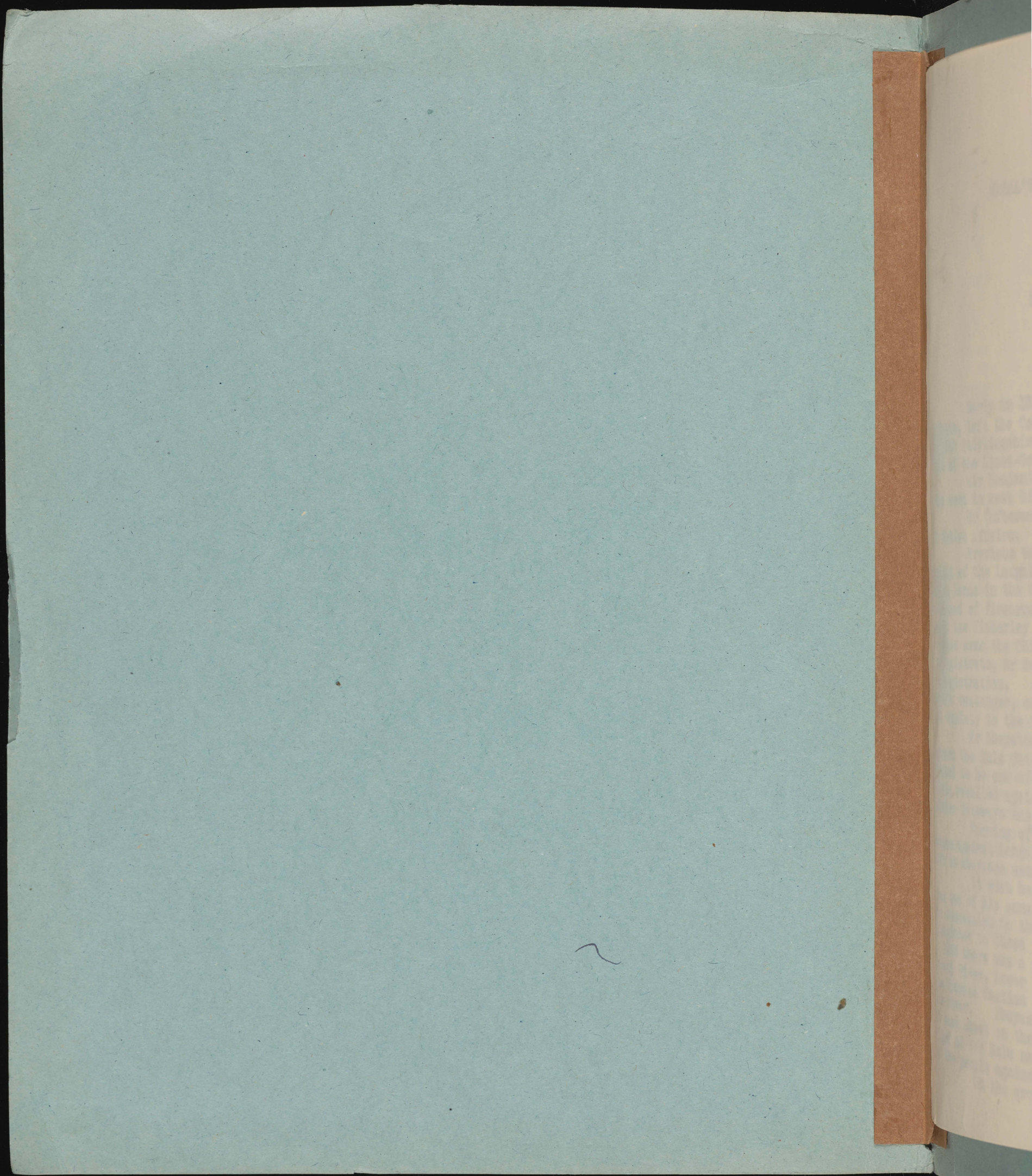


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Natal's Part in the Langalibalele Rebellion
by
Sir William Beaumont



To the Royal Empire
Society with compliments
from
K. J. Campbell

by Sir William Bouverie.

Early in 1873 the then Lieut-Governor of Natal, Sir Anthony...
...the Colony and Lieut-Colonel Miles, of my Regiment,
...Shropshire, was appointed Administrator, to await the ar-
...Lieut-Governor elect, Sir Benjamin Pine.
...Benjamin Pine arrived in the SS Hamato on July 16th, and
...to meet him, subsequently becoming his private secretary.
...afterwards Sir) Theophilus Shepstone was the Secretary
...Affairs.
...Previous to the arrival of Sir Benjamin Pine a considerable
...of the Langalibalele (or Amahinbi) tribe, then living on lo-
...in the Western Division near the Bushman's River, became
...of firearms. They obtained these in lieu of wages by work-
...at the Kimberley Diamond Mines on the Vaal River. Strengthened
...these arms the Chief and his people became very truculent, defying
...the Magistrate, Mr Macfarlane, when called upon to deliver up the arms
...for registration. On one occasion they beat and stripped the Magis-
...messenger, conduct which, calling for severe treatment, caused
...to the Government.
...Mr Shepstone had ascertained that there was an understanding
...between the Zulu Chief, Cetewayo, and the Chief Langalibalele - who was
...to be one of Cetewayo's official rain-makers - that if Langali-
...rebelled against the Natal Government and involved it in diffi-
...Cetewayo was to come to his assistance and raid the Colony.
...Knowing of this conspiracy the Government had hesitated to take
...action against Langalibalele; and the matter, it was agreed, was to be
...left in abeyance until Governor Pine's arrival.
...It must be here narrated that before the Zulu Chief Mpanda
...died two of his sons, Cetewayo and Mbuyuze, were competing candidates
...for succession to the chieftainship. The Zulus became divided in their
...allegiance to these two sons, some favouring one and some the other.
...In 1858 there was a pitched battle between the two factions near the
...Teyateya River, Lower Teyateya, which ended in the overwhelming defeat of
...the Mbuyuze faction - thousands being killed in action or drowned in
...the river. Mbuyuze himself escaped and took refuge in Natal. Thus
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NATAL'S PART IN LANGALIBALELE REBELLION.

by Sir William Beaumont.

Early in 1873 the then Lieut-Governor of Natal, Sir Anthony Musgrave, left the Colony and Lieut-Colonel Milles, of my Regiment, the 75th Stirlingshire, was appointed Administrator, to await the arrival of the Lieut-Governor elect, Sir Benjamin Pine.

Sir Benjamin Pine arrived in the SS Basuto on July 16th, and I was sent to meet him, subsequently becoming his private secretary.

Mr (afterward Sir) Theophilus Shepstone was the Secretary for Native Affairs.

Previous to the arrival of Sir Benjamin Pine a considerable section of the Langalibalele (or Amahlubi) tribe, then living on location lands in the Weenen Division near the Bushman's River, became possessed of firearms. They obtained these in lieu of wages by working at the Kimberley Diamond Mines on the Vaal River. Strengthened by these arms the Chief and his people became very truculent, defying the Magistrate, Mr Macfarlane, when called upon to deliver up the arms for registration. On one occasion they beat and stripped the Magistrate's messenger, conduct which, calling for severe treatment, caused some anxiety to the Government.

Mr Shepstone had ascertained that there was an understanding between the Zulu Chief, Cetewayo, and the Chief Langalibalele - who was reputed to be one of Cetewayo's official rain-makers - that if Langalibalele rebelled against the Natal Government and involved it in difficulties Cetewayo was to come to his assistance and raid the Colony.

Knowing of this conspiracy the Government had hesitated to take action against Langalibalele; and the matter, it was agreed, was to be left in abeyance until Governor Pine's arrival.

It must be here narrated that before the Zulu Chief Mpanda died two of his sons, Cetewayo and Mbuyaze, were competing candidates for succession to the chieftainship. The Zulus became divided in their allegiance to these two sons, some favouring one and some the other. In 1856 there was a pitched battle between the two factions near the Inyoni River, Lower Tugela, which ended in the overwhelming defeat of the Mbuyaze faction - thousands being killed in action or drowned in the river. Mbuyaze himself escaped and took refuge in Natal. Thus it came about on the death of Mpanda that Cetewayo became the Supreme Chief of the Zulu nation, though there was still a very strong section of the people against him.

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WATALE'S PART IN LANGALIBALE REBELLION.

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 ...the Colony and Lieut-Colonel Miles, of my Regiment...
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 ...of the Lieut-Governor's fleet, Sir Benjamin...
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 culties Cetewayo was to come to his assistance and aid the Colony.
 Knowing of this conspiracy the Government had hesitated to take
 action against Langalibale; and the latter, it was agreed, was to be
 left in ignorance until Governor Pina's arrival.

It must be here noticed that before the Zulu Chief Mpondo
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 allegiance to these two sons, some favouring one and some the other.
 In 1858 there was a pitched battle between the two factions near the
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To this proposal Sir Benjamin agreed and steps were at once taken to carry it into effect.

It was arranged that Mr Shepstone should lead an expedition into Zululand for the purpose of crowning Cetewayo "King of the Zulus", signifying the approval of the Natal Government and its intention to support Cetewayo against his enemies.

The English Government was asked to allow the local Imperial Troops (Headquarters and Right Wing of the 75th Regiment and the two six-pounder battery of Royal Artillery) to accompany the expedition. This, however, was refused on the ground that it was not prepared to take action should any disaster overtake the expedition, the nature of which was not without risk. The English Government, however, decided to allow two selected officers to accompany the expedition as intelligence officers, and in its behalf to map out the country and take notes.

Mr Shepstone had, as an escort, a number of Mounted Volunteers under the command of Major Giles, with two field pieces and the band of the Maritzburg Rifles; also about 300 Natives. Many gentlemen accompanied the expedition in a private capacity. The column crossed the Lower Tugela River on the 8th August.

Cetewayo kept on changing the place for meeting, and the Shepstone party was drawn further inland. This at the time seemed suspicious and brought up memories of the fate that befell Retief and his party. But Mr Shepstone had pluck and nerve and his followers trusted in his judgment.

At length the meeting was held at the Umlambengwenze Kraal on the north side of the River Umfolosi, Shepstone and his small party forming a marked contrast to Cetewayo and the Zulu army which was estimated at from 6,000 to 15,000.

The coronation ceremony was carried on without mishap on the 3rd September.

The column returned to Maritzburg on September 18th and steps were at once taken to deal with Langalibalele and his tribe.

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Mr Shepstone had, as an escort, a number of Mounted Volunteers under the command of Major Giles, with two field pieces and the band of the Maritzburg Rifles; also about 300 Natives. Many gentlemen accompanied the expedition in a private capacity. The column crossed the Lower Tugela River on the 8th August.

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At length the meeting was held at the Umlambengwenze Kraal on the north side of the River Umfolosi, Shepstone and his small party forming a marked contrast to Cetewayo and the Zulu army which was estimated at from 6,000 to 18,000.

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all the facts before him and suggested a course of action, as follows: - Ceteaway's loyalty was to be won over by the Natal Government recognizing him as the de jure as well as the de facto successor to Mbandaka and if this could be accomplished, it was considered that the Colony could safely deal with the Chief Langalibalele. To this proposal Sir Benjamin agreed and steps were at once taken to carry it into effect.

It was arranged that Mr Shepstone should lead an expedition into Natal for the purpose of procuring Ceteaway's "King of the Zulus", signifying the approval of the Natal Government and its intention to support Ceteaway against his enemies.

The English Government was asked to allow the local Imperial Troops (Headquarters and right wing of the 10th Regiment and the six-pounder battery of Royal Artillery) to accompany the expedition. This, however, was refused on the ground that it was not proposed to take action should any disaster overtake the expedition, the nature of which was not without risk. The English Government, however, decided to allow two selected officers to accompany the expedition as intelligence officers, and in its behalf to map out the country and take notes.

Mr Shepstone had, as an escort, a number of Mounted Volunteers under the command of Major Giles, with two field pieces and the band of the Natal Artillery; also about 300 Natives. Many gentlemen accompanied the expedition in a private capacity. The column crossed the lower Tugela River on the 27th August. Ceteaway kept on changing the place for meeting, and the expedition party was drawn further inland. This at the time seemed inexplicable and brought up memories of the late Chief Mbandaka and his party. But Mr Shepstone had quick and nerve and his following traced in his judgment.

At length the meeting was held at the Umhlangweni trail on the north side of the River Umhlangweni, Shepstone and his small party forming a marked contrast to Ceteaway and the Zulu army which was estimated at from 5,000 to 15,000.

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Langalibalele was summoned to appear before the Government but he made excuses and did not do so. Moreover, it was stated that he had assaulted the Government Messenger. It was decided at once to take military measures against the Chief and his tribe.

On October 29th, 1873, Colonel Milles submitted a plan of campaign to the Lieutenant-Governor, who approved of the same; and on October 30th, a start was made for the Chief's location and the Berg.

The Expeditionary Force was made up as follows:-
Imperial Troops, 133 men of the 75th Regiment, under Colonel Milles, and two six-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Clark, R.A.; 40 Maritzburg Carbineers and 30 Karkloof Carbineers, under Captain Barter; The Richmond Rifles, with 100 Natives, under Captain Hawkins, R.M.; The Natal Frontier Guard, with 1,000 Natives under Captain Lucas, R.M.; The Weenen Yeomen Cavalry and the Burgher Force, under Mr Macfarlane, R.M. There were also about 5,000 loyal Natives assisting.

The main body, under Colonel Milles, with Major Durnford as his Chief of the Staff, left Maritzburg on October 30th, for Fort Nottingham. Captain Hawkins and his party were to make for the Berg ~~and his party~~ southward. Captain Lucas and his contingent, together with Captain Allison and Natives, were to move towards the sources of the Little Tugela and Bushman Rivers.

Mr Macfarlane and his men (except the Weenen Yeomen Cavalry, who were to remain at Estcourt) were to move towards Fort Nottingham.

The Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by myself as private secretary, with an escort of four Natal Carbineers, under Corporal G. Shepstone, left Maritzburg on October 31st. We rode and had a mule wagon following us with camp requirements, etc.

We joined the camp at Fort Nottingham and moved on with it to Meshlyn. On our arrival there we learned that Major Durnford, with a party of the Carbineers under Captain Barter, and a party of Basuto guides, had started by a circuitous route for Bushman's Pass, riding through the night. Captain Boyes (75th Regiment), with 30 men and 300 Natives, had gone towards Giant's Castle. Mr Woodroffe (late R.N.) was with this party. It was here Mr Wheelwright joined us as official interpreter to the Lieutenant-Governor; he joined the staff and shared my tent, as did also the Rev. Mr Smith of Estcourt (of subsequent Rorke's Drift fame.)

On November 4th the camp was moved on 15 miles to Holmes's Farm; and that day, at midnight, six of the Carbineers, who had gone out with Major Durnford, returned to the camp and reported that they had reached the Pass on Tuesday morning and taken up a position commanding the head of the Pass, which was packed with cattle. "Men and cattle pushed past us," said the report, "and we could not stop them, as our orders were not to fire the first shot. The Natives swarmed up on all sides, and about 200 got above us on some commanding ground. All were armed with Enfield rifles; they jeered at us and used threats. Meanwhile, Major Durnford, with his Native interpreter, Elijah, was trying to appease the Natives on the slope facing the Pass. The Carbineers thought they had better retire to a better position, and, just as they were doing so, a shot was fired by a Native, and our men,

... he made excuses and did not go on. However, it was stated that he had authorized the Government Messenger. It was decided at once to take military measures against the Chief and his tribe.

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There were also about 2,000 loyal Natives assisting. The main body, under Colonel Miles, with Major Durnford as Chief of the Staff, left Haritaburg on October 30th, for Fort Hoop.

Captain Hawkins and his party were to make for Van Rensselaersburg, and his contingent, together with Captain Jones and his contingent, were to move towards the sources of the Natal River and Bushman Rivers.

Mr. Macfarlane and his men (except the Natal Mounted Rifles) were to remain at Haritaburg, and were to move towards Fort Hoop. The Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by myself as private secretary, with an escort of four Natal Carbineers, under Corporal G. ... left Haritaburg on October 31st. We rode and had a ...

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On November 1st the camp was moved on to ... at midnight, six of the Carbineers, who had gone ... returned to the camp and reported that they ... and taken up a position ... which was packed with cattle. "Men and ...

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... they were surrounded ... the Natives along ... by the Natives. ... of the Basuto ... Edwin Bond and ... by two Natives ... men and managed ... Natives were ki ... On receipt of ... and we returned ... Major Durnford and ... exhausted, havi ... They narrated t ... Led by the Basu ... route, travelling ... were many huge boul ... they could. Man ... precipice and lef ... some lost their h ... Notwithstanding ... small party he sen ... nothing since he le ... as done, Major Durn ... 30 Bas ... We heard that ... was somewhere ... Allison at the top ... of Giant's Castle. ... Macfarlane an ... soon as possible. ... -Hawkins and Macf ... to Allison and ... the Berg. ... Castle, and ... Letters I ha ... was we had not a ... and its foothill ... that he was at ... that he should go ... who was re ... River. Hawkins ... We ask ... with Mr Or ... were forces to in ... and Captain ... moved back to ... Haritaburg to co ... These were ... Haritaburg Rifles.

seeing they were surrounded, were seized with panic and dashed back through the Natives along the way they came up, being fired on and followed by the Natives. Their retreat was partially covered by the cool fire of the Basuto guides. Three men were killed - Robert Erskine, Edwin Bond and Charles Pottrell. Major Durnford's bridle was seized by two Natives, but notwithstanding his dislocated arm, he shot both men and managed to escape. Interpreter Elijah Kambula and two other Natives were killed."

On receipt of this intelligence, the whole camp prepared to march, and we returned to Meshlyn. On arrival at Meshlyn we found Major Durnford and the rest of his party already there. They were much exhausted, having had little to eat and 22 hours in the saddle. They narrated their experiences.

Led by the Basuto Guides, they reached the Pass by a circuitous route, travelling over Kaffir paths or cattle tracks along which were many huge boulders, over or round which they had to get the best way they could. Many horses fell, and Major Durnford's fell down a small precipice and left him with a dislocated arm. On their return journey some lost their horses and effects and some were wounded.

Notwithstanding his exhausted state Major Durnford urged that a small party be sent in search of Captain Boyes, of whom he had heard nothing since he left the camp to make for Giant's Castle Pass. This was done, Major Durnford taking out a party of 46 Infantry, 4 Artillerymen and 30 Basuto Guides. The latter were armed with "Terry" carbines. We heard that Shepstone was in front of Table Mountain; that Lucas was somewhere at the bottom of the Champagne Castle Pass; Major Allison at the top of another pass and Hawkins about 15 miles south of Giant's Castle. Under directions from the Colonel, I wrote to Hawkins, Macfarlane and Lucas telling them to concentrate at Meshlyn as soon as possible.

On reconsideration fresh orders were issued - Hawkins and Macfarlane were to try and join Durnford; Lucas to push on to Allison and secure the Champagne Castle Pass and work along the Berg.

Subsequently we learned that there was no pass at Champagne Castle, and that it was quite impossible to work along the Berg. Letters I had dispatched had not reached their addresses. The fact was we had not an elementary knowledge of the topography of the Berg and its foothills. A letter was received from Mr Hawkins telling us that he was at the sources of the Umkomanzi River and suggesting that he should go over the Berg there and try to intercept Langalibelele, who was reported to be making for the sources of the St John's River. Hawkins had with him the Richmond Rifles and 500 Natives.

We asked him to communicate with Adam Kok, of Griqualand East, and with Mr Orpen, the Chief Magistrate of Kaffraria asking them to move forces to intercept Langalibelele.

Meantime Major Durnford and Captain Boyes had returned to the camp. The camp was now moved back to Holmes's farm, and Major Durnford and G. Shepstone left for Maritzburg to collect material of all sorts and muskets for the Natives. These were escorted to the camp by Captain Scoones and 12 Maritzburg Rifles.

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One day Wheelwright informed me that he had heard of some of the enemy Natives occupying a cave at the head of a valley some way off. So, without mentioning it to anyone, we started off with about 200 Natives to investigate. We arrived at a kloof, at the head of which was a sandstone cliff about 60 feet high. From this cliff huge blocks of sandstone had fallen down and formed a long cave, the mouth of which was guarded by two immense boulders with a narrow passage between them. Below there was a continuous range of boulders or blocks of stone of all sizes with scrub between. Here we located the enemy and, opening out the Natives, we skirmished up, driving the enemy back to the cave. While this was going on, with no end of shouting and banging of guns, we had a bad thunderstorm and a heavy fall of hail, which temporarily stopped operations. Having reached the cave we were unable to effect an entrance owing to the narrow passage between the boulders and its entrance. One of our Natives very pluckily faced the passage three times, each time being fired at and each time returning the fire. Not seeing our way to do anything further, we all returned to camp at 6.30, wet and cold, and reported our adventure to Colonel Milles. This was on Saturday.

We had one man killed and two shot in the legs. We killed one man of theirs and wounded two, who got away into the cave. We bagged 70 goats. On the following Sunday Colonel Milles went out with a party of Carbineers, with one gun and Natives, to reconnoitre the country on the slopes of Table Mountain. The guns shelled the bush for some time, but without result. We heard from the other parties (Macfarlane, Lucas and Allison) that they were working towards us, had taken 300 head of cattle and killed a few men. The fact was that the country was so broken and so full of caves that no effective blow could be given against the rebels, the majority having gone over the Berg and the remainder in hiding.

I should here state that Mr Shepstone was strongly opposed to the plan of the Colonel and his Chief of Staff (Major Durnford) to seize the head of the Pass by a forced march and to prevent the Natives getting away with their cattle into the Maluti Mountains. They tried to carry out this plan in spite of Mr Shepstone's objections. The plan, however, failed dismally. Shepstone's idea was that if we allowed the Natives to escape with their cattle, they would be more successfully dealt with by the Basutos; and this was what eventually happened.

On November 9th, we heard that Langalibalele and his tribe had got away to the sources of the Orange River in the "Double Mountains" of Basutoland.

On the Monday morning (November 10th) a party under the command of Lieut Clark, R.A., consisting of Captain Barter, members of the Carbineers, two Artillerymen with a rocket stand and a number of Natives, left camp for the cave which Wheelwright and I had attacked the previous Saturday. Captain Boyes, Major Dartnell, Wheelwright and I were of the party. We reached the slopes leading up to the cave about 11.30 and skirmished up to the cave itself, which we found had been deserted. One man, wounded, had been left behind, and he was speedily dispatched by our Natives. About 80 goats were captured. The cave was well-stocked with goat meat, mealies, mabela, salt, skins and chattels, and would have been difficult to take if resolutely defended. Our Natives, of course, sacked the cave. By this time a heavy storm was raging. I was shown a native pot containing a mixture of herbs, which the Natives said had been placed there to bring on the rain. No Native would touch it.

Our attention was then drawn to a ravine near by, down

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which some Natives were fleeing. Helter skelter, all went in pursuit. Two Native women, one with a baby, were caught by our Natives, and would have been speedily killed but for the intervention of Wheelwright and myself. We placed the women between our horses and kept them safe.

The party rode on down the ravine, but I remained behind on a big spur running out from the Berg, from which vantage ground I had a wonderful panoramic view. A mass of ridges and ravines ran at right angles to the line of the Berg, and one could see the small streams running down the Berg and into the ravines below; and beyond was a wonderful panorama of Natal. With the sun shining on it all after the passing of the storm it was indeed a beautiful sight.

Sitting there, suddenly I noticed two of our Natives a little way below me. They were going along carefully with upraised assegais dodging round the rocks, evidently on some trail. After a while I heard some shouting not far off, and going to see, found the two Natives standing beside a huge rock with a Native lad alongside them. They pointed to a hole under the rock and made me understand that the father of the boy was there inside a small cave, the entrance hole being about the size of a kaffir-hut door.

Just then the main party was returning from their pursuit down the ravine, so I rode to join them, and told Lieut Clarke what I had seen. Immediately the whole party made for the rock and surrounded it. We tried by every possible means to get the Native out. The man had a gun, and shot at every one showing himself at the mouth of the cave. Suffice it to say that after three hours the man came out, having been promised his life if he should do so. I saw him creep out, and his body was riddled with bullet wounds. He was still in a crouching position when ---- thinking to put an end to his miseries, shot him dead. (Note: The result of all this was, some time later, the trial by court-martial of Lieut Clark, by the orders of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had become the Governor in place of Sir Benjamin Pine. Clark was acquitted.)

We had been all this time in a pelting rain, and were wet through, so we were glad to make our way back to the camp. Our day's work was two men killed, one old man, two boys and five women and a baby captured, also 80 goats.

Mr Hawkin's party, out in another direction, sent in 40 women who had been captured; all the men were killed. Wheelwright captured about 30 women and killed 2 or 3 men.

It became clear that the country abounded in these small rock shelters, where two or three men protected a few women and children. To deal with these meant a long-drawn-out struggle.

Mr Hawkins, Captain Lloyd, with Messrs Justice and Walker, visited our camp at Hlatikulu. On returning they were accompanied by 10 men of the 75th Regiment under Lieut Trower and Mr Woodroffe - these were to go to Langalibalele's Kraal to support Hawkins, who was to attack a large cave.

A conference of leaders was called by the Lieut-Governor, to consider what steps should be taken next. Mr Macfarlane, Captain Lucas,

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... some natives were fleeing. Helter skelter, all went in our direction. Two native women, one with a baby, were caught by our natives. They would have been speedily killed but for the intervention of several of our men. We placed the woman between our horses and kept her safe.

The party rode on down the ravine, but I remained behind on the bank, from which various groups of natives were running out. A mass of ridges and ravines ran up and down the line of the party, and one could see the small ravines running down the hill and into the ravines below, and beyond that a wonderful panorama of hills. With the sun shining on it all, the passing of the storm it was indeed a beautiful sight.

Sitting there, suddenly I noticed two of our natives a little way below me. They were going along carefully with unusual eagerness. They were going round the rocks, evidently on some trail. After a while I saw some shouting not far off, and going to see, found the two natives sitting beside a huge rock with a native lad alongside them. They had to a hole under the rock and made me understand that the latter was there inside a small cave, the entrance hole being the size of a half-inch door.

Just then the main party was returning from their pursuit of the natives, so I rode to join them, and told them that I had immediately the whole party made for the rock and entered the cave. We tried by every possible means to get the natives out. I had a gun, and shot at every one showing himself at the mouth of the cave. It is very true that after three hours the man came out, having been provoked his life if he should do so. I saw him, and his body was riddled with bullet wounds. He was still in a crouching position when I was thinking to put an end to his life. The result of all this was that the whole party, who had become the Governor in place of Clark was surprised.

We had been all this time in a palatial town, and were very surprised to see the natives. We were glad to make our way back to the camp. Our day's work was done, one old man, two boys and five women and a child were recovered, and the rest of the party were killed.

Mr. Hawkins's party, out in another direction, sent in 40 natives who had been captured. All the men were killed, and about 10 women and killed 3 or 4 men.

It became clear that the country abounded in these small villages, where two or three men protected a few women and children. Mr. Hawkins, Captain Lewis, with Messrs Justice and Walker, and our camp at Mountain. The returning party were accompanied by the 10th Regiment under Major Turner and by Woodville - these were to accompany Mr. Hawkins's party to report Hawkins, who was to accompany a conference of leaders was called by the Lieutenant-Governor, so that the escape should be taken back. Mr. Westerman, Captain Lucas,

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Major Durnford, Colonel Milles, Colonel Lloyd and Captain Allison attended the Conference. It was decided:-

1. To send a party under Major Durnford to re-open the Bushman's Pass, to bury the dead and to block up the Pass.

2. Thereafter, to send a flying column under Captain Allison over the Berg, in pursuit of the enemy. Captain Allison was to have a few picked European Volunteers and 1,500 Natives, who were to be rewarded out of captured cattle.

3. Captain Hawkins was to lead a flying column of Richmond Volunteers and 700 Natives to join forces in Griqualand with the Cape Mounted Police, under Grant, and the Griquas under Adam Kok.

4. Proclamations were to be issued outlawing the Langalibalele and the Putili Tribes, and martial law proclaimed in both locations.

5. Letters were to be sent to the magistrates and chiefs of the adjoining States, asking them to render any assistance they could. The Governor informed the Legislative Council of these proceedings.

There was considerable discontent at this time amongst both Whites and Blacks. With the incessant rains, camping out was anything but comfortable, and it appeared as if nothing was being done - that in fact, the business was over - so all were longing to return to their homes. So it was decided that the Natal Carbineers and the Weenen Burgher Force were to be disbanded, those volunteering to remain being attached to the Karkloof Corps.

Reliable Native Forces were posted at the passes leading over the Berg.

On November 17th, Major Durnford started for the Bushman's Pass, having with him a company of the 75th, under Lieutenant Trower, the Basuto Guides and a contingent of Natives. The Reverend Mr Smith from Estcourt, and I accompanied the party. The Reverend Mr Smith was to perform the burial service if the bodies of those who had been killed were recovered, and I was to act as the representative of H.E. the Lieutenant-Governor. Others went in a private capacity - Dr Gordon, Mr Cowley, Captain Macleod, Mr Fairleigh (afterwards Senior Inspector of the N.M.P.)

After going 12 miles, we camped at the head of a beautiful valley. I acted as Quartermaster, and we soon had tents pitched and all accommodated. It was raining and cold, so a strong tot of rum (overproof!) was served out to all and sundry - a most amusing proceeding as the tot had to be drunk off neat on the spot by each man - it was a bit too strong for most!

We started next day at 4.30 a.m. and reached the top of a spur running down from Bushman's Pass. Here we halted and pitched camp. The Basutos were sent on up to the pass to reconnoitre, being supported by some of Teteleku's men, under Corporal George Shepstone.

After an hour's rest Major Durnford followed them, leaving me in charge of the camp with instructions to push up the pass if I heard any firing. At 4 p.m. I received a note from Durnford telling me that all was clear, that the dead had been found, and that I was

Major Dunford, Colonel Miller, Colonel Lloyd and Captain Allison
 It was decided:-
 I took a party under Major Dunford to re-open the Bush-
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 a few picked European Volunteers and 1,000 Natives, who were to be
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 Captain Allison was to lead a flying column of 1,000
 and 100 Natives to join forces in Girdland with the Cape
 and the Girdland under Adam Kok.
 Preparations were to be issued outlying the Langkialale
 and the Girdland, and martial law proclaimed in both locations.
 A letter was to be sent to the agitators and chiefs of
 the adjoining Passes, asking them to render any assistance they could.
 The Government informed the Legislative Council of these proceedings.
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 was to perform the burial service if the bodies of those who had been
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 (Mr. P.)
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 valley. I found a watercourse, and we soon had some picked and
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 (Mr. P.) was hurried out to all and sundry - a most painful proceed-
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 We started next day at 4.30 a.m. and reached the top of a
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to go up at once with 25 men of the 75th, leaving Lieutenant Trevor in charge of the camp. I was also to try and bring up some firewood. I got my 25 men and a few Natives to carry firewood and we started up the Pass.

The men were in heavy marching order, but went up the Pass like buck. We reached the top in 65 minutes, finding Shepstone and the Basuto Guides under the shelter of the rocks. Natives had been posted in different places and scouts sent out. By this time it was dark and drizzling. We (Basutos and all) squatted round a miserable apology for a fire; a goat was killed and presently a leg was handed round for each to cut off a piece and cook it on the fire. I carefully turned over my piece until I thought it was sufficiently cooked and when I put it in my mouth it was a cinder! The men did not get their dinner till 9 p.m. and they tried to sleep under the shelter of the rocks. The Major, The Reverend Mr Smith, Cowley, Dr Gordon and I had two small patrol tents, which we placed together and lay under with our legs sticking out. My pillow was my revolver and a tin of tobacco. But it was so cold, the ground so uneven, and one's position so cramped that none of us slept.

We were up at daylight. Major Durnford gave us an account of what had happened and explained everything on the spot. I was sent off to fetch the bodies of the three Volunteers - Bond, Potterell and Erskine. For this purpose, I took four men with a stretcher improvised out of a waterproof sheet. The bodies were lying in a vlel nearby, just skin and bone; they had been cut open and one of Potterell's hands had been cut off. However we got the bodies safely to where the men had dug a grave. The Native bodies were brought up by Natives and a separate grave was dug for them. The 25 of the 75th formed the funeral party under my command, the parson read the burial service and we fired three volleys in the air. The graves were filled in and large cairns of stones built above them.

The scouts came in saying they had seen no one though they had gone nine miles. The trail led towards the sources of the Orange River. All then descended the Pass, down a very tortuous and slippery path and with difficulty. Camp being reached tents were struck and we commenced our return. The line of march was along the top of the spur and then down a tremendous incline to the valley below. I was in charge of the pack-ponies, which carried most unwieldy packs on their backs. I can never forget the way those poor animals slithered about, often falling over and rolling, pack and all, some way down the side. Those that did so had of course to be recovered and set going again.

When all had reached the bottom and were having a bit of a rest a letter was received from the Colonel saying the Putili people were to be disarmed and that it was necessary to hold the Pass. So there was nothing for it but to march back! How the men and ponies struggled up that hill again I do not know, for here the Reverend Mr Smith and I left the party to return to Headquarters, having respectively carried out the missions entrusted to us.

It was raining as usual, the paths were slippery and we had to lead our horses a good part of the way. We rested en route in a fine big cave. We met some Natives shouting to us across the valley

to go up at once with 25 men of the 78th, leaving Lieutenant Trevor in charge of the camp. I was also to try and bring up some fire-wood. I got my 25 men and a few natives to carry firewood and we started up the Pass.

The men were in heavy marching order, but went up the Pass like a flock. We reached the top in 25 minutes, finding Shepstone and the Basuto Guides under the shelter of the rocks. Natives had been posted in different places and accurate sent out. By this time it was dark and drizzling. We (Basutos and all) separated round a wide circle of rocks for a fire; a goat was killed and presently a leg was handed round for each to cut off a piece and cook it on the fire. I carefully turned over my piece until I thought it was sufficiently cooked and when I put it in my mouth it was a cinch. The men did not get their dinner till 9 p.m. and they tried to sleep under the shelter of the rocks. The Major, the Reverend Mr. Smith, Cowley, Dr. Gordon and I had two small parcel tents, which we placed together and lay under with our legs sticking out. My pillow was my revolver and a tin of tobacco. But it was so cold, the ground so uneven, and one's position so cramped that none of us slept.

We were up at daylight. Major Durston gave us an account of what had happened and explained everything on the spot. I saw sent off to fetch the bodies of the three Volunteers - Bond, Robertson and Strickland. For this purpose, I took four men with a stretcher, improvised out of a waterproof sheet. The bodies were lying in a vast heap, just skin and bone; they had been out open and one of Robertson's hands had been cut off. However we got the bodies safe by to where the men had dug a grave. The Native bodies were brought up by Natives and a separate grave was dug for them. The 25 of the 78th formed the funeral party under my command. The person read the burial service and we fired three volleys in the air. The graves were filled in and large cairns of stones built above them.

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The Putili Tribe, which was suspected of harbouring cattle belonging to the Amahlubi and of sending parties of young men to join Langalibalele, was ordered to pay a fine of 2,000 head of cattle and to be disarmed. The operations which followed resulted in the capture of about 8,000 cattle and 200 horses. Two hundred men were disarmed and a large number taken prisoner (mostly women.) All this necessitated the employment of a large number of Native guards; and there arose also the difficult questions as to how to deal with the cattle and women. The disbandment of some of the Volunteer Forces and the depletion of the Native Contingents necessitated a redistribution of the forces.

Major Durnford and his Basutos with a company of the 75th Regiment, who had been at Bushman's Pass, were recalled and their place taken by Natives. Captain Hawkins with his Richmond Volunteers and Native Contingent was recalled. Mr Macfarlane shifted his camp on to the Little Bushman's River, near the home of Missionary Lozell and he was strengthened by a Company of Regulars. Captain Lucas with the Ladysmith Mounted Volunteers and 800 Natives was at the foot of Champagne Castle. Meantime Captain Allison was busy preparing his flying column for its march over the Berg, and for which he required both men and cattle. In the course of these preparations Captain Allison cleverly improvised an ox-transport service. The skin of a freshly-killed ox was placed (green) on the back of the ox that was to be used as a transport beast, so that it would form a pack closely fitting to the body of the beast: the sides of the skin were sewn up and contained boxes of ammunition or food. These animals could travel up any mountain path, required no food to be carried for them, and when the load had been consumed the ox itself could be consumed.

About this time we received news of the arrival of three companies of the 86th Regiment who had been sent up by Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of the Cape, and we were to have further re-inforcements if needed. The troops were landed but were not required. Sir Henry Barkly also informed us that he had directed a force of 200 of the Mounted Frontier Police at Kingwilliamstown to be sent to Basutoland to co-operate with Allison's force.

We also received a letter, signed by J.B. Currie, on behalf of Natalians at the Kimberley Diamond Mines, offering to send a troop of Mounted Volunteers to our assistance; they were stopping rifles and ammunition from leaving the country and had written to the Orange Free State authorities to co-operate.

On November 29th Captain Allison's flying column paraded for the Governor's inspection, and he made a stirring address to all the men. The strength of the column was about 90 Volunteers and a contingent of 1,600 Natives, with pack oxen and pack horses. The force left on November 30th, some of the pack animals following the day after, and on December 3rd they were over the Berg.

and running towards us, and they proved to be our own Natives carrying supplies to the camp and they wanted to know where it was. The Puffin Bluffs, which was suspected of harboring cattle belonging to the Amalio and of sending parties of young men to join the Natives, was ordered to pay a fine of 2,000 head of cattle and the operations which followed resulted in the capture of about 2,000 cattle and 500 horses. Two hundred men were disarmed and a large number taken prisoner (mostly women). All this necessitated the employment of a large number of Native guards; and there arose also the difficult question as to how to deal with the cattle and women. The disbandment of some of the Volunteer forces and the capture of the Native Contingent necessitated a redistribution of the forces.

Major Lawson and his Battalion with a company of the 75th Regiment had been at Bushman's Pass, were recalled and their place taken by Natives. Captain Rawlin's with his Battalion of Mounted Rifles and Native Contingent was recalled. Mr. Rawlin's Battalion was camped on the Little Bushman's River, near the head of Missionary Pass and he was strengthened by a company of Regulars. Captain Lawson with the 75th Regiment and 800 Natives was at the foot of Orangeburg Castle. He was ordered to march over the Berg, and for which he required both men and cattle. In the course of these preparations Captain Allison cleverly improvised an ox-tramway service. The skin of a freshly-killed ox was placed (green) on the back of the ox that was to be used as a transport beast, so that it would form a pack closely fitting to the body of the beast. The sides of the skin were sewn up and contained boxes of ammunition or food. These animals could travel up any mountain path, required no food to be carried for them, and when the load had been conveyed the ox itself could be consumed. About this time we received news of the arrival of three companies of the 88th Regiment who had been sent up by Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of the Cape, and we were to have further reinforcements if needed. The troops were landed but were not re-embarked. Sir Henry Barkly also informed us that he had directed a force of 500 of the Mounted Frontier Police at Kingwilliamstown to be sent to Beaulieu to co-operate with Allison's force.

We also received a letter, signed by J. B. Clarke, on behalf of the Natives at the Kimberley Diamond Mines, offering to send a troop of Mounted Volunteers to our assistance; they were stopping rifles and ammunition from leaving the country and had written to the Orange Free State authorities to co-operate.

On November 20th Captain Allison's flying column departed for the Governor's inspection, and he made a stirring address to all the men. The strength of the column was about 30 Volunteers and a contingent of 1,000 Natives, with pack oxen and pack horses. The force left on November 30th, some of the pack animals following the day after, and on December 2nd they were over the Berg.

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 mounted Beaulieu.

On December 7th they were joined by Captain Hawkins R.M. who had gone over the Berg, south, by the Manzinyama Pass, with 44 of the Richmond Volunteers and about 400 Natives. Three hundred of the Natives had to be sent back, as they had not supplies for all.

The combined forces, under the command of Captain Allison proceeded over the Maluti Mountains.

Troops are never long in the field, especially when there is nothing to be done, without getting up sports of some kind. So, when the 200 Native ponies were brought to Headquarters and there was a slack time, the 75th decided on having races; and a very good programme was carried out at a suitable spot not far from the camp. The horses, or rather ponies, were an unknown quantity, in a mob. For one race we drew lots for the order of choice from the mob, and as each one's turn came, he would select a horse, get it caught and saddled - no easy job - and put up his own jockey. We had one or two amusing races with Native riders over sod fences and we had races for our own private mounts. Altogether we spent a very good day.

On December 1st, the Lieutenant-Governor, with his interpreter, Mr Wheelwright, left for Maritzburg. I was left behind as a sort of liaison officer to visit the different camps and to report progress to the Governor. Arthur Shepstone had a camp near Olivier's Hoek Pass. Captain Lucas, with his own Natal Frontier Guard, a Company of the 75th, and a contingent of Natives, was camped on the Little Tugela. Mr Shepstone took over Macfarlane's camp. The rest of the 75th Regiment started for Maritzburg on December 6th arriving there the fifth day later.

I visited Estcourt with Major Durnford, and the day after (December 7th) we selected a site for a laager, which was subsequently built and became the police fort. It is there to-day. Major Durnford then left for van Reenen's Pass. Major Hughes, of the Commissariat Department, who had come up from the Cape, rode with me to Shepstone's (Senior) camp; and from there on to Captain Lucas's camp.

On December 12th, Captain Walton, of the N.F.G.7 and I, started off on a tour of the camps, taking pack horses to carry food and necessaries. We went via the farms of David Gray and Costhuizen to Allison's house via Olivier Hoek Pass, where Mr Arthur Shepstone was. The next day we rode to the bottom of the Tugela Pass; and the next to the top of Olivier Hoek Pass. Walton went on to Wilke's camp and I returned to Allison's house, where I found Lucas, who had brought up 100 Natives to help guard the Passes. I had, of course, kept the Governor well informed of all I saw and heard. On December 17th I left for Maritzburg, reaching there next day.

Meantime, the forces under Captains Allison and Hawkins were making their way across the Maluti Mountains, following the trail of the fugitives into Basutoland, while, on the Cape side, forces were moving to intercept them.

Finally, on about December the 13th, Langalibalele surrendered with his sons, and some of his tribe, 7,000 head of cattle and 216 horses, to the Basuto Chief, Molappo, who had with him a large force of mounted Basutos.

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Langalibalele was handed over by Molappo to the British resident, Mr. Griffiths, and by him to Captain Allison. Captain Allison, after negotiations, obtained 5,000 head of cattle and the horses, the balance being retained by Mr Griffiths to compensate the Basutos.

Allison commenced his return journey to Natal with the Chief and about 47 prisoners and the cattle and horses on Dec. 21. They travelled via Olivier Hoek and reached Maritzburg on Jan. 14.

Public opinion was almost unanimous in its approval of all that Sir Benjamin Pine had done, only the Bishop of Natal and a few others dissenting. The Legislative Council passed resolutions thanking the Governor, the High Commissioner at the Cape and the various forces, military and colonial, who had assisted in the operations. Bills were passed dealing with the location lands and with the trial and disposal of prisoners, and a Bill was introduced for the formation of a Mounted Police Force (the command of which was subsequently given to Major Dartnell). The 86th Regiment returned to the Cape.

The Lieut.-Governor decided to try Langalibalele himself. in his capacity of Supreme Chief, under Native Law, with assessors. The

Court was composed of the Lieut.-Governor as President, with members of the Executive and Provincial Councils, three Magistrates and six Native chiefs as assessors. The Executive Council was represented by Major Erskine (Colonial Secretary), Mr (afterwards Sir) Michael Gaxlway (Attorney General), Mr Ayliff (Colonial Treasurer), Mr Shepstone (Secretary for Native Affairs); the Legislative Council by Mr Polkinghorn, M.L.C., and Mr Barter, M.L.C. Other members were Colonel Miles (Military Commander), Messrs. Bird, Patterson, and Hawkins (magistrates), and the Native chiefs Hemubumu, Tetelku, and Nondisa and three others. Mr John Shepstone (magistrate) acted as prosecutor, and Mr T. Bennett (magistrate) as interpreter. The Court assembled on Jan. 16 in a marquee which was pitched in the Government House grounds, with a guard of the 75th Regiment over the prisoners. Langalibalele was charged with sedition and rebellion. An attempt was made to get Mr Escombe to take up the defence of the prisoner, but under the conditions imposed, he declined to act. The trial lasted about 10 days. The chief was found guilty and sentenced to banishment to Robben Island, where he eventually went.

The trial of Langalibalele by the Governor as Supreme Chief and under Native Law was a bold and unusual proceeding. It proved to be a mistake which led to the Governor's downfall.

The Bishop of Natal was very active in making the Government and people of England know what had occurred, and the matter of the trial came up for discussion in the House of Lords. I happened to be in England at the time, and I was present on the occasion by the good offices of Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. By a curious coincidence, I found myself sitting next to Captain Barter, who had taken so prominent a part in the expedition and at the trial.

I was particularly struck by the accuracy with which Lord Carnarvon had mastered the details of the whole affair, and the able manner in which he tried to defend the Governor. By the slashing indictment delivered by Lord Selborne (the father of the late High Commissioner of South Africa) was irresistible. He made absolute ridicule of the whole trial proceedings. The Governor was recalled, and Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out with a brilliant staff to revise the Law and the Constitution.

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This was printed in the Natal Mercury

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