

15523/N/84

179/153

504  
/Campbell rprotesting against a statement by Bulwer in C4037 p92 about whether Cethswayo recieved an ultimatum from Gov or Shepstone while in the Nkandhla. File under that period ~~and refer to these documents~~ Minutes - dismissed as unimportant.

Bulwer to Derby 12/8/84

despatched 19/9  
/ Am only remarking on Campbell's letter because of its reckeless assertions against the Government. Unable to maitain that my message delivered to Cet on 25/9 was ~~xx~~ the message he heard delivered on 21/22/9 he now says that it was sent by someone else at HQ without my approbal or instuction. Bulwer is convinced that such a thing could not occur but enlcoses memeo from J Shepstone  
Campbell to Bulwer 18/7/84 /States that he did hear an ultimatum - that if he did not give himself up he would have to take the consequences - although it wasn't Bulwer message but sent by somene else. Ohter messages arrived while I was in Nkandla -Beje a headman in the Reserve said that Misjan had given him a message to tell Cethswayo thathe was in British territory and if he kept an armed following it would be treated as a causis belli. -This soort of message was being passed ~~thex~~ to the king  
Enc 2 Report by John hepstone /Did see Beje but just returned his salute but did not send a message or habe a converstation. Is ~~sure~~ /

GH 690

GH 690.

Minute - Butler asks of Phelps for comment -  
is sure of course that no official  
passed upon a message

## Resistance : Crumbles in Reserve

C4214

Nol4 Bulwer to Derby 29/7/84 pl7

No confirmation of the report made in No 11 of the parties of the Boers near Reserve. Perhaps they are a surveying party.

Pret has recieved a note demanding <sup>U</sup>usuthu cattle from Hlubi ostensibly written for Mnymana. Seems to be a fraud and wirttlen by some Boer ~~at the~~ perhaps at the insistence of some <sup>U</sup>usuthu. /encls 9 notes not taken./

There is a good deal of stealing by <sup>U</sup>usuthu across the Natal border and from within the Reserve. on 17/7 <sup>U</sup>usuthu ~~in the~~ who had taken refuge in Natal crossed to lift cattle from loyals /17/ but a force under 'Tyana' - station there by Res Comm-ffutstated this.

With the est of the post at Esungulweni and D'manzi's departure no distrubances in the Reserve and two of the prominent <sup>U</sup>usuthu chiefs have asked to come into Eshowe - <sup>U</sup>osb thinks to submit. If this is so perhaps the Nkdandhla question will be settled without troops.

Enc4 Osb to Bulwer 21/7/84 pl9

<sup>Geyugayu</sup>  
/usuthu under the petty heamen Mpelana, <sup>Geyugayu</sup> Gulube who took refuge in Natal have raided the Reserve. The statement by ~~Talwan~~ TYana's messenger says they approached the kraal of Somapunga .

Enc7 O-B 24/7/84 p21

Statement by Uhlityi and Umrongozana sent by Qetuka and Umtanti who says he is sent by Muntyuwepansi the successor to the late Nobiya.

Enc2 GH690

GH 690



GH 690

(Tolson 22)

Here chiefs require to speak to 'sb. they will die of cold if they remain longer in the bush and they do not know what they have done wrong as they were never unwilling to pay the hut tax. Osb willing to see them and gives them ~~px~~ safe-conduct passes. 'iyunguza tried to question them on eating up of loyals but the messengers say they have instructions to speak on such questions.

Enc8n "ulwer to sborn Tel 29/7/84 p21

/Accept their submission but there /22/ must be some guarantee for their future conduct and restitution to the people they plundered, You should also come to some conclusion for the administration of the Nkandhla. Important that it should be done soon. \_/



514

Date

GH690

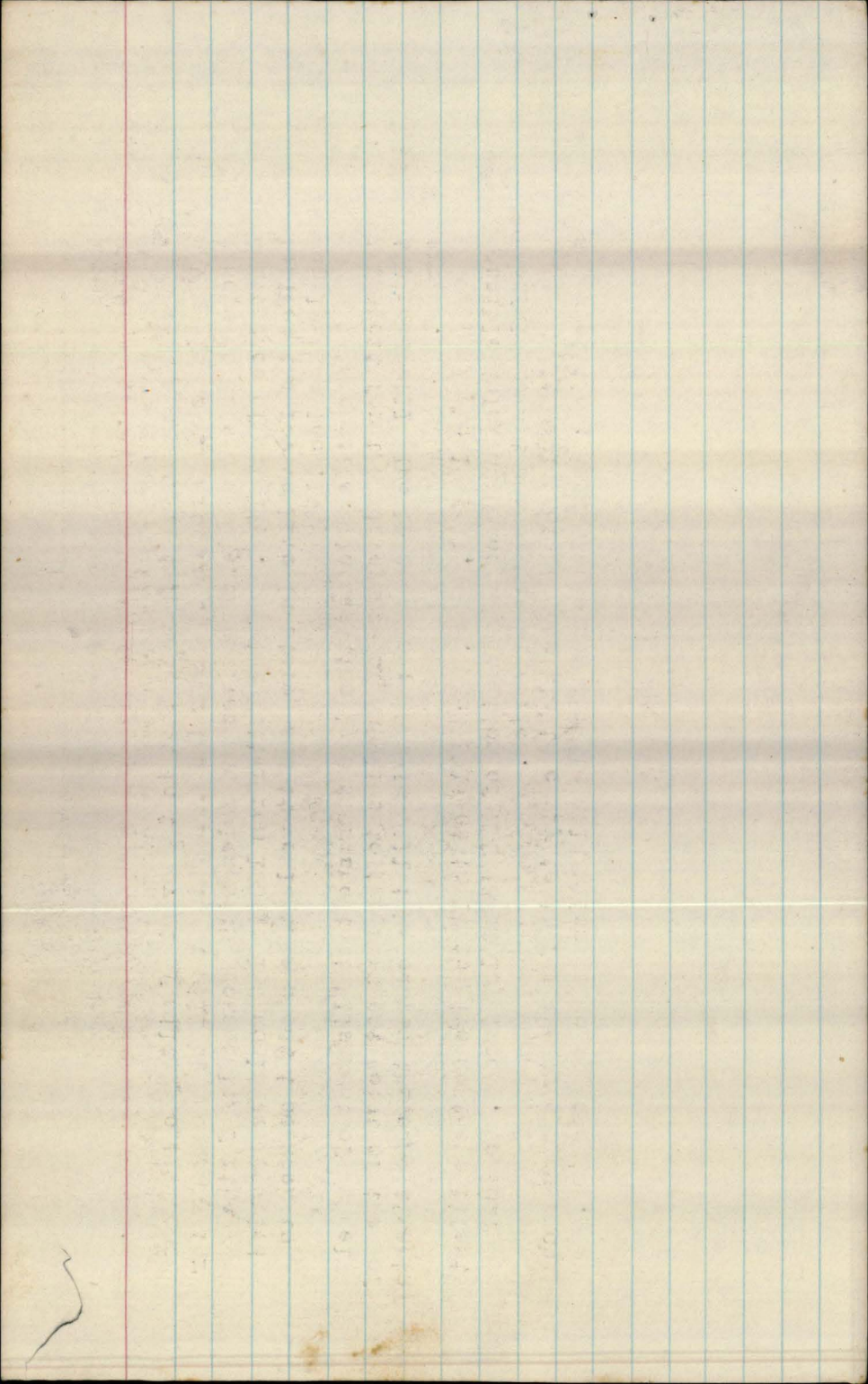
Memo by Smith G O commanding HM forces SAfrica

"I have the honour to inform YE that in the event of military operations having to be undertaken to clear the Inkandhla it will be necessary for troops to depend wholly on natives and mules with packsaddles for the conveyance of supplies. Of the latter from 100 to 150 would be required besides the few we have in store and it would take about three weeks to supply them locally

A considerable addition to our present establishment of wheel transport for the conveyance of supplies to the furthest point of the road will also be required; & this will take nearly the same time to arrange.

I should feel, then, much obliged to YE to give me the earliest possible information of any intention of HMG to employ troops, so that needful preparations may be expedited.

It would not be possible to carry tents for the troops on such an expedition; and the season for the cold rains is now approaching.



471  
1  
C4191

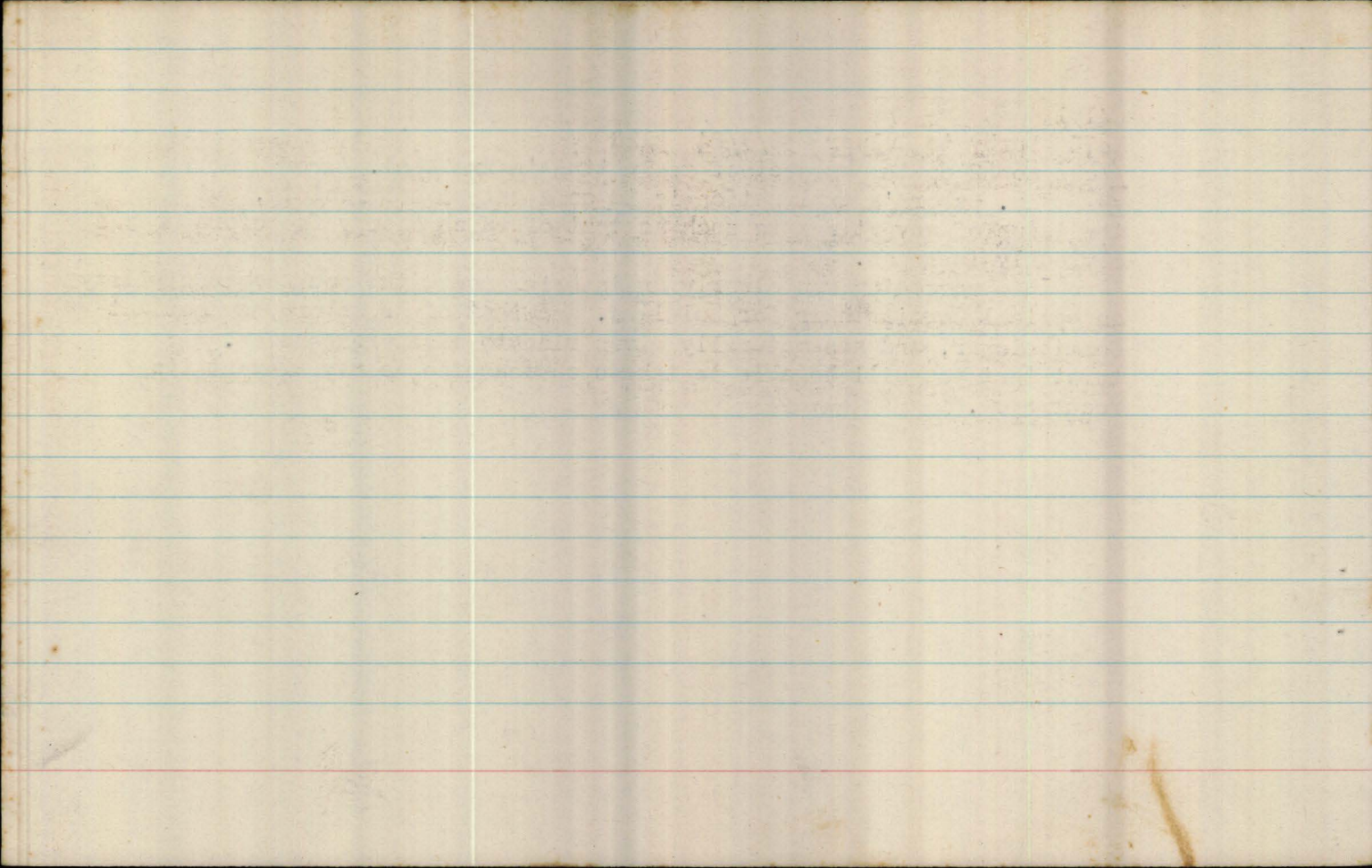
No78 Derby to Bulwer 30/7/84 pl28

/Acks no 62 on the subject of recruiting in ~~PM~~ Natal./

See  
454  
"Mr. Osborn's explanation is to some extent satisfactory, but the issue of advertisements such as that of which a copy is before me was obviously improper.

The proceeding was clearly an interference with your responsibility as Special Commissioner for Zululand, and that of Mr Osborn as Resident Commissioner, and has naturally given rise to misapprehension. I trust that you will be able to take such measures as may prevent its recurrence."





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C4214

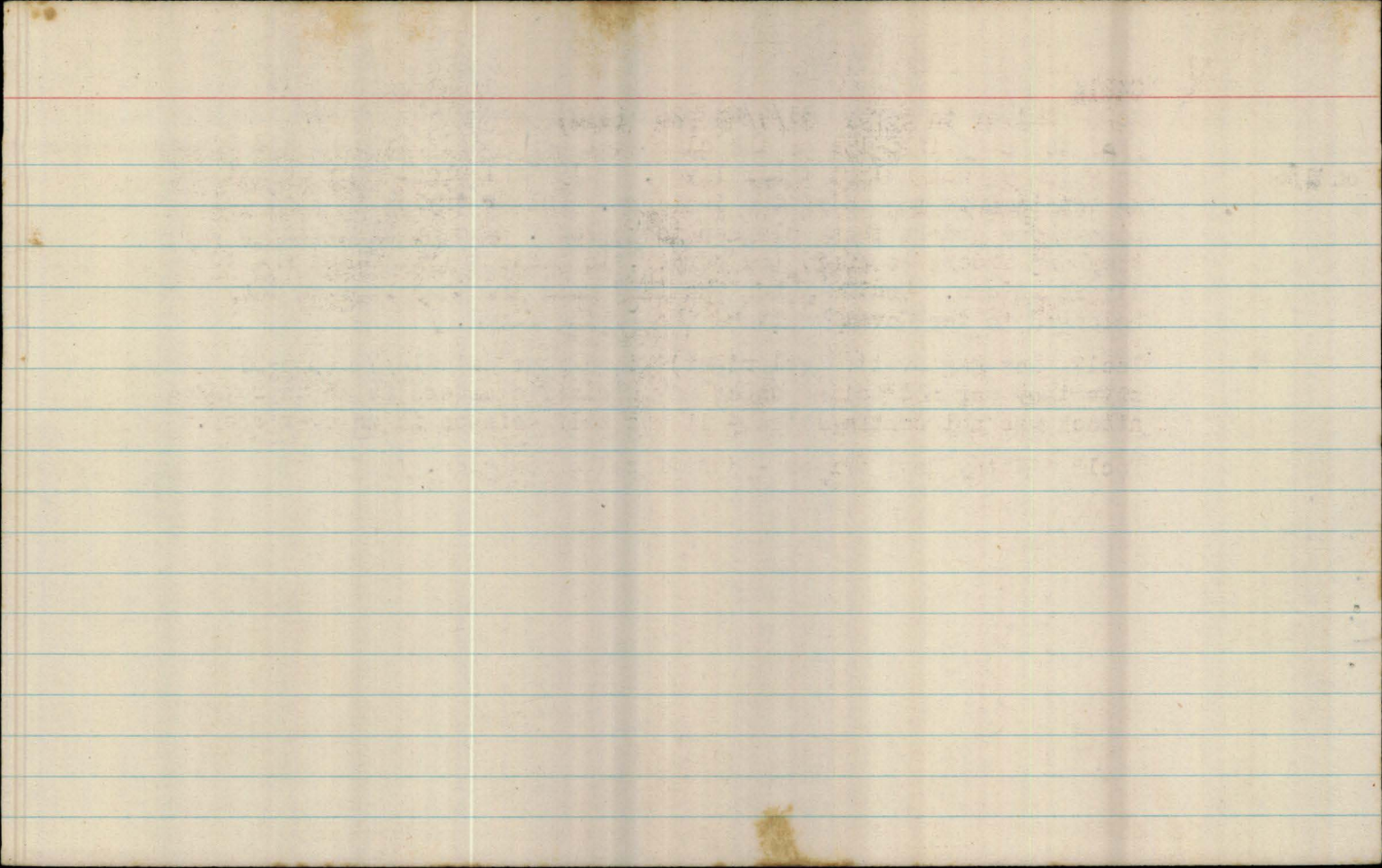
No20 Bulwer to Derby 31/7/84 p28 (3/9)

on 1/6

/Ref to No 63 in C4191 on the clash between Natal Africans and Usuthu in which 9 Usuthu lost their lives. 19 "nclosures, many depostions and statements regarding the incident. Bulwer trying to find out underwhose orders these clashes took place. The Natal Africnas say they had orders to guard the border, to protect friendlies and to disarm stuhu. <sup>fleeing from Hhobu</sup> Usuthu asked who they were and they replied they belonged to the Government and the "suthu fired.\_/

Encl7 Res Mag Uvoti(Wheelwright) on Mintue dated14/7 (p35-5) says they wer not acting under any speicific orders as an unprovoked attack was not contemplated - it was self defence in an emergency.

Encl8 Attny Genl agrees - justificalbe homicide.\_/





C4214

No23 Bulwer to Derby 5/8/84 p42

/Refers to para 5 of Noll where he asked Osb for a report, on the Nkandhla and to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ make recommendations for its settlement. Forwards same and reply. Brings to Derby's attention proposal to occupy Nkandhla with loyals from Natal / "I may observe that there are a great number of Zulu natives in Natal, who ~~have expressed their willingness to~~ would be willing to return to Zululand again if only they were assured of our protection and government, and I think it would be only just to them and only just to the Colony to allow them to return where it may be possible." / Accommodation in the Reserve is limited but it should be done as far as possible and asks for Derby's permission. Asks for ~~sancti~~ sanction of a SubOComm in the Nkandhla district.

Encl O-B 29/7/84 p43

94690

/Two principal objects: the removal of all Zulu from the strongholds of the Nkandhla who have been guilty of hostile proceedings against the constituted authority of the Reserve and their palces taken by loyal Natives under a Sumb Comm: the appointment of a sub comm.

The Nkandhla should be evacuated of Usthu by means of a strong force of loyal Natives and held for permanent occupation.- it would be advisable if these were Zulu Natives from Natal who for political reasons were compelled to seek refuge in Natal and whose loyalty we can trust.

"The Sub Commissioner should reside on the highland eastward of the crest of the Nkandhla, as near as possible to the western ~~crest~~ slope where the Usthu have their strongholds. The strongholds should be demolished or rendered unseizable. /

"e should have his residence on the highland eastward of the crest of the Nkandhla range, and as near as convenient to its western slope on which is situated the strongholds hitherto occupied by the Hostile suthu. These strongholds should, as far as practicable, be demolished, or otherwise rendered unserviceable to any possible future malcontent or rebellious Natives."

Enc2 Bulwer to Osb 5/8/84 p44

Linds report too short - how are you going to evacuate the Nkandhala. Would like to figures of the population of the district - the population of the suthu and anit Usuthu and how many people the area could hold. Wonders whether another practical effort could be made to establish authority in the Nkandhla. What of the chiefs who offered their submission a short time ago andx Feels Osb should go personally to the Nkandhla and try to communicate with the people there, arrange for the submission of chiefs who might desire it and you would be in a better position to decide which people are to leave and so forth. You can proceed to <sup>and be protected there</sup> the post at Ensigulweni - don't take more than 50-75 men under Mansel and there you can communicate with the chiefs and assess the situation. Suggests it be done without delay for it is important to settle the country before the dry season. ✓



C4214

No28 Bulwer to Derby 11/8/84 p46

U<sup>s</sup>uthu attitudes and intended action in the Nkandhla still uncertain  
 The Chiefs who said they intended to have not come in to make submissions  
 and it presumed other pressure has been brought on them. Nothing has  
 been heard of D'manzi's <sup>supposed</sup> intended raid over the Lower Mhantusi - he seems  
 to have returned to the Nkandla about 25/7 which would account for the  
 chiefs change of mind. Usuthu reinforcements were seen on 31/7 marching  
 from the Mhlautse to the Nkandhla and caused great alarm on the Qudeni  
 amongst loyalists. However on 8/8 Osb said he had heard that D'manzi and  
 Qetuka had left the Nkandla by order of the Boers.

On this news Osb went to Esungulweni on 9/8 to deal with the Nkanhal  
 question.. It all depends on what Mnyamana and the usuthu leaders  
 decide to do - and that depends on what line the Boers take. Pretorius  
 has recovered the 45 horses stolen - it turned out by the Mladalose and  
 Mnyamana returned guns and cattle taken by U<sup>s</sup>uthu.

Enc2 Pret to Bulwer 5/8/84 p47

p48/ The border waters captured by the U<sup>s</sup>uthu have been returned. They  
 were taken to Mnyamana who said he had no wish to quarrel with the  
 Government and ordered return of cattle and guns and would try and restore  
 other stolen stock. With him were Ndabuko, Siwetu, Tshingana, Dinuzulu  
 and Grant. Pret's sons at the Boer laager said that from talk there  
 decisive steps would be taken by the Boers on the 6/8 to "come to terms  
 with Mnyamana".

GMB91



9469/ Enc3 O-B 5/8/84 p48 "ncoses

M E Oftebrg to O 30/7/84 p49

9469/ <sup>with Sigandanda</sup>  
/D'manzi returned 25/7 leaving Grant on the other side. Some time ago he went to Siynguza's kraal 'Engwazini' to get corn in his waggon. An usuthu woman told Oft ego that D'manzi was determined to kill him. ~~xxx~~ Mnaymana had sent to 'Imzila' to get reinforcements. they expect an attack at any moment. Fear that Ustuhu refugees will join Ustuhu in attack - 106 of Sigandanda's people have therefore been disarmed and constantly watched. the arrival of Hlubi's troops and Esungulweni has done nothing ~~at~~ to reassure the people on the Quedieni 40 miles away.

Enc4 O-B 6/8/84 p49

9469/ ~~/consider steps to be~~ Steps ~~tax~~ against the Ustuhu in the Nkandla should be taken as soon as possible. In April and May Ustuhu began terrorising the peoples round the Nkandla who would not support them. Osb was forced to act and succeeded in confining them to the Nkandhal. The loyalists who have had to abandon their homes have suffered greatly. they are many and consist chiefly of the people of Mavumengwana, Hlongolwane Nonama, to the south and south east; Mbuzo and Mathana ka Mondisa, and Faku-ka Ziningo ~~tax~~ and other minor headman to the north and northeast of the Nkandla. their position causes much anxiety, their grain stores depleted, their cattle suffering and lost and unable to return home to plant. those further from the Nkandla have had to supply destitute friends and relations - and also refugees from the central Zululand. The action (non) of the Government is criticised by the loyal and they have doubts of its sincerity in protecting them. /

"This apprehension on their part, if not effectually removed will seriously affect the extent of their cultivation during the planting season now commencing. It is a fact within my personal experience that Zulus are very loth to carry on ~~the~~ cultivation when they are apprehensive of immediate important political changes of a nature objectionable to them..

I therefore think that it is of the greatest importance that the hostile Ustutu at Nkandhala should be dealt with as soon as possible, and order restored in the Reserve so as to enable the loyal people to return to the occupation of their lands and to begin the planting of their crops."

"This expenditure on their part, if not effectively removed will seriously affect the extent of their cultivation during the planting season now commencing. It is a fact within my personal experience that kulaks are very loath to carry on any cultivation when they are apprehensive of immediate important political changes of a nature objectionable to them.. I therefore think that it is of the greatest importance that the hostile attitude at Kamshala should be dealt with as soon as possible, and order restored in the Reserve so as to enable the loyal people to return to the occupation of their lands and to begin the planting of their crops."



## Dunn: Asks for official Statement

C4214

No39 Bulwer to Derby 25/8/84 p57

Encl 0-B 12/8/84 p57 /Encls/

Dunn to Osborn 7/8/84 p57

94691  
 "Sir, With reference to your present position in the Reserve, I should feel obliged if you would be good enough to explain such position and its powers to me, as one of the principal Chiefs in the lower part of the Reserve, also whether you, and any staff under you, are paid from funds derived from the taxes demanded from us in the lower part of the Reserve, or otherwise.

Osborn -Dunn 11/8/84 p57

"...my position here is that of British Resident Commissioner and Supreme Chief, representing the paramount authority of HMG in the ZNR.

I have not, however, asserted any right as Supreme Chief to interfere, nor do I interfere with the Chiefs in the territory in the exercise by them of rule over the people of their respective tribes. At the same time the right of appeal to me, by either Chiefs or people, exists. It is my duty to conduct all general affairs of an administrative (but not judicial) character within the territory.

With regard to the judicial authority exercised by the Chiefs, it must be clearly understood that they possess no power to carry out any capital punishment without having first obtained my consent thereto. And I consider it the duty of the Chief to report to me without any delay the commission of every crime involving capital

punishment in which any person of his tribe may be concerned, with the view to the formation of a proper court, approved by me, for trial of the offender /58/

The expenses connected with my office and the salaries of those who are employed under me are at present defrayed out of the general revenue of the territory, of which the hut taxes received form the principal item; the whole expenditure being accounted for by me to his Excellency, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for Zulu Affairs."

Enc2 Bulwer to Osborn ~~19~~ 18/8/84 p58

"In your reply you appear to have been rightly guided by the Secretary of State's Despatch of the 2nd August 1883. It is not clear, however, what is the object of Mr. Dunn's questions."







the messengers went beyond their orders in crossing the Mhlathuze but they said they were anxious to deliver the messages to Qetuka and Mampansi to whose tribes they belong and to visit their families there. Qetuka's statement that he would contact Sigandna bears out my assertion that he holds the same position over the Nkandla as Mnyamana over the north.

Estimates that the Nsuthu in the Nkandla number 1000. Families and cattle have been moved north. Only Sigandna and his tribe remain. /

Presses that action be taken against the Nsuthu at once. A loyal native force supported ~~2000~~ 200 cavalry and 200 infantry required /66/ Believes that if force takes up position they Nsuthu will submit at once - and those who won't will join their families across the Mhlathuze.

His force will advance from the southern side. Men of Mbuza, Matyana, Fakukaziningo and others organized by Oftebro and supported by not less than 100 Hlub<sup>mounted</sup>'s men should advance from the northern side.

#### A

Statement of Nkonjane and Vundisa. 17/8/84

94691 / Crossed out of the Reserve on being told that Nkandlaha was deserted. Saw Muntuwampansi who said he had nothing to say as Qetuka owned ~~for~~ the Nkandla as Mnyamana owned Central Zululand. Qetuka said he was ill and afraid to come. We heard that many people had returned to the Nkandla. Did not hear of a bog force but there were companies in the southern Nkandla - one being a portion of the Ufalaza regiment, formed by Cet on his return from the Cape and it was near his grave. Qetuka said he would inform Sigandna who was in the Nkandla. /

#### B

94691 Statement of Umvuma-ka-Zimpisi p66 / When my brother and myself heard that

C4214

/the Res said we could return to him we left Natal and came under his protection. We sent to Mtumpofu, Qetuka's brother, our Chief to inform him of this. the messenger did not return and started to drive his cattle down the u glea towards the Middle drift when an <sup>u</sup>suthu party met them six miles above the drift - they came onto the Natal side and ~~drivethex~~ took the cattle, took his gun called him and Imbugane (seceder) saying..."dare you take a gun from ~~thex~~ us, the <sup>u</sup>suthu, and take it to the Ambuga?" He feared for the safety of his elder brother, Umbinqeko who was following. <sup>u</sup>his all coored in Natal, and the impi consisted of Qetuka's people. Umtumenika Qetuka and UcdoncokaUmfulini led the impi who did this and they had visited the refugees in <sup>u</sup>atal and threatened them. <sup>u</sup>hey report that Usigoloza and Mangadi ka Godide had been sent to ask the <sup>u</sup>oers to take the Nkandlah before the <sup>u</sup>nglsih did and the <sup>u</sup>suthu are preparing for a clea sweep of the Reserve as the <sup>u</sup>nglsih will not move out of their camp.

<sup>E</sup>Extract of letter from M E Oftebro 16/8/84 p67

91169- //U<sup>u</sup>suthu have plundered kraals of Umvunyelwa, Matshanak Sitshakuza, and Umshinane. /

~~thex~~



And he said we could return to him we felt relief and came under his protection. We went to Kumbakonam, Ganga's brother, our Chief to inform him of this. The messenger did not return and started to drive the cattle down the hills towards the middle hills when an untouchable party met them six miles above the hill - they came onto the hill side and ~~XXXXXX~~ took the cattle, took his gun, called him and Imayam (Gangadhar) saying "...Ganga you take a gun from Imayam, the untouchable, and take it to the Imayam." He feared for the safety of his elder brother, Imayam who was following. He all covered in relief, and the untouchables of Ganga's people, Imayam's people and Ganga's people led the first who did this and they had vision of the natives in "a" and mentioned them. They report that the natives are Ganga's brother and been sent to ask the Ganga to take the cattle before the untouchables and the untouchables are preparing for a close sweep of the natives as he "Ganga" will not move out of their camp.

There is a letter from M. E. O'Brien, 18/10/1911, that the natives have plundered cattle of Imayam's, Ganga's, and Imayam's.



519 ②

Resume: Reserve: attempts to contact

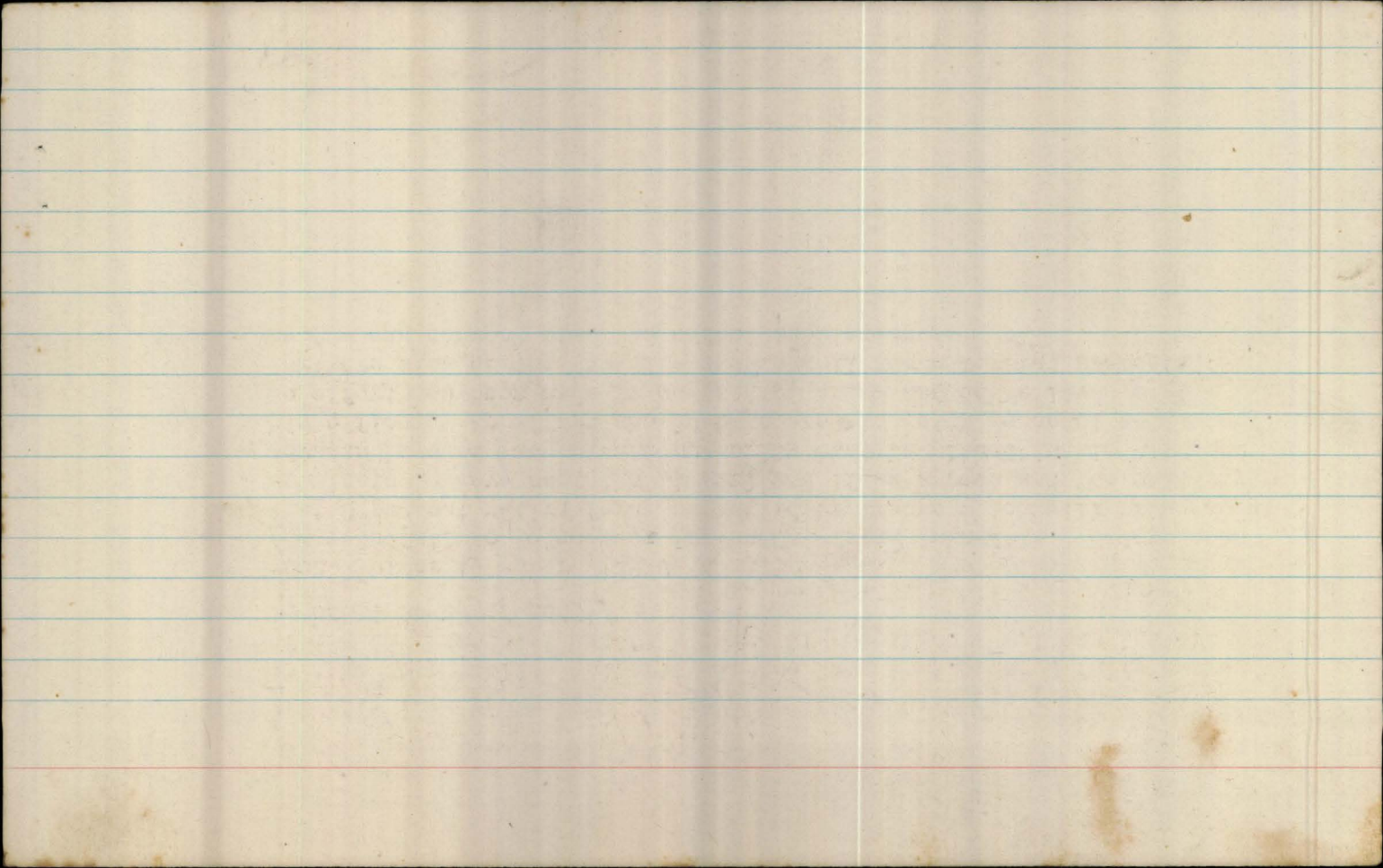
C4214

No52 Bulwer to Derby 1/9/84 p74

/Lt Genl left for Reserve on 30/8 to confer with Osb on what steps to take to establish authority in the Nkandlhal. He is fully aware of the importance of avoiding force if possible. Encloses letters in continuance of No43/

Enc2 Bulwer to Osborn 29/8/84 p75

/Regrets failure to contact suthu Chiefs in Inkandhla. Understands that O suggest native force supported by troops which will bring about submission. Have sent the Lt genl and if he agrees and the military advance beyond Esungulweni authority must be placed in his hands, or his officer. No effort should be spared to get a peaceful settlement. No effort has been made to contact Sigandna and as he lives on the northern side of the Nkandlha and is well known to Pret suggests he try and contact him, and effect submission/



550  
C4214

Nol8 Derby to Bulwer Tel 30/8/84 p27

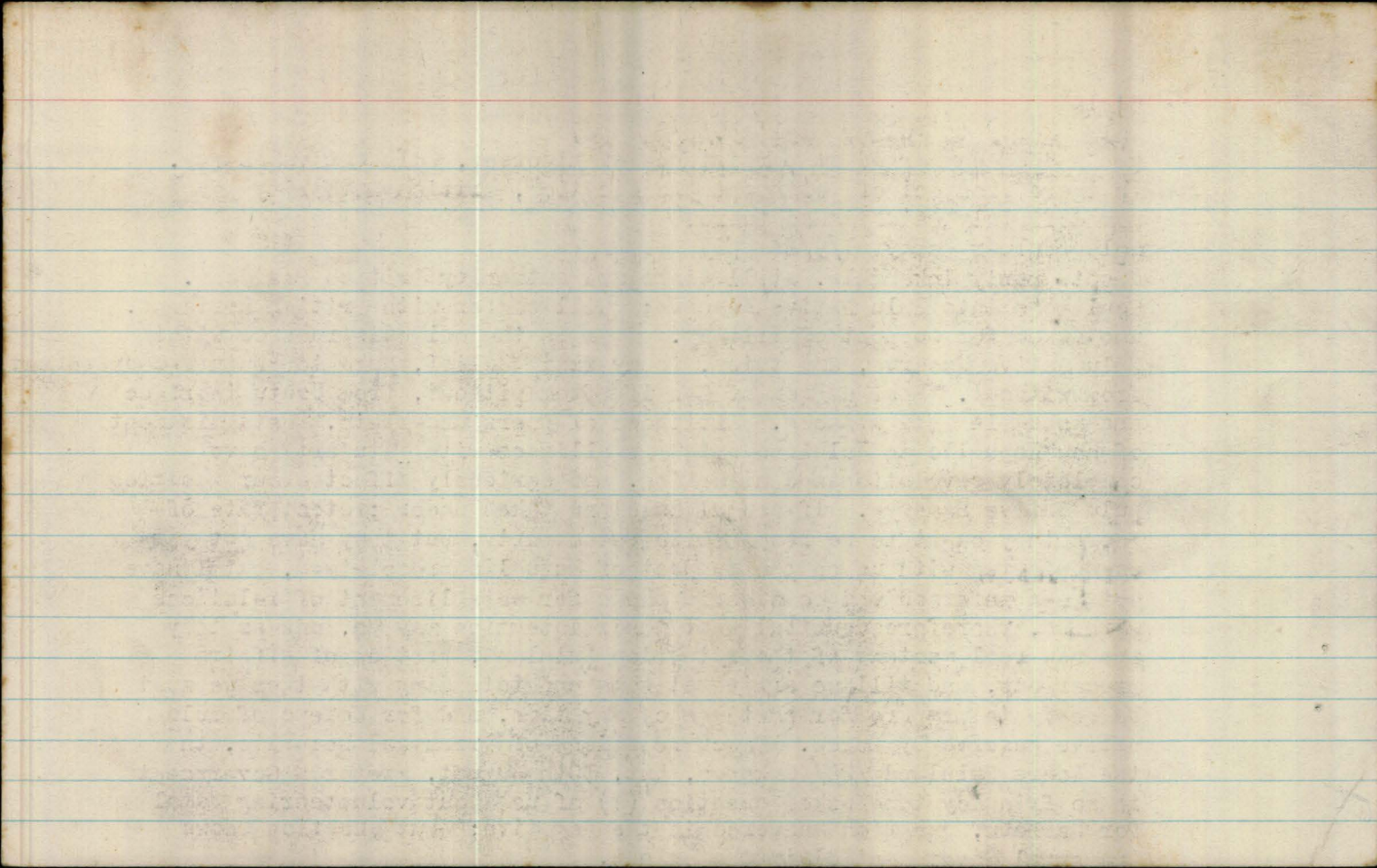
Re: HMG concerned at persistence of disorder, Zulu Native Reserve. Is there prospect of permanent pacification, British authority being now definitely established there?"

Nol9 Bulwer Derby 1/9/84 p27 Teleg

"sutu party Inkandhla, still disregard authority British Resident. Lt Genl gone into Zulu Native Reserve; will confer with British Resident, who asked for support of military. This is the only disturbance within Zulu Native Reserve, and this, in my ~~belief~~ belief, due to <sup>U</sup>sutu encouragement from without. Real danger of ZNR if ~~s~~from without, from Usutu intrigue and possible ~~stu~~ attacks. Attitudes of Boers uncertain. Establishment of new Republic in Zululand and Boer alliance with <sup>U</sup>sutu party have completely revolutionised situation, and seriously affected our position Zulu Native Reserve. If central Zululand taken under protectorate of Boers they ought to be responsible <sup>U</sup>sutu party, but they have not yet communicated with us on the subject of Republic proclaimed, but I have not been informed and no decision shown for establishment of relations with us, therefore doubtful what their intention may be, and as they are now real masters of the situation Zululand, position of affairs precarious, and till we arrive at some understanding with them we must be ready to prepare for contingency any time, and for defence of Zulu Native Reserve by force. Exact relations of Transvaal Republic with the Boers Zululand /28/ unknown, but, 30th August, Pretoria Government in no friendly tone asked question (?) of us about volunteering Natal for Usibebu, question answered in the negative; but question shows Transvaal Government claim that right.

Re: HMG concerned at persistence of disorder, Zulu Native Reserve.





551

Re: Name: attempt to gain

GH691

Memo Smyth-Dulwer Ehsowe 1/9/84 Secret

/Paraphrases telegram sent today/ "I have had long conversations with Mr Osborn last night and this morning. He ~~informs~~ informs me that several cases of attempts to shoot and robberies have quite lately been committed by Usutus in the Inkandhla on the loyala Natives, and he read me a letter from Mr. Ofteboro saying that the loyal natives had carefully abstained from any aggressive act, but that it was impossible to expect them to long continue forbearance under such provocation.

With the Resident Commissioner's help and concurrence I am sending the message of which the enclosed is a copy.

I earnestly hope it may be instrumental in restoring peace and order, and that case I shall lose no time in sending back to the Colony ~~information~~ a position for the Troops now here."

Paraphrase of teleg from Gnl Ehsowe to Gov 1/9/84

"Your Excellency's cipher of 30th Ult. situation grave and embarrassing and whilst we hold Reserve must always now be so. Danger of moving troops to Rorkes drift just now, in presence of Boers about Volunteers, and lest they should take this movement as challenge, but that Your Excellency, will know better than I. In military view very important Bennitt should be reinforced, ...."

~~"Message to the Chiefs, Headmen and people at Inkandhla from the General.~~

1. I send this to let you know that I have arrived at Esungulweni.

Mr Osborn who has been here for several weeks tell me, that he has several times asked you, the chiefs and people at Inkandhla to give in your submission

, in order that you may live in peace, so that you and others can go with the planting of your crops and thus prevent famine in the land.

It is not my wish to do you harm, and therefore I advise you, and the people at Inkandhla to take advantage of this present opportunity of securing for yourselves peace and quiet, by recognising without delay the authority constituted by the Government in the Reserve.

Let those who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity come at once to Esungulweni to see me.

When you come to me arrangements can be made for the proper care of the of Cetywayo, whom I knew well. 1/9/84

C. 62/E  
C 4214/62/E



556

Restame. Ngufu

C4214

/No54 Bulwer to Derby 2/9/84 p78

/Correspondence on a request by Pretorius to strengthen the troops at Burke's Drift. He fears that after the 2nd expeditions against Z the suthu will turn on Hlubi./

Encl I KP-Bul  
3/8/84 [GH691]

Minute by Smyth  
Encl III [GH691]

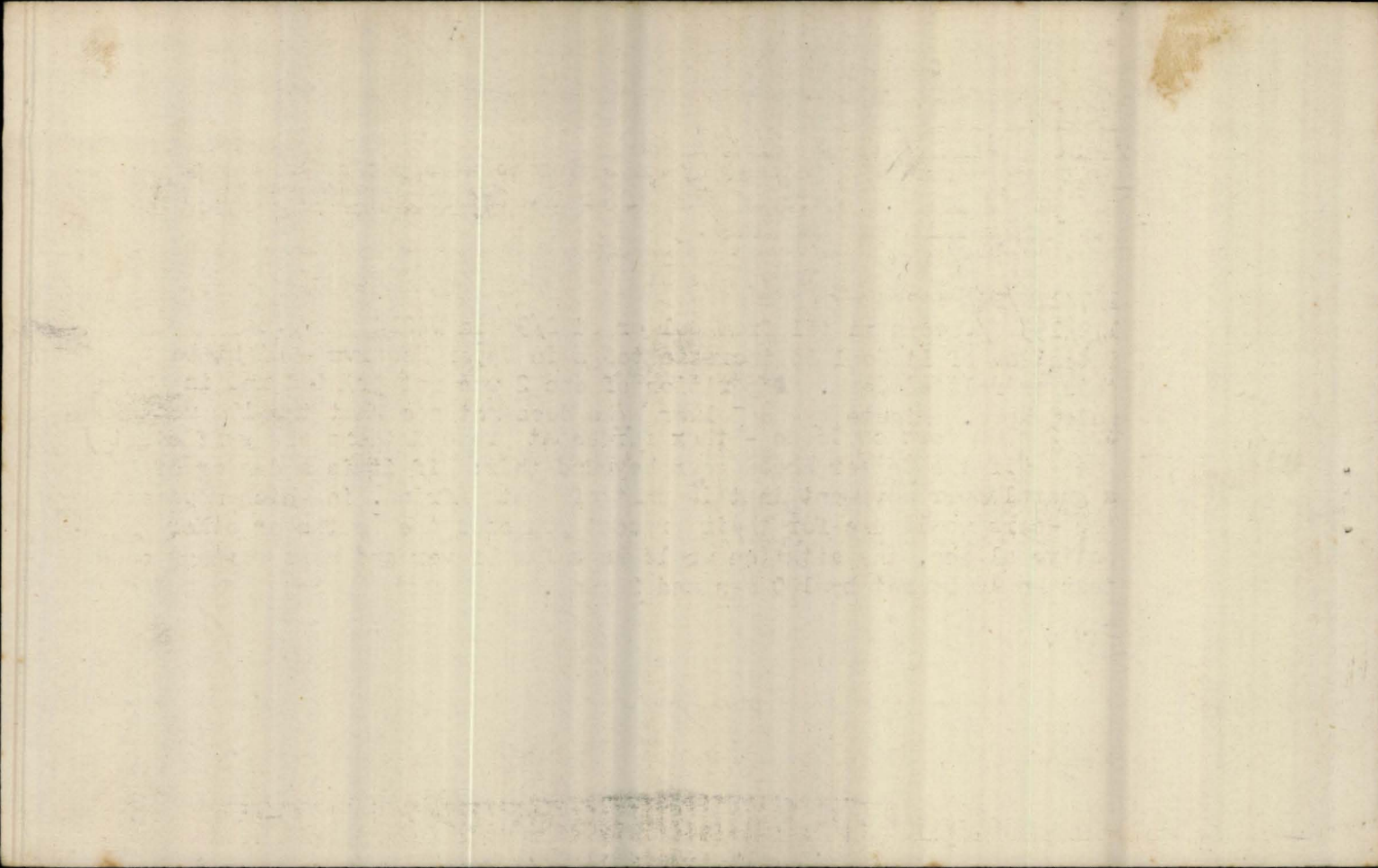
16741/N/84

179/153 /Covers ~~re~~ tel from Bulwer dd 2/9 in C4214 showing intention of Lt Genl to increase troops in Upper Reserve - might be this or related desp. A portion of enc 2 was not printed and is noted here. Minute by H Bulwer /He does not see what the 100 men and 2 guns more could do - the forces at present there are sufficient/

"If the danger ahead goes beyond this: if it is a danger of a general Boer movement in this part of South Africa, in which movement the Boers would use for their present purposes the suthu or other native allies, the situation would be a far braver and more serious one than would be met by 100 men and 2 guns."

ENC V (in GH691).

Also in  
GH691



## Resistance

C4214

No57 Bulwer to Derby 2/9/84 p85

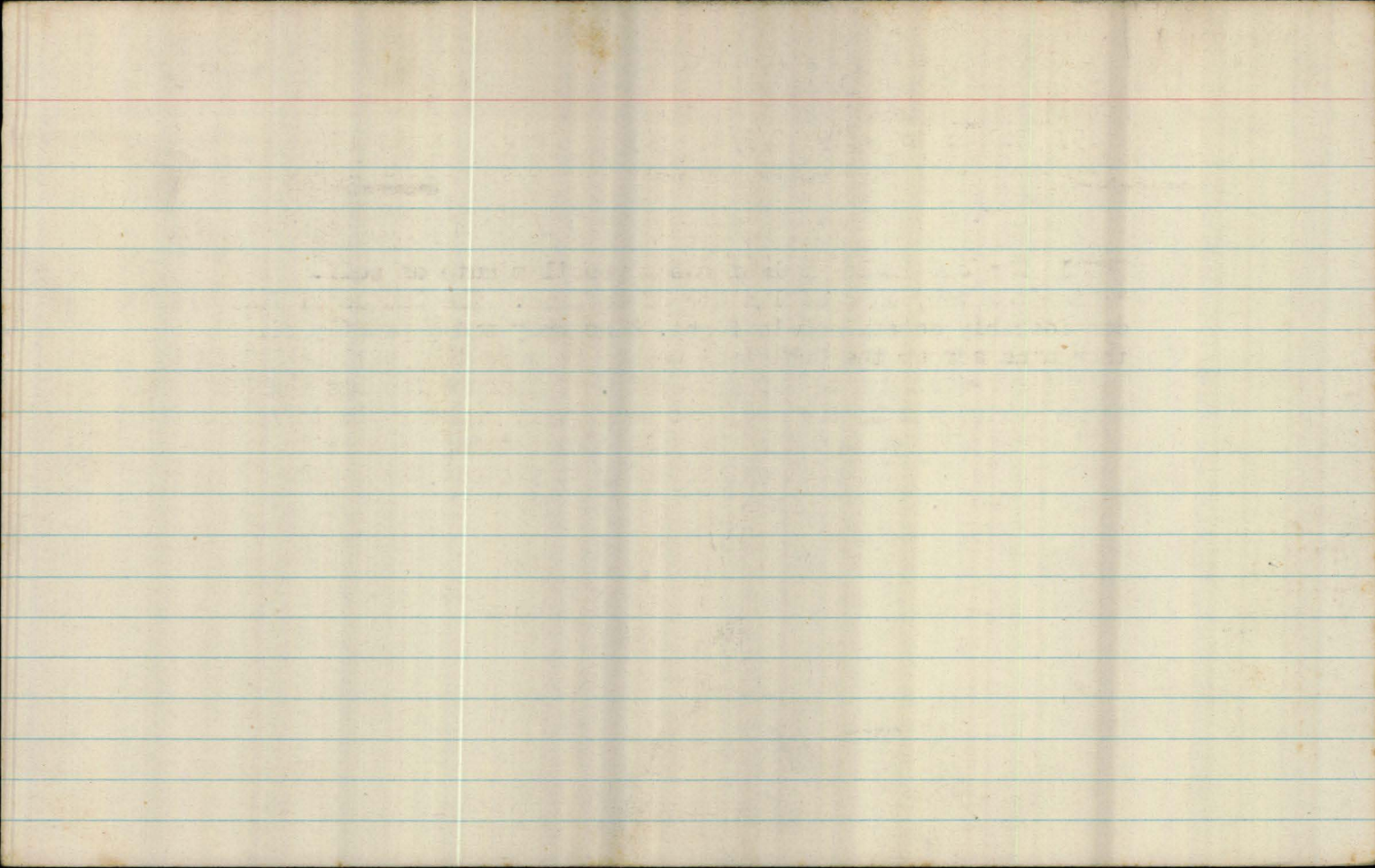
/Statements by messengers who have contacted usuthu in the Nkandla

XEROX / *where are they*

GH891 The originals Bulwer has a pencil minute as well.

"This is a very unhelpful state of affairs: The Usuthu of Inkandhla being considerably determined to fight, & as they are apparently directed by the Usuthu across the Umhlatusi we may be sure they will be helped by them in their resistance to our authority. I presume the Res Com has shown these statements to the // It seems very undesirable to embark on a military expedition against the Nkandla. Can nothing be done to secure our position in the district sufficiently to protect the loyalists from these attacks.





Resistance: C. O. on

14989/N/84

179/153

/Comments on Pulver teled ddl/9 which / ~~"Reports of precariousness, showing~~  
 reports precarious posiong in Reserve, woiing to uncertain attitude  
 of Boers: we must be prepared to defend it b y force. Teleg  
 is printed in C4214 / Minutes reflect the feeling that all inhabitats  
 of the Reserve be made to acknowldege the authority of the Resident  
 and this / "can only be done by breaking up the Alsati<sup>a</sup> which they  
 have foremed on the Inkanhla Bush / Also that the Boers should be  
 asked what steps they ~~show~~ have been taking to prevent usuthu  
 interference in the Reserve. If now anwer is recieved the usuthu must be  
 made to leave the Reserve.





553

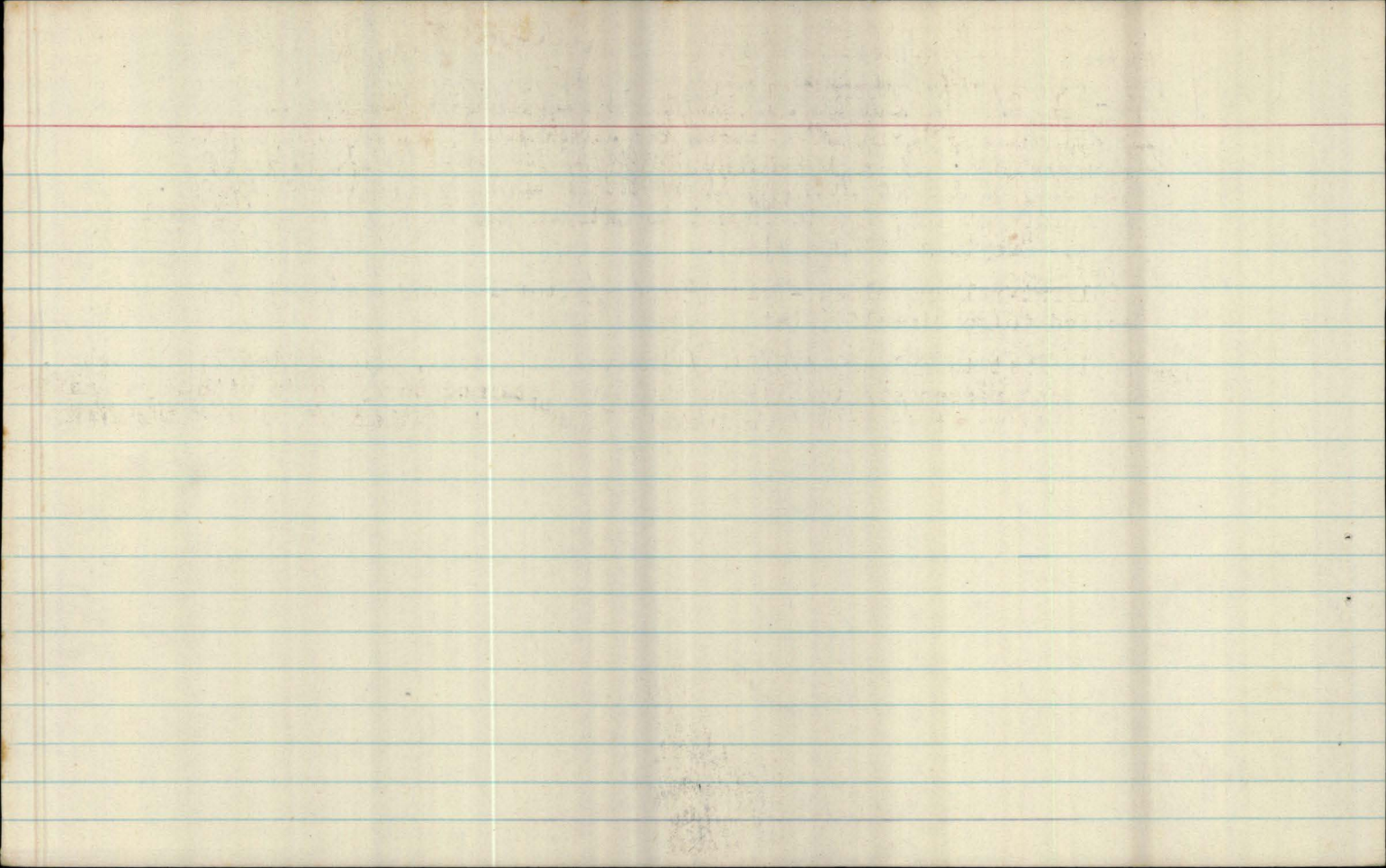
Kesidane - Siganda

GH691

ALP-Bul 2/9/84 / From Nqutu where all his letters come from /  
~~/ After the receipt of your teleg today tried out to find out where~~  
 Siganda was. Sent messengers to see if he would comply with the  
 authority of the Res Comm and if he did he would be guaranteed safety.  
 If he refuses they are to report to Oftebor who is to send to the Genl and  
 you at Greytown or Esungelnei.

GH691 ~~Pret to~~ Bul Van Velden - Bul 4/9/84 / After looking again at your telg  
 decided to go himself (Pret

GH691 Pret to Bulwer 4/9/84 / Arrived at Qudeni, coomucnated with Oftebro,  
 and sent messengers to Siganda who have returned to say he is with Mnyamana  
 they obtained this info from Zweekufa Siganda's father



C4214

No62 Bulwer to Derby 9/9/84 p90

/Reports info in 57 to start with. No real submission by Usuthu in the Nkandla - Uswegufa too old to be of importance, Pret found that Sigandna was with Mnaymana - no comment needed\_/

Lurungu, who is in temporary charge of the Amacube tribe, frankly told the Resident Commissioner's messenger that Mr. Grant, when he was last at the Inkandhla, had warned the Usutus that forces were being ~~concentrated~~ ~~concentrated~~ against them by the Government, and that they would be attacked, and had advised them to remove the women, children, and cattle over the Umhlatusi for safety, whilst the men remained to resist..."

Enc O-B 4/9/84 p91

9/11/84  
/On 1/9 Muntumpofu, and Mangacu, brothers of Qetuka submitted, with their personal followers numbering 16 kraals. On Osb's first attempt to get them they applied for permission to submit from Qetuka but he withheld it and they now submit without his consent. Osb accepted their submission and any responsibility attached to them for the part they took against the constituted authority would be considered when order was restored.\_/

"These natives were very careful in stating that, although belonging to Qetuka's tribe, they represented only themselves and their personal followers; they could not speak on behalf of that portion of the tribe still remaining at Nkandhla and the Insuze stream" /The people who have now submitted live behind the Nkandhla towards the Tuglea



The gernal's message enclosed was sent to <sup>Org</sup> sutyhu through these two men and Lurungu was also asked to forward it, as messengers could not proceed safely , Lurngu said he would communciate it to Sigangda's tribe and the tribes of Ndwandwe and Godide and that he would subm t. Osb's believes that many will submit now the troops are about to advance. / Des continues with info on Z -separate card with desp no63 of same date.

Message from the GENERAL to the CHIEFS, HEADMEN, and PEOPLE at Nkandhla p92

"I send this to let you know I have arrive at Esungulweni. /Os<sup>b</sup> informs me that he has sent several time for your submission /

"I therefore now send this message to you, to ask why you have not given in your submission in order that you may live in peace, so that you and others can go on with the planting of your crops, and thus prevent fmaine in the land.

It is not my wish to do you harm, and therefore I advise you and the people at the Nkandhla to take advantage of this opportunity of securing yourselves peace and quiet, by recongising without delay the authority consituted by the Government in the Reserve.

<sup>L</sup>et those who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity come at once to Esungulweni to see me.

<sup>W</sup>hen you come to me , arragnments can be made for the propoer care of the granve of Cetywayo, whom I knew well."

5611

Res: Submission

C4214 Bulwer to Derby 23/9/84 pl02

/Taken fully ~~as~~ as it reflects the enclosures which I have not taken.

"On the 17th instant I informed your Lordship by telegraph, that I had recieved a communciation from the LGCommanding, who had proceeded to the Inkandhla with the Resident Comm, informing me that a submission had takne palce which the Resident Commissioner considered satsifactory."

/On the same day Osb reported the Qeutka Sigananda and Nobiya ~~tirix~~ ~~tirves~~ had submitted. Now awaites official report./

pl03 "In the meantime I have drawn Mr Osborn's attention to the importance of his taking this opportunity to make an arragnment which will provide a safeguard against a nrenewal of sutu aggression from the Inkandhla should the <sup>u</sup>sutus there again attempt to act in defiance of his authority. I confess I do not fell sure that they will abide loyally by their submission. I beleive that they would do so, and that they will abide loyall by their ~~sumb~~ submission. I believe that they would do so, and that they would readily ~~abide loyally by their~~ acquiesce in the established authority of the territory, if it were not for the influces that are brought to bear upon them from oustide by their leaders of the <sup>u</sup>sutu party to which they belong, and by the advisers of that party. It is alwyas possible, therefore, that they may be led away again to give trouble, to creat distrubance, and to defy the authority of the Resident Commissioner, it being the object of those who advise and influence them from without to persuade H,G that the people in the Reserve Terri itory are hostile to the established authority of the territory, that they will be contented with nothing but the rule of the Zulu dynsasty, and that the sooner, therefore the



territory is given up the better.

I trust, however that this apprehension may not be verified, and that the submission now made will be ekept in food faith.

At the same time it is, I think, important that the arragnments to be made by the Res Commshould provide some materal ~~xfx~~ safeguafd against the contingency of a repetition of the Usutu disorders in the Inkandla, and against aggression upon the loyal people in the neighbourhood."



C4274

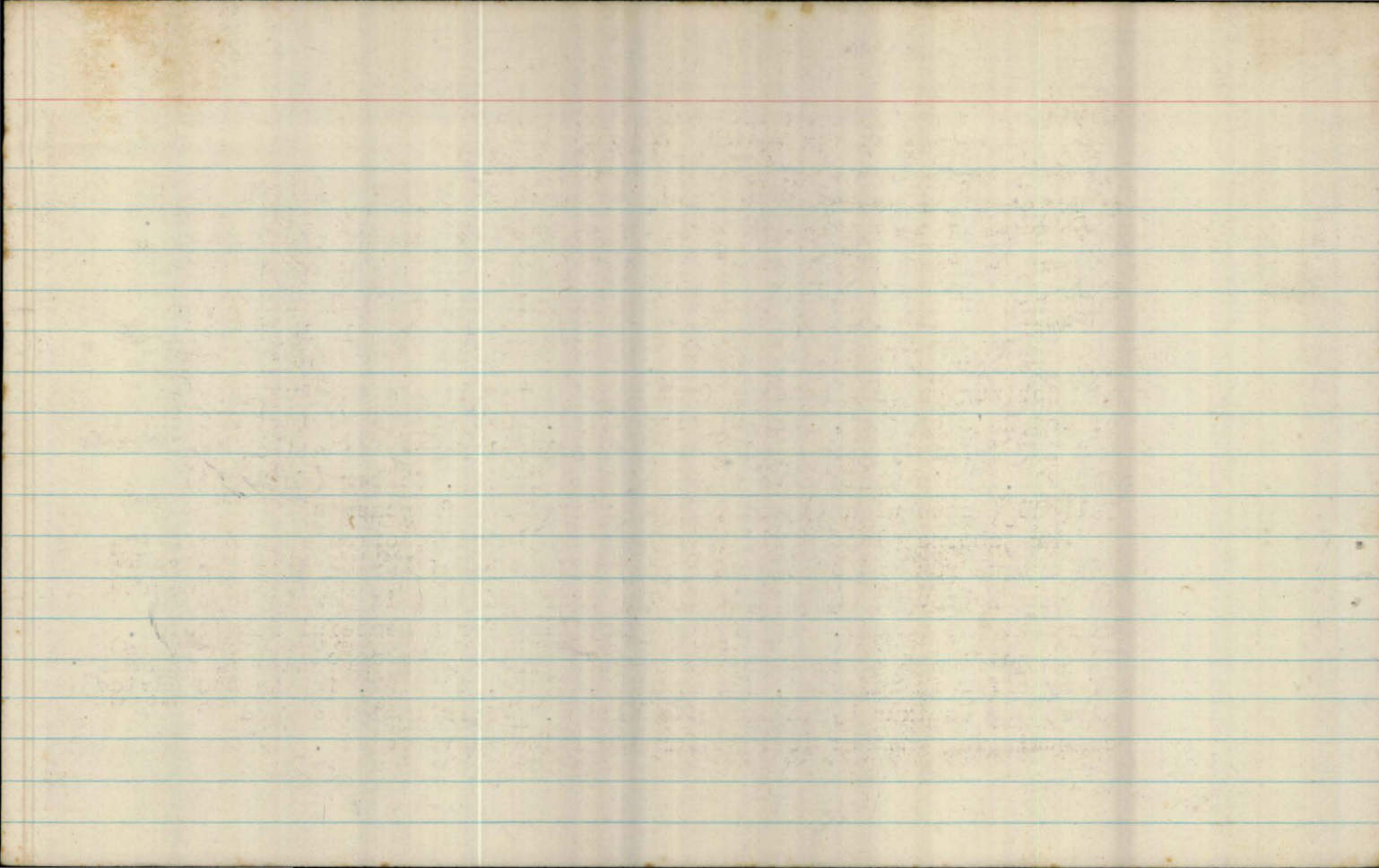
No4 War Office to Col Office 9/10/84 p4

Lg Genl Smyth to S of S for War 7/9/84 p4

/Summary of events to that date: In spite of <sup>U</sup>suthu defiance and the suffering of loyla Reserve Zulu troops have had no authority to act. Things improved after the establishment of the fort at Essungulwnei and the territory behind the post was again occupied by loyls but much of the country between the Nkandla and the Mhlatusi /5/ was deserted and on the north west side of the Nkandla loyla were and are being attacked by Usuthu.

Osb suggested a message from and the result was the submission of Qetuka's brother, Lurngu(personally). Osb suggested that 200 cavalry and 200 infantry were needed to back a loyal force to attack the Nkandla. This would have weakened Fort Curits, Chaber (Entumeni) and Yollond (Essungulwani) and I have ordered reinforcements

Mr Osborn's plans would have been completed tomorrow when Z arrived and a squadron and a mounted company had to be withdrawn from the front in case Z brought on trouble in the rear and that is how things stand at the moment. Is trying everything for a peaceful submission. / "I do not think it is possible to have sent a more conciliatory message. If my offer is rejected, the reason must be, I think, in the bad advice given the Usuthu by their white allies." / Fears that the good comapaigning whether is lost for the rains have set in. /



571

C4214

Res: Sub Commissioner

No30 Treasury to colonial Office 13/9/84 p51  
/Have before them Bramston's letter of 10/9 (No25 notes not taken)  
recommending appointment of Sub-Comm of for the Inkandhla at a  
cost of £600 p a/

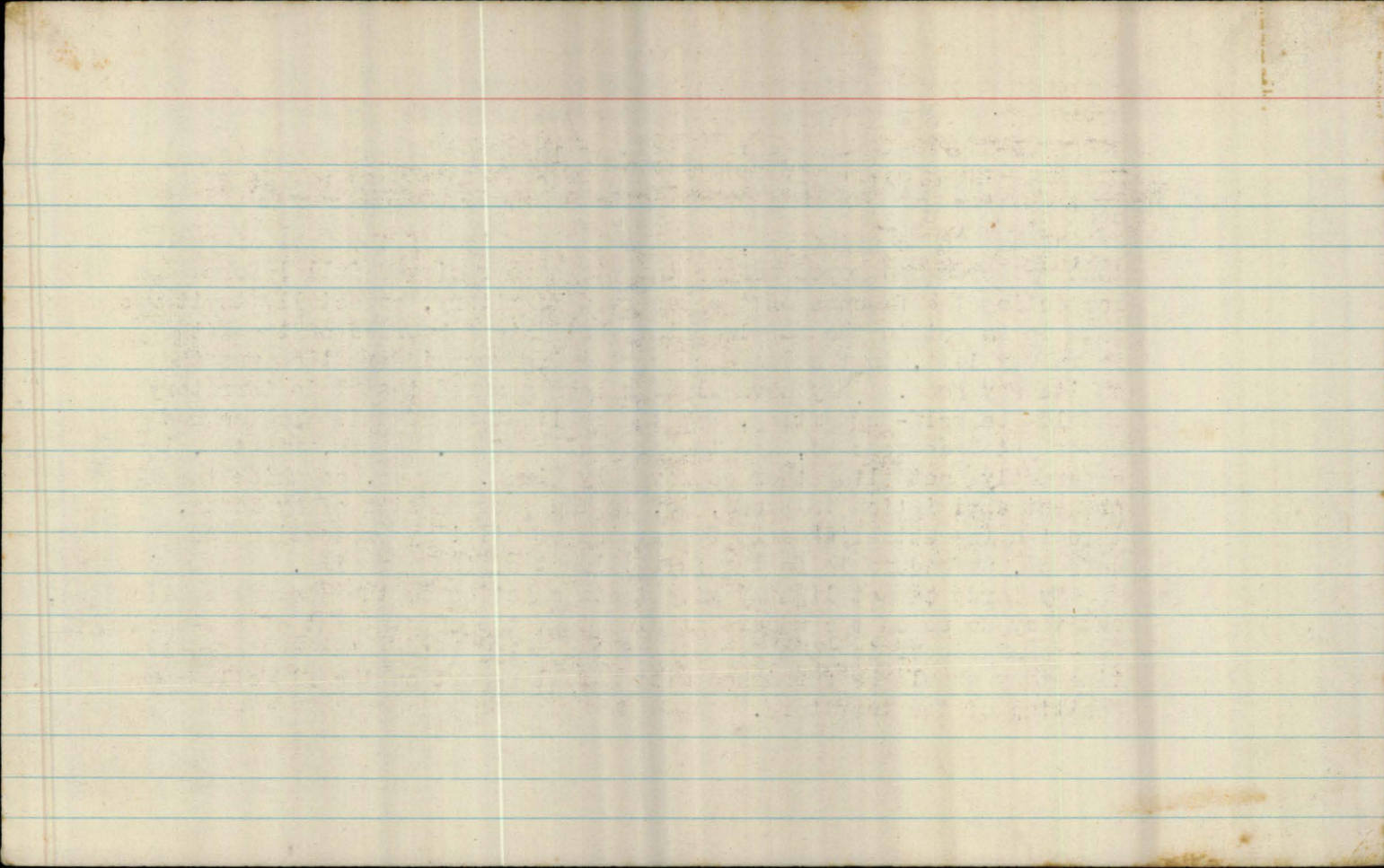
G 11691

"I am to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Derby that my Lords had hoped before this to have received full information respecting the finances of the Reserved Territory, especially as it was said in an not to the Supplementary Estimate forwarded on the 14th February last, that a despatch containing such information was then on its way home. They have always been assured that this territory should be self-supporting, but the realization of this promise has never yet been reached, and the proposals of Mr. Osborn, adopted, though apparently not altogether approved by Sir H. Bulwer, on which the present application is based, do, in the apprehension of my Lords, threaten the establishment of a system of military protection and defence, unfavourable to the fulfilment of the promise.

My Lords cannot lightly give their sanction to the present application, and they do so on the understanding that the appointment of a second Sub-Commissioner is made for six months only before the end of which time they should be furnished with a full report on the financial position of the territory."







546

Z. in Reserve

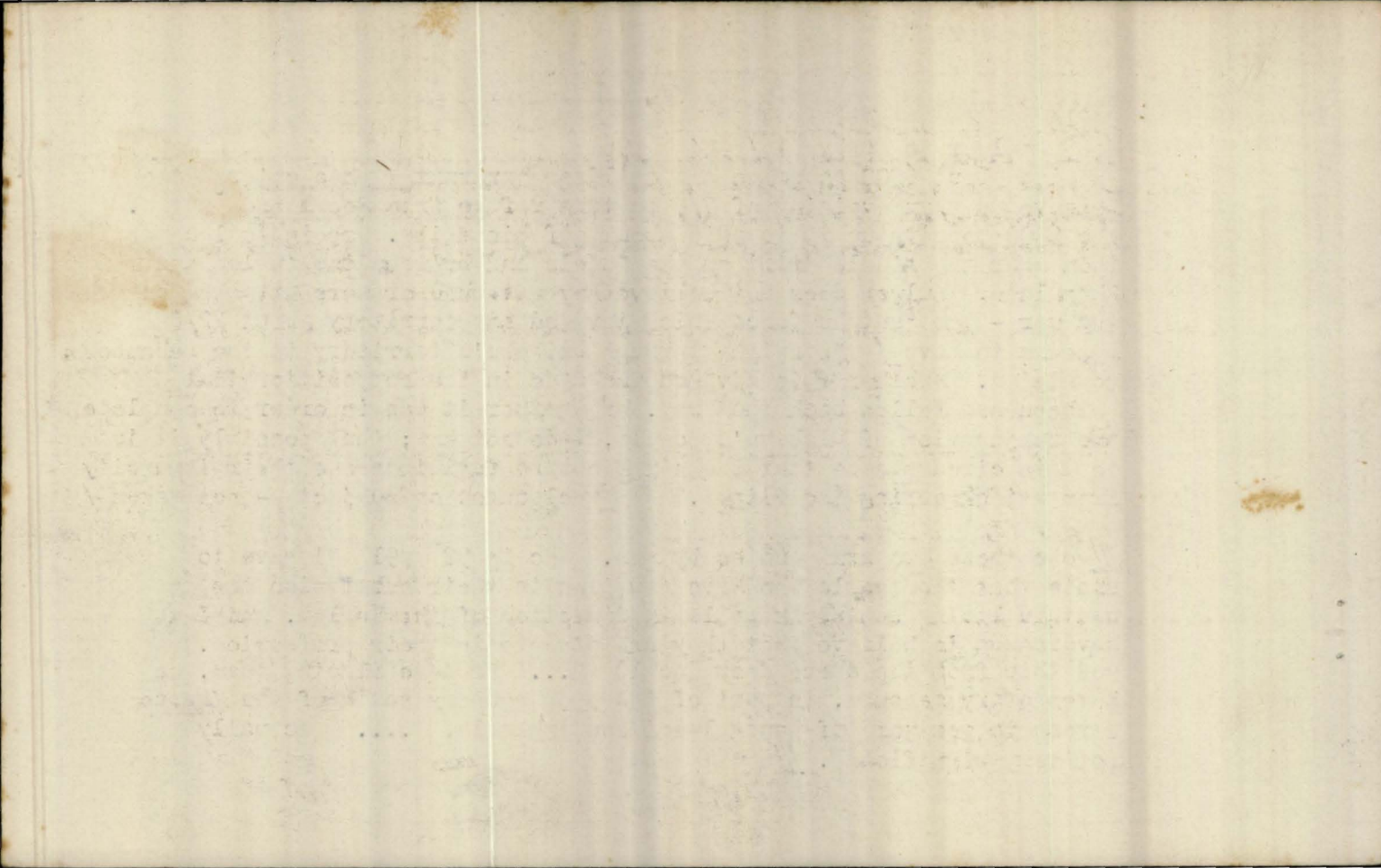
C4214

No67 Bulwer to Derby 15/9/84 p96

/Z with about 6000 men women and children ~~have~~ has entered the Reserve on 9/9 evening of 7/9 to take refuge from Boers and 'suthu. The 6000 constitute it is said about 1/3 of his tribe. Osb is to locate them near the Middle drift on the 'ugela and between the 'uglea and Nkandlaha. Bulwer does not believe they attacked or were attacked on the war - The 'usutuhu force which invaded his territory about 22/8 appears to have / "straight through Usibebu's territory to the Lebombo mountains. Whether this advance was made in the supposition that sibebu had fallen back that way, or whether it was in order to complete the subjugation of 'Usibebu's people, I do not know; but possibly it is to this circumstance that the six thousand fugitives owe their immunity from attack during the flight." / Enclosures on subject - not taken /

/// Note these two ~~xxx~~ quotes by Osb. Enc in 92 p91 "I have to state that the people who have now given in their submission are usutuhu living behind Nkandhla in direction of the Tuglea, and I ~~zh~~ have reason to believe that they are sincere in their profession." And this from the above desp Enc 10 "...I propose placing them, as a temporary measure, in part of the open country south of the Insuze stream to westward of Esungulweni and Inkandla, to..." actually not very significant. ///

Enc(X) Osb. - Bul 10/9/84 G4691

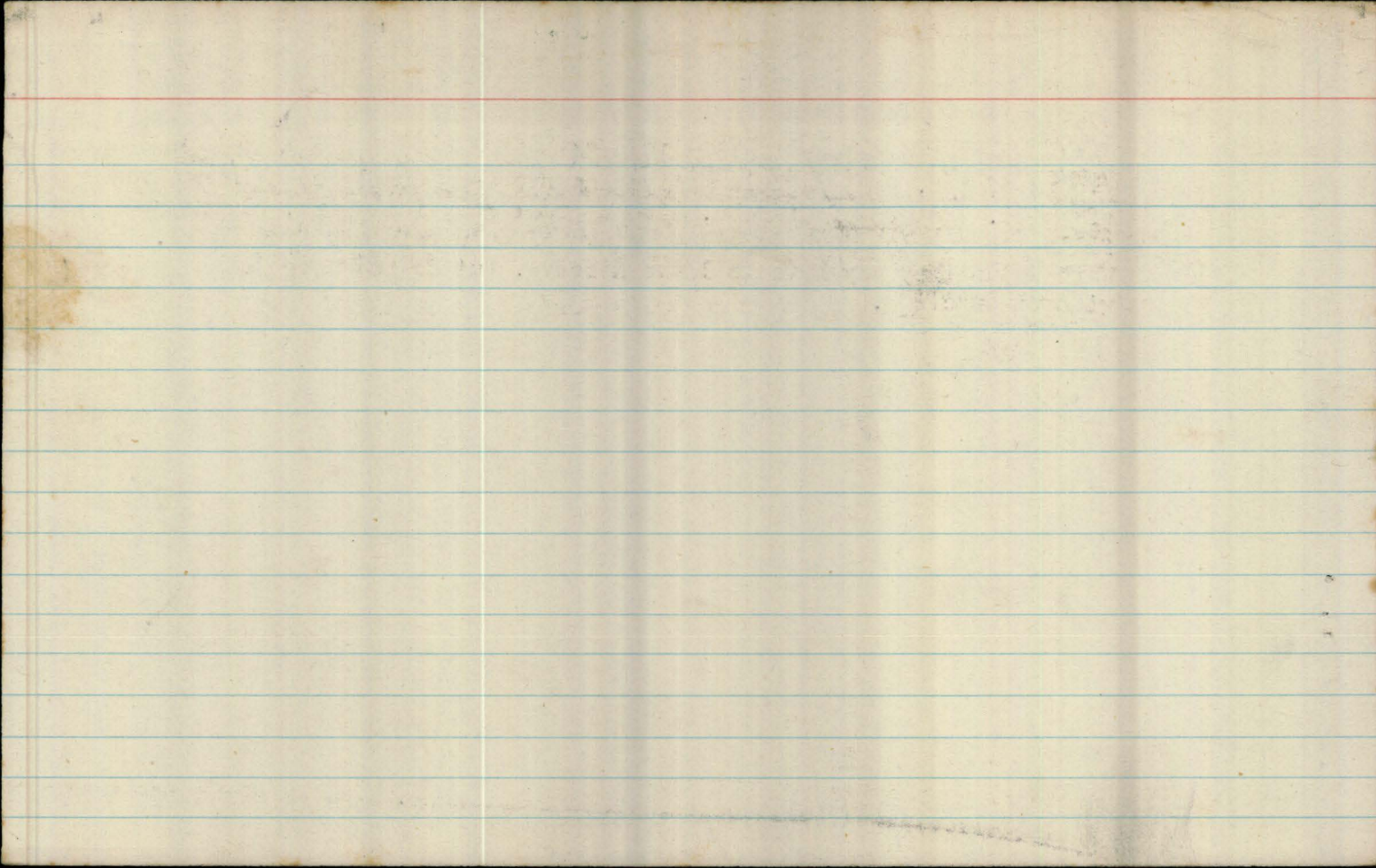




523-1  
C4214

No34 Derby to Bulwer Teleg 17/9/84 p53

/Yours of 5/8, No23\_/ "Zulu Native Reserve seem unable contain natives of Natal. Return of Uisbebu, with a great many followers, already fills Reserve too much to allow return of Zulu refugees from Natal. Warn Ustus they may have to leave Reserve, but do not move them without sanction."



C4214

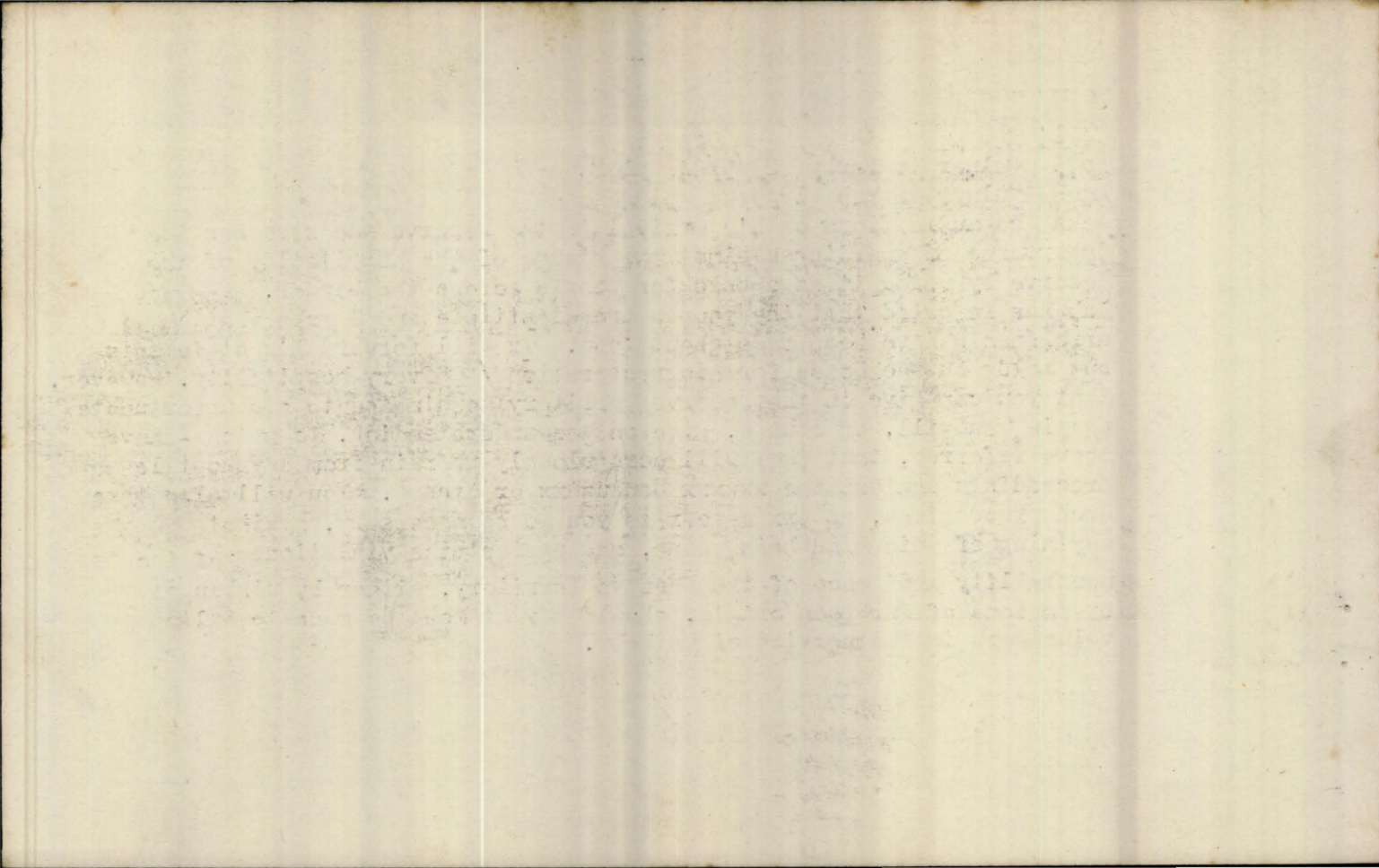
No73 Bulwer to Derby 23/9/84 pl02

Enc6 Bulwer to Osb 19/9/84 pl04

/Acks communications on Z's arrival in the Reserve and stresses the importance of guarding against the misuse of the hospitality of the Reserve by using it as a base for people across the border.

Osb has reported that the people are destitute and B asks what arrangements have been made about food. ~~xx~~ Will forward Z's statements but holds out no hopes for his restoration. "Every hospitality, however, that you can give in the Reserve Territory to him and to his unfortunate people you will, of course, give on the understanding, to which I have above referred, that they will scrupulously refrain from any hostile proceedings against the ~~usutux~~ Usutus ~~xx~~ or others. You will also take such precautions, as ~~px~~ appear to you to be necessary, against anything of this kind being done, and against the violations of the neutrality and peace of the Reserve Territory, either by usibeu or by persons of European origin, should any attempt be made to enlist volunteers in the service of Usibeu."





570

2: location of

C4274

Nolo WO to CO 30/10/84 pl5

Enc Lt Gnl Smyth to Sec of S for War (Eshowe) 19/9/84

For description of Z's entry into Zululand see card on same desp./

"The question of the location of Usibebu was a difficult and perplexing one. He heard his people would die if placed in the hot thorn country of the Ingela [?/] valley, after being accustomed to high tablelands. A suitable country of the latter description is now vacant beyond the Inkandhla and to the eastward of it. Its present occupation by Uisbebu would cut off the approach to the Inkandla from the Umhlatoosi, and prevent its re-occupation by the Usutus. On the other hand, there appeared to me to be grave objections (which I ventured to communicate to Mr. Osborn) to his march thither under the circumstances of the hour. It could only be reached by Usbiebu, his people, and cattle in three days, and during most of the time he would be passing in close proximity to the Inkandla tribes. The string of people and cattle would have extended for miles, his right would have been only a few miles from the border, and he would present an almost irresistible temptation to attack from his bitter enemies, the Usutus. Moreover, when once located by Mr. Osborn, he would look to us for assistance in case of attack, which assistance the nature of that country would absolutely prevent us giving.

If Mr. Osborn can succeed in locating him where he now is, near Essengulweni, it seems to me to be the best solution for the present. His people are almost starving, and they can be there supplied with

food until they can raise crops. He will be an excellent protection on the Inkandla side to the loyal chief Syunguza and others, and neither he nor the sutus will have the same temptation to raid. "



521 ZA /3 ~~54~~ 53

Bulwer to Osborn 26/9/84 PMB

Encloses letter from Robinson enclosing a letter for such action as I might think fit and he would be glad if I informed D. that he had received the letter/

"I have been at some loss to know how to carry out the wishes of H E the H C , as I have had and have no means of communicating directly with Dinuzulu. But I am very unwilling that there should be any further delay in the matter, and I write therefore to request that you will take the first opportunity that offers itself to you of sending a message on behalf of the High Commissioner in the sense indicated, and I forward at the time for your information a copy of His <sup>E</sup> letter to me....Having in remembrance the fate of the two messengers whom you sent some months ago to Umnymanana, I cannot advise that you should send any messengers of your own for the purpose of finding out Dinuzulu and of delivering this message to him; but you may possibly have an opportunity of sending the message through some person " /returning to central Zululand upon whom you can depend.

Rob-Bulwer 15/8/84 C T

Tsltn

Enc Dinuzulu to Robinson. "The King of the Zulu nation - Dinuzulu - son and successor of the late King Cetshwayo - sends his greeting to Y E and desires to apprise Y E for the inform of H G M the Q of E , that he, driven thereto by the miserable condition~~xx~~ of Zululand and the frightful state of the nation and people has felt in duty bound to assume the kingship over the land and people; that he has granted an amnesty security and pardon to all political offenders who by Rebellion or otherwise have

transgressed the king's authority. that all his subjects have been called upon to co operate with him in the maintenace of peace and order and the protection of life and propeerty. that he - the King in order carry this out has assured himself of the friendly advice and help of their dd sincere, and upright friends the Boer volunteers. / / That he - inuzulu the king - succeeded at the outset to restore peace and order in Zululand, and that the king and h his friends have felt pleased and gratified with the willingness wit h which this arra nment has been welcomed by all the chiefs and people, and has been flattered by a state of peace and prosperity unknown by the last five years and further tursts that this harmony and cooperation will soon embrace all the surrounding powers and Govenrments for the general peace and quiet. / / That the king has, however, now to call his E's attention to a highly unpleasant disappointment for himself and his friends, and this is that one of his most important subjects and at the same t me chief afaa strong party, and lately captain, Usibepu - has apparently allowed himself to be misled (when the prospects of peace and order throughout the whole of Zululand were most promising) to resist the lawful authority of the King of the Zulu nation, and to recommence his murderous scenes, muriding and causing my subjects to be murdered anew.

For this reason the King, repugnat as it was to him, felt compleed to send up a sufficient force on the sixith of Jund of the present year to punsih Usibepu for his crime and bring him to subjection, and it is not without a feeling of very great grief that he has ~~st~~ to state that owing to the obst nat resisitance of Uisbpu , supposrted by a number of mislef people, his punsihment has attaned a complexion entirely in conflit with his wishes.

he King would hope to flatter himself that such an event and a similar



punishment may never occur again - at all event not in a land so unhappy and so tried as Zululand. / / In order to assure this the cooperation of H M's officers with the King of the Zulu nation is highly necessary, under whose protection Ushebepu escaping from his well deserved punishment, is now in hiding, under their protection he will not desist from further attempts at rebellion and revenge, and will become a perpetual source of unrest of the Government and Administration of Zululand.\* For those reasons the king is desirous of entirely removing as far as possible all cause for disturbance or anything that might lead to disagreement between him and H M G and subjects and will do everything in his power to establish a perpetual peace between him and H M G and H M's subjects, and to advance the peace and prosperity of Zululand. / / It is for this reason that the King and his volunteers, his friends, with the counsel and advice of his chief councillors would implore Y E to make known to H M G the Q of E, this their wish and further to lend a helping hand for the furtherance of perpetual peace, and in so doing not to allow a rebellion subject to find protection under her aegis. The King must further inform H E that he to his great grief and astonishment has understood that the acts of Ushebepu and false representations have induced H M to send a body of troops to the frontiers of Zululand and Natal. The king cannot assume or believe that this had been done to hamper him in his administration and Government of Zululand and his people, but feels it ~~is not~~ is\* duty to complain that the presence of troops on the frontiers of Zululand cannot fail to inflame the rebellious and treacherous party anew, encouraging them in the false hope of support from the troops, to commence afresh the commission of acts of violence and disturbance of the peace.



It is for this reason that the King must urge and implore Y E to bring this state of affairs to the knowledge of H M for Her serious consideration and to request her cooperation for the maintenance of peace and good order in the country.

The King hopes and trusts that he has not appealed in vain to the humanity of Y E to your love, truth, justice and peace. It is further the wish and desire of the King that things may go well with H H's happy\* government and that peace, prosperity, ~~and mix~~ may reign throughout ~~he~~\* great and mighty empire and over all her subjects.

sd Dinuxulu X his mark

Witnesses: C H van Roijen and C F Meyer.

Re: Troop withdrawal?

C4274

No7 Bulwer to Derby 30/9/84 pl3

/forces in Reserve to be reduced.\_/

Enc 1 Smyth to Bulwer 27/9/84 pl3

/Recommends the return of the larger portion of 58 Regt to C Twon . Rorke's drift detachment might be detained a little longer. Also return of the detachment of the 82nd to Pinetwon from Eshowe and the withdrawal of the Fort Yolland post and perhaps the Fort Chater as well. If this comes about proposes concentration of the whole of the 91st Regt at Fort Curtix.\_/

pl4 "I believe the submission of the tribes living in the eastern part of the Inkahlia, that is to say, the part that can be reached from the Fort Curits line, to have been sincere; and the representatives of the New Republic, whom I met at Fort Crui s, distictly assured me that they would take steps to prevent any invasion of the Reserve by the Usutus in Zululand. /Forts Yolland and Chater were established to give confidence to the natives driven out of the area by Usutuhu from the Nkandla and with the danger averted expense will be saved by their withdrawal, especially as the wet season is approaching.\_/

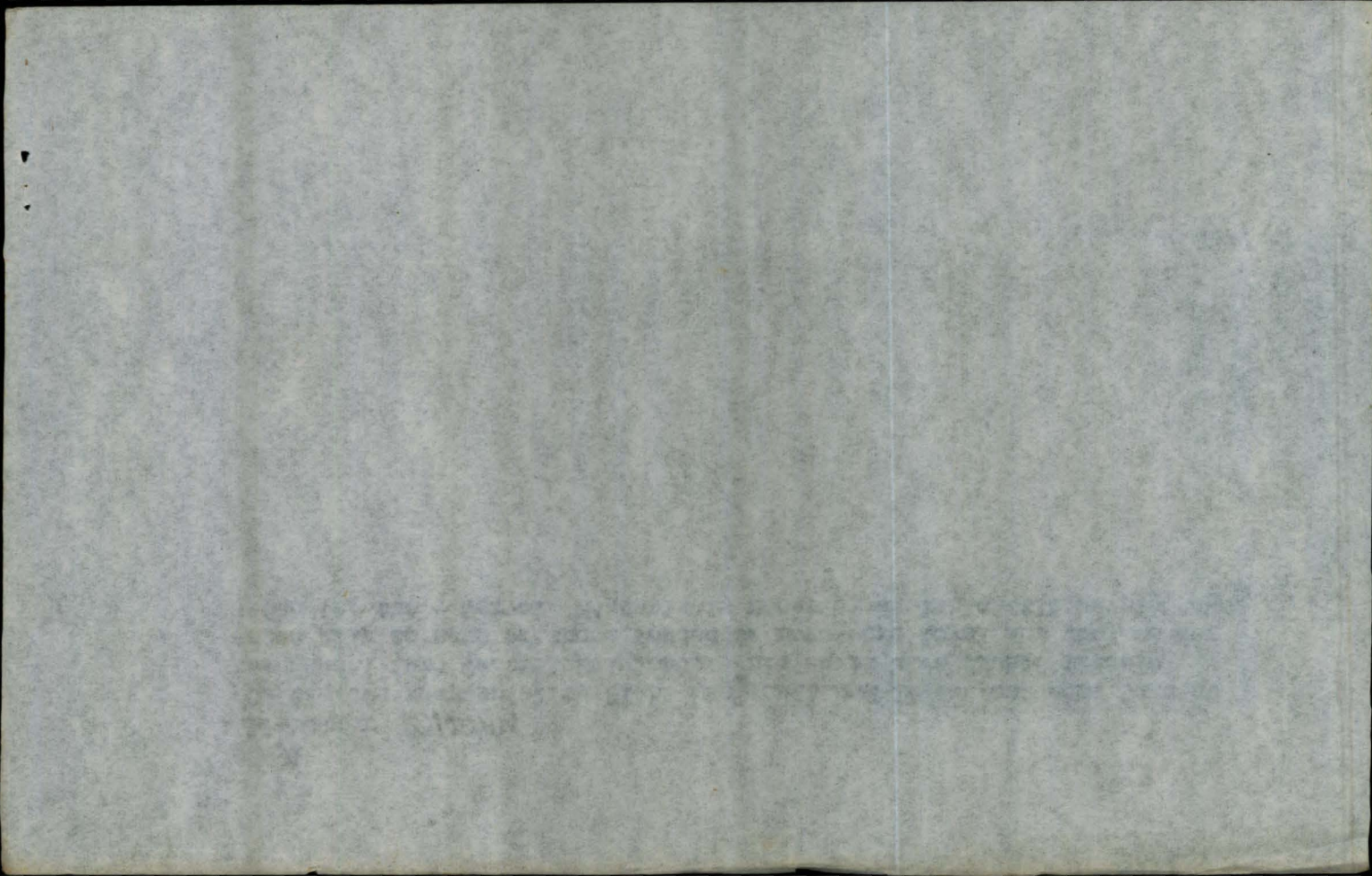




GH691

ALP-Bulwer 23/10/84

/On his own responsibility Mlubi has sent and driven out some Zulu at the M'kandi into Central Zululand. This could have caused trouble especially as some of those forced to move were loyal and who had been defending the Reserve. M'kazulu is resoring stolen cattle as promised. /





C4274

Nol6 Bulwer to Osborn 6/10/84 p24

*GH  
691*  
/Together with enclosures give ~~xxx~~ confused account of Usuthu attacks in Northern position of Reserve. Oftebro complains that loyals are afraid to use assegaai as authorities have proclaimed peace. Usuthu are to 'Teta' at Ondini. Somzica ka Godide has ordered his father's tribe to collect at the Nkandla

p26 Heaman Amshinane reports that 7 amaviyo raided his kraals on 25/9 and when they were challenged to return food they said that the food and Zululand belonged to the King. They fired on Umshinane's men. Mnyamana, Mehlakuzulu and Makedama's men were recognised. /

GH691 Minutes /OsboBul/ "The documents of which the enclosed are copies reached me last evening from Qudeni. It will be seen that the raid took place on the 25th inst. The Boer Commissioners left here on the 24th. Their intention was if possible to go that evening as far as Kwa Magwaza which is about 12 or 15 miles distant (southwards) from the point where the raiders entered the Reserve.

The Boer Commissioners voluntarily told me that it was their intention while at Kwamagwaza to give the strictest orders to the Usutu living in that direction to respect the Reserve boundary; that any contravention of the order would be severely punished. - The commissioners could have reached Kwa Magwaza only late in the evening of the 24th and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that they could not have been aware that there was an Usutu impi 12 miles further on ready to pass into the Reserve the next morning. I believe that the action which the Commissioners proposed taking at Kwa Magwaza will restrain the Usutu on that side the border\* from



On the 20th inst Mr Oftebro received information that the Usutu were plundering some Kraals belonging to the loyal Chief Mashinana (successor to late Pagade) they retired on his advancing towards them. It seems probable that these Usutu belonged to Nkandhla and that they were taking these proceedings in retaliation for the attack upon them by the loyal people with Mr Oftebro on the 15th inst., as owing to the severity of the weather it was not possible for my induna Yamela to visit as speedily as I desired him to do, all the Usutu tribes at Nkandhla with the view to reassure them and to <sup>repress</sup> express in a peaceful manner any further attempts of a hostile nature. " MO 1/10/84 /Reply to this is c4274/16/iv)

Smyth comments "... I feel confident that the Boer Commissioners were sincere in the expression of their intention to do all in their power to prevent raids by the Usutus from across the Border, and I anticipate good results from the exercise of their influence, as I feel sure the Usutu party will never let the Reserve alone unless they are prevented by the Boer Republic. /Suggests strong measures./ 6/10/84  
/These minutes are on M Oftebro to Osborn -Bulwer 1/10/84 in GH691 or C4274/16/iii/

Reserve : Troop withdrawn

19728/N/84

179/153

/Despatches on the withdrawal of detachment of troops from Reserve  
Military want to Osborn does not /  
Minutes.

Bulwer to Derby 20/10/84

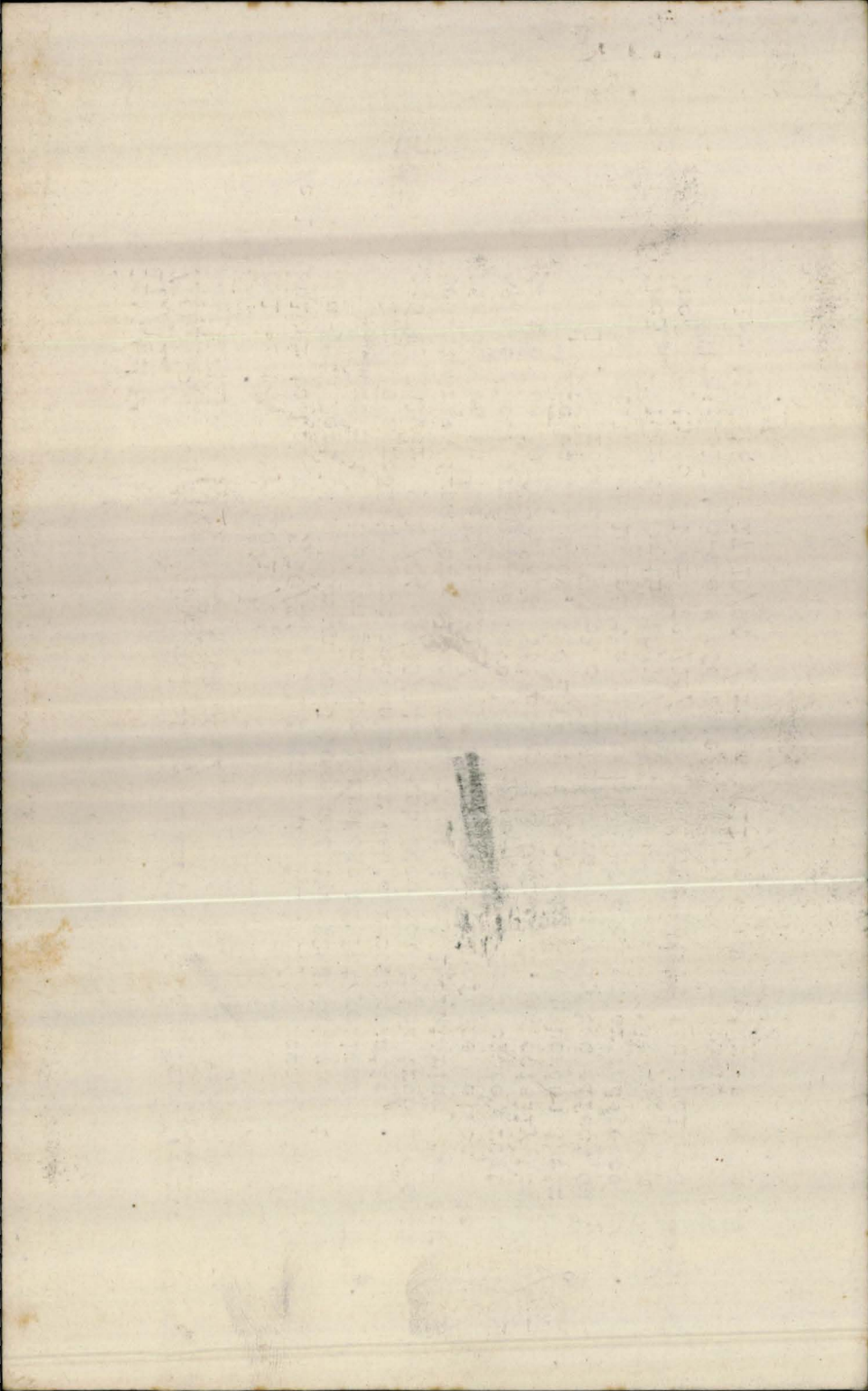
Enc 1 Bulwer to Osborn 3/10/84 /Informs him that Smyth recommends that  
the 58th Regt be withdrawn to C Town and the 82nd detachment  
be withdrawn to Pinetown and the garrisons of Fort yolland fort Charter.  
Bulwer has agreed in part and asks for Osb's recommendations.

94692  
Enc 2 Bulwer to Bulwer 9/10/84 9/10/84 Osb does not think troops should  
be withdrawn from Esungulweni and Entumeni until Pretorius has assumed  
his duties in the Nkandhal / " The withdrawal of the detachments  
before these arrangements have been made would I fear cause great uneasiness  
to the people for whose protection the two posts, especially that Esungul  
weni, were established, and I fear they would again abandon their  
kraals, a proceeding which could but have a very bad effect on the  
Uthuthu at Indkanhla and the maintenance of good order and peace there.

Enc 3 Bulwer to Smyth 20/10/84

Enc 4 Smyth to Bulwer 20 /10/84 Believes ost is too inclined  
to put himself 'on the safe side'

Bulwer to Osborn 17/10/84 /Troops will go when Pretorius is in  
position. /





5701

Z. b. here

C4274

Nolo WO to CO 30/10/84 ps

Enc Lt Gnl Smyth to Sec of State for war. Eshowe 19/9/84 p 16

/In continuation of desp dd 7/9 Z ~~ps~~ hearing of impeding Usuthu/Boer attack crossed the Mhlatusi and moved via Eshowe, Entumeni (Fort Chater) to Esangulaweni (Yolland) where Dep Comm-Genl supplies meals ~~is~~ from the stores. / "This move of Uisbebu's trive was one of the strangest and saddest imaginable. they numbered about 5 or 6,000 souls; the men as lean as greyhounds; sleeping mats and blankets on their heads; all full armed with assegais and shileds, but with few guns; the women with enormous loads on their heads, weary and tired; children of all ages to the infant at the back. they had also a great many cattle. ~~How~~ How such a host could have managed to pass through a large extent of hostile territory unmolested is a mystery." /Ordered detachment to move to the Mcongo on the edge of the Nkda nhl. and to move troops to the Nkanla. 2500 -3000 ~~troops moved~~ locals. From the Isibuda a magnificent view of the range upon range of steep mountains forests and galdes was obtained, making it palin that extended military operations could only be carried out with great difficulty. No wheeled transport could be used, dry wehater is essential.

After dealy through wer on Tuesday mounted troops wnet to neighbourhood of Cet's grave where I had said I would recieve submission. Difficult road to the west of Nkomo and Isibuda peaks. /17/ News of Calsh between Oftebro and u<sup>u</sup>suthu recieved which did not bode well. "The whole force was drawn up and hatled on the top of a steep hill

overlooking Lurunga's kraal, the site of Cetywayo's grave and the valley of the Insuzi, where that river emerges from the deep precipitous kloof, which forms Sigandanda's famous stronghold which Panda was unable to reduce. /parap/ Messengers were sent by Mr. Osborn to tell the representatives of the tribes to come up to us, which they did, bringing with them three head of cattle in token of submission. The result of the talk was satisfactory to Mr. Osborn, though, judging by the expression of their faces, it was not so to the loyal chiefs present. But what was to be done? It was impossible to attack people who had submitted, and there was no one else to fight. These Inkandhla people appeared to be perfectly sincere, though it is true Zulus are masters of treachery and deceit, at any rate in respect of their dealing with each other." /~~Telegraphed news~~ Heliographed news of submission to PMB. and troops slowly withdrawing. / "The question of the location of Usibe see next card.

Z. in Reserve-

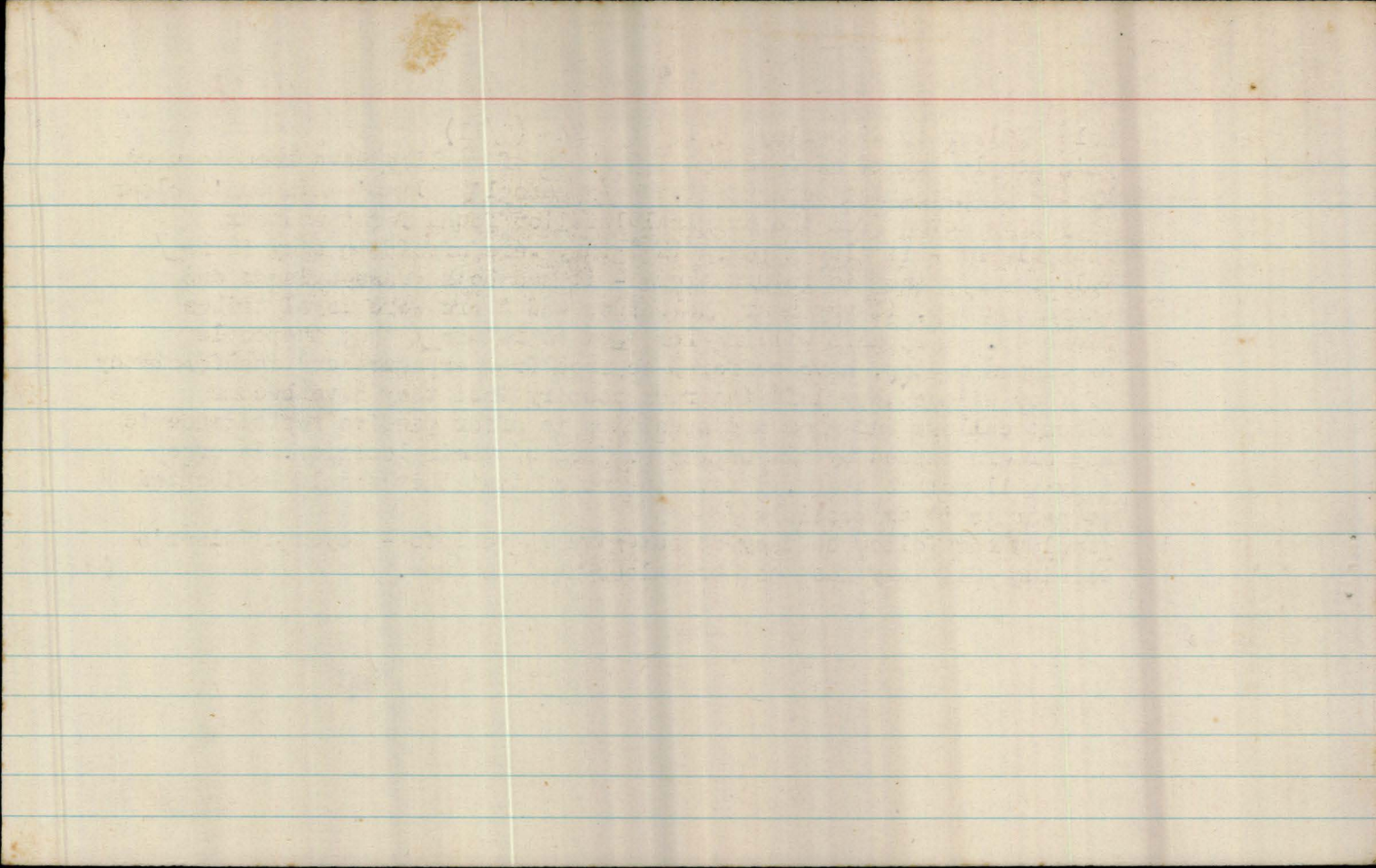
C4274

Nol6 Bulwer to Kimberley 6/10/84 p24 (5/11)

/Z's people short of food and 175 muids of mealies have been issued by the Commissariat Department. /Apparently altho' this isn't clear they have moved from the original location found for them near Esungulweni - it also appears that they were afraid to stay there\_/ Bulwer wants them to return there - it had both grass uplands and thorn country, it was near the border and there were loyal tribes close by. Z appears willing for them to return/ "but the people Mr Osborn states, have suffered so much from exposure and insufficiency of food siince they left their on country that they have become almost callous and show a disposition to offer passive resisitance to any orders issued by him on the subject of their location. In case they will not go there, I have suggested that they should be located as near to it as possible\_/

/Enclosures follow bu they do not give above info - beyound Bulwer's warning that they must not be palces nest to Dunn.\_/





Revue. State 4

C4274

Nol9 Bulwer to Derby 14/10/84 p28

/Res Comm's head induana sent to report on prospect of peace in the Nkandla has returned with satisfactory report. Mr AL Pretius, S?C in Hlubi's distrit is to become sub comm in the Nkandla and as he was many years in the Mvoti country he is well acquainted with the country.

Enclsorue B-0 7/10/84 p29

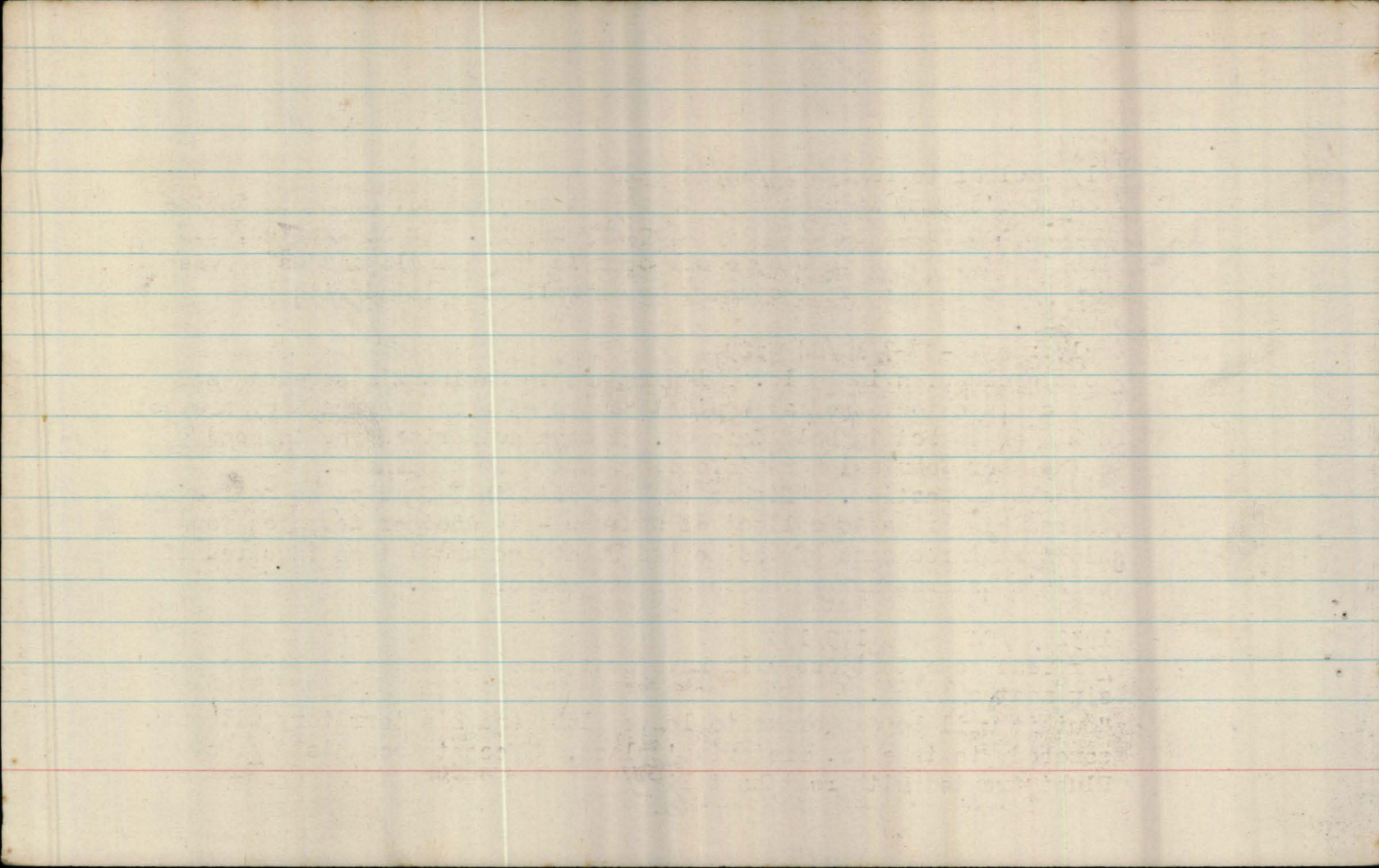
/Acks enclosures in No 16. With regard to Mahinana's regeust that they can use the assegai against Uthuthu attacks presume they are not forbidden to act in self defence. I have authorised you to send to the Boer Commissioners informing that what happened,.

Asks a question. Oftebro in Encl said that Somzica ka Godide had ordered his tribe to collect as usutuhu - in another despatch you said that three sons of Godide had submitted and I then inquired if Godide's ~~osxxxxxxxxxx~~ successor was one of them./

19326/N/84 179/153

/Express hope that Osb will have sent some estimates in before Pret's six months is up./

"But it will be dangerous to leave Hlubi and his territory without somebody to take Mr. Pretorius' place. Recent accounts" /show Hlubi treated with great hostility./





C4274

No18 Bulwer to Derby 13/10/84 p27

*94680*

/Reply to No79 in 4191 on the advert in the T of N Has inquired further. Mr Olenbrander palced the advertisement to take horses he had bought for Z across Cental Zululand - he had 10 already, 8 of whom were traders in the Reserve but needed more. This was the primary reason for advert - beyond that must remian conjecture. The Reserve was only mentioned in the letter ~~not~~ <sup>in reply to</sup> to a real or pretended applciation. This was an offence against the aurhtotiy of the Res but there was nothing in the letter.

<sup>unc</sup> Report by Attny Genl. 12/9/84 p28

/Nothing against the laws of the Colony but Osborn could remove them form the Reserve. The situation is unsatisfacoty leagl for Zulu law as administered formally must considered to be prevailing now.

19323/N/84

179/153

Minutes "We ~~must~~ ? an Order in Council under the Roreign jurisdiction Act for the Reserve. Mr Osborn at present issues 'regulations' His authority to do so should be recognised by the O in C E F 13/11/84

It was originally decided that Mr Osborn was to adminster native law as adviser to the Chiefs - & it will be a first departure to introduce British law, but no doubt it may have to be done sooner or later JB 13/11

As HMG has recently stated in Parliament on several occasions that it is determined to maintain the Reserve, it follows, I think, that so much of British law & jurisdiction should be introduced there as may suffice to make the Protectorate a real one RLWH 15/11

I agree - As I said the other day in the House - when attacked by Dawnay in reply to what I urged that all this actions in Zululand which was pressed upon us meant 'annexation' - we have virtually annexed the Reserve EA 16/11

As for Colnebrander & Co getting recruits for Usibepu I must gain say what I have said before that in ~~these wild communities among the~~ these wild countries among these wild men we do great injustice by too strictly and enforcing the laws of neutrality which between civilized communities. If ? had been allowed to get as much ammunition as he liked and easily - and if Usibepu could have got as many white adventurers as he chose we should have had much less trouble - and justice instead of injustice would have triumphed - or at any rate had a chance" EA 16/11

/Derby agrees with Herbert on 17/11/

5941

Hlubi - attacks Ushu

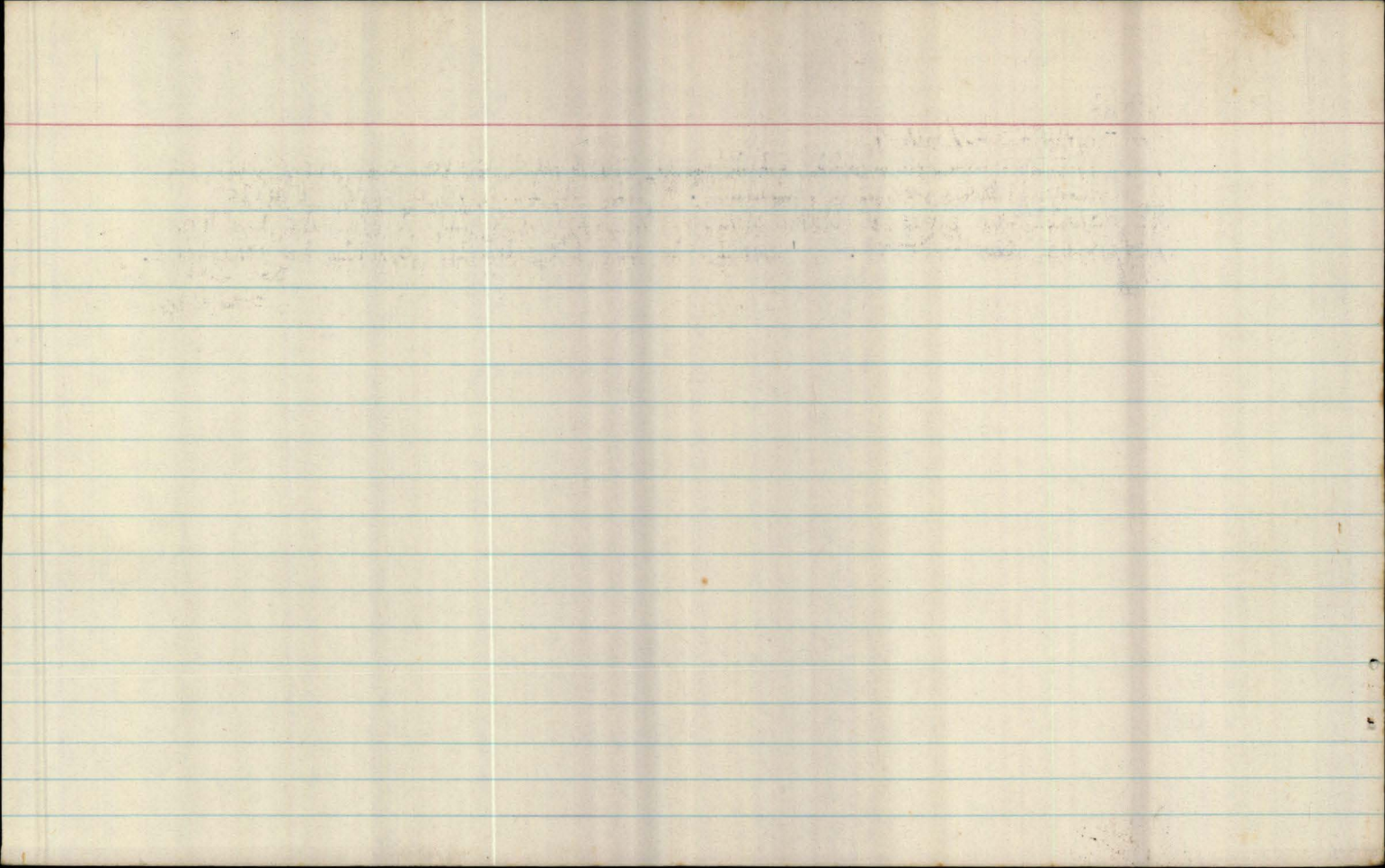
GH691

ALP-Bulwer 23/10/84

/On his own responsibility Hlubi has sent and driven out some Zulu at the Nkandi into Central Zululand. This could have caused trouble especially as some of those forced to move were loyal and who had been defending the Reserve. M'kazulu is resoting stolen cattle as promised. \_/

refile





Boer: Confer with Reserve Hukonder

C4274

No7 Bulwer to Derby 30/9/84 pl1

/Reports letter from Osb dd 30/9/84 reports arrival on 22/9 of

Steenkamp, Birkenstock and Esselen ~~xxxxxxx~~ / "who had been sent on the part of the New Republic established in Zululand to confer with the authorities of the Reserve Territory respecting the proceedings of the Chief Uisbebu and certain other matters.. Nites ~~thair~~ their friendliness and their attmpts to promiste friendly relations between the "ew Republic and the Reserve.

Enc O-B 23/9/84 pl1

pl2 xN /Notes of interview with ~~see add notes~~ <sup>at Enone</sup>

"Mr. J. Steenkamp, Commandant General.

Mr C. Birkenstock, Member Volksraad.

Mr D.J.Esselen, Acting State Secretary,

The state they are deputed by the Government of the New Republic in Zululand to speak to and to consult with the authroties in the Reserve respecting the late proceedings of the Chief Uisibebu, and to make such representations repsecting other matters as to them may appear necessary.

The Hnad in document signed L.J.Meyer Acting President, dated at Hloba\_n, New Republic, the 15th September 1884, authorising them to p proceed to the Reserve on the business stated. ....

Mr Esselen says that the Boer committee, haveing ascertained that



Usibebu was the real stumbling-block and obstacle to the establishment of peace in Zululand, sent a force against him which resulted in his retreating into the Reserve; that shortly after this Usibebu returned from the Reserve, and on the way to his kraal put to death several of the Usutu people. Upon that the Government of the New Republic, which had by this time been established, sent a Commission to Usibebu to endeavour to arrange matters with him in a peaceful manner. The Commission, on arriving at his place, found him gone, and ascertained that he had gone into the Reserve. The Commission then joined an Usutu force which had come up to them, and penetrated the country to where the two Umfolozis join. The Commission after this returned to the Boer Lager. /Subsequently it was learnt that Z had not crossed the border but was on the Reserve and the Usuthu wanted an attack to be launched - but fearing a violation of the Reserve - which the Govt is most anxious to avoid it was refused. / "The Government therefore sent this deputation to acquaint the ResComm with the circumstances, and to consult with him respecting them in order to avert the threatening danger caused by Usibebu remaining just immediately outside the Reserve border. /We now learn that since our departure Z has crossed - is he to remain here permanently, will he be prevented from disturbing and attacking the country beyond the Mlatuze. Reply /He and his people are here as refugees and are strictly prohibited from using the Reserve as a base for operation against ~~axxxxxxx~~ territory beyond the Reserve's boundaries. Deputation expressed satisfaction and said it was their intention to restrain people on their side violating the Reserve border. ./



584

# Reserve Revenue

GH 692 Osh-Bul 4/10/84

/Notes this in the "Reserve Territory - Estimated Revenue and Expenditure 1884" / Licenses to cut Timber (£40/8/3) Hut Tax (6160) Fees of Office (permits and passes (105/5/0) Fees and Fines in Court (107/6/) ~~xx~~ Trading Licenses (£284/12/)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 127 \\
 10 \overline{) 127} \\
 \underline{100} \phantom{0} \\
 27 \\
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 7
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 9182 \\
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 34 \\
 2128548 \overline{) 34} \\
 \underline{2128} \phantom{0} \\
 548 \\
 20 \overline{) 548} \\
 \underline{40} \phantom{0} \\
 148
 \end{array}$$

6427-8

609

179/154

Reserve Bulwer on Grant on

C4274

No42 Bulwer to Derby 15/11/84 Enc Osb to Bulwer 25/9/84 p48  
 /Covers letter from Grant on Chiefs in Nkandla - particularly the  
 question of the care of Cet's grave. On 15/8 I wrote to Mr Schiel,  
 who in a letter written as Sec to Dinuzulu he asked that Lurungu and  
 Nozigoloza be taken under <sup>Bulwer's</sup> ~~Bulwer's~~ protection who had been ordered  
 By D'mzini to guard Cet's grave. <sup>Osborn</sup> ~~Bulwer~~ refuses on the ground that  
 the <sup>Usuthu</sup> ~~Usuthu~~ in the <sup>Nkandhla</sup> ~~Nkandhla~~ are still ~~x~~ hostile.

Osb says he

~~Bulwer agrees with Osb~~ is aware that the families of Chiefs mentioned  
 by Grant moved to Cental Zululand / "It is, however, certain that  
 the men never left; they remained an armed body at Nkandla, from  
 whence they kept up unprovoked attacks upon the loyal Natives in the  
 Reserve..." Does not <sup>on what ground</sup> ~~know how~~ Grant asserted that HM troops were to  
 attack Uuthsu, as Y Excellency knows that everything was done to  
 avoid the employment of troops

I have also to observe that no one ever disputed the right of any  
 of the Zulus in the Reserve to continue in the peaceful occupation  
 of the land they were on, but whilst this right was acknowledged, and  
 which was secured to them when the Reserve was established, it was  
 expected that they would recognize and submit to the paramount authority  
 of HMG within the territory.../and this right was extended to those  
 Zulu who were not <sup>usuthu</sup> ~~usuthu~~ and who far outnumbered the usuthu. The  
 usuthu would not submit nor would they allow the others to live in  
 peace which necessitated the measures of May which were / "to check  
 hostility and aggression."



"Mr Grant did not advise the Chiefs to conform to the law of the land and thus secure their right to occupy, but by his own showing he only urged them to betake themselves to a place of safety and await their opportunity to commence an agitation for concessions which would be antagonistic to the terms on which the Reserve was established by HMG, and against the wishes of the great majority of Zulus in the territory."

p49

Grant to Osborn EKutyumayeleni 11/9/94 p48 /Refers to letter mentioned above and guardians of the grave. Informs him that on 13/7/ "in compliance with a request sent by me to the Nkandla, D'manzi, with the Chiefs Qetuka, Sigandna, Nongene, and Melelesi, acc..., all belonging to the Reserve, reached my encampment at Gwa Skakan.

I informed them of the critical position they and their people were in, and that, owing to the misconception of the part of the authorities, they might in a few days find themselves attacked by HM troops, and I advised that, in order to prevent the probability of misunderstanding, these Chiefs and their people should at once ~~cross~~ cross into Cental Zululand, taking care to first assure the authorities that their withdrawal from the the Inkandhla was without prejudice to their lawful claim to occupy the soil in which they were born, and also without prejudice to any action in accordance with English constitutional custom which, Dinuzulu, in conjunction with the responsible advisers of the Zulu nation, might subsequently take to obtain from HMG a full inquiry into the causes of the recent anarchy, with a view to a restoration of the Reserve in accordance with the statements and understanding arrived at between /Kimberley and C<sup>mt</sup> at Downing St see C3466/



These Chiefs at once strongly disowned all intention of hostility towards HMG, assured me they had only defended themselves against unprovoked attacks which had been made upon them, and declared their readiness to act upon the advice I gave them.

D'manzi and the Chiefs already mentioned at once proceeded to give effect to my wishes, and with their separate families retired without any delay from the Inkandhla.

/One thing prevented the withdrawal of all men from the Nkandla - the fear that C t's grave might be rifled - Grant argued that such things were repugnant to Englishmen but they disbelieved him as they said they said they had seen the grave of Mpande, which they said was rifled when Woseleley was at Emahlalatini, under the eyes of military men and John Shepstone. His chair which was buried with him was seen in PMB. They believe that this was done at John Shepstone's suggestion / "and all who are at all conversant with the depth of feeling entertained by the Zulus regarding the sacredness of the king's grave can in some measure realize the nature of the national wound thus inflicted.

I have further honour to inform you that the most instructions have been sent by the Zulu authorities to those who remain in the Nkandla for the purpose of guarding the king's grave to conduct themselves in all respects to your satisfaction; and I shall be glad to be informed if any grounds for complaint exist, so that immediate steps may be taken to fully meet your requirements."





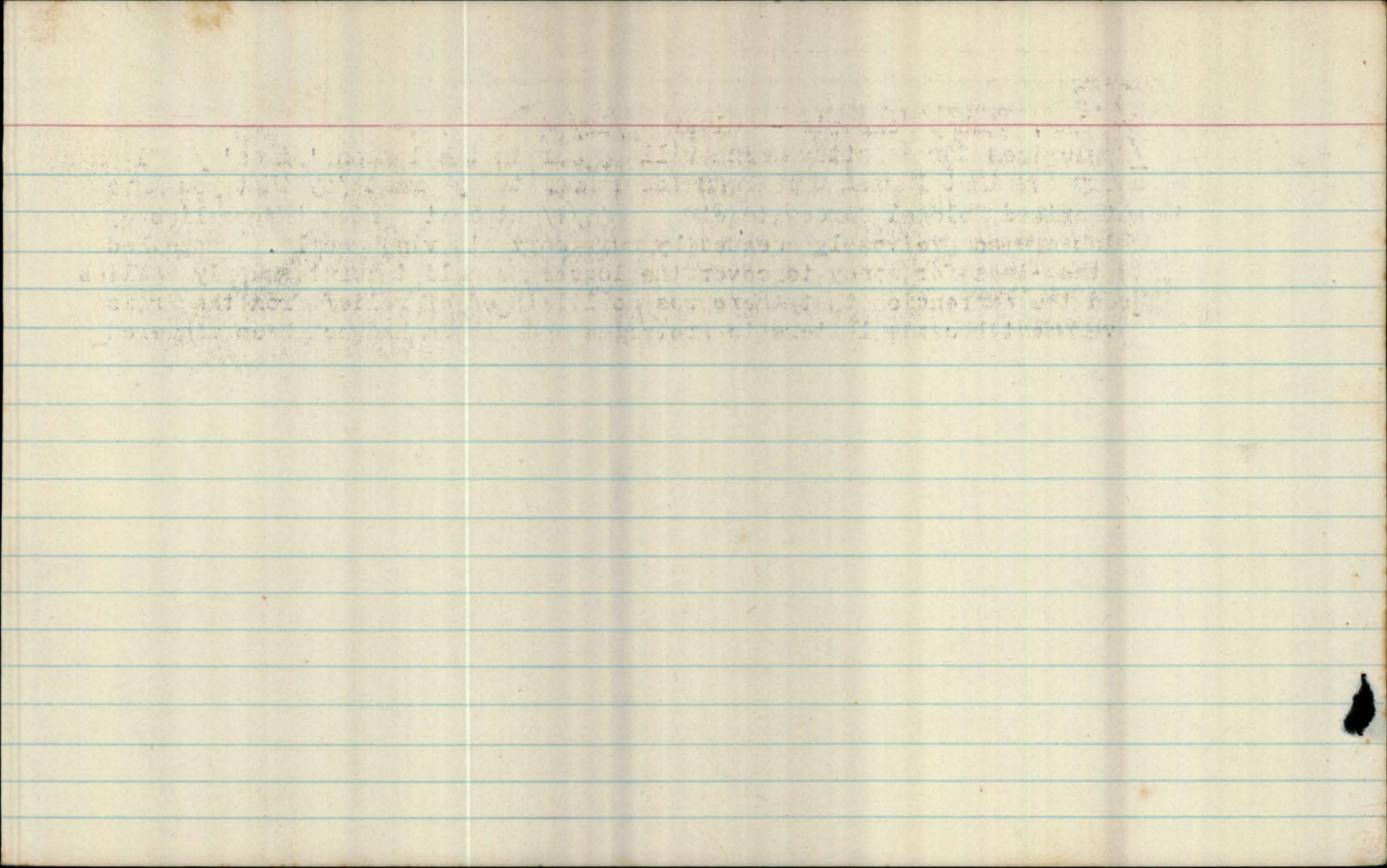
614

GH692

*Savapion*

Douglas, Bishop McKenzie - Bulwer 2/12/84

/Apologises for a letter which will appear in the london 'Times' / "I am s  
sorry now that I used the wrods for I hear to my great joy that you have  
authorised Colonel Cardew to get /?/ at cost price the mealies  
which are so greivously ndeeded by our poort~~x~~ starving people. /<sup>A</sup>ppealed  
to the Times for money to cover the losses he and incur to supply mealies  
Used the expression that there was no lileihgod of relief from the British  
overnment because l tters to Pretorius and sborn had not been asnwered /



528

Reserve. H.P. recovers property

C4214

No40 Bulwer to Derby 25/8/84 (24/9) 058

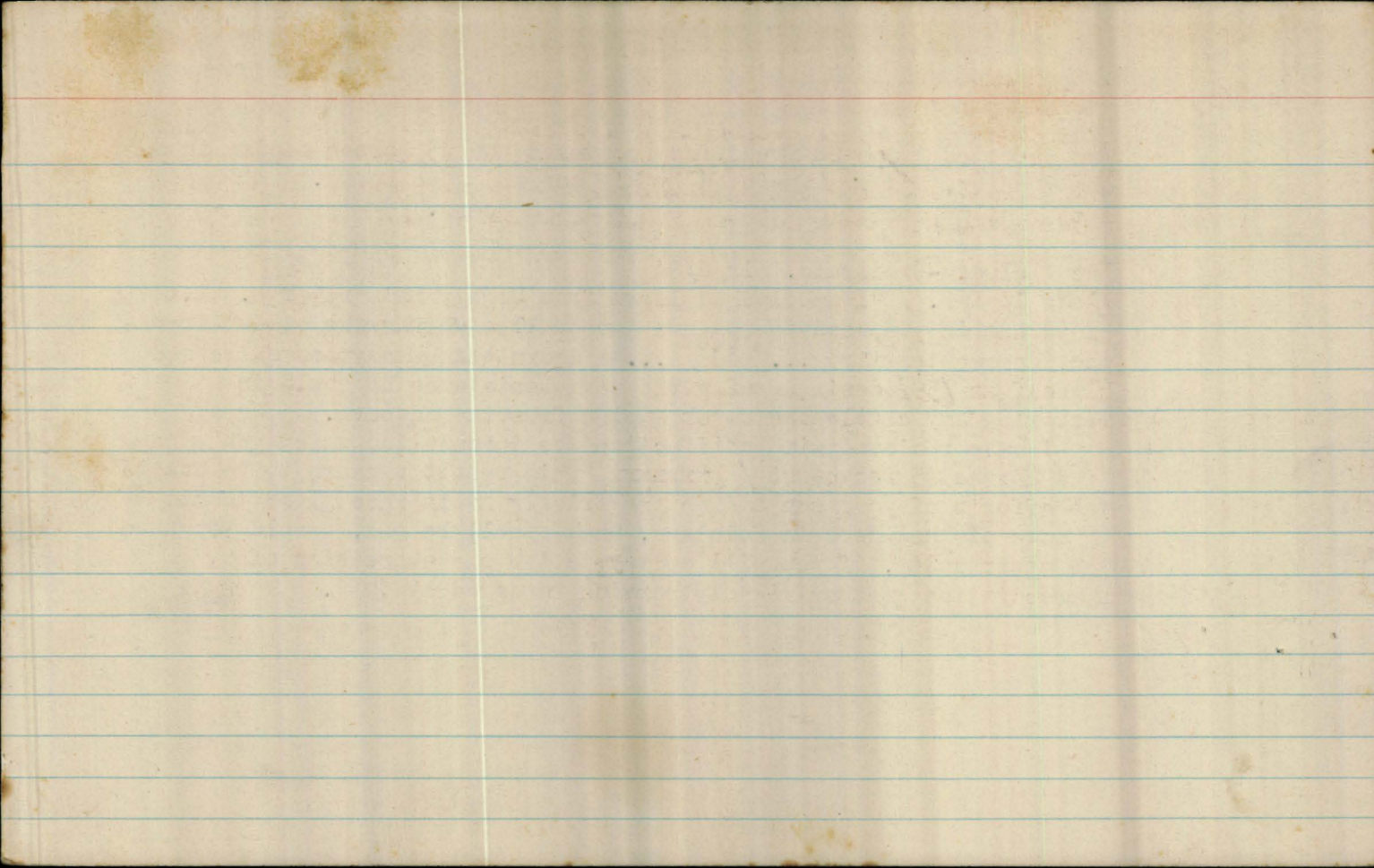
/As reported in no 28 Pretorius recovered the 45 horses stolen from the Reserve, and was assisted by his son and some Boers. nclsoes letter of appreciation to his son and the Boers.\_/

mc Bulwer -Pretorius. 12/8/84

/Acks letter.\_/ "I am glad to learn from Umgbiyana's reports, that Umnyamana is prepared to restore the cattlle which were stolen from the Reserve terrtiroy.../and/ ...to learn that Umnaymana expressed himself as /59/ desirous of givin what assiatance he could in restoring any cattle and stock stolen from the Reserve.

I have recieved with satifaction the infomration which you give /the horses 45 recvoered/ ~~the~~ "This result appears to be due to the efforts of your son and to the frienly assistance given to him by some of the Boers in Zululand, and I sahll be gad, should you have the opportunity, if you will convey to the the expression of my apprectiation of the friendly service rendered by them."





Zuluand Archives 51 Vice Minute Paper R C 23/84

MO -Bul 8/12/84

/ The claims in Schedule A represent cattle seized from Usuthu who took ~~refuge~~ <sup>in the Ndutu district</sup> in the Reserve when Cet was overthrown and then, despite warning by ALP, that they must not use the Reserve as a base for operations, defied him, and did so. We did not expel their families which they left behind for protection as we might have done. / "They even refused to avail themselves of the permission I gave them to take with them their families and cattle, preferring no doubt to leave them (for safety) in the Reserve while they unlawfully absented themselves from it for the purpose of taking part in an unlawful attack upon USibebu a chief appointed by H.G. -By Zulu law these refugees were in addition to the confiscation of all their cattle liable to be put to death when found acting in the definite manner stated; and the comparative merciful step taken by me in vindication of constituted authority in the Reserve.... I am strongly of opinion that not a single head should be restored ...the principle will be taken as established & every similar claim will have to be satisfied. The Usutu are well aware that they have not the slightest right to make any of the claims & they would never have thought ~~xxx~~ of preferring them were it not for the mischievous advice given them by white-men in Cetral Zululand with the view of keeping up irritation in the Reserve and so weaken the authority of the public officers therein ~~in~~ in the hope of creating & keeping up therein such a state of confusion & turmoil as will induce the Government to give up the Reserve to the Usuthu. / It is the Boer Usuthu alliance which emboldens the Usuthu to make such claims. We must be firm and just.



The claims in Schedule B show clearly the unlawful way the <sup>U</sup>sutu made use of the Reserve ~~for~~ as a base for their women and property during the time they were making war in ~~the~~. Moreover they entered the Res from Central Zululand and terrorised the loyals here. / "But for this armed assistance given by the <sup>U</sup>sutu from Centl Zululand and their interference otherwise the Nkandhla <sup>U</sup>sutu would never have ventured to begin hostilities in the Reserve".

The plundered cattle from loyals and sent them to Central Zululand.

They have no right to cattle seized from them in the Reserve where they were kept unlawfully.

Schedule C is a list of Cattle claimed by <sup>U</sup>Boys - counter claims in fact.

The loyals must be told that though we regret it their losses are a result of the fortunes of war

With regard to claims referred to me by <sup>U</sup>suthu through the Boer Commissioners for cattle seized in the Reserve I told them that I was justified and bound to seize cattle when their owners invaded the Reserve and never once did I retaliate. If they wished to claim cattle they had first to restore the cattle they took from the Reserve to Central Zululand. I have had no further claim "I state...that I was willing at all times to facilitate the collection of cattle due to the <sup>U</sup>sutu in Centl Zululand by individual natives in the Reserve & I would see that justice is done in every disputed claim of the king requiring my interference & further that I would extend every facility to members of <sup>U</sup>sutu families at present residing with their friends in the Reserve to join their relatives in Central Zululand should they wish to do so." / Numbers of <sup>U</sup>suthu have come in the last 3 weeks to claim cattle from individual Zulu in the Reserve and to remove members of their family and many claims are being settled.

All claimants bring a written pass from the Boer Commissioner at Kwamagwaza." /