

5/87

Umlu - take legal advice

GH 705
Z45

Dumat and Campbell to Havelock 16/6/87 /We are still waiting for a reply to the points raised in our letter of 1/6 : ie whether He declined to recognize the status of Mr C as Counsel to the Zulu delegates and 2 ~~whether~~ when the promise of H E in para 7 of our letter of 16/5 will be fouschaged.

D and C to Hav 6/7/87 /Acks HE&s of 20/6 and regret that H E is still unable to define what would be considered a sufficient expression of Zulu opinion in the sense referered to in para 7 of ours of 16/5 /
Minutes H also says that he as nothing to adabout C's status beyond the letter of 26/5 /

(5/87)

Walter - legal advice - Haron

C5413

No33 Havelock to Holland 30/5/87 p55

G4704

/Havelocks is not satisfied with Dumat and Campbell's report on
campbell's interview with him and therefore corrects. /

Enc 2 Priv Sec Gerlad Browne to W G Campbell 26/5/87 p57

/In receiving your representations of what passed between you and
the Zulu the Govt recognised you as a spokesman and interpreter of the
deputation and in no other capacity. The Zulu Chiefs and people are
now subjects of HMtheQ, and any statement or request which they
may wish to make with respect to Zululand must take the form of a memorial
or petition addressed to his Excellency as the representative of HMG.
Para 3 and 4 the wish and the request have not been made to his Excellency
direct but only ^{through} ~~by~~ you. Not very happy with other paras - not important
//// the concluding para of the letter read that ~~that~~ the lawyers ventured /
"to rely on receiving what assistance your Excellency can afford us."//// and
he comments that it / "appears ...to imply an assumption of a position
in this matter, which the Governor does not recognise, and which he
entirely declines to recognise."

GH 705 Z31 Dumat and Campbell to Gerlad Browne Pr Sec Durban 4/6/87

/In reply to HE's of 26/5 commenting on ours of 16/5

"Special reference is made to the status of Mr Campbell in this matter and
the view or estimate H E is pleased to take of that status. In the interview
H E was pleased to accord our Mr Campbell the position occupied by that
gentleman was frank and clearly stated. / / The Zulu delegates came
chiefly as an embassy to the Representative of the Crown in Maritzburg to
seek redress from and plead national grievances to that Representative

and 2 to obtain legal advice from Counsel upon certain points to be by them submitted" /Completed 1 and proceeded to carry out 2 and notified the SNA ~~xxxix~~ of this, / "from this however we assume H E does not impugn the right of the delegates to engage Counsel. /The Zulu delegates stated their case to Mr Campbell and sought his opinion and Mr C informed the SNA of this. At the time the Zulus were not British subjects and the land was not annexed to the Crown. After Mr C sent up his opinion to the delegation the annexation of Zululand was proclaimed. Immediately after the ~~announcement~~ rendering of this opinion Mr C had an interview with H E on the subject and / "The status of our Mr C in all these matters was that of Counsel and legal adviser to the Zulu delegates ~~suggesting by~~ /but your communication under reply refers to interpreter and spokesman

Discusses the points that H objected to and stresses the importance laid by the Zulu on the Granville sites, the importance they place on H's promise of Nov 10 1886 to the Zulu deputation and how it must be included in the petition they are to draw up for the Zulu. The difficulty lies in the question that they do not know what will in H's opinion suffice to be an expression of Zulu wishes and not the expression of a faction. When H defines this they are to draw up a petition to the Gov which will pray for 1 Preservation of the burial places 2 arrangement with the Boers for them to leave the territory 3 the non-introduction of Natal Native law into Zululand 4 the non removal of Z from the Res into Eastern Zululand.

344

Dear Successor

~~XXXX~~

C4037 N

Nol6 Bulwer to Derby 15/2/84 pl9

/Today telegraphed you that a statement has been made to Osb on 11/2 by Cet's brothers which says that on the morning of the day he died Cet said that he left his country to Dinuzulu and that the Queen should be told.. Bulwer feels that ~~xxxx~~ this statement is / "inconsisitent with the circumstances of his death which was wholly unexpected.

N.B. | The real question is not if Dinuzulu is Cetywayo's ~~xxxxxxx~~ successor but whtehr the dynasty should be continued - and Bulwer does not recommend this /

ZA 39 Osb-Bul Telg 9/2/84 /Abantwana urge me to givethem military escrot to buty Cet at Mahlabatini. I do not recommend. /

ZA 39 Osb-Bul 12/2/84 Teleg. "Yours of tenth. As yet no notice taken by Zulu of Cetywayo's death. the Usutu in Reserve will not I think abandon their party policy unless you establish Dinuzulu which I do not recommend you to do as both UHamy and Soketyata would have to be made in epednet and them other chiefs namely M Umnymanana and Somkele and Siyunguza dn Umgijwa in Reserve would demd like priviledge. dunn and Hlbui would claim back their territories. the difficuty can only be sumrouned by extending Rserve to Black Umfolōsi and givn UHmau independen. Asyet not distrust is evic ed by Usutu about casue of Cetywayo's death it is too early yet for display of supcision or porty feelings of the Kind.



331

Reserve - Use of Aytah

C. C. on 1000

1. Demand strict control.

1610/N/84

Minutes (On Secret 496, not included, which reports clashes between Z and suthu in which the former is victorious.)

Bramson writes on 29/1 that the Reserve seems in danger and Herbert notes "This telegram seems to afford an opportunity for, or rather to establish the necessity of, taking some measures for the protection of Cetwayo and of the Reserve, by keeping him more isolated than hitherto.

Bulwer thinks this is practicable (see 1245). The second alternative cannot be considered as the Reserve would become a scene of anarchy and bloodshed if he is left / "to take his chances" Thinks the reply should say that HMG feels that Cet needs regular protection which must go together with effective provisions to prevent him communicating with any persons not authorised by the Res Comm. /

Derby says the ~~letter~~ must go to the cabinet and it does on 29/1

Herbert then writes on 8/2 that the debate in the commons speakers referred to the necessity of taking steps to prevent Cet using the Reserve as an asylum to disturbing it and a general consensus of placing restrictions on his actions. Herbert feels that something must be done soon or there will have to be an increase in military force. He can't be removed and feels Cet should be placed under stricter surveillance /

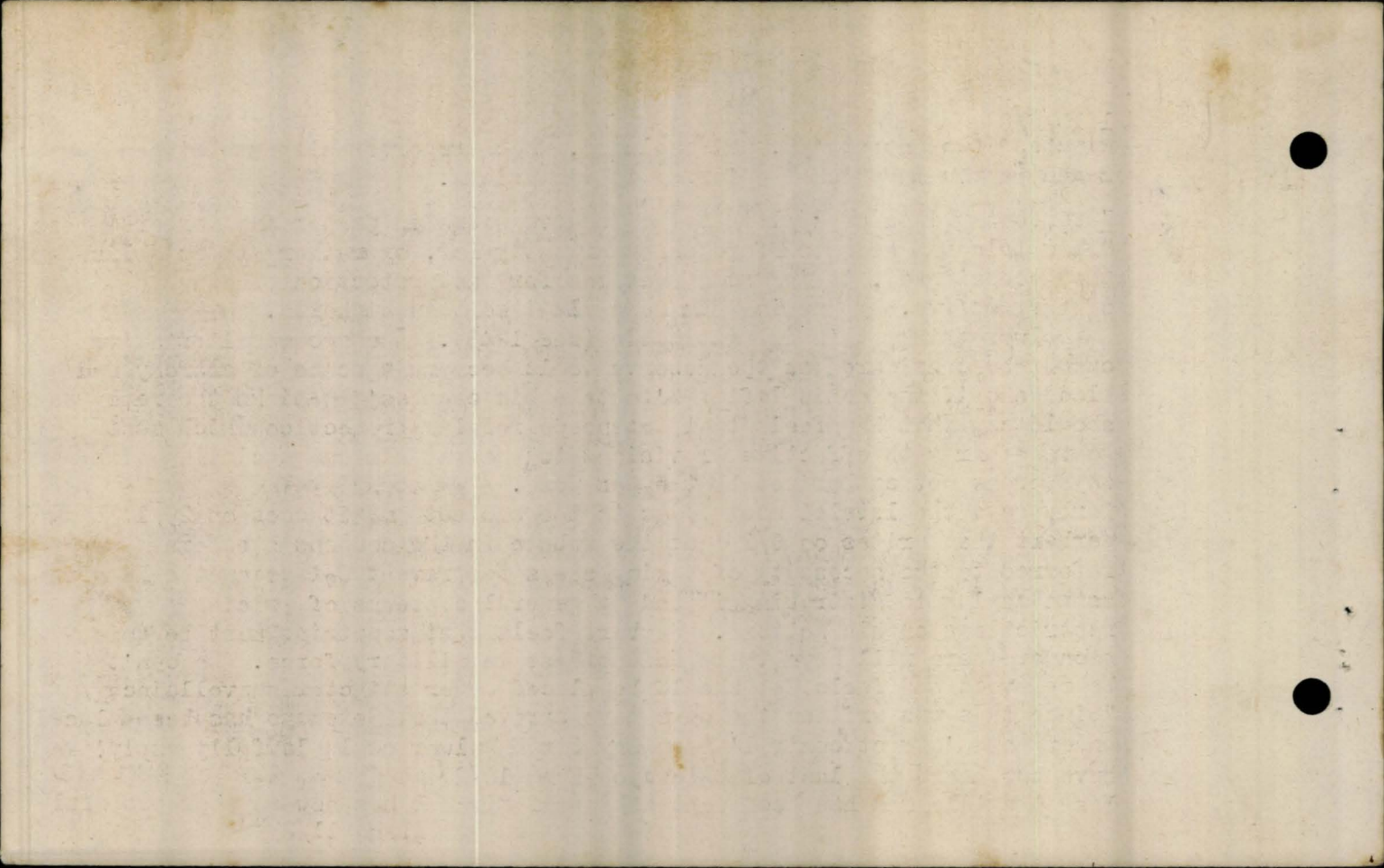
"Since this was written the news have arrived that Cetewayo has been placed under more 'strict control' than any Sir H Bulwer could lawfully employ! We have now heard the last of Cetewayo E A 10/2

Yes & a telegram has been sent asking if Sir H B has now any new proposals

RLWH 11/2

Final this!!
crucial!!

see
4037/27



376

Burial

C4037

No53 Bulwer to Derby 31/3/84 p57

"The Resident Commissioner has also informed me that Cetyayo's brothers, who were hitherto unwilling to inter his remains, have now suddenly expressed a wish to bury him in the Reserve."

Head of the Beer message?



354 Death: future policy C. O. macecum

Future Arguments

2640/N/84

Bulwer's desp is registered Secret No 501, CO des in reply Conf 16/2/84 is printed in C4037 of 1884

Minutes "The fact that the presence of two British officers in the reserve sufficed to preserve the peace there notwithstanding the seething anarchy accorss the line is a very strong argument in favour of extending it to the Balck Umvolosi from the native point of view - While in view of the Transvaal encroachmentswh, are beginning already such an extension now may save H M Govt from greater troubles & expense in the future JB 14/2

The Episode of the restoration of Cetywayo having been clsoed by his death, the question whether it was accpteable to the Zulus is no longer one to be left to be fought out by the natives. Sir H Bulwer no longer recommends, as one of the courses deserving consideration, that we should place Cetywayos' ~~son~~ son on the throne (& uphold him there!)

We shall have to place a deputy Commissioner ~~xxx~~ on the Zulu frontier of the Trnavaal and there is therefore no practical difficulty in making him the aribtrator of native disputes in Zululand. Such very limited assumption of 'authority' there may render our 'rule' there considerable

I imagine we are bound to do something towards aiding the resettlement of Zululand - now that Cetewayo is dead. The natural issue otherwise will be a long continuance of fighting. The 'Reserve' has certainly proved a success: in spite of the ciris and the many difficulties peace has been preserved within and its boundary respected from without, & strong

RL WH 15/2

See you
can find it
in NA.

✓

evidence is forthcoming that the natives are completely satisfied with this conditions within. I would, now that, Cetewayo is dead, revert to the original Reserve as first proposed to us...We do not want that Reserve cut out of consideration for Cetewayo as it was thought too large a slice to cut away from him. Now that he is dead I think the consideration that it has a far better boundary than the one we did finally adopt is a good reason for resuming it. I should let Usibebu come down to the Bakoj Umvolosi; and let the headmen & chiefs in the remaining territory ~~meet~~ meet & choose their rule and then look to our proposed Resident for advice as an arbitrator E A 15/2

This will have to be considered by the Cabinet. D 18/2

349

Successor

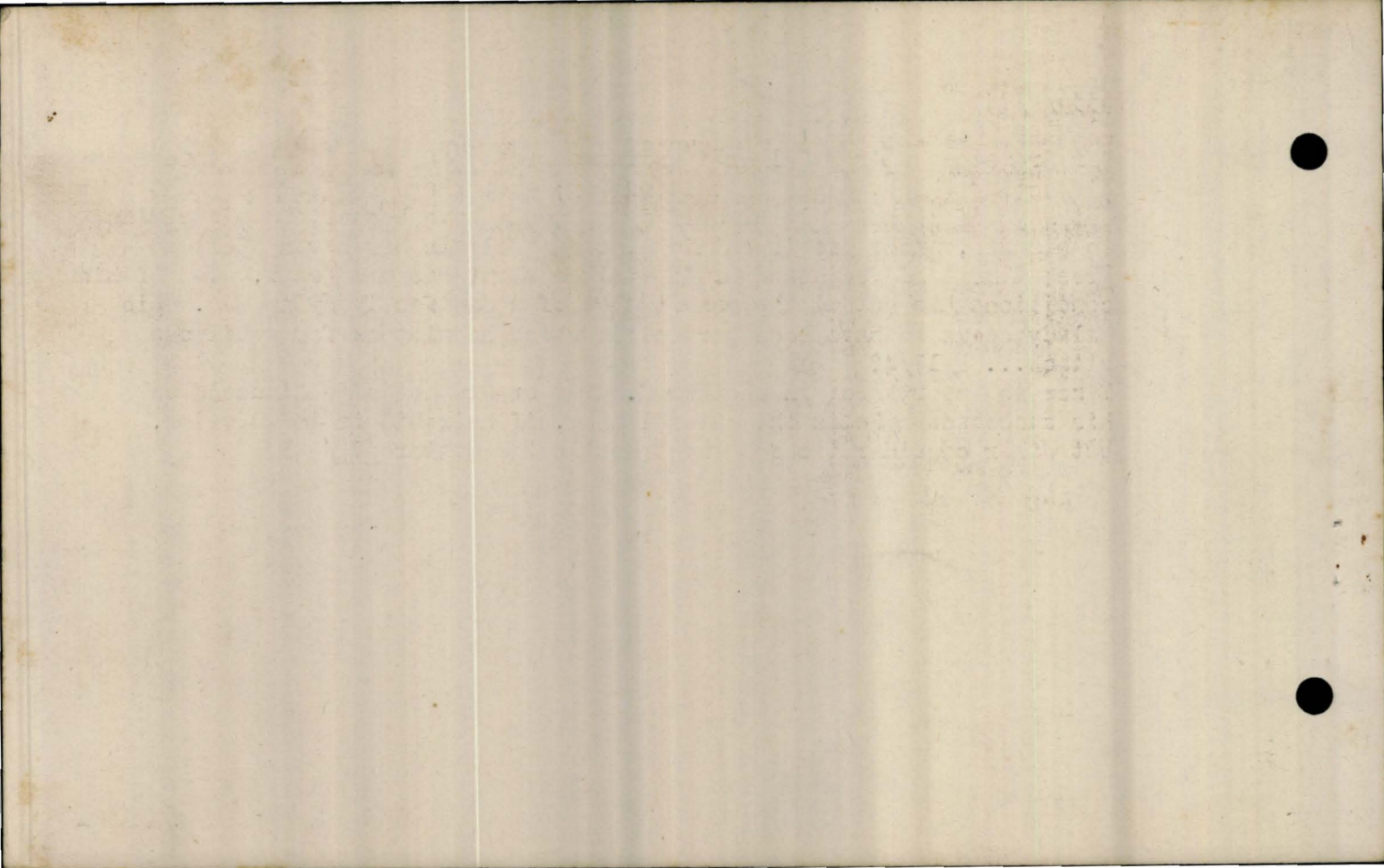
6336/N/84 179/152

Minutes Desp in 4037

"Mr Bramston ^{devotes} Sir H ^Dulwer ~~describes~~ a great deal of ingenuity to dissecting the evidence in this matter; but there can be no doubt that Cetywayo if he had felt himself dying would have bequeathed his claims to his son, and there is nothing incompatible in his having felt a presentiment of death and having talked about his own death, even if his conditions has not at the moment that of a manifestly dying man. His Malady seems to have been peritnitis which he mistook for a bilious attack...EF 17/4?

I see no importance in whether C. did or did not name Dinuzulu as his successor He is the natural hier, if heirship is in question, but other considerations must settle the matter [?]/ EA

Doc Xeroxed



348

(462/1484)

Succession - Grant reports

C4037

No45 Bulwer to Derby 18/2/84 p51

/..."I am unable to attach any weight to it."

Encl Grant to Bulwer 15/2/84 p51

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I have received the dying words of the late king of the Zulu Nation, and in discharge of the trust imposed upon me by this solemn message, I have the further honour to request that effect may be given to the dying wish of the king by a communication of the message to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. /The message was/ "I say go and tell my European friends in Durban that I am dead, dead for ever. I am leaving Udinuzulu in my place, that must be communicated to Queen Victoria. /52/ When order is restored let it not be said that I am absent, I am present, Udinuzulu is ~~is~~ alive."

No61 Bulwer to Derby 10/3/84 p62

/Enclose further letter from Grant which gives alleged message from Zulu people. He asks that it be given to your Lordship and that his request to go into Zululand be referred to your decision.

Cet's death was certainly sudden and unexpected yet his brothers say that on the day he gave more than injunction and statement about his wishes in expectation of his death. Two have been forwarded already. The statements given to the brothers differ considerably and we must therefore suppose that Cet spoke more than once on the subject to his brothers on the morning of his death. Why didn't he send to Mr Osborn, 300 yards away, why did they allow three days to pass and three

weeks before passing the message to Mr Grant. "Ul er says he finds it difficult to believe any of the statement. for Cet death was unexpected. / "But there is evidently a design on the part of the brothers to set up a ~~claim~~ Claim in the person of Dinuzulu; and no doubt they look for the active help of Mr W. Grant, and the support, through his means of Mr Chesson and the APS¹. It seems to me that this is their object, and, if it is so, I am quite prepared to admit that they will have it in their power to give a great deal of trouble. they would not have it in their power, if left to themselves, to make good their claim, but they would have in in their power to continue to distract the country and to cause still further bloodshed. And even if the country is taken over by us they will have it in their power to give us much trouble.

Grant has also asked to go into Zululand. ^{permission.} He asked before to go into the Nkandhla but I declined and he went without it. "Why does he ask again. I cannot prevent him going but I need not give him official authority. / "Mr Grant states that he is in possession of information which leads him to believe that his presence in Zululand at an early date may avert further bloodshed in that country." But if Mr. Grant is sufficiently acquainted with the plans of the brothers and the sutu leaders to be enabled to know that movements are contemplated by them which will lead to bloodshed, and if he has influence with the brothers to stop these movements, there is nothing to prevent him from exercising it, as he is apparently in frequent communication with them.

I should, however in any case, feel myself justified in giving official sanction to his interference in Zulu affairs, as his previous behaviour in Zululand was the reverse of loyal or moderate, and his interference is more calculated to work harm than good."

His Mr
Bosch

C4037

Not 61 Bulwer to Derby 10/3/84 p62

continued

EncGrant to Bulwer 5/3/84

"I have received the following message from the Zulu people:-

'On the day the King died the Princes Ndaduko, Siwetu, Shingana, D'bulamzini, and Mahanana, with a few Chiefs, were assembled in the King's hut, when the King addressing them said, Yes, you of my father I am dead, but in our country death does not begin with me. The first King who died was Mageba, then Punga, then Nondaba, then Ojam, then Zenza ngakona, then Tshaka, then Dingaan, then Mpande; Mpande my father left me, and I now see that I am dead; but I am leaving my son Udinuzulu, he is not a child, but a man. I say to you, if I had not had issue, you, the sons of Mpande, would have ruled the land; but I leave Udinu ulu, take him and give him to /64/my father Mr. Grant, that he may present him to the authorities. Do not allow my words to rot, viz., that the Queen restored me to my country, but let them be continued to be set in writing to the Queen, and let the country be all restored to the people."

In addition to the above-named five Princes, the following chiefs urgently request me to at once proceed to Zululand, viz., Santinga, brother of Umnyamana, and representing that Chief, Mkosana, Mellelesi, Madwaba, Sangcoco, Lohungu, Makedam, Guisiziba, Pogoti, Mbalwa, Mgai, Siwebese, Mswasi, Betshan, Mehlokazulu, Somope, Zeise, Usipegu, Ntubene, Magonondo, Faku."

/Grant then requests to be allowed into Zululand and that his presence will stop bloodshed ./

Future Arrangements

356

29731N/84

Dear Mr. Proposals

CO179/151 Memo
Minutes ~~Desp~~

in Confid Prints African Teleg desp dd21/2 no in 179/151

"Mr Bramsotne this should be circulated to the Cabinet?"

Sir H Bulwer's proposal would divide Zululand between us (i.e. under our authority) & Usibebu. his sounds likely to answer AWLH 21/2

Yes. The Reserve & Usibebu will be in the proportion of $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the country JB 21/2

the arragnment involves no increase of charge /?/ as instead of the 'Resident with Cetywayo' hieher to provided ^{on} ~~in~~ the Esitamtes we shall have to appoint a "order Agent or Commissioner on the Transvaal Frontier, and he can superintend the country up to the Black Umvolosi RLWH 21/2
Speak to Sir R Herbert D 22/2

Lrd Derby wishes to have a ~~St~~ short memo for the Cabinet whosin how this proposal would work: i.e. that the chiefs would not be deposed, ~~by~~ but the British Commissioner would be placed over them & arbitrate in their offences &c - also acint as fronteir officer of the Transvaalce

RLWH

/Farifield sends rough proof to Herbert on 29/2/

GH 844 Bulwer to Derby cypher teleg 21/2/84 "Osborn wishes Uhamu left independent but after consideration I am of opinion Usibebu should have general paramount authority across Bääck Umfolosi subject to arragnements securing interests of others.



3589

Burial

C4037

No49 Bulwer to Derby 25/2/84 p55

/Cet's burial remains unsettled. Mnyamana still to arrive and they object to a temporary burial but say that they body should be left for a few months in the small hut. Bulwer hastold Osb to try and induce them to make a temporary burial. ✓

341

Dear of Cet.

C4037

No ^Bulwer to Derby 9/2/84 p5

/Telegraphed you today saying / "that Mr. Osborn has telegraphed, under date of the 8th instant, to say that Cetywayo died in his hut about 4.30 p.m. on that day, /6/ and that D. Scott, who saw him after his death, is of opinion this* his death was due to fatty (disease of the) heart."

p6 No9A Derby to Bulwer Telegram 9/2/84 "The circumstances in Zululand are now altered: have you any new suggestions?"

34b
C4621/11/54
C4037

Succession: Bulwer on

No44 Bulwer to Derby 16/2/84 p48

/Encloses statements on the alleged wishes of the king made just before he died that he left the country to Dinuzulu. /

"I find it difficult to reconcile the story as told by the brothers with the circumstances of Cetywayo's death as I have understood them, for Cetywayo's death, from all /49/ the information I have yet received, appears to have been altogether unexpected by himself or by those about him, and to have been the sudden result of heart disease. I have in a letter, ~~of~~ /which I enclose/ drawn Mr. Osborn's attention to some important respects in which the circumstances attending the death seem to be in conflict with the probabilities of the statement made by the brothers.

The statement, however, does not really affect the question now at issue, for, as Cetywayo has only left this one son, Dinuzulu, if the ~~dynasty~~ is to be continued, that son is the natural successor to Cetywayo.

He is the natural successor, I should say, according to the ancient customs of the native tribes of which the Zulu people proper were one before the reign of Chaka more than according to any precedent in the dynasty of Chaka ~~of~~ itself; because, with regard to the Zulu Kings dating from Chaka, there has been, strange to say, no order of succession according to ancient custom or in any other way.

Chaka, who was assassinated by his brother Dingaan, left no son to succeed him, for he had caused all his children to be put to death to

prevent any chance of their ever plotting against him. He was succeeded by Dingaan, who had originally a better right to the chieftainship of the Zulu tribe proper than Chaka had, but whose succession Chaka in the rule over the nation that Chaka had founded was a succession acquired by treacher and violence.

Dingaan, in his turn, met a violent death at the hands of the Amaswazi. He also left no children, but was succeeded by his brother Panda, who, at the time of his death, was with one portion of the Zulu army in open revolt against him. Panda was supported by the Dutch emigrant farmers then in Natal, and to their support he mainly owed his succession.

Before Panda's death the succession had virtually been decided in favour of Cetywayo. There had been a fierce contest for the supremacy between Cetywayo and his brother Umbulzi, a fierce contest in which thousands of lives were lost, and Umbulazi himself was killed. Panda was unwilling to nominate a successor, alleging there was no precedent for it. But he sought the aid of the Natal Government, and the Natal Government, desirous to prevent the renewal of civil war in Zululand, sent Mr....Shepstone into the Zulu country on a mission, which resulted in the nomination of Cetywayo.

In the statement made a few days ago by the brothers of Cetywayo to Mr. Osborn Cetywayo is represented as having said, to go no further than Chaka, that 'Chaka, on his death, left it (the country) to Dingaan; Dingaan, on his death, left it to Umpande; Umpande, my father, left it to me, Cetywayo.' His way of stating the manner of the past successions hardly represents, it will be observed, the historical facts to which I have just referred.

C4037/44 continued iii

to my son Dinuzulu for him to have when I am no longer here.

I have become the son of the Queen; when I die there is my son Dinuzulu, who I leave in my place. I say my words and my writings are with my mother, the Queen, and when I die shall not be altogether dead, as my son Dinuzulu will live. The question about my country are ended yet. they exist still, and will remain until the government settle them; and about the people having stabbed me- I wish the Governor to settle these questions even when I am no more as if I were still present. Take these, my words, to Mr. Osborn, and ask him to send them to the Governor, with the request that he would send them to the Queen.

These words Cetywayo spoke to us, his brother, now present, and to Ncapai and Bejana, also present. We were all together with him in the hut when he spoke them. This is all we have to say."

Osborn replied that the statement will be forwarded to the Gov and gave them to understand that the statement did not have any effect on the Reserve. /

Enc2 Bulwer to Osb 15/2/84 p50

/Acks p51/ " I have to point out to you that this statement appears to me to be inconsistent to the circumstances of Cetywayo's death, which as I understand, was sudden and wholly unexpected.

If Cetywayo expected his death, as the statement made by his brothers would go to show, and if it is the case that he desired his brothers to take his words to you and to ask you to forward them to me with the request that they should be sent to the Queen, I should wish to know how it was the brothers did not at once send for you in

order that you might receive the words yourself. It is affirmed that these words were spoken in the forenoon of the day on which Cetywayo died. His death did not take place till after four o'clock in the afternoon, and, if therefore, the brothers had sent for you in the forenoon you would have been made aware that Cetywayo was seriously ill and you could have at once obtained medical assistance, which was only sought when it was too late.

Have the brothers made any explanation to you as to the reasons why they did not send for you at once on the forenoon of the 8th instant, and why they did not ask for the medical assistance until after four o'clock in the afternoon?

Cetywayo died on the 8th instant. It was not until the 11th instant that the brothers came to make this statement. Have they explained why they allowed three days to pass without making you acquainted with what they say took place on the morning of the 8th instant."

C4037 No44 continued

In point of fact there has been no constitutional or customary precedent as to the mode of succession in the dynasty of Chaka. The succession has been kept in the family, but it has been a succession in every case secured by force or by right of force rather than by any other right.

Among the terms and conditions subject to which Cetwayo was restored was the following clause: 'The nomination of my successor, and of all future successors, shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of my people, and shall be subject to the approval of the British Government.'

But, let alone the violation by Cetwayo of the conditions of his restoration, by which violation he might be considered to have forfeited whatever rights he acquired under those conditions, his abandonment, after the 21st of July last, of the territory that had been placed under him practically upset the arrangement that was made for the establishment of his restored rule in the country. He had ceased to rule, and at the time of his death had really abandoned or lost the position in which he was placed by us at the commencement of last year.

The present question is therefore, seems to be as to whether the dynasty should be continued or not in authority in the country over which Cetwayo, the head of the dynasty, was placed last year. If this were thought desirable Dinuzulu would be the natural successor to whatever rights it may be considered should be left in possession of the dynasty. I wish I could recommend this course; but I find myself, at the present time and under the present circumstances, unable to do so, because I see in it only the prolongation of the troubles and contests that have for many months afflicted the Zulu people.

p50

On the other hadn, what is to be done? There appears to be no alternative course open that holds out a promise of peace and order except the establishment of our rule or of our authority in some form or other. I do not say that even this will secure at once that object. It will be some time, I fear, before the country will settle down, and if any pretensions on the part of the Zulus are supported by any considerable section of the Zulu party, and if that support is encouraged by the interference of persons from the Zululand, it will not be possible to escape trouble. But there is reason to believe that the greater portion of the Zulu people will gladly accept our authority, and that, notwithstanding the troubles that may at first attend its establishment, it will prove the most permanent arrangement and the one that will best secure their interests and welfare.

Enc 1 Minute Eshowe 12/2/84 Osb to Bulwer p50

Eshowe 11/2/84 p50

9/11/88
"Appear Undabuku, Siwetu, Thsigana, Maranana, and Dabulamanzi. The state, Dabulamanzi speaking:

We, the brothers of Cetywayo, who is now no more, come to tell you the words spoken by Cetywayo in the forenoon of the day on which he died. Cetywayo said:

I am now in this state you see me in, and I want you, my children, to tell Mr. Osborn the words I now speak. I say that when Mageba died he left the country to Punga; Punga on his death, left it to Undaba; Undaba, on his death, left it to Jama; Jama, on his death, left it to Sensangakona; Aenzangakona, on his death, left it to Chaka; Chaka, on his death, left it to Dingane; Dingane, on his death, left it to Umpande; Umpande, my father, left it to me Cetywayo; I, Cetywayo, leave the country

350

C4037

No67 Bulwer to Derby 17/3/84

/Xeroxed/

The Death of Cetus

34~

Death of Geshwago

C4037

No 40 Bulwer to Derby 12/2/84

/Refers to No 9. On 8/2 while out riding "kosana who went with Cet to England
overtook Osb and told him that Cet was ill and had fainted and asked for
assisatnce. Surgeon Scott was taken from the miliatry camp but a messenger
arrived to announce Cet's death. He was found dead in his hut - probably
for two hours. Scott thought him to dead as a result of fatty heart.
there weveral women and girls in the hut and fifty men about in the kraal.
Bulwer suggested a post mortem by the brothers refused this. the brothers
want to take the body for burial at Emahlabatini for burial and have
requested a military escort which Bulwer could not sanction..
Osb will use his influence to stop interference with the burial party which is
no considered probably.

Enc Sub to Bulwer 8/2/84 p42 /repts death at 4.30. / p42

9/10/88

343

Death of Cetywayo

C4037

No43 Bulwer to Derby 15/2/84 (Rec18/3/84) p46

Enclsoes reports on the death of Cet. Some Natal newspapers have doubted that his death was by Natural causes but nothing received from the Res would point to anything but a natural death nor do the usuthu at Eshowe suspect anything else. Has suggested that ^{Osb} take full statements from those who were with Cet on the day of his death. The Burial has been posponed till the arrival of Mnyamana and the body placed in a small well platered hut. ~~no other details will be published~~

Encl Osb to Bulwer 9/2/84 p46

9/2/84 Received the first message from Mkosana as reported then one from 'Usipeku' saying that he was dead.

"On getting his information I proceeded with Dr. Scott to the Jazi kraal, w which we reached about 6 p .m.. The doctor entered the hut in which Cetywayo was, accompanied by Mr R. Addison to interpret for him, while I waited outside until he could report to me Cetywayo's actual condtion, as I thought it possible that he was not dead, but was only in a fainting fit, in which case I considered it would be best for me not to go to him, as he would probably think I had come on business, and thus become unnecessarily disturbed. About four mintes after the doctor entered, he sent Mr Addison to tell me that he had seen Cetywayo and found him dead. " I entered the hut and I esamined him closeley and felt his skin, which I found to be quite cold at the extrmeities, and partially dold about the abdomen. The medical officer, Dr. Scott, then continued his inspection of Cetywayo's body in my presence, and in the presence of a number of Zulu men and women who had

been Cetywayo's personal attendants, and who were in the hut at the time, and on his finally informing me that death had taken place beyond all doubt, we came out of the hut and left deceased in the care of his friends and relatives present at the kraal, after I had expressed to them my sympathy, and offered them any assistance I may be able to afford them.

/The MO said he would like to make a thorough P,M examination but the brothers refused to give permission. The suggestion was made to them the ~~previous day~~^{next} but they said / "it would be...tantamount to consenting to their own destruction, as it was contrary to Zulu custom and usage that the King's body after death should in any way be subjected to such examination. They at the same time expressed their thanks and appreciation of the good intention evinced by me in seeking to obtain full information as to the cause of his death. "

Enc 2 Senior Medical Officer, Etshowe Column Zululand, to Br Res Comm
8/2/84 p47

G4688
/On your urgent request reached the kraal at 5.45 and found Cet on his bed on the floor of the hut attendants being present. Quantity of water on the floor which the attendants said had been dashed on Cet /48/ when they thought he had fainted. He was quite dead. /

"I made no post-mortem examination as you informed me that it would not be allowed. From the symptoms, so far as I was able to gather them from the attendants, and from the suddenness of the fatal illness, it is probable that 'Cetywayo' ~~did~~ died from 'syncope', the result of disease of the heart."

Enc3 Pulver to Osb 13/2/84 p48 /Expresses sympathy with relatives, refuses permission for escort with burial party although you must use your influence to prevent any interference with it. /

359

C4037

No61 Pulver to Derby 10/3/84 p62

suthu request that Dinuzulu be recognised XER)X

Not done? Not done

C4037/61 / Enc Grant - But in 94688

Proposed

5355/N/84

179/152

Minutes "Mr Bramston The question of the Zulu settlement is, I believe, still under consen of the Cabinet. ...AWLH 1/4

"Circulate as proposed I do not know the limits of Umnyamana's District'. which is not recognised in the Woseley Settlement, but I do not perceive how a workable boundary could be drawn in accordance with this suggestion which involved the control of almost the whole of Zululand RLWH 1/4

No A River boundary is important and the BalckUmvolosi seems a good line E A 1/4" /Copy sent to Cabinet.

Substance of Bulwer telegram / 31/3 / " Umnyamana favourable to extension of the Reserve, & ~~desires~~ desires to be included, which Osborn recommends. Victory of ^Usutus over Umlandela. Cetywayo at last to be buried." "



(17-1-87)
Prel.
C4980

Barclay-Lensu M. Bucken

GH701 No68 Havelock to Stanhope 1/12/86 pl40

/Tranmists copy of a Commission under which he has appointed Osborn, Cardew, and a Chief to be appointed by the Chiefs of the Zulu people, and a copy of the ir instructions.

Encl The Commissioner 17/11/86

pl41

Enc2 Instructions for the Guidance of the Zululand Demarcation Commission.

1 Meet 4/12 2Surveyor clerk and escort 3142/ LLL Allowances. etc etc.

Enc3 Havelock to Res Comm 17/11/86 pl42

/For your guidance . The Zulu Chiefs should cleary understnad the situation that has arisen out of their transactions with the Boers and the views of HMG said therefore encloses ~~xxx~~ transcripts of notes between me and Tshingana on 10/11 and 11/11. they should be impressed to occupy and accept their country and that the arragnments are final.

HMG is prepared to est a protectorate over Eastern Zululand on the Zulus consent. find out if it is acceptable and discover if the Leg Council's statement that the Zulu want to come under Natal is true. Come to an arragnment with Meyer on the subject of the granves of the Kings. Take full info of the topograhpy of the country, its condtion and its inhabitants._/

C4980

No 54 Havelock to Stanhope 9/11/86 p79

(17-187)

Est 8 B2. Boundary Comm: Diney

C4980

/Despatches on the progress on the Demarcation Committee - perhpas of help to consider where and what Osb was up to for ~~th~~ at the same time ~~he~~ was persuading Zulu to ~~accept~~ the extention of HMA authority over Zululand./

No77 Havelock to Stanhope 14/12/86 pl52

Encl 1 Osb to Havelock ~~1~~ 6/12/86 pl52 /Pelimary discussions/

Enc2 Osb to Havelock 11/12/86 pl53 /Underway/

No85 Havelock to Holland Teleg undated (25/1) pl62 /completed/

No87 Havelock to Stanhope 28/12/86 pl69

Enc Osb to Havelock 18/12/86 pl69

g#701 /By 15/12 had completed southern boundary line described in Provisio B - beacons AOM Work retarded by rain/

No96 Havelock to Stanhope 5/1/87 pl76

Encl 1 Osb to Havelock 24/12/86 pl76

g#701 /Hampered by weather but reached northern foot of Emtanjanane range where the road enters the valley of White Mfolosi known as Mahlabatini.

Enc2 Osb to Havelock. 30/12/86 pl76

/Marked from foot of Emtanjanane to Ulundi drift. Moving now for the final portion Hope to reach Ihlebe tomorrow.

No106 Havelock to Stanhope 18/1/87 pl92

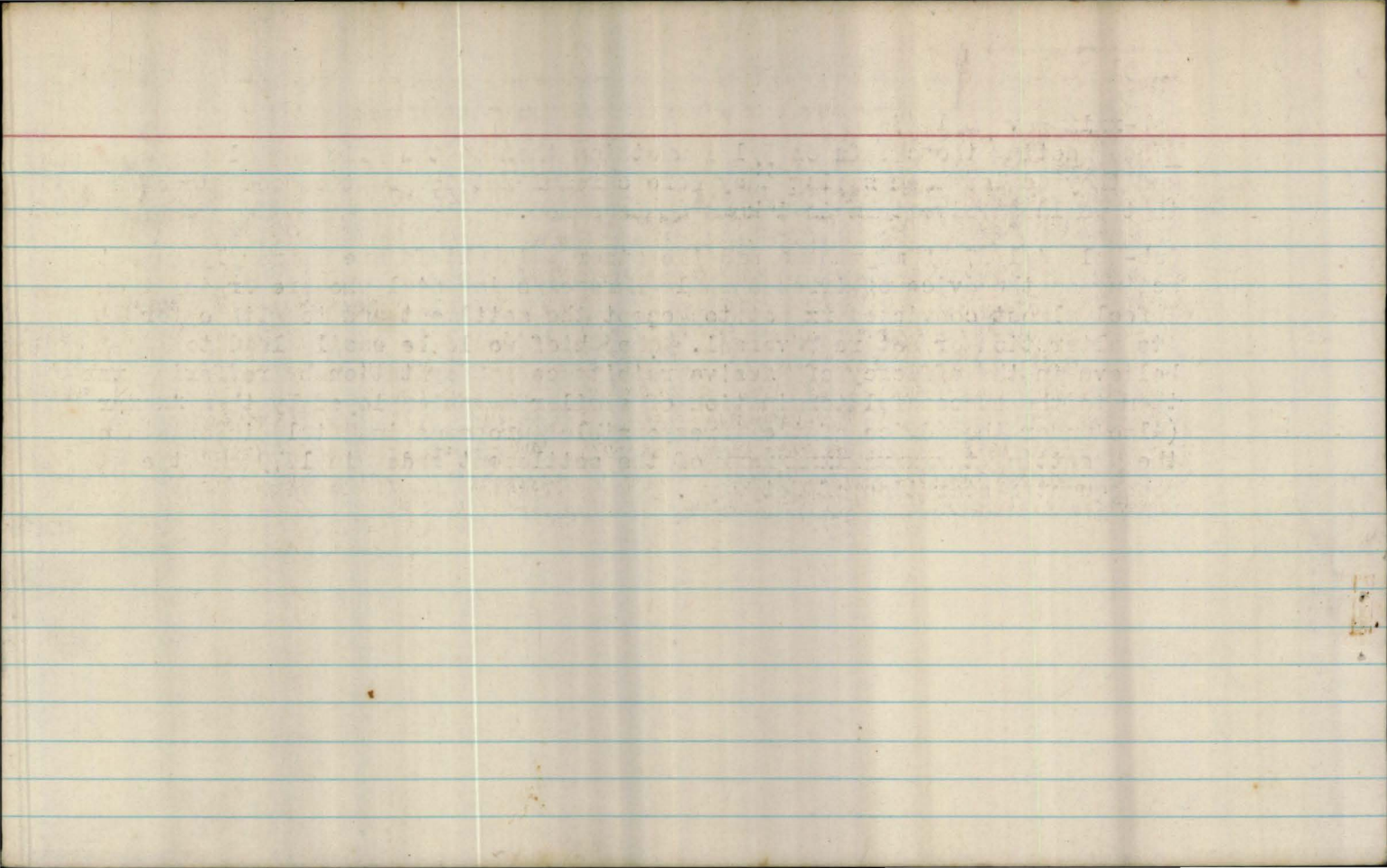
Enc O-H 8/1/87 the /Seem to have worked back again on a second inspection from Ulundi drift. Hope to leave for Bomba on Monday - will take 8 days weather permitting./



Osb-Bul^{low} Hav 6/1/87

When meeting the chiefs on 3/1 I questioned them on the alleged gold concessions and they denied them saying they were careful not to grant concessions that would involve them in unknown consequences.

Osb-Bul 4/1/87 "Umnymana and the other Zulu Chiefs are I strongly suspect acting on the advice of irresponsible Europeans in Natal who are urging them I feel almost convinced ~~to~~ not to accept the settlement and to agitate for its alteration or ~~retire~~ reversal. The Chief would be easily lead to believe in the efficacy of passive resistance and agitation by referring ~~to~~ them to the successful termination of similar means employed by them ~~under~~ (Also under the advice of the irresponsible Europeans in Natal) in obtaining the upsetting ~~the xxxxx of the~~ of the settlement made in 1879 and the consequent restoration of Cetywayo."



(17/1/87)

Eq. 4 B2: B.C. - Umanu protest

GH 702

ZA 37

H A Warren to Priv Secty to the Gov Havelock 8/1/87
/ I have the ~~name~~ honor by request of Undabuko Rant for King Dinuzulu and
Umanamana Prime Minister of Zululand to forward the enclosed minutes of
meeting held between the British Boundary Commission and the Zulus for
~~H E Sir A~~ H E Sir A^E Havelock's information and would beg to draw
H E's attention to same as also to the answers to question put by me at said
meeting of Zulu authorities which will shortly appear appended to the above
minutes in the Natal Mercury which H E may take as correct."

"Minutes of Meeting of Zulu Chiefs and Headmen held at the Butweni Kraal
on this 4th day of January 1887 called for the purpose of committing to
writing the proceedings of their meeting with the Resident and members of
the the British Boundary Commission held at the Dhlebe Mountain on the
3rd day of January 1887." [Present were many chief N and D and M and
Messrs H A Warren and J C McLaren. Mnymanana said they were sorry
that you two white men were not allowed to be at the meeting held by Osb
yesterday as they wished the words of the meeting were written down but
Osb refused. Nevertheless we will now what transpired which you can copy
and give us a copy and send another to the Press so the English might know.

Mnymanana stated that on arriving at O's camp they asked him why the
English were throwing the country away] "We want to hear from you today
the meaning of this you, who have been sent by the British Government.

We want to know what crime we have committed that we should be treated in

this manner. ~~Malimate answered in this manner~~ Malimate answered No I have

no reply I have been sent by the British Government to carry out the arrangement made between the British Government and the Boers of which you were ~~informing~~ informed by Shingana and Umfupana. I am sent here to make and point out to you the line that was laid down by the Boers and agreed to by the British Government. I can say no more to you. My word is to mark off the line. / / I Umnyamana You Malimate have always told us you were our friend. what reply did you give the British Government when ordered to carry out this business, when you knew that we had always reported everything to you, and that we have looked on you as the British Government's representative and our ~~friend~~ friend. / / Malimate replied when this business was settled, I was not present and had nothing to do in the matter. / Ndabuko then wants to know why the British have thrown them away that he didn't agree with what they were doing / "We have never consented. How can we receive you, Malimate as a friend when you have come into the country to give it away to the Boers We will not submit to this Malimate made no reply. Undabuko continued. We will not accept the Boers or their authority we are bined from the Queen, by the Boers. You are cutting away the largest portion of our country and leaving Dinuzulu with a small part like a calf whose mother has been taken away and you know the calf must follow or die." / Complains bitterly about the cutting up of the country Why were not the Boers and the Zulu heard together by the British Government repeatedly say they are not a consenting party to this division of the country. Compalins of the quality of the country left. they paid the Boers for their assistance that they offered. We paid 101 Boers for their assistance and we showed them the land we were willing to give them and Lucas Meyer accepted it and gave him 100 cattle above this which he returned. we also gave him 100 cattle which he did not return. the Boers took all the

GH 702 ZA37 continued2

1) to M.C.
2) Malimate
3)
plunder for the Waggon's at Z's - the trading goods hides and skins and even sea ched the Zulu and took all from them. And ~~now~~ then we found they ~~eretaking~~ our country and ~~remving~~ us from our country and we complained to the British government and this is the result. When you returned the King we found that another power had risen up ~~at~~ which was killing our people. Wolseley's 79 settlement caused this bloodshed and when we reported it to you Malimate you said you could offer us no assistance and we got no reply to our requests. Wood said that we must interfere with the heamen plbed by Woslelsey over Zululand. Then Wood and you told us to take Dinuzulu into Dunn's territory. / " We can see that by applying to the British overnment through you means death to us as three times we have applied to the justice of Engln and been defeated. Malimate replied. These troubles arose through your calling in the Boers to assit you. We relied we did not do so nor can you Malimate procude good evidence to that effect. / The Boers offered assitance to us in the name of the Queen and we can rrove this. We then asked Osb to take down inw writing the words spoken at this meeting and send them to the Queen and Havelock but he refused and said we could write ourselves. We refused again to accept the beacons he was laying down and Malimate refused our request that Dinuzulu be given a pass to see the Governor before applying to the govenor. / The writers Warrne and McLaren then ceritifu that the Chiefs who attended the meeting reuested them the writers to take down these words and forward them to Havelock and the document is a true sta ement of what they heard. /

~~Report~~ Report M Osborn 5/3/87

the account is a mass of inaccuracies. When Osb asked the chiefs if they wanted the two whites present at the meeting they were completely non-committal. I refused Mr Warren permission as I knew the reason he wanted to be present was to achieve some importance in the eyes of the Zulu to increase the chances of getting a gold concession over Zululand for which he was then negotiating before British intervention would place it out of his grasp. Denies completely saying that his opening words were that he was sent to carry out the arrangements made between the British and the Boers and to point out the line made. Second reply was the settlement was final and that he was just a servant of the Government carrying out its orders. In his report Osb denies some of the charges, and modifies others. The main point comes out clearly though. The Minutes are a clear statement of the Usuthu feelings towards Mr O and the settlement. Osb's denials and modifications do not alter this. This is how the Usuthu interpreter interprets the meeting and the settlement. /

26-4-87

Z A 51 Minute on R 348/87 26/4/87 Eshowe

" The letter ~~enclosed~~ including the signature thereto is in the nadwriting o f a Mr McLaren who delviered it here. He is the perons of that name who has been lately together with Mr H A Warren, meddiling with politics in Eastern Z Zulauldn which will count for the manner in which reference is ame to the extention of the Queen's authority over that territory.

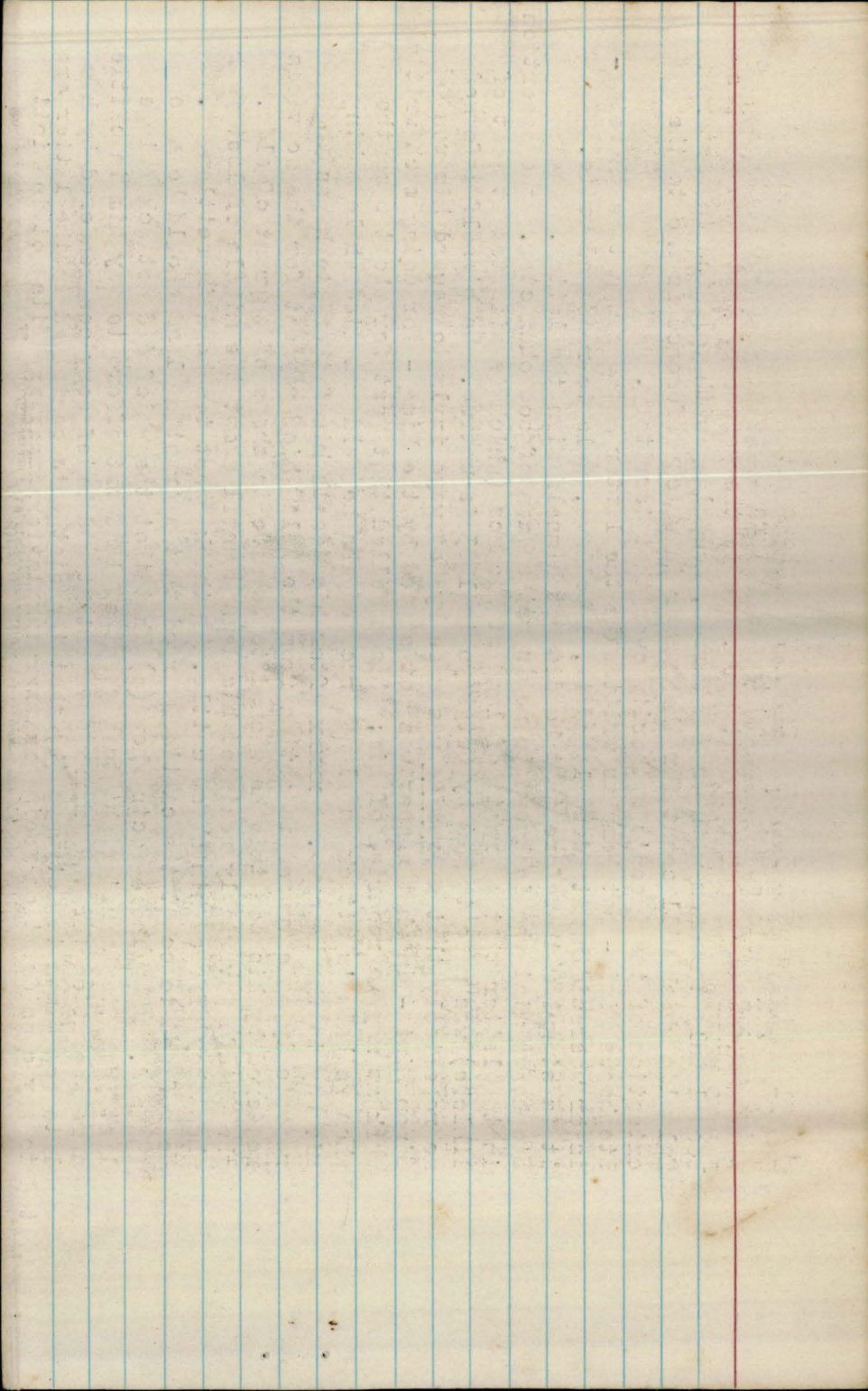
Stephanus Mini - not Meme as written in the latter & the singnature thereto - is or wasresiding at Edendal*and is, I believe, able to read and write.

It is singular therefore that he did not himself sign the letter.

Stephanus Mini who is known to me is not a man of good character. The assertion in the letter that a grant of land at Macanca (which is situated at foot of IDhlebe) was made to him by Cetywayo in 1883 is untrue. He himself informed me repeatedly that a Promise was made by Cetywayo ~~inix~~ to regard his son Simon Mini - in what manner was not stated by the King - for doing such writing work as may be requiried of him; Simon filled that post for about 6 months when Usibebu's attack on Ulundi ~~occured~~ whn he feld and died while making his way to the Reserve. ~~After~~ After his death his father Stephanus repeatedly endeavoured to obtian from the Zulu chief payment for the services rendered by his son this he wished to be made in shape of a grant of aldn.

The Chiefs invariably resisted his demand until about the middle of last year when they offered him a few cattle. I think bout ten head in settlement. He refused to accept the cattle & urged that a grant of land should be made instead. / /These facts whew (a) That that the Chief did not acknowlege last year Stephanus' right to a grant of land but offere to pay him in cattle a remuneration for the ~~impxxx~~ unimportant and brief services rendered by his late son Simon to Cetywayo (b) That the stetments contained in the latter are

not entilted to any consideration seeing ~~neither the letter itsexxxx~~ /its not in Mini's hand



(1-1-87)

Est of B2.

Usurine protest.

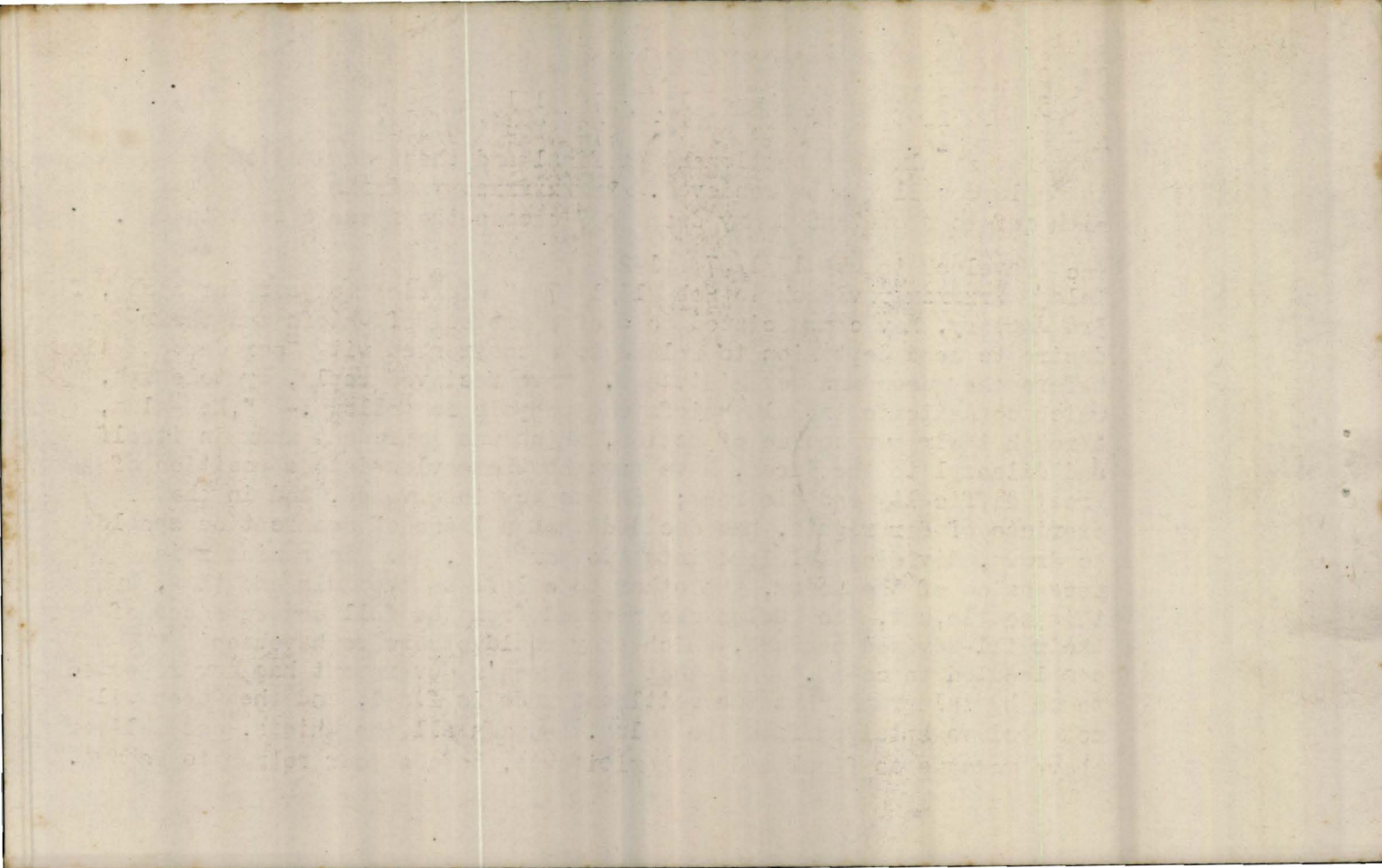
C4980

Nol05 Havelock to Stanhope 13/1/87 pl91

/Acks telNo73 in reply to my tel No72 You insturct my
to inform~~u~~ ulu that settlement is final and theat deputation
to England will nto be recieved. ~~Forwards copy of the~~
With ref to above and to my desp No97 encose the message sent to Osb.

Enc Havelock to Osb 13/1/87 pl92

Teleg ~~Osb to~~ Havleock to Osb 13/1/87 "Referring to your Despatch ,of
3rd January, hav communciated to S of S protest of Chiefs and their
desire to send deptuaion to Enland to be confronted with ^ooer depuati iion
before the Queen and Her Ministers. Have recieved reply, by telegraph,
which communicate to Zulu Chiefs and peopole as follows:- "The Zulus,
through their own course of action, which was imprudent ~~and~~ in itself
and dilsoayl to the Queen, have brought themsevles into a position of
great difficulty and distress; HM has now intervened, and in the
exericse of Her rights, has decided that a loine of demarcation should
be drawn, dividing Zululand into two portions, one to remian ~~p~~ in
possession of the boers, the other to be left to the Zuls and that, by
this settle,ent, the Zulus are rescued from the full consequences of
their ill-advised conduct, which they would otherwise havebeen
compleedled to ~~accept~~." Add that the Queen's Government has now repeated
to me by telegraph that the settlment made is final, and the Queen will
not recieve ~~deptaiton~~ from the Zulus. Summon all the Chiers, and deliver
above message as final and authoritativie, before your retrun to Eshowe."



11/12-1787
Warne protest against 1000
C4980

No72 Havelock to Stanhope undated (Rec 8/1⁸⁷) Telegram
"Osborn reports meeting with the Zulu Chiefs. Protest against partition
Zululand; wish to send home deputation to be conformed with Boer
deputation before Her M the Q and HM's Ministers; decline to discuss
question of British protection until the result of appeal to the Queen
is known. They will not believe that existing arrangements are final.
Demarcation Commission progressing favourably. I have promised to
receive Dinizulu* and Chiefs when demarcation finished. Minds of Chiefs
probably influenced by pernicious advice. Repetition of finlaity of
settlement in Queen's name and decisive answer as to reception of
deputation by the Queen might be useful.

No73 Stanhope to Havelock Teleg & 12/1/87 p150

"Send message to Chiefs as proposed in your despatch of 19th November,
(62) adding that settlement final and deputation will not be received."

