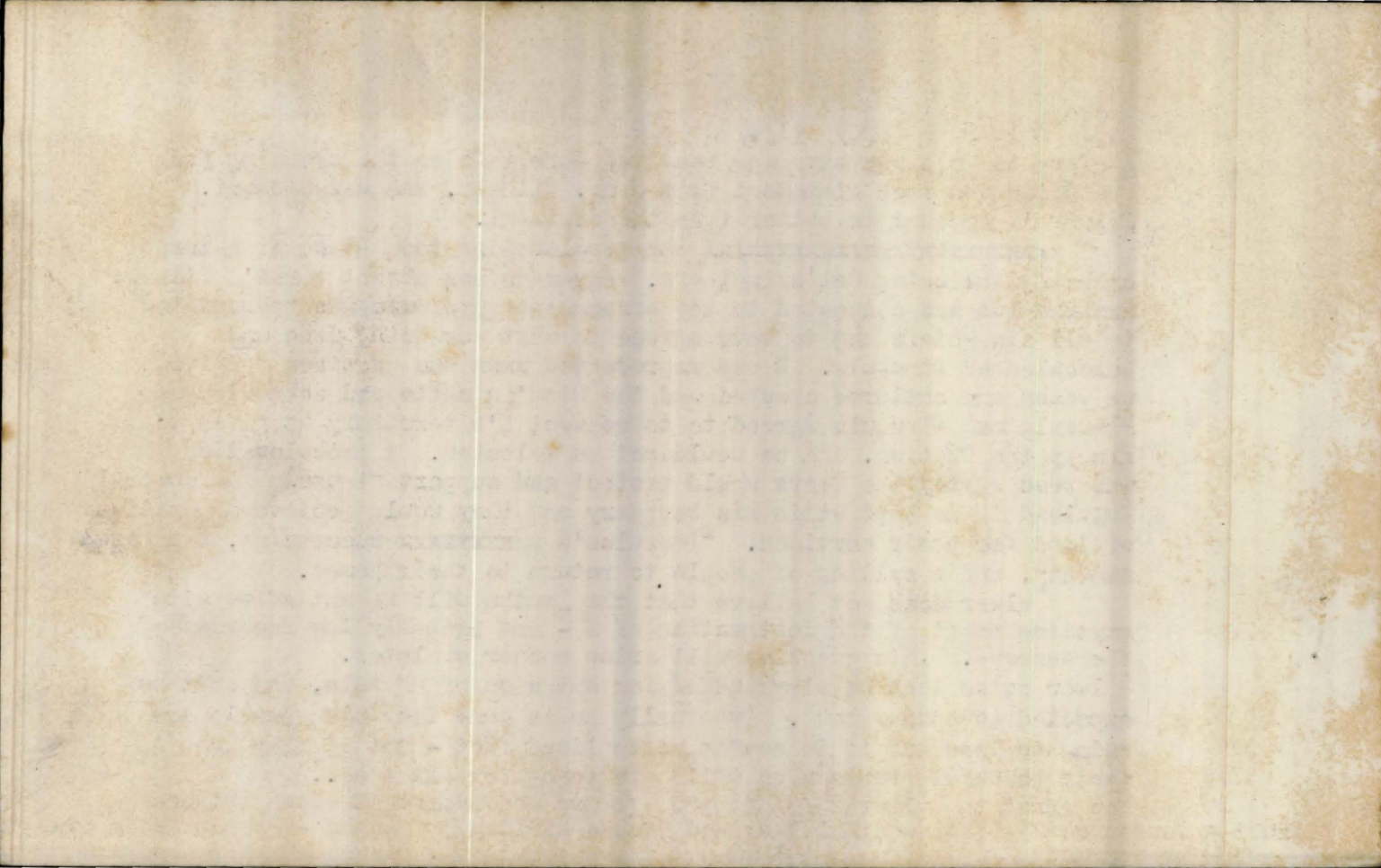
~~xx the crowning and proclamation~~ The proclamation took place at a large crowning including Cet's brothers. Mnyamana was absent thru<sup>g</sup> illness ~~and xxx~~ but had consented to the arrangements and Hmau was represented by all his Chiefs and to have agreed to what was being done and acknowledged Dinuzulu. Z was represented ~~and x~~ who promised to give up women and children captured and the king's cattle and acknowledged Dinuzulu ~~xx~~ Dinuzulu agreed to to respect Z's territory as given to him by the British, and he would not be molested. A proclamation was read saying the boers would protect and support Dinuzulu in central Zululand if he kept within his boundary and they would receive a portion of land for their services. Dinuzulu's ~~assumption~~ succession, a general amnesty, and a calling of people to return to their homes.

Bulwer does not believe that the <sup>u</sup>suthu will be satisfied with anything short of the destruction of Z - and probably the recovery of the Reserve. This question will arise sooner or later. Bulwer notes that he always asked for extension of HM rule, and what he expected is coming about. Eventually he is sure the Zulu people are going to lose but it is now an accomplished fact - but if they keep to their peaceful promises we will have peace for ~~at~~ time..

Enc Pret to Bulwer 25/5/84 p80 /above and report of clash between Hlubi & Usuthu on 23/5 between Mhlatuzi and Insuza killing 50 <sup>u</sup>suthu - no losses on Hlubi's

G4689





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C4191 No53 Bulwer to Derby 31/5/84 p77

Transmits statement by Umtokwane captured with Maginga by border police who say they had messages for the Government, Bishopstoe, and Grant. It is doubted that they were for the Government. /78/ The statement made is of little account, what should be noted is the communication taking place between those who have taken arms against the Res Comm and the 'usutu partisans' in this country.

26/5/84

CH687

Enc. Umtokwane states. /Have been sent by Ndabuko to complain to the Govt that Osb is killing him. After receiving notice that they were to pay taxes Qetuka, Sigananda, Melelise, ~~Maz~~ Mangati-ka-Godide, and Bafohlozi sent to Osb for Cet's body so they could bury it. Osb gave it to them saying it was to be buried at ~~the kraal~~ <sup>Dabulamanzi's</sup> kraal the 'Izulwini. The waggon could not get to this kraal so a message was sent to say it was going to be buried at Keke's but a waggon couldn't get to that either so it was buried at Luhungu's kraal. On that day Nozitshima arrived from O saying that O was giving them time to pay their taxes. A few days later Osb's police summoned Ndabuko and rest of Mpande's sons to appear before him with headmen of the district. Ndabuko said the headmen were scattered but had been informed. When the messengers (Ndabuko's) told Osb this he said he did not want the men of their money and dismissed them. Then a few days later Osb messenger came to say Osb was going to attack them and he was going to tell Hlubi and Mbuzo to arm. Then Osb came up with men of Sigananda - 26 Mavumengwana and Siyunguza and attacked Usuthu at the kraal where the burial took place. The usuthu then turned on Osb and defeated him. At night attack took place. The usuthu were not defeated

X



by order of D'manzi they retired because they had not taken the camp by surprise. Meanwhile Tom who was capturing cattle fought with ~~Sigax~~ Sigananda and Mbonambi's people and were beaten, Magengana ka Nomandindi killed Tom. Hlubi then attacked Ndwandwe's people. Ndaduko has sent to report this because he knows that he will get the blame for all this.

"Ndaduko directed us to inform the Government that there would still be fighting in the Reserve as the whole of the <sup>U</sup>sutu are in arms and are determined to get back their cattle and children. Ndaduko says he has nothing to do with this fighting in the Reserve; he is going up to Umnnyamanana to fight against Sibebu, and that he will fight until he either defeats him or the whole of his people, the <sup>U</sup>sutus, are killed. Ndaduko and Umnnyamanan are going to attack Sibebu with 108 columns (Imzila) consisting of <sup>U</sup>sutus, Tongas (Amankingane), and Swazis, and they are determined to wipe him out and kill him time. When we left... / they were within a few miles of Z's kraal at Babanango.

Ndaduko said report to the Govt, Bishopstowe and then Grant to write letters to the authorities. / "Ndaduko told us to report that some of the Dutch had come into Zululand to protect Dinuzulu at Mnyamana's kraal at the Isikwebezi, and as soon as they arrived Mr. Sboth and John Dunn sent up 20 whitemen to help Sibebu against the usutu."

GH689 Minutes "I should inform YE that I do not believe that these men were sent to you, but that they were sent to Bishopstowe and Mr Grant. On crossing the Tugela they were taken by the Police & carried before the Magistrate who sent them in here in charge of a Polcieman. It is my opinion that this message was made up on the way HC Hepstone 27/5/84.

401

Bess & Bessie

11163/N/84

179/152

Minutes

This wd. be an instructive paper to print if we could omit the informant's name & the means for his identification -wh. however wd. be difficult without much mutilation E A 4/7

Bulwer to Derby Confidential 31/5/84

/Info given voluntarily/

Fro the enclosures see add notes







11163/N/84

179/152

Encl Confidential

Secret and Confidential Office of SNA 26/5/84

Statement of Maginga a messenger from Ndabuko

Maginga States:-

91687  
Although I am one of the messengers who delivered Ndabuko's words to the Government I was not chosen by him to come here. It was I who proposed that I should accompany Umtokwana. I am not really one of Ndabuko's men, and I want, of my own accord, to speak the truth to the Government and say what has really ~~happened~~ happened, as I was among them and know all that was going on.

Nearly two months ago before Cetywayo's body had been handed to Ndabuko I was one night going to Beje's kraal, when I met two Dutchmen riding and each leading a spare horse. They asked me who I was - I said Luhungu's son, as I did not want them to know who I really was, they then asked me where Dinuzulu was, I said at Luhungu's kraal, I asked why they enquired about him - they said they were going to take him away to the Dutch. These two Dutchmen are known among us by the numbers of Nkunelana and Goerge-ka-Mkosi - the former lives at the Bivana - the latter at the pongolo. They spent at Beje's kraal that night and stayed there the next day - messengers were sent to Ndabuko and Cetywayo's other brothers, who were then at the Etshwoe, with Mr. Osborn, to ask if Dinuzulu was to be given to the Dutch. Ndabuko and the others said yes, they also sent a message to say that they were going to ask for Cetywayo's body, and if Mr. Osborn did not give it to them they would take it, and bring it up to the Inkandhla.

That night Dinuzulu was handed over to the two Dutchmen who left at one accompanied by Mgazi and another heaman, whose name I do not know also four servants (Inceku) named Ngatsha, Sibamu, Ndabambi, and Singanzana. These two Dutchmen while at Beje's kraal told the heamen about there not to pay taxes to Mr. Osborn, that the English were trying to cheat them by making them pay taxes, that they had already killed Cetywayo and would kill Dinuzulu. that the Zulus should allow them to crown Dinuzulu and they would then see if he would die as Cetywayo had, that he would live as long as Mponde had.

Dinuzulu stayed with the Dutch at the Bivana about a month, and was only brought back to Zululand about two weeks ago, when he was accompanied by a large force of Dutchmen, armed. The Column extended for over a mile when they were marching, and they had a number of wagons on sides. They encamped at the Inhlazatshe where Mr Osborn formerly lived and they are still there and Dinuzulu is still with them.

After the fight between Mr Osborn and the Zulu, D bulamanzi took refuge at a kraal of which I am the heaman, known as the 'Vun Uyiese' kraal and messages are continually passing between him and the Dutch at the Inhlazatshe. The Dutch way the Zulu are to keep up their courage - that they, the Dutch are first going to kill Mibebu, that they have already taken Oham prisoner (I know that Oham has been captured and is now a prisoner with the Dutch) After killing Mibebu they will cross the Imhlatozi into the Reserve, by all the Drifts, kill all the the Amayukalandopplika, then go on to the Drifts and kill Mr Osborn, then say



and kill Mor Osborn, they say they will not fight with the soldiers unless they take Mr Osborn's part against them - in that case they will kill then all too.

All these messages are delivered to Dabulanzi in my presence as he always sends for me to be present when a messenger \* from the Dutch is delivered to him.

A few days before I left Dabulanzi sent a messenger named Sigaka-kaNgonela on horseback to the Dutch at Inhlatye to ask them to send down to the Inkahlala at once 300 men to take part with the <sup>sut</sup> against Mr Osborn as they expected to be attacked by him again. "his messenger had not returned to Dabulanzi when I left.

the force at the Inkahlala when I left consisted in all of 49 companies (amaviyo), as follows - 8 companies under Sigandna who is guarding the pass where Tom was killed. 14 under Ngobozana, 15 under Qetuka, 12 under Dabulanzi. and besides this 4 companies were expected to arrive with Mangati.

The <sup>sutu</sup> say they are doing this because the English Government will not settle the matter between them and Tibebe, and they now intend to kill him, then clear out all the people in the Reserve and take the country over again and govern themselves - that they want to have nothing more to do with the English as they have misled them all along and given them no protection - that they are going ~~at~~ to the Dutch for help as they will settle matters in a short time and not deal in the way the English have. Cetywayo belonged to the English and is dead - they don't belong to the English Government, and will get the Dutch to keep them. /Was Natal Native and went to Zululand after the war. ~~That~~ He must not be known as the one who gave this information as he is at Ndabuko's mercy as lives with his family with the <sup>sutu</sup>.

Enc2 Further statement 27/5/84

"I was not present when Nozithina came, I heard that he had given the message stated, I saw the three police but do not know what they said, I saw ~~Makehkeleka~~ Makehkeleka and Maqutshana sent and heard them say on their return that they had been told as stated in the message we delivered yesterday.

Melelesi's people took the cattle from the kraals of Bushman. Nobiya took those of his brother. This was before Mr Osborn came with the armed force. Upon being called to account for this by Undabuko they said they had done so because those people were loyal to the Government and they had heard that they were on the point of leaving with their cattle.

We agreed on our way down that we should say that ~~Tom~~ Tom caused his own destruction by attacking first and killing one man. The truth being that he was surrounded. The Amaviyo (company) at Inkahlala are 30 strong each.

Enc3 Statement of Maginga with ref to burial of Cetywayo 30/5/84

9468 "About two months ago Cetywayo's body was brought up from the Eshowe in a wagon belonging to a Kolwa Kaffir named Rambangana who resides at a mission station the Eshowe. Rambangana drove the wagon himself and on its arriving near the Inkahlala it remained for a day at a spot about a mile from my kraal. It was accompanied by Dabulanzi, Ndahuko, Ziwedu Mahanana and Thsingana, brothers of the late king, Umjipana as representing Umnymanana, who could not attend, and all the head-men (A<sup>B</sup>anumnuzuan) of the <sup>siti</sup> factop<sup>1</sup> the wagon, containing the body, was then taken to a spot surrounded by the kraals of the headman Luhungu, known by the following names, ~~Esixilene~~ Esixilene, Pumpela, and Vun-Uyiese, where



it was to be buried. I remained about ten days on this spot while the grave was being dug. After the grave was ready and on the day on which the burial was to take place nearly the whole of the <sup>U</sup>sutu were present... The ceremony commenced about midday, and the following were the men who buried the body (or supervised the lowering of it into the grave); - Sigoloza stood over the grave, Nowela, and four other men whose names I do not know, went into the grave to receive the body and place it in the right position. After this was done all the clothing etc. belonging to the late king was put into the grave. The twelve oxen that had drawn the wagon from the Etshowe were killed, the wagon was broken up and thrown, with the oxen, into the grave, also a box belonging to Rambangana which contained property belonging to him.

the day before the burial took place Rambanyana and all the people about, who did not belong to the <sup>U</sup>sutu faction were ordered away. On the day of the burial Dabulamzini, on seeing me present, asked what I was doing there, as I did not belong to the <sup>U</sup>suthu, Luhungu replied that I was his son and had better remain and I was allowed to do so.

After the body had been placed in the grave, Qetuka and some of the other heamen said it was the custom when a king was buried, to bury people alive with him and it ought to be done. Luhungu replied that it was no one of their laws, and that Dingana at Thsaka's burial only ordered that the people who were averse to his, Dingana's, rule were to be buried with him. Luhungu said he would not allow the women and boys (Udibidi), as proposed by Qetuka, to be buried, that if Umnyamana had been present he might have ordered it. the grave was then filled in, a fence made round it, and huts built round the fence. Rambanyana was paid 8 oxen and £4-0-0 by Ndabuko in place of those killed and was told to return again to receive payment for the wagon.

Luhungu is in charge of the kraal that was built round the grave.  
A true translation C R Saunders.



