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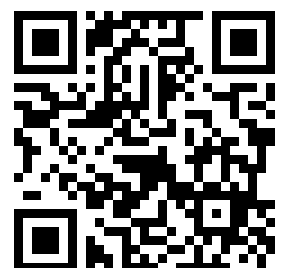
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ZULULAND.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF ZULULAND

AND

ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

(In continuation of [C.—4037] May 1884.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
August 1884.



LONDON:

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1884.

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ZULULAND.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF ZULULAND AND ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

No. 1.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of despatching this evening a telegraphic message, in which I have submitted to your Lordship that the effect on the Reserve of the proceedings of the Boers in Zululand is a very serious one; that while it is not at all probable that the Boers themselves will do anything against the Reserve, yet the danger is that their action will allow the whole of the Usutu strength to be turned against it; that, already, in the middle portion of the territory the Usutus* are in active movement, and in the upper portion an attack is expected to be made; that the natives belonging to the Reserve, being uncertain whether we shall help them or not, will, some fly for refuge into Natal, others, thinking to save themselves, will side with the Usutu, while others again will wait to see what we do; and that from what Mr. Osborn tells me I fear any concentrated defensive action by his natives is at present impossible.

I have, therefore, stated that it has become necessary for us to decide what we shall do under the circumstances; and I have added that in order to uphold our position more troops will, I fear, be required. In view of the altered situation I have said that it seems to me in any case more troops will be required, whether (1) To support our action if we deal with the country beyond the Reserve; or (2) To support the Reserve if we do not deal with the country beyond it; or (3) To support the border of this Colony in the event of anything happening to the Reserve.

I have, however, said that this opinion regarding the necessity for more troops is expressed subject to a reference to the Lieutenant-General Commanding, who is expected to arrive here to-morrow.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 2.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 24, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of despatching a telegraphic message this day to your Lordship in which I have reported that the General has visited the Reserve and considers that any operations in the Inkandhla bush would require to be supported by a force of at least 1,000 infantry. We are desirous, however, I have said, that our action should be as much as possible a defensive one, and for this purpose the General will increase the force now in the Reserve to 800 men of whom 200 will be stationed at Entumeni where Mr. Osborn is with a force of Natives.

I have further mentioned that the General has sent for his staff and for a few men from Cape Town and recommends that a reinforcement of one battalion of infantry on full war strength should be sent out.

* NOTE.—In the original telegraphic despatch, printed at page 117 of [C. 4037] May 1844, this word "Usutus" is by an error of the telegraphist rendered Boers.

Should the action of the Boers and of the Usutus develop into full hostility against the Zulu Native Reserve, more reinforcements will be needed, but at first this will be enough.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 3.

THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
3, Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., May 24, 1884.

MY LORD,

THE Despatch from Sir Henry Bulwer, dated December 10, 1883,* a copy of which your Lordship kindly sent us, contained an answer to certain statements concerning the affairs of the Native Reserve which we forwarded to your Lordship on September 15th last.† Sir Henry Bulwer challenges the truth of these statements, and also expresses his entire concurrence in Mr. Osborn's letter on the same subject.

Under ordinary circumstances we should be content to let the matter rest, but the serious character of the issues at stake, and the gravity of the events which are now taking place in the Reserve, reluctantly compel us to revert to the subject.

The point on which Sir Henry Bulwer mainly touches in his Despatch is Mr. Grant's allegation as to the sale of intoxicating drinks to the Natives in the Reserve. His Excellency says that we made "a singularly unfortunate mistake" in selecting this as a charge against the administration of the above territory. Even if our information had been incorrect, we do not think that we are justly open to this imputation. We were informed, on what we considered good authority, that native rum was being introduced in large quantities into the Native Reserve, and we submit that in calling your Lordship's attention to the statement we merely did our duty. Moreover, it appears to us that the question is not whether regulations or notices prohibiting the liquor traffic have been issued, (for this we do not doubt,) but whether the prohibition is actually enforced. As Mr. Osborn charges Mr. Grant with making "gratuitous and wilful misrepresentations" on the subject, we think it is only fair that the latter should be heard in self-defence. He writes:—

"Before the Resident settled at Etshowe one store was built a short distance from the Residency, but had to be closed for want of adequate support. On my return from Ulundi I found that the building was being repaired, to be again opened for trade. This, added to the two large buildings then in course of erection, and situated close to the Residency, makes three stores as I stated. I learnt from most excellent authority that native rum in quantity was going into Zululand, and that must be purely for native use. This was further confirmed by the special correspondent of the 'Mercantile Advertiser,' writing in September last. That one man has been fined proves the existence of the traffic, for all know who have any experience on the subject that where one conviction is obtained one hundred breaches of the law pass undetected. Without any organisation whatever to check the traffic, how can Mr. Osborn possibly know the extent of the traffic? Liquor should not be allowed in the Reserve. Once let it over the border, and the circulation of it is certain in face of fifty prohibitions. Quite recent cases have come to my knowledge which satisfy me of the complete truth of all I have advanced."

We regret that neither Sir Henry Bulwer nor Mr. Osborn appears quite to apprehend the importance of the questions connected with the Royal cattle which we brought under your Lordship's notice. His Excellency, it is true, is disposed to think "that fines were in some instances harshly imposed on the people by the appointed chiefs, including the Chief John Dunn, for concealment of the Royal cattle," but he thinks it is impossible after this lapse of time to go back upon these cases. Mr. Osborn, we observe, makes no such admission, but leaves it to be inferred that, in his opinion, Mr. Dunn's proceedings were perfectly just. We now beg to enclose a tabular statement of the Royal cattle alleged to have been taken by Mr. Dunn, the names of the Natives who had charge of the cattle, and the amount of the fine said to have been imposed in each case. We believe that nothing has excited among the Zulus more feeling against Her Majesty's Government than their failure to remedy the grievances of the people in this particular. We are assured that "claims for cattle are handed

* No. 153 in [C. 3864], February 1884.

† No. 51 in [C. 3864], February 1884.

“down from one generation to another, and constitute a grievance that never dies.” Having regard to all the circumstances of the case it would surely be worth while to endeavour to bring about some equitable settlement of the difficulty, especially as, we presume, Mr. Dunn is amenable to the authority of the Government.

Mr. Osborn does not venture to say that the majority, or even any very large proportion, of the inhabitants of the Reserve were inimical to Cetewayo's rule, but as his remarks may cause misapprehension, we beg to lay before your Lordship the opinion of an impartial observer on the subject. Mr. W. Y. Campbell, who is not a member of this society, and, indeed, has never been in communication with it, writes:—

“I was all eyes and ears in my journey up one side and down the other of the Reserve, to discover the real feeling of the people towards the King, and with few exceptions all were in sympathy with him, some actively (a large proportion), many covertly and secretly for him, though publicly loud in their declamation against him.”

Again Mr. Campbell says:—

“I found Natives all through the Reserve terrorised by the native police and spies. Fear of Cetewayo I never met once; but from Durban to Inkandhla and back the Natives were, with one solitary exception, heartily grieved for the King and his troubles, and full of hatred of Zebebu and of wonder at the policy of the whites.”

Mr. Osborn, in the second paragraph of his report, denies that the cattle of any Zulu in his district have been seized with his knowledge or approval since he took office. We, of course, accept his assurance; but we are, nevertheless, informed that since he has been Resident Commissioner native indunas and police professing to act under British authority have imposed numerous fines upon Zulus friendly to Cetewayo—that, in particular, fines have been levied on Zagityane, on Mashlatini and his three sons, on 16 men belonging to Smoye Ka Ukabane's kraal, on the sons of Majia Ka Tshandu, of Matandu, and of Mpezene, and on various Christian natives residing at Entumeni in the Reserve. We are told that in every instance named the Natives were fined for going to see the late King. We hope that your Lordship will cause inquiry to be made into these cases, and that if they are well founded, you will ascertain by whose orders the fines were levied.

We will only trouble your Lordship with one further remark on Mr. Osborn's letter. He says:—

“Mr. Grant's statement that land has been promised in the Reserve to Chiefs in Natal is in keeping with those already commented upon. I know of no such promise made directly or indirectly, but I have invariably refused every applicant from Natal for land to occupy in the Reserve, and I think I have refused at least one hundred such applications.”

Mr. Grant's comment is as follows:—

“Mr. Osborn's defective information is no reply to my statement. Applications from Chiefs to cross into the Reserve would be made to the Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and I am credibly informed that in the case of one Chief with a considerable following, arrangements were so advanced that the people did no planting last season, daily expecting permission to cross. A message was finally sent the Chief that the country was still unsettled, and that he must wait for a time. This Chief is at the present moment waiting for and hoping to secure permission to locate in the Reserve.”

In conclusion, I beg to enclose for your Lordship's information a copy of a letter from Mr. Grant, dated April 22nd, in which he sheds some light on the present lamentable condition of the Native Reserve.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. W. CHESSON,

Secretary.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.

P.S.—We are informed that a European storekeeper with Hlubi told Mr. Campbell on the 24th of September last that Hlubi was expelling the Zulus, and that Basutos were flowing in. Mr. Campbell thinks that Hlubi is acting quite right from his point of view, but if the storekeeper's statement were true, it is clear that the Native inhabitants of the district would have just ground for disaffection.

Enclosure in No. 3.

LETTER FROM MR. WILLIAM GRANT.

“Durban, Natal, April 22, 1884.

THE ‘Mercury’ and the ‘Times of Natal’ have endeavoured to discredit the final communication sent me by Cetewayo, but altogether unsuccessfully. The truthfulness of the

message is beyond all question. A subsequent attempt has been made to set up the illegitimacy of Dinuzulu, and his consequent rejection by the National party. This statement is wholly without foundation. The authorities here are ready to seize at anything which can be played upon to destroy the unity of the party, and are doing all in their power to alienate Mnyamana and check any action likely to establish their supremacy in the country. The extension of the Reserve to the Umvalosi (Sir H. B.'s original idea) is what is now apparently being advocated, and in this scheme Sibebu is an important factor, and must at all costs be maintained in power. The two recent defeats he has sustained have undoubtedly crippled him, and upon excellent authority I am informed that his own European supporters have lost confidence in his ability to hold his own, and quite anticipate his complete overthrow. At the moment the Usutu have possession of Cetewayo's territory and are assembled in considerable force. I am unable to say what the exact plans are, *i.e.*, whether they will attack before or after the burial of the King's remains. That a desperate struggle is at hand is certain, and I cannot doubt the result will be the ascendancy of the Usutu and the crushing of Sibebu. It is deplorable to think of so much bloodshed and misery entailed, all of which might have been avoided by the adoption of natural and common sense measures, by which I mean the simple recognition of the voice of the great majority of the people as expressed through the Chiefs and headmen of the nation.

"The remains of the King have been removed from Etshowe and taken in the direction of the Nkandhla, where they will probably be temporarily deposited. Mr. Osborn suggested three places in the Reserve, viz., the Chiefs Majuga, and Skonyan's district, also a kraal of Dabulamanzis, situated a few miles from the Residency. For reasons which were assigned by the Princes, these places were declined. I shall probably receive in a day or two definite information respecting the spot selected by the brothers.

"An armed force is being employed for the collection of taxes in the Reserve. In the case of Majuga five companies of armed natives were sent to demand payment. Majuga replied that the land was still disturbed and being destroyed, and that he had no money. Fifty head of cattle were seized and driven off. Ndabuko then sent a message to this Chief that, as his cattle had been thus openly seized, it was apparent that the taxes were being collected by force, and recommended that the money be sent and the cattle redeemed. This was done, and the cattle consequently liberated.

"Another Chief in the Reserve, Nongene, was summoned to the Residency. He told Mr. Osborn, 'I have come because you are always saying I disregard your word, but I have no money.' Mr. Osborn asked him if he maintained the same attitude he had previously taken up. Nongene replied 'Yes, I remain as I was. I belong to those bones there,' pointing to the remains of the King. Mr. Osborn said, 'If you belong to those bones why are you cultivating land here?' Nongene replied, 'I am here because I followed in flight the 'bone' which came to you for refuge, and which died in your hands. I did not return because I was yours.' Mr. Osborn then retired, and presently sent to say by a policeman that Nongene was to be detained as a prisoner till all his taxes were paid. This Chief was then taken and confined in a small hut. Those of his sons who were with him then said they wished to be with their father, as it was not good to separate father and sons, but they were ordered off and not allowed to remain. On the third day a message was sent to Nongene to tell him that the police had seized 20 head of cattle and 10 calves. These were also subsequently released upon the tribe paying under the recommendation of Ndabuko. The people are sacrificing their cattle for a trifling consideration in order to obtain money, and some of the police are purchasing from them at a nominal price. After three days' confinement this Chief was liberated."

NAMES of those who had charge of ROYAL CATTLE, taken by JOHN DUNN after the capture of the King, who are at Ondine, this 15th day of June 1883.

(From Mr. William Grant.)

Name.	Number of King's Cattle.	Number fined.	Remarks.
Guaza Nkunya (of "Manqwain")	40	—	—
Melleliso	10	20	—
Nongene	13	14	—
Masekwan	47	5	—
Mati	28	—	—
Sambele	10	—	—
Mohlalo, sent by Nowandwe	30	—	100 for the district.
Shelese	4	—	—
Mbigo	10	—	—

Name.	Number of King's Cattle.	Number fined.	Remarks.
Logo "Cusam" K kraal	80	25	Charged with hiding Royal cattle, but all had been taken by the army.
Satawayo	—	—	—
Ndukewin	—	—	—
Sagian	—	—	—
Ndabenkulu	—	—	—
Nkomankome	18	24	—
Noeshima	3	4	—
Jogosele	13	9	—
Mahlangasa	3	—	—
Chingwe	24	—	—
Manpungele	20	13	—
Matula	3	2	—
Mbewan	4	6	—
Quangi fon Betshau (District)	65	2	—
Mpengu	2	12	—
Inkubakula	2	2	—
Tondwan (for Hlose)	5	1	—
Neali	14	10	—
Boshoban	—	11	Charged with secreting but had none.
Gogoshu	20	10	—
Jokoti	5	40	—
Myaisa	1	10	—
Mkanbalaka Magea	2	4	—
Ubozo	—	4	Charged, but had none.
Mejuan	—	3	Do. do.
Mjuise, and his people	41	16	—
Mgamule	—	23	—
Nongile	—	7	Charged wrongly.
Madwaba	18	36	—
Ubito	5	11	—
Utshana	5	16	—
Mbandamana	5	100	—
Kataza	10	6	—
Mkungo	14	60	—
Mgasi	3	1	Go funga; he swears he had no more.
Mpamela	2	—	—
Mfumalwa	2	4	"Go funga."
Somzica	1	—	—
Sanati	5	7	—
Mhoai and Paga-Usmgise	40	50	—
Uhlofo	2	1	—
Mabelan	5	4	—
Nisian	5	5	—
Ukamjam	30	20	—
Mbonambi	31	6	"Go funga."
Mgam for Makedum	1	11	—
Mdushuban	1	—	—
Lorulurulu	4	4	—
Ngeve	3	7	—
Sigananda	8	20	—
Msutu	—	19	Charged wrongly.
Makadene	—	10	Do. do.
Sixleyan	—	10	Do. do.
Buftploso	26	28	—
Nobinga	10	22	—
Alkungan	17	2	—
Qumbusa	4	20	—
Fonmondo	4	—	—
Gobongo	—	4	Charged wrongly.
Nhkaka	11	2	—
Cugvengo	—	2	Charged wrongly.
Dungason	4	3	Do. do.
Mbangumbi	5	—	—
Matoqosan	—	2	Charged wrongly.
Sitimdi	—	3	Do. do.
Ngwanya	4	40	—
Sambuan	—	6	Charged wrongly.
Nomatepu	4	2	—
Quapasa	2	1	—
Makata	8	2	—
	838	941	Total - 1,779.

1,779 head of cattle, sheep and goats excepted.

No. 4.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

MY LORD,

May 25, 1884.

I HAVE had the honour of despatching this evening a telegram (marked urgent) to your Lordship, in which I have reported that no communication has reached me from the Boers in the Zulu country, but that from other sources of information I learn that they are about to attack Usibebu if he does not recognise Dinuzulu. I have further stated that such serious evils and such danger to the Reserve are before us that I am strongly of opinion we should at least make an attempt to prevent the worst, and to influence the Boers to moderation; and that I propose, therefore, to give an opportunity for opening communications which, without compromising Her Majesty's Government, may serve to effect that purpose.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to THE RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, May 26, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that I have to-day informed you by telegraph that Sir Henry Bulwer and the General Officer Commanding the troops had recommended reinforcement of the force in the Zulu Native Reserve, and I requested you to reply as soon as possible whether you thought that the infantry at Cape Town could be spared for that purpose, as a temporary arrangement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

Sir Hercules Robinson.

No. 6.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.

Government House, Cape Town,

MY LORD,

May 27, 1884.

I HAVE to-day received from your Lordship a telegram* acquainting me that Sir Henry Bulwer and the Lieutenant-General Commanding recommend the reinforcement of the Zulu Reserve, and inquiring if I think the infantry at the Cape can be spared as a temporary arrangement.

In reply I telegraphed to your Lordship that on Saturday last (24th), in answer to a similar question from Sir Leicester Smyth, I informed him that I saw no objection to Cape Town being left temporarily without troops. In acknowledging this Sir Leicester Smyth telegraphed yesterday (26th) that he would only avail himself of the troops now stationed here in case of emergency, of which there was no present sign.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON,
High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

* See No. 5.

No. 7.

L. L. DILLWYN, Esq., M.P., to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.,

MY LORD,

May 27, 1884.

I AM requested by several members of the House of Commons interested in South Africa, to write to your Lordship with reference to the disturbed state of affairs in the Zulu Native Reserve. We observe with great regret that a collision of some kind has taken place between Mr. Osborn, the Resident Commissioner, and the native inhabitants of that territory, and that in consequence troops have been sent out to Etshowe and stationed in other places.

Disaffection must very widely prevail to render such measures necessary, and we therefore wish very strongly to express our opinion that the cause of the mischief should be probed to the bottom.

We do not believe that such an inquiry can be satisfactorily instituted by Mr. Osborn, or any other official whose conduct is in question, and we therefore hope that your Lordship will, by asking his Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson to proceed to Etshowe, or by some other equally satisfactory mode of procedure, secure such an investigation as will settle once for all the question as to whether the outbreak in the Reserve is due to acts of mismanagement or oppression on the part of persons who represent British authority in that territory.

I am also requested to express to your Lordship the hope that no attempt will be made to extend the boundaries of the Reserve without the consent of the Chiefs and people whose interests are at stake. We believe that the evils which have existed in Zululand since the war have originated to a great extent in our failure to ascertain the wishes of the people, and in our disregard of those wishes when they have been, perhaps, somewhat irregularly expressed.

I beg now to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of May 2nd,* in which you answer my communication of April 12th,† concerning Mr. Grant. We did not understand, as your Lordship appears to have done, that Mr. Grant wished before proceeding to Zululand to have some formal recognition by the Government of Natal or by Her Majesty's Government; such is not the impression we have formed from Mr. Grant's letters to us. What he did want was some assurance that he would not be ordered to leave the country after he had entered it, and that he would not be exposed to personal discourtesy, as he was on a former occasion. Why could not Sir H. Bulwer have caused his private secretary to write to Mr. Grant in the sense of your Lordship's letter instead of addressing him in terms which produced the belief in our minds as well as in his that if he had gone obstacles would have been placed in the way of his visit?

I am anxious that your Lordship should remember that fines have been imposed upon many Natives in the Reserve who are known to have been friendly to the late King, and that consequently Mr. Grant may well hesitate to give to the Natal Government such information respecting the messages he received, as he would I feel sure, willingly place in your Lordship's hands. When we find that a Bill adopted by the Legislative Council, with the approval of the Local Government, gives extraordinary powers to the authorities to prevent Zulus from personally communicating with their friends in the Colony, and when we are assured that that Bill, which we hope will not receive the Royal assent, will if it becomes law, probably have the effect of depriving us of information which we believe to be essential to the public interests, it is not surprising that Mr. Grant should hesitate to make known the channels through which messages from the Zulu chiefs have reached him.

We have received from Mr. Grant a very full answer to the statements concerning himself and the proceedings of the late King and of the Zulu people which have been made by Sir H. Bulwer in his despatches, but this matter I reserve for the present.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. L. DILLWYN.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.

&c.

&c.

&c.

* No. 77 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

† No. 64 in same Paper.

No. 7a.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received May 28, 1884.)

(TELEGRAPHIC.)

28th May. Sub-Commissioner has heard from Boer source that the Boers on 21st May publicly proclaimed Dinuzulu king midst large number of Usutu(s); that Uhamu not present, but he promise(d) to submit; that Usibebu sent representative, recognizing Dinuzulu as successor to Cetywayo, Dinuzulu and Boers promising on their part respect territory of Usibebu as given British Government; that, after proclamation, Boers and Dinuzulu confirmed agreement signed with former to protect Dinuzulu and his rights in return portion territory ceded by him to former; that same day Dinuzulu proclaimed amnesty, told people disperse.

No. 8.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received May 29, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Camp, Karkloof, Natal, April 28, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a Despatch which I have received from the Resident Commissioner in the Zulu Native Reserve, forwarding statements made to him by messengers who had arrived at Etshowe from the Chiefs Usibebu and Uhamu; as also copies of letters addressed to him at the instance of those Chiefs.

2. These communications relate to the recent proceedings of the Usutu party, and to the part which, it is said, is being taken by certain subjects of the Transvaal in furthering the plan of the Usutu leaders to set up Dinuzulu as successor to Cetywayo.

3. There is good reason to believe that Umnyamana, and probably Ndabuko, and the other brothers of Cetywayo who are associated with Ndabuko, have been negotiating with some people belonging to the Transvaal with the view of obtaining assistance in their designs against Usibebu and Uhamu, and in establishing the supremacy of the Usutu party, of which Dinuzulu is put forward as the representative. It is said also that the Boers with whom they have been negotiating have encouraged them to expect the intervention of the Transvaal Government and the maintenance of the Zulu dynasty in the person of Dinuzulu, under the auspices and protection of the Transvaal; and Dinuzulu himself, it is asserted, has, for this purpose, been removed into the Transvaal.

4. To what extent individual subjects of the Transvaal are likely to give active assistance to the Usutus in their intended invasion of Usibebu's territory or in any attack upon Uhamu it is difficult to say. None of them have any cause of complaint against Usibebu, but the temptation of obtaining land, concessions of which would be freely promised to them by the Usutu leaders in return for their services, is a great temptation, for the rich grazing lands of Upper Zululand have very long been a coveted possession in Transvaal eyes.

5. Mr. Osborn reports that the burial of Cetywayo's remains by the brothers took place at the Inkandhla on Wednesday last, the 23rd instant.

The large Usutu force, which has been assembled ever since the end of last month, first at the Inhlazatye and afterwards at the Ngome, remained for a long while ready to be moved forward to the invasion of Usibebu's territory, that Chief expecting an immediate attack, and awaiting it close to his frontier. For some reason, however, the attack was put off, and Mr. Osborn says that he hears Umnyamana decided to postpone it until after the burial had taken place, and until Ndabuko could join him. Meanwhile a large portion of the force appears to have been dispersed; but it is supposed that the dispersion is only temporary, and that it may have been caused by the difficulty experienced in procuring food for so large a number of men for any length of time.

I have &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 8.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Received April 26, 1884.)

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 22, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Umjanja and three other messengers from Usibebu came to me yesterday and delivered the message from their Chief, as shown in the annexed statement made by them. They also handed me a letter, dated the 14th instant, written and signed by Mr. H. R. Hamilton, in which Usibebu informs me that he has ascertained that Dinuzulu was in the Transvaal, to which place he has been conveyed by certain Zulus and four Dutchmen (Boers), whose Kaffir names are stated in the letter, of which I annex a copy.

After delivering the words of their Chief the messengers told me that Usibebu had stationed a force of 35 companies on his border (but within his territory), opposite Ngome, as a protection against invasion by the Usutu, who had concentrated a very large force under Umyamana at the latter place, and were threatening to attack him. They added that it was the intention of the Manhlagazi not to make any aggressive movement unless attacked by the Usutu.

The messengers from Usibebu were accompanied by Matyeni, who was sent to me by the Chief Uhamu with a message, which I took down in writing. He also handed me a letter written by Mr. H. J. Nunn by desire of the Chief. Copies of these documents are enclosed for your Excellency's information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, &c., Natal.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 21, 1884.

Appear: Unjanja, Muti, Ntemba, and Jiba, who state:—

We are sent by Usibebu to the Resident Commissioner to deliver to him these his words:—

I inform my father (the Resident Commissioner) that I (Usibebu) am surrounded by "impis" everywhere. The Mpukunyoni people have invaded my territory and seized 280 head of cattle, and killed three of my people. Somkele has sent to ask Nozingili (Chief of the Makasana tribe) to join in the attack on me. It will be impossible for me to communicate with "my father" now that I am surrounded on all parts. I hear that my enemies have engaged several Boers; how am I to fight white men? Even if I succeeded against my enemies, I cannot prevent them repeating their attack on me, as I am not allowed to pursue them beyond my boundaries. Now, as I am surrounded on all sides by my enemies (black and white), I pray that the Resident Commissioner will allow my friends in the Reserve to come to my assistance. I have to report that I attacked and killed 20 of Bantubensumo's people in their cave, as they killed and plundered some of my people a short time previously. Bantubensumo's people who were punished by me were in my own territory, where they had taken up a strong position in a cave, from whence they committed murder and other depredations against my people. They form a section of the Butelese under Umyamana.

Reply:—Tell Usibebu I much regret to hear that he finds himself threatened by enemies on all sides. It will be his duty to do all he can for the protection of his people and defence of his territory. I have no power to authorise him to pursue his enemies and carry out warlike operations beyond his boundaries, nor have I the power to allow people from the Reserve to go to his assistance. As to Boers joining his enemies against him, it is my opinion that if any do so join it will be either those now squatting in the upper part of Zululand, and they are not many, or a few unauthorised individuals just within the Transvaal boundary. No force can be sent by the Transvaal authorities, as it would be a contravention of the agreement entered into by the Boers with the Government.

I will send Usibebu's message to the Governor for his information.

SIR,

Banganomo, April 14, 1884.

USIBEBU wishes to know if you are aware that Cetywayo's son (Dinuzulu) has been taken from the Reserve by Dabankulu, Sengula, sons of Quaas, and Ponsile (son of Manyosi), and four Dutchmen known by the Zulus by Inkulu-laudi, George (son of Makowe), Mapique, Ukote (son of Makowe).

He can vouch for the veracity of above information, as his informers have seen above-mentioned men with Cetywayo's son in the Transvaal. While the informers and others were in the Transvaal, having been sent by Oham, he saw Cetywayo's son, and was called by one of the Boers herein mentioned and was told to deliver following message to Oham, viz. :—

That Oham must come to the Transvaal and take care of Cetywayo's son ; further, if he refused to do so they (all the Boers) would come and fight him.

Oham sent the messengers on here to Usibebu.

Usibebu humbly begs to inform you that he is doing his duty to the Government in submitting to you the above.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. R. HAMILTON.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve, April 21, 1884.

Appears Matyeni, who states :—

I was sent by my Chief Uhamu to Usibebu ; my instructions were to proceed with Usibebu's messengers to the Resident Commissioner.

Uhamu sent to inform Usibebu that four Boers, Nkontyi, Mapica, Nkoseluhlaza, and Kaneladi, who were on their way to Umyamana to fetch some cattle, had sent to him (Uhamu) to ask for an interview on their return. Before the Boers returned from Umyamana a man who had been with the Boers came to Uhamu and said that he (Uhamu) must not believe what the Boers had said about fetching cattle, their real object was to fetch the prince Dinuzulu, and that they were nothing but enemies. The four above-mentioned Boers are still with Umyamana, eight Boers joined them there. On my way down I heard that Ndabankulu and another headman had fetched Dinuzulu out from the Ingome and taken him to the Boers.

Reply :

Tell Uhamu that I believe the Boers who are taking part in matters in Zululand are those squatting in his neighbourhood and have left the Transvaal, or perhaps a few unauthorised Boers living just within the Transvaal boundaries. The Boer authorities living in Transvaal territory cannot interfere or send any forces into Zululand for any purpose.

I thank Uhamu for sending the information, which I will forward to the Governor.

Mr. NUNN to Mr. OSBORN.

SIR,

Oham's Head-quarters, April 8, 1884.

I HAVE the honour, by desire of the Chief Oham, to forward you a copy of a letter sent this day to the Transvaal. Had there been any Resident in Zululand of course the communication would have been made through his office.

The letter will explain the state of affairs, but the Chief wishes to inform you that the Boers say that Ndinuzulu is King of Zululand ; that they make him so ; that the English have nothing to do with Zululand, it is Boer territory, they having beat the English at Majuba. Oham wishes to ask what he is to do ; his army has never crossed the boundary, and the Boers are constantly sending their natives to kill his people and take his cattle.

Mr. Osborn, C.M.G., Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.
Native Reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. J. NUNN,
pro Oham.

April 9th.

Information just received here that Field Cornet Meyer, C. Van Staden have gone to the Reserve to bring up Ndabuko and Ndinuzulu ; they are accompanied by Indabainculu, son of Oquaze.

(Signed) H. J. N.

Mr. NUNN to LANDDROST, Utrecht.

SIR, Oham's Head-quarters, April 8, 1884.
I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Chief Oham, to inform you that within the last few days Field Cornet Meyer, C. Van Staden, and three other farmers of the Republic have been to Umyamana, having previously sent two policemen named "Kamasan" and "Umlungan" to the Etshowe in the Reserve to call Ndabuko and Ndinuzulu, Cetywayo's brother and son, for the purpose of killing Oham and Usipebo (sic).

The Baquilisin from the Transvaal have lately killed a number of Oham's subjects of Umsean's tribe, and taken a large number of cattle.

The Kafirs under "Umballalo," Inyamana's son, have also made a raid from the Transvaal and killed a number of kraals, taking the cattle belonging to Umpashlan and others of Oham's subjects near the Engotche. All this plunder is now in the Transvaal. Genekin, Ensimbin, Slomo, Hinsen, also a son of Stuurmaan, one of the head Boer police, all being policemen of the Transvaal, and under the Landdrost of Wakkerstroom, ordered out these impis and accompanied them on their raids.

The Chief Oham wishes you to forward this for the information of the Transvaal Government, and to ask General Joubert if he is aware of these constant aggressions of Transvaal subjects.

The Chief Oham wants to know what he has done to the Transvaal that he should be so treated.

The Hon. the Landdrost of Utrecht,
&c. &c. &c.
Transvaal Republic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT J. NUNN,
Agent for Oham.

P.S.—A Mr. Potgieter, Kafir named Amapeka who is residing without permission in this country, is also implicated with Field Cornet Meyer and C. van Staden in these affairs.*

(Signed) H. J. N.

No. 9.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 5, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 6, 1884.

MY LORD,

I REPORTED to your Lordship by telegraph on the 30th ultimo† that two native messengers who had been sent by the Resident Commissioner to Umnyamana had been killed by people belonging to that Chief.

2. The information contained in the official report which I have received from Mr. Osborn, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith, leaves, I regret to say, but little room to doubt that the two messengers have been murdered by Umnyamana's men, and that the act was committed by Umnyamana's orders.

3. It is against the usage of native races in South Africa to injure the persons of messengers, and the cruel act of Umnyamana in killing these two defenceless men can only be regarded as one of defiance and hostility. That he has thus committed himself against us shows a determination to end at once all relations and communications with us; and as he would certainly not do this unless he had some other support to fall back upon, his conduct is strong presumptive evidence of the compact which, it is believed, the Usutus have made with the Boers.

4. Under the circumstances of the country it is impossible for us at present either to call Umnyamana to account for his act or to have any communication with him which would risk the lives of other messengers.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

* Sic in original.

† No. 73 in [C. 4037], May 1884.

Enclosure in No. 9.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 25, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to represent that on Friday the 28th of last month I sent two messengers, viz., Dhlaba and Lugele, with a message to the Chief Umnyamana in reference to the assembling of a large armed Usutu force at his kraals in the Ngome, with which force I had every reason to believe he intended to immediately invade Usibebu's territory.

The object of the messages was to induce Umnyamana, in a friendly manner, to relinquish his intention of attacking Usibebu and to disperse the force he had collected for that purpose, and to do all in his power to preserve peace and quiet amongst the people in the territory to which Cetywayo was restored last year until such time as arrangements could be made for the permanent settlement of the country by Her Majesty's Government; and I am promised that if he would exert himself in the maintenance of order and peace, I would not omit to bring to your Excellency's notice for favourable consideration any service he rendered in that direction. I pointed out, too, that he having held the post of chief induna to Cetywayo up to the time of his death, it was only his duty to use his best efforts to keep the country quiet and to prevent fighting.

I further informed him that only a few days previous to my sending to him I had, by your Excellency's instructions, peremptorily desired Usibebu not to attack or in any way interfere with the Usutu or any others outside his own territory, and that therefore he, Umnyamana, had no cause to expect attack or molestation from the Manhlagazi.

As my messengers, Dhlaba and Lugele, did not return to me within a reasonable time, three men, viz., Nkominopondo and two others, proceeded to the Umfolosi to make inquiries about them, as, on account of the disturbed state of the country beyond Umhlatusi, fears for their safety were being entertained.

These three men have now returned, and I greatly regret to say that, judging from the report they make, there is no room for doubt that both my messengers have been killed by a party of men belonging to the Usutu force assembled under Umnyamana beyond the Black Umfolosi.

I enclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of the statement made before me this day by Nkominopondo and the others, who went to make inquiries about the messengers.

The killing of these two men was perpetrated evidently in the immediate neighbourhood of Umnyamana's kraal shortly after the beginning of the current month, and as no communication has up to this date been received by me from Umnyamana (or from any other Chief) to excuse or account for the conduct of those who were guilty of the act, or to assert his disapproval thereof, I am bound to look upon the occurrence as a very decided and distinct assertion of open hostility.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.
Natal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 25, 1884.

Appear Nkominopondo, Ntonsana, and Tetana, who state:—

As the messengers Dhlaba and Lugele, who were sent by the Resident Commissioner from Entumeni to Umyamana, did not return in due time, we started, with the Resident Commissioner's consent, towards Umyamana's country to look for them. We ascertained from the natives at Kwamagwaza Mission Station that Dhlaba and Lugele passed there on their way to Umyamana. On the third day after we left Eshowe we met a white man, a trader, whose Kaffir name is Pitolo, near the Ntuzuma Hill, who, on our inquiry, informed us that he went with his waggon to near Umyamana's kraal beyond the Black Umfolosi, to trade; that while there he saw two messengers arrive at the kraal, and he heard that they were sent by the Resident Commissioner to Umyamana with a message urging him to maintain peace. That same day he saw both messengers leave Umyamana's. They had proceeded but a short distance along the path, evidently on

their way back, when he saw a number of Umyamana's men suddenly jumping up alongside the path and near to the messengers. They at once closed in on the two messengers and stabbed them to death with assegais, and then dragged their bodies into a gully near by. Pitolo told us he spoke to the men after they had killed them. The men answered him in an insulting manner, that the messengers were killed because they were sent there by "Malimati" (the Resident Commissioner), and that they would kill all messengers coming from him. They further told him that he had no business to interfere in the matter; some of the men threatened to stab him, and went so far as to draw the blade of their assegais across his face; that he would have been killed but that some of the men were against it, saying he was only trading there, and did not belong to "Malimati." Pitolo had three native servants with him when he told us this, and they confirmed everything he had said. From the description of the two men killed given by Pitolo and his servants it is certain that they were Dhlaba and Lugele.

Pitolo advised us to tell the people that we came from Mr. Robertson. If the Usutu people learnt that we came from the Resident Commissioner they would certainly kill us. On arriving at Klass Louw's store, near the White Umfolosi, he told us that Dhlaba and Lugele had been waylaid and killed on their return from Umyamana's and not far from his kraal.

From several natives whom we saw on our way we heard that two messengers from the Resident Commissioner had been killed at Umyamana's. They stated to us their names, viz., Dhlaba and Lugele. We returned to Eshowe without having crossed the Black Umfolosi.

No. 10.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 5, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

MY LORD,

May 6, 1884.

ON the 3rd instant* I reported to your Lordship that I had received information from the Resident Commissioner, to the effect that a force which had been sent by Umnyamana against Uhamu had been defeated with great loss by Uhamu's men, and that fugitives were arriving in the Reserve.

2. I have since received from Mr. Osborn a letter in which he states that the Usutu force referred to was a strong body of men sent out by Umnyamana to seize a large herd of cattle which had been seen near some kraals belonging to Uhamu. But the cattle had been placed there as a decoy, and when the Usutus were in the act of seizing the cattle they were attacked by Uhamu's men, who were lying in ambush on either side. The Usutus did not stand their ground long, but fled, pursued by Uhamu's force, who killed a large number of them, including several men of rank who acted as leaders.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 11.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 5, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 6, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of some correspondence relative to the state of affairs in the Reserve Territory.

2. In my Despatch of the 28th ultimo,† I mentioned that the formal burial of Cetywayo's remains by his brothers had taken place at the Inkaphla a few days before. On the 30th ultimo, Mr. Osborn wrote to say that the Usutus at that place were assuming a very defiant tone and attitude, and that the brothers had refused to receive a messenger whom he had sent to them. The loyal Natives in the neighbourhood had also been threatened, and the brothers had gone so far as to call up people

* No. 80 in [C.—4037] May 1884.

† No. 8.

for the *ihlambo* or "washing of spears." The Resident Commissioner had thereupon decided to proceed with a strong force to the Inkanhla. Three days later he reported that he wished, if possible, to delay taking this force to the Inkanhla, in view of the expected contest between Usibebu and Umnyamana, but that in consequence of the further information he had received of the Usutu proceedings he could delay no longer; and I have this morning received from him a despatch in which he states that two companies of Usutus had on the 2nd instant seized the cattle belonging to some loyal people near the Inkanhla, saying that they did so by order of the late King's brothers, and because the people from whom they took the cattle were seceders from the cause of the Usutu party. Mr. Osborn, therefore, was making arrangements to proceed with a strong force with the object of maintaining order in that portion of the Reserve.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 11.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
April 24, 1884.

SIR,

It is generally reported, and there is reason to believe, that many people have recently left the Reserve Territory for the express purpose of taking part in the hostilities for which active preparations are being made by Umnyamana beyond the Umhlatusi. Most of these people, no doubt, are from among those who have taken refuge in the Reserve since the overthrow of Cetywayo at Ulundi on the 21st of July last, and who, having availed themselves of the safety of the Reserve, now take advantage of the security in which they are able to leave their families and cattle and, either of their own free will or ordered by their Chiefs, feel themselves free to take part in the Usutu expedition in force which, it is said, is about to be made against Usibebu. Others again may be people belonging to and resident in the Reserve and who, being under Chiefs or headmen attached to the Usutu party, are sent by those Chiefs and headman to assist the Usutu cause. It is also stated that Sokwetyata's people who belong to the anti-Usutu party, and who were recently obliged to take refuge in the Reserve, have taken advantage of its protection to cross the boundary and commit depredations on their enemies.

These proceedings cannot be tolerated, and I have to request that you will take what steps you can to ascertain who are the people that have gone out of the Reserve for these purposes, and to what Chiefs they belong, and, if you think fit, to punish them or the persons who sent them for so grave a breach of the peace and good order of the Reserve territory.

In view of the Usutu movement that is being made across the Umhlatusi with the primary object, it is believed, of attacking the Chiefs Usibebu and Uhamu, you are well aware that whether that movement is successful or unsuccessful the consequences of it will in all probability lead either to great inconvenience or to great disturbance in the Reserve territory; for if the Usutus are defeated by Usibebu they will undoubtedly resort in numbers to the Reserve territory, and should they, on the other hand, succeed in defeating Usibebu they may not impossibly, elated by their success, carry out the intention, which it is stated they have expressed, of attacking the loyal people belonging to the anti-Usutu party in the Reserve.

Under these circumstances it is your duty to take active measures to preserve good order in the territory should there be any rush of defeated Usutus into it, or to defend the territory and the loyal people in it from any Usutu aggression.

I wrote to you at some length on this subject in an unofficial letter on the 3rd of April, to which I called your attention in my telegram of the 7th instant; and I should wish to hear from you what measures you have taken for the peace or the protection of the territory under either of the contingencies to which I have adverted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Melmoth Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Resident Commissioner,
Reserve Territory.

Enclosure 2 in No. 11.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(Telegram.)

Karkloof, April 30, 1884. I have received with extreme regret your Despatch of 25th April. This act is so hostile and serious that it becomes necessary to be fully prepared in Reserve against further Usutu violence, and to place your defensive resources in readiness to act at once if required. You will have to consider also position of any Usutu leaders and agitators, refugees, or residents in Reserve.

Enclosure 3 in No. 11.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER. (Received May 2, 1884.)

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 28, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's Despatch of the 24th instant.

With regard to the circumstance that Zulus, who came as refugees into the Reserve some months ago, and have since remained here with their families and stock for safety, have lately crossed the border and joined the force under Umyamana, I have to state that on becoming aware that Umyamana was gathering an Usutu force, I caused the refugees and all other Zulus resident in the Reserve who were known or suspected to have their sympathies with the Usutu party, to be distinctly warned that they were prohibited from crossing the boundary for the purpose of taking part in the armed proceedings which that party was then organizing on a large scale against Usibebu under direction of Umyamana. They were cautioned that any disobedience of this warning would subject them to severe punishment, and that any cattle held by them in the Reserve would be liable to seizure should they disregard this order.

Notwithstanding this warning and caution which was given them in Mr. Pretorius' district as well as in this, a considerable number of these fugitives did arm and went to join Umyamana. They went in considerable numbers from Mr. Pretorius' district, viz., a portion of the Hlalosi (late Seketwayo's tribe), and a good many belonging to the tribe of the late Sirayo.

As it was impossible for many grave reasons to overlook their defiant conduct, Mr. Pretorius seized the cattle belonging to them which they had left behind them in the Reserve. Enclosed is copy of a letter from Mr. Pretorius reporting that he had seized some of their cattle and was about to make further seizures. I have requested him to inform the people who had charge of the cattle when taken by him that the seizures made will form subject of subsequent adjudication when the conduct of the respective owners has been inquired into.

Not many refugees or resident Zulus went from my district to join Umyamana's force; those who did go went from the Usutu tribes living at Nkandhla. Owing to the attitude of the tribes to which they belong, I have not yet been able to deal with their cases; it is my intention, however, to take steps shortly, which will, I trust, enable me to do so.

I enclose herein, for your Excellency's information, a memorandum of the arrangements that have been made in organizing forces to meet and repel any invasion of the Reserve that may occur should the meditated attack of the Usutu upon Usibebu prove successful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Natal.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Mr. OSBORN.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
April 18, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that all the Natives belonging to the late Sirayo's tribe and residing in this district have left the Reserve armed for the purpose

of joining the Usutu force in Central Zululand. All these men had received due warning not to go, and were told that disobedience to this order would be severely punished. I have commenced to-day formally to seize all stock left behind by those who went, returning a few milch cows to each kraal required for sustenance of wives and children with the distinct understanding that these are to be considered a loan given to them by the Government. To-morrow I start again to visit other kraals for the same purpose.

M. Osborn, Esq., Resident Commissioner,
Zulu Native Reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS.

(Memorandum.)

There are at present stationed along the whole border from waggon drift on road leading to St. Paul's upwards small bodies of men numbering about six to twelve men each. They are within touch of each other and patrol day and night. From the waggon drift down the Umhlatusi to the sea the border is watched by the Chiefs Siyunguza, Umgija, Manyonyo, Palana, and others, who with their tribes occupy the land closely up to the south bank of the river.

All the loyal Chiefs in the Reserve have their men ready for any emergency.

On the lower Umhlatusi border from the sea to Umgijwa's location will be John Dunn, the petty Chiefs Palana, Manyonyo, Sidcweledcwele, Habana, and Zimema, aggregate strength about 1,500 men. From Umgijwa's location up to half way between the road to St. Paul's and Nkandhla will be Siyunguza and Umgijwa with their people, also about 1,500 strong.

Opposite Nkandhla will be concentrated the people of Mavumengwana, Dhlolongwana, Nonzama, and a number of petty tribes which I have organised. The whole of this body will number over 1,600 men. Beyond Nkandhla will be the Chief Umbusu with the smaller tribes of Matyana Mondisa, Tamana, Mvunyelwa, and Mashinana. These together would number also quite 1,500 men. The grand total of the different bodies of men specified being 6,100, which I believe to be less than the actual number will be found to be. M. Oftebro will be with the force at Nkandhla, and F. Galloway (who is a very good man) will take charge of the force of Umbuso, and those who are to act with him. The force on the coast will be under John Dunn, of whose people the force will mainly consist, and that of Siyunguza and Umgijwa will be placed in charge of Lieutenant Addison, Reserve Territory Carbineers.

The force of Umbuso in charge of Mr. Galloway will protect that part of the border extending either side of the Babanango, to the upper side to where it comes in touch with the forces placed by Mr. Pretorius in his district. Mr. Pretorius will raise forces out of Hlubi's Basuto's and some sections of loyal resident Zulus. I have not yet received from him the probable number of men he could raise, but I estimate it at 1,500. Of these about 500 will be mounted and armed with rifles, forming a very effective branch.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

Enclosure 4 in No. 11.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Rietvlei, May 2, 1884. Yours of 28th, received. Report defensive resources satisfactory, and arrangements approved. Each division should be ready to act in concert, if required.

Ndabuko should not be allowed to establish independent and defiant position in Inkandhla, but you should feel sure of your ground before acting.

Enclosure 5 in No. 11.

(Telegram.)

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, April 30, 1884. Uhamu has gained important victory over considerable force sent against him by Umnyamana. He defeated the Usutu with great slaughter. Fugitives are arriving in Reserve.

I have ascertained that Cetywayo's brothers are preparing to hold Ihlambu or washing of spears, therefore I proceed with strong force to Inkandhla day after to-morrow, and will take every precautionary measure.

Enclosure 6 in No. 11.

(Telegram.)

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, May 3, 1884. I wished if possible to delay taking force to Nkandhla, pending intelligence about Usibebu and Umyamana, but I can delay no longer as the Usutus threatened loyals with strong armed party yesterday on this side Nkandhla.

Enclosure 7 in No. 11.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
May 3, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I ascertained this afternoon that the Usutu people at Nkandhla sent out yesterday an armed force consisting of two companies of men, and seized all the cattle belonging to six kraals situated in the vicinity of Nkandhla and drove the cattle into the forest where the Usutu are assembled with Cetywayo's brothers. The men composing this force stated openly that the cattle were seized by order of the late King's brothers, because their owners had seceded from the Usutu party. Another Usutu force, also consisting of two companies, was seen in another direction near Nkandhla, but I have not ascertained that any seizure was made by it.

The men forming these forces shouted to Natives met by them who were anti-Usutu, that they, the Usutu, were about to kill all those who were not of their party, and who acknowledged here any authority but that of Cetywayo's brothers.

As a consequence of these proceedings and threats of the Usutu great alarm prevails amongst the loyal people, and all those living within a radius of about 12 miles from Nkandhla have taken to sleep with their families in the rocks or bush, fearing night attack if they slept at their kraals.

Having become aware of the threatening attitude of the Usutu at Nkandhla, some days previous to the occurrences above related, I directed several of the loyal Chiefs and tribes to hold themselves in readiness for duty, should it become necessary to resort to the use of force against the people at Nkandhla.

On receiving the information that the Usutu had seized the cattle from six kraals, I at once sent directions to the loyal Chiefs to march with their men and meet me to-morrow afternoon at a point indicated about six miles south of Nkandhla. This force will consist, I estimate, of fully 1,200 men. In addition thereto the Chiefs Umbusu, Tamana, Umvunyelwa, who live towards the Quedeni, will join with about 900 men from that side, and I have requested Mr. Pretorius to send down at once a contingent of 100 mounted men of Hlubi's.

I have further arranged that a force of about 2,500 men be in readiness as a reserve to march at a moment's notice.

I start from here to-morrow to meet the chiefs and their men as appointed.

I shall not fail to use my earnest endeavours to come to a satisfactory arrangement with the Usutu at Nkandhla without resorting to force to compel them to keep the peace and respect duly established authority within the Reserve territory.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Natal.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 5, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 6, 1884.

MY LORD,

THE state of affairs in the Zulu country has become gravely complicated by the information received as to the part that is being taken by a number of Boers belonging to the Transvaal and the Free State, who, it is reported, have entered into a compact with the leaders of the Usutu party to support that party and to make Dinuzulu King of the country, they receiving in return for their support the concession of a portion of the Zulu territory.

2. I have been unable as yet to obtain any positive and reliable information on the subject; but there is sufficient reason to believe that some movement of this kind is on foot.

3. In my despatch of the 28th ultimo,* I forwarded a despatch from the Resident Commissioner together with the statements of messengers who had arrived from Usibebu and Uhamu reporting the proceedings of the Usutu party against them, and representing that the Usutus were enlisting the assistance of the Boers. On the following day I received a message from Mr. Osborn in which he stated that other messengers had just come from Usibebu to complain that Boers were about to help the Usutus. Information of a more decided character also reached me from other quarters. On the 27th instant I had received a telegram from Newcastle which stated that a committee of Boers had been formed to annex Zululand. But as the name of the person who sent the telegram was unknown to me, I desired the Resident Magistrate at Newcastle to obtain what information he could about him as also on the subject of the information which had been sent. The Resident Magistrate replied that the person who had sent the telegram had left again for the Transvaal; that he appeared to have volunteered the information in a spirit of friendliness, and that it agreed with the reports received at Newcastle which were to the effect that a conference of some 800 Boers was being held at the Hlobane mountain in Zululand; that they had Dinuzulu with them, and that they proposed to make him King of Zululand on consideration of the cession of a tract of country, but that it was not thought they would take any part in the impending fight. On the 3rd instant the Resident Magistrate at Newcastle sent word that it was reported that the Boers had proclaimed Dinuzulu as King of Zululand, and had taken possession of a portion of the country which they had proclaimed as an independent republic. This report certainly required confirmation, but as from good sources of information I learned that there was undoubtedly some movement of the kind going on, I at once communicated it to your Lordship with my telegraphic despatch of the 4th instant.†

4. I enclose copies of the telegrams and other communications to which I refer.

5. The magistrate at Newcastle has been desired to furnish the authority for the report sent by him and to obtain what further information he can that will throw light upon the subject to which it relates.

6. The report, as I have said, certainly needs confirmation before it can be accepted. But whilst it seems to me to be one that has anticipated the course of events yet it shows at least the interpretation put upon the Boer movement, and unless we are prepared to deal ourselves with the destinies of that large portion of the Zulu country which has been left without a ruler since the death of Cetywayo, in February last, and indeed, it may be said, since his flight from Ulundi in July last, we must be prepared to accept whatever solution of the Zulu question is worked out by the Usutu party with or without extraneous help.

7. The leaders of the Usutu party are bent on revenge against Usibebu and Uhamu, and yet are unable of themselves to overcome those Chiefs. They have also decided, for want of any other ruler, to re-establish the Zulu dynasty in the person of Dinuzulu; and as they have been told by their sympathisers in Natal that it rests with themselves to make good their own cause, they have, not unnaturally, turned to those by whose means and with whose assistance they may hope to effect their objects, and they are willing to give up a portion of the Zulu country in payment for such assistance.

8. The Boers, on their side, who are said to be a number of subjects of the Transvaal and Free States, acting independently of their Governments, see in the present necessities of the country an opportunity of obtaining possession of a large district of rich grazing lands. To what extent they may be inclined to give assistance to the Usutu party as the price of such a concession is as yet uncertain, for whilst it is said by some persons

* No. 8.

† No. 81 in [C.-4037] May 1884.

that they will not take part in the Usutu contest with Usibebu, it is on the other hand believed by many that they will do so. And if they do, and if their numbers are as great as they are represented to be, it is quite certain that Usibebu will not be able to hold his own against such a combination. He will be destroyed, and his destruction will involve that of his people, the finest and bravest people of Zululand. His destruction will be wholly undeserved, for whatever may have been said by the Usutu party and by those who have so ill advised that party, Usibebu took up arms only in self-defence, and to hold the territory which was assigned to him, and with no object of conquest or self-aggrandisement, as has been plainly shown since his success at Ulundi in July of last year. His destruction will be altogether unmerited, and I do not hesitate to say it will be the greatest misfortune to the Zulu country. A great portion of the country will pass away from the Zulu people, and the remainder, with the exception of the Reserve, will, under the Usutu dynasty, come sooner or later under the domination of the Boers.

8. Nor can we expect that we shall be saved from a contest in the Reserve, for if the Usutu party get the upper hand in Zululand they will certainly make an effort to recover the Reserve; and we shall be obliged to hold that territory by force of arms.

9. On these accounts, then, for the sake of the Reserve, for the sake of Usibebu, and I may say for the sake of the Zulu people themselves, I venture to submit that there should be some interposition on our part.

10. Had we taken over the Zulu country ourselves after the death of Cetywayo, whether the whole of it or up to the Black Umfolosi, the people generally would have gladly welcomed the restoration of order under our authority, and, whatever the leaders of the extreme Usutu party may have attempted, it is not probable that the Boers would have been tempted to enter into a compact with them against us. Their opportunity has been the absence of any rule in the country across the Umhlatusi, and the bitterness of feeling on the part of Cetywayo's brothers and Umnyamana against Usibebu, which has made them ready to sell their country to be revenged on him. For us to interpose now will, I admit, be attended with the greatest difficulty in view of the compact which, it is believed, has been made, for we shall have to deal both with the Boers and with the Usutu party. Still I am strongly convinced that for the sake of the Zulu people themselves and not less for our own sakes an effort should be made by us to avert the consequences that such a compact will certainly entail if it is carried out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 12.

* * * to his Excellency SIR H. BULWER, Pietermaritzburg.
(Received April 27, 1884.)

Newcastle, April 26, 1884.

BOER Committee formed to annex Zulu. Dinuzulu and Chief left me Friday morning. Please look out for north-east border. Wire through N. M. P.; will write by next post.

Enclosure 2 in No. 12.

GOVERNOR TO COLONIAL SECRETARY.

COLONIAL SECRETARY,

PLEASE ascertain by telegraph from the Magistrate or Acting Magistrate at Newcastle who * * * is, and whether the Magistrate can give any information on the subject of * * * telegram.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

April 28, 1884.

Enclosure 3 in No. 12.

COLONIAL SECRETARY TO RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Newcastle.

April 29, 1884.

29th. A telegram as follows was on Saturday evening forwarded to his Excellency by * * * Message begins. Boer Committee formed to annex Zulu. Dinuzulu and Chief left me Friday morning. Please look out for north-east border. Wire through N. M. P.; will write by next post. Message ends. Who is * * * ? and can you give any information on the subject of his telegram?

Enclosure 4 in No. 12.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Newcastle, to COLONIAL SECRETARY, Pietermaritzburg.

April 29, 1884.

Tenor of telegram subject of common report. Do not know who * * * is. As soon as I can learn further will let you know.

Enclosure 5 in No. 12.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Newcastle, to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Pietermaritzburg, April 30, 1884.

As far as I can ascertain * * * came from the Boer camp and left this for Wakkerstroom. The information given in his telegram was volunteered in spirit of friendliness, and agreed with reports received here; which are to the effect that a conference of some 800 Boers is being held at the Hlobane Mountain in Zululand; that they have Dinizulu with them, and propose making him King of Zululand in consideration of a cession to them of a tract of country; that Ohamu sides with them, and that they think they will make Usibepu konzela to Dinizulu. All the Boers are armed, but it is thought they do not intend to take any part in the pending fight, and that they are anxious to know whether any terms can be come to with the British Government. * * * gave the following names as members of the Boer Committee, viz.: A. M. J. Laas, Conrad Meyer, Cocke van Stade.

Enclosure 6 in No. 12.

TELEGRAM.

From Sir HENRY BULWER, Pietermaritzburg, to His Excellency the Right Hon. the HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town.

Received in Cape Town,
May 3, 1884.

Riet Vlei, May 2.—Report from Newcastle that a conference of 800 Boers at Hlobane in Zululand. Have Dinuzulu with them, and propose to make him king in consideration of cession to them of a tract of Zulu country. Names of some of Boer committee are (1) A. M. J. Laas, (2) Conrad Meyer, (3) Van Staden. The number assembled is so large that it seems impossible but Transvaal Government must have received information of what is being done; and I would ask, if your Excellency sees no objection, that representation be made to that Government against such action by Transvaal subjects. I have little doubt that some such scheme is on foot, but numbers assembled may be exaggerated.

Enclosure 7 in No. 12.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Newcastle, to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Pietermaritzburg, May 2, 1884.

Reported in town this morning that Boers have proclaimed Dinuzulu King, and taken possession of portion of Zululand, which they proclaim as an independent republic; a great number of Boers are said to be taking part in this, and are well supplied with ammunition.

Enclosure 8 in No. 12.

TELEGRAM.

From Sir HENRY BULWER, Pietermaritzburg, to His Excellency the Right Hon. the HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town.

Received in Cape Town,
May 5, 1884.

May 4.—Reported from Newcastle, Boers have proclaimed Dinuzulu King, and taken possession of portion of Zululand, which they proclaim independent republic. It is said great number of Boers taking part in this. Well supplied with ammunition.

Enclosure 9 in No. 12.

TELEGRAM.

From HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to His Excellency Sir HENRY BULWER,
Pietermaritzburg.

May 3.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegrams of 30th ultimo and 2nd instant. I telegraphed them at once to the British Resident, for communication to the Transvaal Government.

Enclosure 10 in No. 12.

TELEGRAM.

From HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to His Excellency Sir HENRY BULWER,
Pietermaritzburg.

May 5.—Yours yesterday. Is there anything I can do for you besides communicating to Transvaal Republic?

It looks as if proceedings in Bechuanaland are about to be repeated in Zululand.

Enclosure 11 in No. 12.

TELEGRAM.

From Sir HENRY BULWER, Pietermaritzburg, to His Excellency the Right Hon. the
HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town.

Received May 6, 1884.

May 6th.—Yours 5th. I am much obliged by your message. It should have been stated in my telegram of 4th, that the report, which was received from the Resident Magistrate, Newcastle, requires confirmation. That there is something of the kind there is no doubt, but that it has gone so far as reported seems doubtful. As soon as I hear further I will communicate.

No. 13.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 5, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 6, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN connexion with the subject of my Despatch of this date,* I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which I have just received under cover of one from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory. The information contained in it places beyond doubt, I regret to say, the serious character of the Boer movement in respect of Central Zululand.

I have &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 13.

MR. PRETORIUS to MR. OSBORN.

Zulu Native Reserve, Nqutu,

Sub-Commissioner's Office, May 2, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Mr. * * , from the Pemvan store, arrived here this morning with a report that about 400 Boers from the Transvaal and the Free State had "trekked" into Central Zululand, armed as for war, and well supplied with provision, for the purpose of taking possession of Cetywayo's late territory, and settling the country on behalf of Denizulu, who, it appears, is with them or under their protection. He further states that these men declare that, should it be found necessary, 600 more will come on being called out to assist them in assuring and retaining authority in Zululand, and to restore and keep order there. The leaders of these men are, I am told, Coenraad Meyer, Jacobus (Katje), Van Stade, and Philip Spies. They are in thorough earnest about the matter they have taken in hand, so at least my informant assures me. I will let you know at once anything more I might hear about this affair.

I have, &c.

M. Osborn, Esq., Reserve Commissioner,
Eshowe.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

No. 14.

The RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received June 5, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Government House, Cape Town,
May 13, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a telegram which I have received from the Governor of Natal requesting me to communicate with the Governments of the Transvaal and Orange Free State respecting Boer encroachments in Zululand.

I enclose also copies of the replies sent to Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HERCULES ROBINSON,
High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

TELEGRAM.

Received in Cape Town, 7th May 1884.

From Sir H. BULWER Pietermaritzburg, to His Excellency the HIGH COMMISSIONER Cape Town.

May 7th. Sub-commissioner, Reserve, reports four hundred Boers entered central Zululand, armed as for war. Alleged object to take possession of country and to settle it for Dinuzulu. They say six hundred others will, if necessary, support them to assume and to retain authority, and to restore and keep order.

I would ask your Excellency, if you see no objection, to make a representation on the subject to the Governments of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and to ascertain from them if the action as above reported, taken by their subjects in Zululand is taken with their sanction.

Enclosure 2 in No. 14.

TELEGRAM.

From HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to His Excellency Sir HENRY BULWER, Pietermaritzburg.

8th May. I forward to your Excellency text of a telegram just received from Sir John Brand.

Begins: I shall feel very much obliged if I could be informed what proof there is that Free State subjects have entered Zululand armed as for war. Our Government is not aware of any Free Staters having gone to Zululand, and don't think it very probable. Of course our Government would not sanction any such movement. Ends.

Enclosure 3 in No. 14.

TELEGRAM.

From HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to His Excellency Sir HENRY BULWER, Maritzburg.

8th May. I have received the following telegram from Sir John Brand:—

Begins: Since my telegram of this morning to your Excellency I have wired to the acting Landdrost of Harrismith to instruct the Field-cornets to impress upon all not to go to Zululand, as there appears to be disturbances in that country.

No. 15.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 8, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a further letter I recently received from Mr. W. Grant.

2. I desired the Colonial Secretary, in acknowledging Mr. Grant's letter, to inform him that a copy of his letter of the 5th March* was, according to his request, sent to

* Enclosure in No. 61 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

your Lordship, and in reply to his present letter, I desired that Mr. Grant should be referred to the answer given to his letter of the 5th March, adding that he well knows I cannot prevent him from going where he chooses and that he needs no permission from me for that purpose, but that I certainly should not give him any permission that would be construed into a recognition of a right on his part to interfere in Zulu affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 15.

MR. W. GRANT TO SIR H. BULWER.

SIR,

Durban, April 26, 1884.

THE Honorable Mr. Ashley is reported in "The Times" of the 25th ultimo, to have stated in the House of Commons in reply to a question asked by the Lord Mayor of London:—

("Whether he was aware that the Usutu had again asked Sir Henry Bulwer to allow Mr. William Grant to visit them, and whether such permission would be granted?")

"We have received no such request since the death of Cetywayo."

From the nature of this reply it is obvious that his Lordship the Secretary of State could not at that date have known of the request from the Zulu people communicated to your Excellency in my letter of the 5th ultimo, and which request I have now the honor to inform your Excellency was earnestly repeated in a message from the Chiefs and headmen received by me on the 15th instant.

Under these circumstances I have the honour to ask whether I am at liberty to pass through the Zulu Native Reserve in order to comply with the request of the leading men of Zululand.

I have the further honor to ask that in case your Excellency is unable to give me a favourable answer, you will consider the propriety of referring the matter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State by telegram, as I know well that the leading men of Zululand are prepared to abide by my counsel, and that it is in my power to avert much threatened mischief and thus render considerable aid to Her Majesty's Government in the settlement of that distracted country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM GRANT.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Governor of Natal and
H.M. Special Commissioner for Zululand,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 16.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY
(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 8, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE reported to your Lordship by a telegram despatched this day* that a message has been received from the Chief Usibebu complaining of the assistance that is being given by the Boers to the Usutus, and asking help from the English to whom, as he says, he belongs.

2. I have the honour to enclose herewith copies of the communications from Usibebu, which the Resident Commissioner has forwarded to me.

3. Usibebu states that he is not afraid of the Usutus, but that he cannot contend with success against them if they are assisted by the Boers, of whom, he says, a force of three hundred in number has joined Umnyamana.

* No. 92 in [C.—4037] May 1884.

4. He says, and he says, I fear truly, that if the Usutus by means of this assistance beat him they "will spare none." He appeals to the obedience he has always shown to the Government by whom he was appointed, and he declares that he never did anything to the Usutus to provoke their enmity; his only fault in their eyes being his acceptance of a chieftainship from the English.

5. Whilst Usibebu's assertion that he has had no other fault except his acceptance of the chieftainship must, to some extent, be qualified by the remembrance that he was not without blame in his disputes with the brothers Ndabuko and Usiwetu in the year 1881, and that subsequent to the unjustifiable invasion of his territory in March 1883, he, in his turn, has proceeded more than once to retaliate upon those who had attacked him, I am bound to say that he has, with these exceptions, loyally abided by the terms of his chieftainship and loyally paid attention to the injunctions of the Government; that in the case of these exceptions he was stung into retaliatory measures by the unjust aggression upon him and the openly declared intention of the Usutus to destroy him; that he has not been the aggressor in the long contest between him and the Usutus, but the defender of his own rights; and that he has, I firmly believe, only desired to live in peace and to be left in peace.

6. But whilst his acceptance or assumption of an independent chieftainship was no doubt his first and great offence in the eyes of the Usutu leaders, it has not been his only offence. A far greater cause of offence lies in the ability with which he has resisted all their attacks upon him, in the defeat which he has inflicted upon them in every engagement, and in the proof he has given that he possesses the master mind and master hand in war by means of which he has prevailed against superior numbers. The Usutus have attacked him, and he has scourged them with their own weapons. They feel that they are powerless of themselves to overcome him and that the victory in the great contest remains with him. Their hatred of him on these accounts is too great to allow of any other consideration except the desire to be revenged on him, and it is with this object that they have thrown themselves into the arms of the Boers, satisfied to give up the interests of the Zulu people if only they can obtain their revenge upon an enemy who has proved himself so much their superior.

7. It will, indeed, be a cruel case if the Usutus, with the aid of a Boer force, are able to defeat Usibebu. It is feared that they will spare neither age nor sex, that no mercy will be shown, and that the finest people in Zululand will be destroyed.

8. Usibebu will not deserve his fate, and his fate will be a reproach upon us in the Native mind which it will not be easy to remove.

9. I would, therefore, trust that some interposition on our part may yet be in time to avert that fate, and avert the further consequences that will result from it, for there can be no doubt that we shall feel the effect when once we have lost so brave and loyal a friend of the English Government.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 16.

USIBEBU (through MR. J. ECKERSLEY) to MR. OSBORN.

SIR,

Manhlagazie,
April 29, 1884.

THE Chief Usibebu desires me to write and inform you that about 300 Boers with the whole of the Usutu Impie mean to make an attack on him in a day or two. The Usutu Impie was collected at Umyatie but have now gone to join Umyamana and the Boers will join them to-morrow. I have only just arrived from the Biggarsberg myself and saw several Boers armed saying that they were going to kill Usibebu and take the Zulu country over for Dinuzulu. The chief Usibebu desires me to say that he is under the British Government and would like help from that quarter. The Boers think that they may frighten Usibebu into giving up his country to them, but they will be disappointed, for he will fight them first, as they say that they will first send word to him to put down his arms as they have come down to take the whole country for Cetywayo's

son Dinuzulu. I managed to get here by way of Swaziland, through Transvaal first ; I had little trouble this time, I was stopped by Mapelu about three weeks ago.

To the Commissioner, Native Reserve. I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, JUNR.,
Pro Chief USIBEBU.

Enclosure 2 in No. 16.

Message.—USIBEBU to Mr. OSBORN.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
May 2, 1884.

Rozana states :

I am sent by my Chief Usibebu to tell you (the Resident Commissioner) that he is now in great difficulty. His enemies are on all sides of his territory. Many of these were his friends but have been turned against him by the threats of the Usutu leaders. He would not fear them although they have combined, but now he finds that the Boers are in league with the Usutu, and he is informed that there is a force of 300 Boers now with Umyamana in the Ingome to help the latter in attacking Manhlagasi. Usibebu had until lately kept a strong force on his border to protect his territory from invasion by the Usutu, but since he heard of the presence of the 300 Boers with the Usutu he has withdrawn the force on to his chief kraal Bangenomo, where he is concentrating all his men and also the cattle of his tribe for protection. It is his intention to have his whole strength kept at that one point and await attack there.

Usibebu says he is not afraid of encountering his black enemies, but what chance of success has he got when they are joined by white men as the Boers have done. He and his people are not armed as white men are. He fears that with this help given by the Boers he will be beaten by the Usutus who will spare none. He has always been obedient to the Governor, and now he finds himself obliged to ask the Governor to help him against his enemies. He never did anything to the Usutu to provoke their enmity, his only fault in their eyes being that he accepted the chieftainship given him by the English who conquered the whole country, and has hitherto maintained his position. He prays that the English will help him.

Usibebu requests you to send these his words to the Governor and to tell the Governor that he belongs to the English, and therefore begs help from them.

REPLY.

I will send on Usibebu's message to the Governor as requested. I must tell him, however, that I cannot hold out to him any hope of getting the assistance he asks for ; and I advise him to do all in his power in self-defence with the means at his disposal.

No. 17.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 10, 1884.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter received by me on the evening of the 7th instant from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve, acquainting me that he had felt himself unable to comply with the request of the Resident Commissioner that he should send 100 mounted and armed men in support of the action which Mr. Osborn had felt it necessary to take at the Inkanhla, and reporting also the measures which the Sub-Commissioner had adopted for the safety of his district on the morning after the receipt of Mr. Osborn's request.

I transmit at the same time a copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. Pretorius in reply, and I await from him fuller information regarding the reasons which determined him to take the measures reported.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 17.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Zulu Native Reserve, Nqutu, Sub-Commissioner's Office,
6th May 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I received a letter from Mr. Osborn, yesterday at 9 p.m. informing me that he has been compelled to resort to force, in consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by the Usutu party, headed by Cetywayo's brothers at the Inkandhla. He asked me to send him a contingent of 100 men mounted and armed. I sincerely regret to find it impossible to accede to his request. Affairs have assumed a very threatening aspect since my last communication. The Usutu party in the Reserve are not to be trusted. I have carefully considered the state of affairs and resolved to act accordingly. My orders issued at 9 a.m. to-day are:—

1. All Usutus *must* leave the district at once. Women, children, and all their belongings.

2. A strong border guard is to take up position along the whole line of the district. My instructions are to arrest any native going from here to central Zululand or anyone coming from central Zululand into the Reserve. In case of an attempt to escape to elude the guard must fire.

3. I cannot possibly leave here or superintend the border guard personally. To leave the guard entirely under native control will never do. I have consequently been compelled to appoint a special border agent to superintend the men, and have promised to pay the usual salary of 1*l.* 5*s.* per day, including horse and rations. I trust that my action will be approved and the promised salary be paid by the Government.

4. I have issued all firearms in my keeping. Must beg to be supplied with, say, 3,000 Henry Martini cartridges as soon as possible.

5. Hlubi loyal and doing his best.

6. Communication with Mr. Osborn, I fear, cut off for the present. Will write direct to your Excellency from here.

7. The Boer "lager" I am informed is at the Taba inkulu.

8. My family leaves at once. Have given notice to white people in the district to be prepared for any emergency.

Write in great hurry amidst bustle.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. L. PRETORIUS,

Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 17.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 8, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, last evening, of your letter of the 6th instant.

I received this letter with great surprise, because, whilst you say that affairs have assumed a very threatening aspect since your last communication, you do not furnish me with any information to enable me to know in what way they have assumed a threatening aspect.

You state, however, that you had received a letter from Mr. Osborn desiring you to send him a contingent of 100 men mounted and armed, but that you had found it impossible to accede to his request.

As you do not report the facts which led you to come to this decision, I am, of course, unable to judge how far you were justified in not complying with the orders of the Resident Commissioner.

I need scarcely, however, point out to you that you are under the Resident Commissioner, and that it is your duty to carry out any instructions he may give you; and in this case it was your especial duty to comply with his request, if it was at all in your power to do so, and to give him that support of force which he required from you, and for want of which his plans might be defeated. In not carrying out his instructions, therefore, you have incurred a grave responsibility.

I observe that it was not until 12 hours after you had received Mr. Osborn's letter that you took the measures which you report you had adopted on the morning of the

date of your letter to me, and therefore I am led to infer that it was during that interval of 12 hours that affairs assumed that threatening aspect which you mention and which were the occasion of your taking those measures.

I observe also that you express the fear that communication with Mr. Osborn has been cut off, but if so I am unable to understand how his letter can have reached you.

With regard to the measures which you say you have adopted I have to observe that they are, some of them, such for instance as ordering all Usutus (men, women, and children) to leave the district at once, measures for which, I think, you should have obtained the consent of the Resident Commissioner beforehand.

You will be good enough to at once report to him what you have done, and you will be guided by his instructions.

I have to request that you will inform me to whom you have issued the firearms to which you refer.

I furnished them to you in order that you might arm for the most part Hlubi's mounted men with them. You have in Hlubi's men a powerful force at your disposal which ought to enable you to deal with any Usutu aggression of ordinary dimensions. But if you scatter the men along the border you will, I am afraid, lose altogether the advantage of this force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

No. 18.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. the EARL OF DERBY.

(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 12, 1884.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my despatches,* noted below, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of the telegraphic correspondence which has passed between the Resident Commissioner and myself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 18.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 16, 1884.

The armed Usutus at Inkandhla have dispersed, and there is chance now of settling question without resort to arms. Sigananda has disagreed with Qetuka, and latter says he and his tribe are leaving Reserve at once for the Boers. The Usutu force is now at Ingame not Inhlazatye. They have made no movement yet against Usibebu.

Enclosure 2 in No. 18.

Sir H. BULWER to MR. OSBORN.

(Telegram.)

April 17, 1884.

Yours of 16th, about Qetuka. Is it not possible he and his men may have gone to join Usutu attack on Usibebu, and that he may have had motion (motive?) in giving out that tribe leaving Reserve. If armed Usutus have gone from Inkandhla, do you not think they may also have gone to Ngame. What has become of Cetywayo's brothers? What of burial proceedings?

* Nos. 106 and 114 in [C. 4037], May 1884, and Nos. 8, 10, and 11 in this paper.

Enclosure 3 in No. 18.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

April 19, 1884.

Qetuka and his people are still at Inkandhla. They and people of Sigananda and some others collected at spot where the brothers are, at western foot of Inkandhla, to bury Cetywayo it is believed.

I think armed Usutu will go to Ngome only after burial to take part against Usibebu immediately after new moon.

Enclosure 4 in No. 18.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 20, 1884.

It is of utmost importance that payment of hut tax by Qetuka be no longer delayed. I propose starting on Wednesday to collect from and will proceed as I did with Majiya, taking full precautions.

Enclosure 5 in No. 18.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(Telegram.)

April 21, 1884.

Yours of 20th received. You are best judge of what is necessary to be done in case of Qetuka. I rely upon you to be most careful under present circumstances of Usutu movement.

Enclosure 6 in No. 18.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 22, 1884.

Messengers here from Usibebu; his force was stationed near Itogazi Hill and Uhamu's force on other side Ingome, both awaiting attack by Usutu.

Enclosure 7 in No. 18.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 24, 1884.

Owing to engagement between Usutu and Usibebu I postpone going for hut tax from Qetuka, pending result of probable battle. It is now rumoured that Usutu force under Umyamana has dispersed, and that no fighting took place. This needs confirmation.

Enclosure 8 in No. 18.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

April 25, 1884.

I am leaving for Karkloof, Rietvlei, and Noodsberg.

Yours of yesterday. I hope you have taken measures for organising the resources of the Reserve for defence, and that everything is ready against any hostile Usutu aggression. I have not heard from you in reply to my inquiries about above subject about which I am anxious. What is probable number of Usutu forces at Ngome?

Enclosure 9 in No. 18.
Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.
(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 26, 1884.

Cetywayo was buried on Wednesday last, at Nkandhla, by his brothers.

Reported that Umyamana postponed attack on Usibebu until burial completed, and Undabuko joined him. Main part of his force temporarily dispersed.

Enclosure 10 in No. 18.
Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.
(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 28, 1884.

Messengers just come from Usibebu to complain of Boers about to help Usutu. Forces are again assembling at Ngome under Umyamana. A body of Usutus, under Bejana, occupying the roads on northern bank of Umhlatusi, near mouth, a menace to Reserve people, who are on alert. I estimate Umyamana could raise about 7,000 men only. Proper arrangements have been made for defence of Reserve in case of invasion.

Enclosure 11 in No. 18.
(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Rietvlei, May 2nd, No. 2. From Newcastle report that 800 armed Boers, at the Hlobane, with Dinuzulu, whom they propose to make King in return for cession of tract of country. That Uhamu sides with them, and it is intended to make Usibebu konza to Dinuzulu, though not thought they intend to take part in coming fight. Warning received to look out on north-east, does that mean Bejana?

Enclosure 12 in No. 18.
(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Rietvlei, May 3.—I am told that the Boers intend to take part in the Usutu attack on Usibebu, and if so Usibebu will not be able to hold his own. As any Usutu success may be followed by attack on Reserve, it will be necessary to be prepared at all points, and although I do not anticipate that any movement will be directed against Eshowe yet there, also, the fullest precautions should be taken.

Enclosure 13 in No. 18.
Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.
(Telegram.)

Eshowe, April 30, 1884.

Uhamu has gained important victory over considerable force sent against him by Umyamana. He defeated the Usutu with great slaughter. Fugitives are arriving in Reserve. I have ascertained that Cetywayo's brothers are preparing to hold Thlambu, or washing of spears, therefore I proceed with strong force to Nkandhla day after tomorrow, and will take every precautionary measure.

Enclosure 14 in No. 18.
(Telegram.)
Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

6th May, No. 1.—Your Despatch of 3rd received. Be careful not to expose yourself. If your men were to give way you would be left.

Properly speaking, if any force necessary to be used force should be placed under command of some person other than the Resident Commissioner.

Enclosure 15 in No. 18.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

6th May, No. 2.—If you have to use force, whatever you do, do not err by taking too small a force, as this may provoke resistance and lead to great misfortune.

No. 19.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 13, 1884.

MY LORD,

I REPORTED in a telegraphic message which I despatched to your Lordship on the 6th instant,* that the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory was about to proceed with a force of loyal Natives to maintain order in the neighbourhood of the Inkanhla, and in my Despatch of the same date† I acquainted your Lordship with the reasons which had made it necessary for him to take this step.

In my recent telegraphic message of the evening of the 11th instant‡ I have reported that the Resident Commissioner, with a force of 3,000 men, was at the Inkanhla, that he had summoned the Usutu leaders to answer for their molestation of loyal Natives, that the summons had been disregarded, that other loyal Natives had been molested, and that the Commissioner had thereupon sent a force to take the cattle of the rebellious Chiefs, in doing which a collision had taken place which was attended with a loss of six men on either side. I have further reported that on the morning of the 10th instant a force of 1,000 Usutus under Dabulamansi attacked the camp of the Resident Commissioner, but were repulsed with a loss of 20 men, the Resident Commissioner losing two men.

2. I have now the honour to enclose copies of the official communications I have received from Mr. Osborn on the subject, and of a message in reply which I addressed to him on the receipt of the intelligence. An unofficial letter from Mr. Osborn giving some particulars of the encounter has also reached me this morning.

3. From the information furnished by the Resident Commissioner it appears that he arrived at the Inkanhla on the evening of the 5th instant, having with him the Chiefs Siunguza, Mavumengwana and Hlongolwana, and other lesser Chiefs, whose combined forces amounted to 3,000 men. He was also accompanied by the Native Mounted Force of 50 men under Commandant Mansel and Mr. Addison. On the same evening he held a council of the Chiefs, who approved of his proposal to send for the Usutu leaders gathered in the Inkahla forest in order that they might answer for their proceedings, and, failing their appearance, to despatch a force against them. His messengers started in the early morning of the 6th instant with instructions to summon Ndabuko, his four brothers, and the other Usutu leaders to appear before the Resident Commissioner before noon on the 7th instant and to warn them that should they not appear the Resident Commissioner would use force against them in the maintenance of his authority and of order. Mr. Osborn meanwhile remained encamped at a distance of six miles from the Inkanhla with the force above-named, whilst on the other side of the Inkanhla the Chief Umbusu with a force of about 500 men was in readiness to support him, and Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner, was desired to send 100 of Hlubi's mounted men.

4. Mr. Osborn was anxious to give the Usutu leaders every opportunity of obeying his summons, although it was his opinion that they would not obey it, but would count upon receiving aid from the Boers who were with the Usutus under Umnyamana at the Ngome.

5. On his arrival at the Inkanhla Mr. Osborn learned that the Usutus had looted three more kraals of loyal Natives. They had failed to obtain the cattle of these kraals but had taken possession of the grain, the growing crops, and other loose property, and had even occupied the kraals themselves. He heard also that on the very day of his arrival a loyal man had been to Melelesi, an Usutu Headman, to remonstrate against the

* No. 83 in [C.—4037] May 1884.

† No. 11 in this Paper.

‡ No. 98 in [C.—4037] May 1884.

action of his people in destroying the growing crops of a Native named Bilibani, and that Melelesi had replied that he had nothing against Bilibani except that he belonged to the Resident Commissioner and not to the Usutus, and therefore in plundering Bilibani he was plundering the Resident Commissioner with whom he was fighting.

6. It would seem that the Usutu leaders sent no reply to the summons, and Mr. Osborn before proceeding further, appears to have allowed two more days to elapse, when, finding that no notice whatsoever was taken of his summons, but that on the other hand Qetuka, Melelesi, and Muntu-wa-pansi (the successor of Nobiya) were continuing their hostile acts towards the loyal Natives, he sent his force to seize the cattle of these Chiefs. One hundred head of cattle were taken, but the rest had been removed into the forest. Whilst searching for the cattle the Commissioner's force became divided, and one party was attacked by an Usutu impi, which was repulsed, and was obliged to retire into the bush, but not until six men had been killed on either side.

7. Having a suspicion that the Usutus would endeavour to make a night attack the Resident Commissioner caused every precaution to be taken. Shortly after midnight word was brought that Ndabuko had sent off a formidable impi to attack the encampment, the orders given to the impi being to surround the camp. The ground fortunately was favourable for defence, and all that it was necessary to do was to be on the alert. At ten minutes to three o'clock on the morning of the 10th, scouts came in with the intelligence that the impi was approaching at a rapid rate, and was already close at hand. The Chiefs thereupon took up their positions, and Commandant Mansel, with his fifty men formed line, a few paces in front of the main body. On the Usutu impi approaching to a distance of 300 yards, Commandant Mansel's men delivered a volley and continued to fire in quick succession. The fire was returned and an interchange of shots took place for about 20 or 25 minutes, when the Usutu impi turned back in full retreat. One of Commandant Mansel's men was shot dead, and another slightly wounded. One man of the main force was also shot dead and two men were wounded. When day broke the dead bodies of 20 of the Usutu impi were found on the field.

8. The Resident Commissioner's letter of the 10th instant, written after the encounter, does not indicate any intention on his part of following up the success of the morning, and I am led to think that he may, perhaps, have found the force he has taken with him insufficient for the purpose for which he went to the Inkanhla. I had assumed the possibility of this being so immediately on receipt of his telegram announcing what had taken place, and I thought it well to warn him against the possibility of the Usutus at Inkanhla receiving reinforcements from the Usutus under Umnyamana, and against the danger in that case of his force being cut off; suggesting at the same time that, if his force was insufficient he should send for the reinforcement which, I understand, he has arranged should be brought up by Chief John Dunn, should assistance be required, and which, Mr. Osborn tells me, consists of about 4,000 men.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 19.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Telegram.

6th May 1884. I arrived here last evening about six miles from Nkandhla with force about 3,000 men. I sent messengers this morning to summon the five brothers of Cetywayo and Usutu Chiefs at Nkandhla to appear before me here and answer for their hostile proceedings, and that should they not appear by noon to-morrow I shall be compelled without delay to use force against them in maintenance of authority and order. I have Umbusu's force on the north, in addition to that with me.

Enclosure 2 in No. 19.

Telegram.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Near Nkandhla. 10th May 1884. 9 a.m.

Sunday { Fort Pearson. 11th May 1884. 6 p.m.
 { Pietermaritzburg. 11th May 1884. 9.5 p.m.

The Usutu Chiefs entirely disregarded my summons. Qetuka and Nobiya's successor continued eating up anti-Usutu. I therefore sent force yesterday to seize their cattle, and got about 100 head, the remainder being in forest.

The Usutus attacked my men, but were forced to retire into bush, the loss on either side about six men.

Number 2. Last night at 3 a.m. Usutu force, fully 1,000 strong under Dabulamanzi attacked our camp. We met it 300 yards off, and repulsed it within 25 minutes. Our loss two killed, two wounded; of the enemy 20 bodies found on field this morning.

Enclosure 3 in No. 19.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Telegram.

11th May 1884. Your telegram 10th just received. I fear your force is not strong enough to deal with Usutus in Inkanhla. Beware also that these may be reinforced by other Usutus from Umnyamana, and you may be cut off. Had you not better send for the reinforcement which you say Dunn can bring up. What do you intend to do?

Pretorius has sent no explanation to show why he neglected to comply with your request, and he has apparently caused panic in his part of Reserve. Shall I send up some one especially to take command of Hlubi's men. It seems to me some step of this kind is necessary.

No. 20.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 13, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN a letter from Mr. Osborn of the 10th instant, which I have this day received, he informs me that in the country across the Umhlatusi the Usutus had attacked the Norwegian Mission Station at the Inhlazatye, had killed six of the mission natives there and had seized all their cattle. The missionary, the Reverend Mr. Larsen, was however, left unharmed. The rest of the mission natives, 26 men and their families, have arrived in the Reserve.

2. Mr. Osborn had further received information on the 9th instant that the mission natives belonging to the Reverend Mr. Robertson's station at Kwa-ma-gwaza had also come into the Reserve with their families and cattle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 21.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 11, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 13, 1884.

MY LORD,

THE report as to the action taken by the Boers in the Zulu country, which formed the subject of my telegraphic message of the 4th instant* and of my subsequent despatch of the 6th instant, † was to a great extent confirmed by the information which reached me from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve, on the evening of the 6th instant. A copy of his letter ‡ I forwarded to your Lordship by the outgoing mail that night, and on the following morning I despatched a telegraphic message § giving the purport of the information.

2. I at the same time communicated the information to the High Commissioner requesting his Excellency, should he see no objection, to make a representation on the subject to the Governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, and to ascertain from them if the action reported to have been taken by their subjects in Zululand was taken with their sanction.

* No 81 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

† Enclosure in No. 91 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

‡ No. 12.

§ No. 92 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

3. On the 8th instant the High Commissioner informed me that he had received two communications from Sir John Brand in which the President of the Free State expressed a doubt if any subject of the Free State had gone to Zululand, and said that the Government of the State would not, of course, sanction such a movement. His Honour added that he had issued instructions to the Landdrost of Harrismith with the view of warning all subjects of the State against proceeding to the Zulu country.

4. As there is no complete telegraphic communication, I believe, with Pretoria it appeared probable that some delay would take place before the High Commissioner could receive a reply from the Government of the South African Republic; but as it seemed impossible to doubt, having regard to the convention recently concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the Transvaal delegates, that the Government of the Republic would equally disavow the Boer movement in Zululand, I thought it well, without awaiting an answer from the Transvaal, to inform your Lordship of what had been done so far, and to lay before you the urgent considerations which appeared to me to present themselves in connexion with the new situation in the Zulu country, and I accordingly did this in a telegraphic message written on the 9th instant * and despatched on the following morning.

5. I have there endeavoured to place before your Lordship, as well as I could within the limits of a message, the exceeding gravity of the situation, and the seriousness of the issues which depend upon it.

6. I have represented that if we allow the Boers to interfere, and to make Dinuzulu king, as it is stated it is their intention to do, it will be a serious blow to British power and prestige in South Africa. The Boers, I have said, will eventually become the masters of Zululand, and this will be to the permanent loss of the Zulu people, and to the great injury of this colony, which will again become the resort for refugees for whom there is no room, and for whom there will be no prospect of a future outlet, the Native question in Natal being thereby gravely complicated, and its solution embarrassed. Moreover, in the Reserve Territory we must expect that an immediate effort will be made by the Usutu party, taking confidence from their alliance with the Boers, to contest the possession of the territory with us.

For the sake, therefore, of these great interests which are at stake, I have submitted that we should not leave the question to solve itself, and I have further submitted that if action is to be taken by us, the longer it is delayed the more difficult it will become.

I have stated that it may yet be possible to save the situation by proclaiming Zululand as a part of Her Majesty's dominions. It is thought here, I have said, that the Boers would not resist this decision on the part of Her Majesty's Government. At the same time I have felt it only right to state that it is possible they may resist it, and that should they do so, and should they be supported from the Transvaal, our task would be one of serious difficulty, which would require the assistance of a large force.

But, I have added, if the Government of the South African Republic loyally keep the terms of the convention into which they have entered with Her Majesty's Government (*see* Articles I., II., IV., and XI.), the difficulty will be much reduced; and should Her Majesty's Government be willing to proclaim Zululand, I would endeavour, if necessary, to come to some arrangement with the Boers who are now in that country.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 22.

The RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON.
THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received June 11, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Government House, Cape Town, May 20, 1884.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 13th instant,† I have the honour to enclose for your information copies of two telegrams which I have received from the British Resident respecting the alleged Boer invasion of Zululand.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON,
High Commissioner.

* No. 96 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

† No. 14.

Enclosure 1 in No. 22.

TELEGRAM.

Received in Cape Town, ay 14, 1884.

From BRITISH RESIDENT, Pretoria, to HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town.

13th May.—Your telegrams of 10th to hand. Had previously received from Government a letter, in reply to my communication of telegrams re Zululand, thus: “No field cornet named Van Staden known to Government, but that nevertheless, they would immediately take steps to enquire from landdrosts of Utrecht and Wakkerstroom as to the facts, and will further take all steps in their power to prevent any unlawful proceedings.” Ends.

I have personally seen Acting President on the subject. He is of opinion that the reports of what is taking place are exaggerated, and that the usual entry of Boers into Zululand for wintering and depasturing purposes has been utilized to augment importance of the movements. He avers that, even if the reports are true, it will at any rate be found that Natal Boers as much concerned as Transvaal men.

I have seen Mr. Neethling, a member of Volksraad, who resides near the Utrecht border, and he assured he did not believe the current rumours, and thought it impossible that such an extensive movement could have taken place without his knowledge.

I think it right to add, that whatever the extent of the movement the Transvaal Republic Government, even if willing, dare not use force to restrain their trespassing burghers, the more so as they counted that by the settlement made in Zululand, Her Majesty's Government were responsible for order there.

Enclosure 2 in No. 22.

TELEGRAM.

Received in Cape Town, May 18, 1884.

From BRITISH RESIDENT, Pretoria, to HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town.

15th May.—Lengthy reply from Government on representations regarding movement in Zululand. Government thinks reports may be exaggerated, that it partakes more of the usual trek of Boers from Free State, Natal, and Transvaal with their cattle for winter pastures. But, assuming reports to be correct, such movement is against the wish and without the consent of the Government, who issue a Proclamation forbidding participation of Transvaal burghers.

Letter proceeds to discuss at great length causes of Zululand troubles, which it attributes to Imperial Cabinet policy. Concludes by stating that, under the circumstances, it is impossible for the Government to give effect to the wishes of Secretary of State by overt action to prevent armed Boers moving into Zululand.

Full text of correspondence by mail of 20th.

No. 23.

COLONIAL OFFICE to L. L. DILLWYN, Esq., M.P.

SIR,

Downing Street, June 11, 1884.

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of May* relating to the affairs of Zululand and the Reserve.

In reply, I am to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government intend to maintain peace and order in the Reserve, but they have no intention of extending their authority and interference beyond its present limits.

With regard to that portion of your letter which relates to Mr. Grant, I am to observe that Lord Derby continues to be of opinion that it has been better to leave to Sir H. Bulwer a discretion as to the white persons to be recognized in connexion with Zulu affairs, and that the occurrences reported by telegraph since your letter was written appear to indicate that a settlement more acceptable to the Zulus generally than that which Mr. Grant could have promoted, is being come to.

* No. 7.

With regard to the Native Passes Bill, I am to state that Lord Derby has written to Sir H. Bulwer pointing out objections to some of its provisions, and suggested that it should be amended.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.

L. L. Dillwyn, Esq., M.P.

No. 24.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 6th of May,* transmitting copies of correspondence with Mr. Osborn relative to the state of affairs in the Reserve Territory.

I approve the action taken by Mr. Osborn as reported in your despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 25.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 17, 1884.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 10th December last,† I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Aborigines Protection Society relative to Mr. William Grant's position in Zululand, and his statements respecting Zulu affairs.

With regard to Mr. Grant's complaints of Mr. Osborn having seized cattle for hut tax, it appears to me that, assuming as I do that Her Majesty's Government had a right to sanction a hut tax, the Resident Commissioner was fully justified in distraining for its non-payment; but I should be glad to have your observations on other matters in the letter and its enclosures before replying to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 26.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN connexion with my Despatch of the 10th instant,‡ I have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a further correspondence with Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve territory, regarding the apprehension of an Usutu attack on his district, and the reasons which determined him not to send the contingent of 100 mounted men to Mr. Osborn at the time application was made for them.

2. I consider that under the circumstances Mr. Pretorius was justified in not sending these men, although as Mr. Osborn had counted on their support, their failure to put in an appearance at the proper moment might have proved of serious inconvenience. As it turned out, it does not seem that their absence made any difference in the actual proceedings taken by the Resident Commissioner at the Inkanhla.

3. Unfortunately, Mr. Pretorius seems to have decided, on the receipt of my letter, to send forward a contingent which started on the morning of the 11th instant, but as

* No. 11.

† No. 153 in [C.—3861], February 1884.

‡ No. 17.

Mr. Osborn retired from the Inkanhla on the 11th or 12th instant, not only would the contingent arrive too late to be of any service, but I fear that it might be exposed to some risk in proceeding in the direction of the Inkanhla after Mr. Osborn's flight of the 10th and his subsequent retirement. I sent word, however, to Mr. Pretorius of Mr. Osborn's retirement as soon as I heard of it, and from Mr. Pretorius' letter of the 13th instant, I gather that Hlubi had found it necessary to retire and to ask Mr. Pretorius for further assistance.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 26.

MR. PRETORIUS TO SIR H. BULWER.

Zulu Native Reserve, Nqutu,
Sub-Commissioner's Office,
May 10, 1884.

SIR,

I TRUST that my communication, dated 6th May last, and despatched from here on the same day by special mounted messenger, has reached your Excellency in due time. The measures I resolved to take, as stated in the letter, for the defence and safety of this district in the Reserve have since been carried out, and I have every reason to believe that these measures were absolutely necessary, and taken not a moment too soon. The Border Guard, about 200 strong, mounted and armed men, under the direct supervision of a special white superintendent, is in good working order, and its presence has, I believe, had a beneficial effect on the Usutu party both in and out of the district. I am sending all Usutu people out of the Reserve. All loyal people have been moved in toward the Buffalo river. All reliable men have been armed and provided with ammunition. As far as this district is concerned I have done all I could for safety and defence of the people, and we must now wait to see what the intentions of the Usutu are.

I have heard nothing direct from Mr. Osborn since receipt of his letter dated 3rd May last. I have reason to believe that direct communication with Eshowe from here has been effectually stopped. Messengers (two) sent from here on 2nd May last have not returned. I am anxious about these men. I have again sent two other messengers who know the country thoroughly, with instructions if they should find the direct route unsafe, to cross into Natal and proceed to Eshowe from that side. A private report brought here by Mr. Woodroff, I believe, states that Mr. Osborn intended to make an attack on the refractory Chiefs on Thursday last, the 8th of May. His forces were or would be in position on Wednesday previous.

This morning I received direct information from Tom through my Induna, whom I had despatched to the border, to the effect that one of the Usutu fugitives had killed one and seriously wounded three loyal Natives in Mr. Osborn's district. He was killed also. This shows the necessity of turning out the Usutu party, so as to have them on one side and not mixed with the loyal, as they have hitherto been.

In this part of the Reserve we, up to this moment, have had no occasion to resort to active hostilities. Still how long this will last is impossible to say. Thefts, especially of horses, are committed wherever a chance is found. Already 18 horses have been stolen from Hlubi's people, that is as far as we know. This undoubtedly is done by Usutus who clear out during the night. According to latest information received by me, the Boer lager was at the Hlazatye. This was on Thursday last. A strong horse patrol had been seen during the night at the Lunguni near the Babanango, but whether these were Natives or white men my informant could not say.

The murder referred to as reported by my Induna was committed near the Tzipezi.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 26.

MR. PRETORIUS TO SIR H. BULWER.

Zulu Native Reserve, Nqutu,
Sub-Commissioner's Office,
May 11, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt last evening of your Excellency's letter No. 15, dated 8th May 1884.

I sincerely regret to find that my conduct in the matter of not sending a mounted contingent of 100 men strong to Mr. Osborn at the Nkandhla has received your Excellency's serious disapproval. I trust, however, that after having fully explained my action it will be clear that I have acted under existing circumstances to the best of my judgment.

Previous to the move made by the Boers into Central Zululand with a strong armed force, considerable uneasiness prevailed in the district in consequence of the massing of the Usutu party under Mnyamana, and the going from here of a considerable number of Sirayo's men and Hlalozi fugitives, armed, with the avowed purpose of joining that Chief. I found it necessary quietly to arm a number of Hlubi's mounted men, and issued 126 carbines with ammunition to men living on or near the border. Of this I duly informed Mr. Osborn and received his approval.

Friday, 2nd May, Mr. Wilhelm arrived here and apprised me of the action taken by the Boers. The Wednesday previous I had sent two special messengers to inquire into and report to me on the state of affairs near the Transvaal border, where I knew the head-quarters of the Abaqulusini tribe to be.

These messengers returned on 5th May (Monday), and reported that the Abaqulisini were massed and prepared for war; that they were close to the border of the Reserve, and moving downward. This they ascertained on Saturday, 3rd May. At the same time I received direct information, from the position taken up by that force, that a strong foot commando was near the Reserve, about eight miles from the border on the road to Tabankulu, and also that a strong mounted force was lying lower down about six miles from the border. My messengers distinctly stated it to be openly said by the Usutu party that they meant war on Hlubi and his tribe. At the same time several "kraals" of women and children belonging to Sirayo's men, who had gone from here armed to join the Usutu across, left the district, declaring that they had been summoned away by their husbands, an attack being to be made on the Basutos.

Such was the state of affairs on Monday afternoon, 5th May. Still I did not consider it necessary to raise alarm, feeling confident that I could meet an attack from that quarter with success, in case it should be attempted.

Monday evening, about half-past 8, Mr. Osborn's letter, containing the request for a mounted contingent from Hlubi reached me. The information given in it with regard to the state of affairs at the Nkandhla threw new light on what I then knew about the movements and doings of the Usutu party. Considering carefully all circumstances, I could not reasonably come to any other conclusion than that the Usutus, believing themselves safe from Usibebu and Oham, and having acquired courage through the presence of the Boer force in Central Zululand, had carefully organised and skilfully planned an attack on Hlubi and his people, in which they would be assisted by the adherents to their party in the district. The strong feeling against Hlubi and his people is well known. Sirayo's men and Hlalozi fugitives live mixed with the Basutos in considerable numbers. I had every reason to believe that constant and frequent communication had been kept up during the night between the Usutu men, who had left armed and were hovering all the time on the border, and those who had remained behind. Looking at the facts before me, I felt convinced in my own mind that affairs had assumed a very threatening aspect, and that I was in duty bound to prepare for the defence and safety of the district in every possible way. Still I had hopes to be able to comply with Mr. Osborn's request concerning the sending of mounted contingent. I sent word the same evening to Hlubi, requesting him to summon all his men not on the border during the night, and to be at my office early next morning. On Tuesday, at 8 a.m., he arrived and I considered the situation carefully with him. I came to the conclusion that to send out a mounted force of 100 men strong at this juncture would be running a very serious risk for the safety of this district, the responsibility of which I could not take upon myself. I resolved at once to issue the carbines still at my office to picked mounted men belonging to Hlubi, and distributed the muzzle-loading guns as I had done before to the foot force, with ammunition.

Finally, Mr. Osborn, in his letter in which he requested me to send him the required contingent added—I quote his own words—“Of course I am not aware what the present state of affairs may be in your district,” making thereby the complying with his request dependent on the view I took at the time of the state of affairs here. I at once wrote a letter to Mr. Osborn, informing him of the conclusion I had come to, and despatched it with the messengers referred to in my letter of 10th May. With this explanation I may be permitted to leave the judgment on my action and conduct in this matter in your Excellency’s hands.

With regard to my fear that communication with Mr. Osborn has been cut off, I have to state that my grounds are the facts of which I was informed by the messengers who carried the letter sent by Mr. Osborn, and received by me on the evening of 5th May, from Tom’s post. The letter was brought through, they stated, by a strong escort, and the escort was fired at repeatedly by the Usutu force, though without result. This led me to the conclusion that after this, direct communication would be impossible. Still I at once resolved to try, and despatched two messengers to Tom next day, there to inquire how safely to reach Mr. Osborn and act accordingly. This morning at 3 a.m. report was brought to me that Tom’s post had been attacked, and that one of my messengers had last been seen running. Tom’s fate and that of the other messenger was not known. This report was brought to me by men who had escaped on horseback.

I have duly informed Mr. Osborn, in letters despatched 2nd and 6th May respectively, of all I had done and was doing in the way of defence, and with the Usutus in the district. On this point I can only say that through pressing circumstances I have been forced to act without loss of time and to a large extent on my own responsibility. If I acted wrongly I can accuse myself only of an error of judgment. I conscientiously did what I believed to be positively necessary. Until I hear from Mr. Osborn, I will not proceed further against the Usutus in the district.

I would be very thankful for some assistance to superintend the men stationed on the border. Acting on your Excellency’s suggestion, I have concentrated them on two points. One of my sons, who acted as border guard on the Tugela during the Zulu war, is at present with them. He happened to be here on a visit at the time. Should someone else be considered more fit, I will be glad to receive his assistance for the time being. The disposition of the men I made was such that they could readily rally to a certain point should a large force be required at a certain spot.

On receipt of your Excellency’s letter last evening, I at once took steps to send all the men Hlubi could possibly spare at present down at once to the Nkandhla. They left this morning, and Hlubi, who is gone with them, intends to be in position to-night with some at least.

I may be permitted to close this letter with the assurance that if I had looked upon Mr. Osborn’s request to be a positive order, I would have obeyed implicitly, and considered myself relieved of a very grave responsibility with regard to this district. As it was, I understood that Mr. Osborn fully expected me to use my judgment and discretion with regard to the sending of the men, and I acted accordingly to the best of my ability. It never occurred to me that, in doing as I did, I was disobeying orders and incurring responsibility.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 3 in No. 26.

MR. PRETORIUS TO SIR H. BULWER.

SIR,

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve, May 13, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Hlubi sent a messenger this morning requesting me, if possible, to send him assistance. He had proceeded to Nthaleni, near the Likala Livombo, but had considered it expedient to retreat, and is at present at the Izipezi waiting to see if I can do anything in the way of assistance. I am doing and will do all I can.

I received a report this morning that a strong force of Usutus are at the Lunqueni. Armed companies cross into the Reserve and carry away mealies and corn. I fully expect that this force has more serious intentions, and must prepare for it.

The other messenger despatched from here to Mr. Osborn on 6th May has turned up. He came in yesterday and confirms statement of Tom’s death.

I have not had any communication from Mr. Osborn, since 5th May. I start this moment personally to acquaint myself with the position of my men, and will be at Hlubi's to-morrow morning to ascertain his position. If there is any possibility of getting Hlubi through I will do it. I may, however, be compelled to draw in all available men for defence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G. Sub-Commissioner.

P.S.—Hlubi has with him over 100 men mounted and about 40 footmen.

(Signed) A. L. P.

Enclosure 4 in No. 26.

SIR H. BULWER TO MR. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 14, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letters of the 10th and 11th instant.

I fully accept the explanation you give me of the reasons which decided you not to send the mounted contingent of 100 men in accordance with Mr. Osborn's desire; and had you informed me of the circumstances now reported by you, I should have had no occasion to ask you for an explanation.

It seems to me that you have taken such precautions as were in your power for the defence of your district.

With regard to your decision to send the mounted contingent on the 11th instant, I fear that that step is taken too late to be of any use for the purpose for which Mr. Osborn required the contingent; for I learn, by a communication received by him dated the 13th instant, that he has returned to the Entumeni, and although at the Inkanhla his force successfully repulsed an attack that was made on him by the Usutus on the morning of the 10th, there is nothing to shew that he carried out the intention for which he went to the Inkanhla, where, on the contrary I am led to think the Usutus are in force.

I trust that this information will have reached you in time to enable you to recall the contingent before it had proceeded too far, or that the information will have reached the contingent itself whilst on its way.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,

&c. &c. &c.

Sub-Commissioner,
Reserve Territory.

Enclosure 5 in No. 26.

SIR H. BULWER TO MR. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 15, 1884.

SIR,

FROM information received from the Resident Commissioner I am led to infer that he was obliged to retire to the Entumeni for reinforcements, and I learn from him also that the Usutus in the Inkanhla have been strongly reinforced by a portion of the Usutu forces under Umnyamana.

As it seems doubtful if any communication may reach you from Mr. Osborn, I write to say that it is advisable you should take all such further measures in addition to those you have already taken for the defence of your district, as it is impossible to say how soon it may be attacked by an Usutu force.

It will be necessary to provide, in the first place, for securing the safety of the women and children, and this will leave the men available for fighting purposes.

I should observe that the Usutu force at the Inkanhla attacked Mr. Osborn's force at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 10th instant, and it will therefore be necessary for you to be on your guard against night attacks.

I would suggest, for your consideration, that it may be advisable to form one of the buildings and premises in your district into a laager for defensive purposes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner,
Reserve Territory.

No. 27.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 19, 1884.

MY LORD,

THE Resident Commissioner has forwarded to me a letter received by him on the 11th instant from the Chief Usibebu, a copy of which I enclose for your Lordship's information.

2. It is impossible to read this letter without a feeling of the most painful regret for the position in which that Chief is placed by the action of the Boers, a regret which with me is intensified by the knowledge that in the unhappy conflicts and disorders that have afflicted the Zulu country during the past 12 months, the offence has not been with him but with those whose object it was to destroy him, and all whose attempts he has hitherto prevented by the force of his personal character and by his great capacity for command; by the conviction that his sentiments towards us are those of true loyalty and friendliness; and by the persuasion that if we had but consented to take over the rule of Central Zululand we should have found in him a powerful supporter in our objects of restoring order, of maintaining the integrity of the Zulu country, and of building up a peaceable and contented native community.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 27.

USIBEBU (per Mr. Eckersley) to Mr. OSBORN.

Banganomo Kraal, Manhlagazi District,
May 5, 1884.

SIR,

THE Chief Usibebu desires me to write you his message which is as follows: That the impies are all round him from all quarters; the Boers have sent three Native messengers, Mawhongwa, Umzuzu, and another man with a message to say that, "We are coming down to you and Oham to give you Cetywayo's son, Dinzulu, and should you refuse to take him then we mean to fight with you." The Boers also say that they are going to stop any more fighting.

The Chief begs me to say that he does not know if this messenger will reach you or not as the roads are all stopped by the Usutu party. Should this one get through it will be the last, and then, he says, that he does not know what will become of him, as the whites are interfering; if it was only the Zulus he would know what to do. He always depended on you, his father, for help, and thought that when he died, you would be near at hand. He begs to say that fighting against whites he does not like, but he will never give in to the Boers; he will be killed by them first. He says that he conzad to the British, and he still intends to do so to the last. The Boers are now at the Intabankoolo, and they intend to go direct to the Ondine kraal, where they intend to place Dinuzulu, and then they mean to fight with Oham and us.

The Chief begs me to say that he wants to impress on you that he will not be able to get any more news through to you, and that he does not know if this man will get to you. You must know that if I die you will not be able to know what will or spirit I died in. He begs to say that he had conquered the country and at the last for the Boers to interfere, and I cannot get help. You always ordered me not to cross the borders of my district, and I obeyed; that is the cause of all this trouble.

I have, &c.

To the British Commissioner,
Native Reserve.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, Jun.
pro Chief Usibebu.

No. 28.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 19, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copies of reports received from our Resident Magistrates on the border of the Reserve territory.

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

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 28.

Minute Paper.

(Received May 13, 1884.)

Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division, forwards reports made by Natives on his border that numbers of families and cattle of the Reserve Territory have fled to the banks of the Buffalo River, and some women and children crossed into Umsinga Division, fearing an attack by the Ustutu forces, who are alleged to have killed some of Mr. Osborn's Border Police, &c., &c.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,

I HEREWITH forward statements above referred to for the information of his Excellency. Read the last statement first, viz., Bubesi. I presume his Excellency is receiving regular reports from Sub-Commissioner Pretorius of what is actually taking place. I am doing all I can to stop spread of fears and quiet those who have fled to my border. I have received no information from Mr. Pretorius, and as yet I have not received any reliable information of any actual fighting having taken place as stated in some of the reports.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division,

May 12, 1884.

R.M. Office, Pomeroy, Umsinga Division,
May 12, 1884.

Mriwa states:—I reside close to the Buffalo River in this Division and facing the Mange in the Reserve, and have for many years been a border watcher. For about a month numbers of women and cattle belonging to Hlubi's own people and Zulus who are under him have been near the Buffalo River to where they fled in dread of the Sutu people attacking them, and the men belonging to these women and cattle have been in force under Hlubi and the Sub-Commissioner Pretorius along the northern border of the Reserve to protect the border there. Amongst these cattle there are numbers of cattle confiscated by Pretorius from the people in the Reserve who have gone to join the Sutu forces towards the Nhlazatshe, and are chiefly people who were formerly under late Sirayo.

Yesterday morning very early I saw numbers of women and children carrying their bundles on the Reserve side and coming down to the Buffalo River opposite my kraal and lower down the Buffalo River. I went across and learnt from them that they were fleeing from the Usutu forces at the Nkandhla in the Reserve Territory and under the command of Mdabuko, Ziwedu, and Dabulamanzi. I then saw numbers of cattle and I went to the men driving them down after the women, and learnt from these men that they had fled from near the Babanangu in the Reserve, and belong to Faku ka Zinigo, and fled on receiving the information that on Thursday the 8th, Mr. Osborn's forces

attacked the Sutu forces on the east side of the Nkandhla Forest, and the Sutu forces were driven into the forest, and then more of Mr. Osborn's forces under Martin Oftebro and Tom, a native, closed on the western side of the Nkandhla, and were attacked and defeated by the Sutu forces, who then captured all cattle, and were about to proceed towards the Nhlazatshe to sweep the country on their way, and that large numbers of the Reserve people have now joined these Sutu forces, fearing destruction should they not do so.

That during all Friday night heavy firing continued until Saturday morning the 10th about the Nkanhla, but it was not known what forces were engaged in this fight. The Sutu forces, it is stated, are to proceed to join Boer forces at the Nhlazaty, Ntabankulu, and Zungene, and are there for the purpose of occupying the upper portion of Zulu country, and to throne Dinuzulu as the King of the Zulus.

The people who have fled to the Buffalo River have done so because they are cut off from the Resident Commissioner, are without any protection, and the forces under Martin Oftebro, belonging to the Resident Commissioner, are defeated, but full particulars are not known.

A few women of these fleeing have crossed over into this division, and the rest say they will do so, and the men also with their cattle for protection.

From Zinti, below my kraal, I learnt that he had received information that Gamdana the Chief was in fear of being attacked by the Sutu forces, and that the young men of his tribe have joined the Sutu forces and let him know the Sutu forces would attack him and the men; this was what the young men did in the beginning of the Zulu war when he, Gamdana, fled into this division.

(Signed) MBILWA ^{his} ×
mark.

Read over, interpreted, and adhered to before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division.

R.M. Office, Umsinga Division,
May 12, 1884.

Mabunu, border watcher, states:—I am residing near the junction of the Mazabiko River and Buffalo river in this division.

Yesterday morning five men and their families of Faku ka Zinigo crossed to this side with their cattle, but we objected to the cattle remaining this side, and they were driven back to the Reserve side of the Buffalo River. There are large numbers of men, women, and children and their cattle on the banks of the Buffalo River.

These people have fled fearing an attack about to be made on them by the Sutu forces between the Qudeni and Nkanhla which were expected to attack Faku ka Zinigo, Matyana mon Disa, and Matyana ka Sitshakusa; the forces of the latter had proceeded towards the Sutu forces to fight and defend themselves.

These people who have fled to the Buffalo River wish to come into Natal as refugees, and for protection. I learnt that about Friday the 9th, Mr. Osborn's force entered the Nkandhla Forest, and drove the Sutu forces under Ndabuko, Ziweddu, and Dabulamanski, from their encampment further into the forest, and that another force of Mr. Osborn's, under Martin Oftebro and Tom, came upon the western side of the Sutu forces, who fought and defeated the force under Martin Oftebro with great loss.

(Signed) MABUNU ^{his} ×
mark.

Before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

R.M. Office, Umsinga Division,
May 12, 1884.

Sitende, residing at the foot of Umsinga Mountain near Buffalo River states:—Day before yesterday 10th a large number of men, women and children, and cattle of the tribes of Mpunzi, Matyana, Mondisa, fled from the western slope of the Qudeni mountain in the Reserve to the Buffalo River banks opposite my kraal, one man came across and informed me that they had fled from the Sutu forces at the Inkanhla who are

killing or were going to do so to the people who are traitors to Cetshwayo in the Reserve; it is said they have killed Mvumyelwa and Qobo and another, but this is doubtful. The people in the Reserve who have not adhered to the Sutu party are in fear of the Boers in force at Ntabankulu to throne Dinazulu as the Zulu King over all Zululand, and in opposition to the English.

(Signed) SITENDE X
his
mark.

Before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

R.M. Office, Umsinga Division,
May 12, 1884.

Gidi of Matyana Mondisa, states:—I have come across into this division with the wives and children of Matyana Mondisa, and we are at the foot of the Umsinga mountain a short way above the junction of the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, our cattle are still on the Reserve side of the Buffalo River. Matyana's wives have sent me to report their arrival. Matyana has not yet returned from his visit to interview the Governor at Pietermaritzburg.

While on my way here I was overtaken by one of our people to inform me the Sutu forces were near our kraals yesterday afternoon, at the Qudeni; we fled because the Sutu forces are attacking all people in the Reserve who do not belong to, or join them.

The day before yesterday (Friday 10th) the Sutu forces defeated the forces under Martin Otebro belonging to Mr. Osborn, but we have not heard of Mr. Osborn's forces on the east of the Sutu forces, because the Sutu forces are between us.

(Signed) GIDI X
his
mark.

Read over and interpreted and adhered to before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

R.M. Office, Umsinga, May 12, 1884.

Ngalonkulu of Mabomveni Tribe Umsinga Mountain, states:—I belong to Manzana's kraal at the Buffalo River foot drift, near junction of Buffalo and Tugela River in this division.

I am sent by Manzana to report that 25 women and children and one man have fled from Qudeni in the Reserve and belong to Matyana Mondisa and have come into this division by the above drift with their bundles, and the men belonging to these women and children are with their cattle on the Reserve side of the Buffalo River, and have fled from the Sutu forces and the Boer forces at Ntabankulu reported to be about to attack Hlubi. That the Boer forces have Dinazulu with them for the purpose of installing him as the Zulu King. The foregoing information is given by the people who have fled in here, and obtained by them from Mr. Woodroffe who resides at Rorke's Drift and at Qudeni Forest, from where he has brought his cattle into this division. The 25 women and children and one man crossed on Saturday the 10th, and did not say anything of a fight, which I have on the way here heard of between Sutu and Mr. Osborn's forces.

NGALUNKULU X
his
mark.

Before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

R.M. Office, Umsinga, May 12, 1884.

Bubesi states:—I reside near the Buffalo River in this division and close to the Nkoka Drift (just below Fugitives Drift). Yesterday morning, 11th May, large numbers of

cattle and families of Nkebelele of the Mangwe or Putini tribe between Sanhlwana Nhlazakazi and Buffalo River fled down to the banks of Buffalo River fearing an attack by the Sutu forces. That on Friday the 9th the Sutu forces killed Tom and Mahlatshana, and a number of their people who are Mr. Osborn's border police watching at the Mhlatusi River. That Mr. Pretorius and Hlubi with all the available men they could muster were to sleep last night, the 11th, at the east side of the Nhlazakazi on their way to see into this matter.

I heard that the Boer forces have taken Dinazulu, down to the Mahlabatini to throne Dinazulu as King of the Zulus; it is said by people who have been that way to find out what is going on that the Boer forces are in three columns going down to Mahlabatini.

his
BUBESI X
mark.

Before me this 12th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

Enclosure 2 in No. 28.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umvoti, to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Mawele's Location,
Monday evening, May 12, 1884.

I ARRIVED here last evening and found that all the women and children of Umbuzo's tribe had crossed into this location at the Dumudumu Drift; the report was made by Ulucezo who lives at the drift. He states that Umbuzo with his followers was at the Umfongozi, that he was proceeding to Mr. Osborn's station, but was stopped by the Usuto. He states further that a collision took place on Saturday between Mr. Osborn's force and the Usuto party, and, as he learns from the women, Tom, alias Umkula, a Natal headman, was killed.

Uguhlwa, of the tribe of Gayesi, reports that he was sent by his Chief to see what was taking place in the Reserve, that he saw a number of cattle being driven into the Inkanhla Bush, and that Mavumengwana with his force succeeded in cutting off a number of the cattle, and that shots were exchanged between the Usuto and Osborn's force, but they did not come to close quarters; he heard, however, that a fight had taken place on the heights above the Inkanhla between the Usuto and Osborn's people, and that 30 of the police (Nongayi) had been killed, and also that Tom Umkula had been killed, not in the fight but by some of the Amamluka, who professed to be loyal; from what he says it appears that Undabuko and Uziwetu advised the people to pay taxes, but Udabulamanzi objected, and said he preferred to fight.

(Signed) W. D. WHEELWRIGHT, R.M.

Enclosure 3 in No. 28.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umsinga Division.

May 13, 1884.

FORWARDING further reports made regarding disturbances in Reserve Territory, and of women, children, and cattle who have fled into Umsinga Division; and Sutu forces seen near the Pindo shortly before sunset yesterday, 12th May, threatening to follow up cattle of Matyana Mondisa to capture them and Mbuzo's as belonging to Zululand.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

I ENCLOSE statements taken to-day from B. Kraft and Border Natives on the above subjects, for the information of his Excellency. Some of the Border Natives are fearing that the Sutu forces will follow up the cattle and people who have fled in here and attack them as in the beginning of the Zulu war. However, there is nothing to stop the Sutus doing so if they so determine.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R. M.,
Umsinga Division.

R.M. Office, Umsinga, May 13, 1884.

B. Kraft states :

I am a store keeper and reside near Qudeni forest, and not far from Matyana Sityakuza. I left there very early yesterday morning having sent my cattle on the 10th to be crossed into this division by one of the southern drifts near junction of Buffalo and Tugela River, I had arranged to bring my cattle, but brought them in sooner than I intended, owing to the disturbances going on in the Reserve (fighting).

Godides tribe have divided, he and Fogoti section went with their people and cattle to the Nkanhla about the 2nd May 1884 as belonging to the Sutu party. The other portion of Godide's tribe joined the Chief Mbuzo at the Mfungose spruit and are opposed to the Usutu party.

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

About ten days ago the people and families and cattle of Tom, Mfusamvu, Lutoluni, Matshinane, came to my place on account of threatening action of the Sutu people at the Nkanhla, and after two days I induced them to return to their homes. I believe the Sutu people had killed one of Godide's people who was willing to pay hut tax to Mr. Osborn. On the 6th instant Fokoti with Sutu forces captured about 40 head of Mfusamvu's cattle; this caused the loyal Reserve Natives to reassemble and come together at my place with their families and cattle. A message came from Tom calling upon all the able men to support him and never mind their cattle, as Mr. Osborn would see to their restoration, but only about six men went as they feared their cattle would be captured and their families killed by the Sutu party.

On Thursday the 8th Mgihla the Chief son of Ndwandwa prepared to proceed to join the Sutus at the Inkanhla, and on the 9th Mgwaqo head man of Pakatwayo's came out with a force of Sutus to bring Mgihla and people to the Nkanhla, as Tom and Matshinana were to cut them off, and after Mgwaqo and Mgihla joined they went towards the Nkanhla, and sent on a few cattle in advance. Tom and Matshinana, with probably 300 men of various tribes, captured these cattle and were retiring when they were suddenly attacked by Mgihla and Mgwaqo's force, who had concealed themselves on purpose; that is Tom and his own police, between 20 and 30, headed his men at a short distance to encourage their advance, and while returning driving the captured cattle ahead towards their main force, Tom and his 20 or 30 police were cut off by Mgwaqo and Mgihla's forces lying in ambush. And I believe these 20 or 30 men, including Tom, were all killed; this was on Saturday evening about sunset the 10th instant.

About five children and two old women died from exposure amongst the people who fled to my place. I distributed about 100 blankets to the people who were in need of them; I have about 600l. worth of goods in my store at Qudeni and two horses, and eleven head of cattle, and I purpose returning to these to-morrow. On Sunday evening about 20 mounted men and 30 on foot of Matyana Sityakuza were pursuing Ndwandwa's people who belong to the Sutu party, on the east of the Pinde and south of Tgogo hill. Mbuzo has about 900 men well organised to defend himself within his location in the Reserve Territory, and bordering the Buffalo and Tugela River junction. There is no news from Mr. Osborn's side, the Reserve being severed by the Nkanhla country occupied by the Sutu people and forces, which are daily increasing in numbers, by the people who were loyal in the Reserve, but opposed to the Sutu people; now through fear are joining the Sutu party as the only way of their safety for the present, but in the future the Sutu party proper will turn upon them. I believe Mr. Pretorius, with half of Hlubi's men mounted and armed, started for Babanangu on the 11th, Sunday night, or to Gezahlali the kraal of Fakuziningo. I learnt from one of Mr. Pretorius's Native Police, that there were about 500 Boers at the Mahlbatini to install Dinuzulu as King over the territory which his late father Cetshwayo was restored to, and to appoint a regent. That the Boers do not intend to interfere with the Reserve or Zibebu unless he interferes with them, but the loyal Natives and the Sutus also in the Reserve Territory firmly believe the Boers are to take over all the Zulu country, including the Reserve, and that Dinuzulu is to be their King.

(Signed) B. KRAFT,

Before me this 13th May, 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division.

Umsinga Division, Natal,

May 13, 1884.

Mgovolo, watching the frontier border at junction of Umgeni Rivulet and Buffalo River, Umsinga Division, states:—Last evening the families of Matyana Mondisa and elder men, in all 180 persons and a large number of cattle, crossed over the Buffalo River, having fled from the Qudeni in the Reserve, leaving all the able-bodied men to defend their homes. A Sutu force, consisting of hitherto loyal Reserve people, were seen on the Qudeni ridge near the eastern side of the Pindo shortly before sunset yesterday (the 12th May 1884). The people of the Sutu force say that Matyana, Mondisa, and Merizo are in possession of cattle belonging to Zululand and that the Sutus are following them up to capture them. The information I gather regarding Tom and police is that the people above referred to as loyal Reserve people who had been collected by him, turned upon him and killed him and his police saying they were no longer Reserve people but Sutus of Zululand. I heard that Mr. Osborn on hearing Tom and police were killed arranged to muster forces near Gezahlale kraal of Fakuziningo's.

(Signed) MGOVOLO ^{his} X
mark.

Before me this 13th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

Umsinga Division, Natal, May 13, 1884.

Gamlake, watching the frontier border near Buffalo River facing junction of Mangeni and Buffalo River, states:—Yesterday afternoon (12th May) Buti and his family fled from near the Pindo, eastern side into this division. His cattle were captured by Sutu forces the day before yesterday (11th May). I learn from some of the people who have come from Songoba, one of the police stationed with Tom, that some day's ago Mr. Osborn's mounted police and forces drove from their encampment at the Nkanhla further into that forest, upon this Tom mustered people, his own police and loyal Reserve people to join Mr. Osborn's forces, and on returning were met by Sutu forces who attacked Tom's force, and the loyal Reserve people with Tom turned Usutus and turned upon Tom and Mahlatshana and their police and killed them all. I believe this to be true, Malinga, one of Tom's own men from his kraal who has since fled, told me this. Pretorius and Hlubi's men have gone towards the Nkanhla. No news from Mr. Osborn's side, the Sutu forces have cut off communication.

(Signed) GAMLAKE ^{his} X
mark.

Before me this 13th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

SIR,

Eland's Kraal, M.S., May 13, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival at my station of:—1st Umfunyana, his son Mabusman (an Ikchla) with three wives and six children, and about five head of cattle.

These came out from the Rev. Mr. Stallborn's station in Upper Zululand, and they wish to remain with me until it is safe to return to Zululand.

I regret to say that there has been lung sickness among their cattle.

2nd. Two or three of the Rev. Mr. Stallborn's boys are with me in charge of his cattle, which are running on my farm.

Umfunyana is living at Maqutyana's kraal, on my farm, as they are related.

Umfunyana was left behind at his station by Mr. Stallborn, but being threatened by Mapela, he fled and came to me, owing to his being aware that Mr. Stallborn's boys and cattle were with me.

I have the honour to request that you will sanction their living with me until it is safe to return home.

The Resident Magistrate and Administrator
of Native Law, Umsinga.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. DEDEKIND.

Enclosure 4 in No. 28.

(Minute Paper.)

Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division.

FORWARDS further border reports from the frontier bordering on the Reserve territory in re disturbances.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Enclosed statement of Ngola reporting the flight of women, children, and cattle of Mbuzo's tribe from Qudeni Mt., Reserve territory, to banks of Buffalo River and Tugela River.

The Bishop of Zululand informed me last evening (while on his way to Pietermaritzburg) that Mr. Pretorius was at home near Hlubi's on the evening of the 12th, so that the report that Pretorius accompanied Hlubi's men who went towards Nkanhla was, as regards Mr. Pretorius, incorrect.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division.

May 14, 1884.

Umsinga Division, Natal, May 14, 1884.

Ngola, of Mdudu's kraal, a border watcher at the foot of Umsinga Mountain at the junction of Buffalo and Tugela Rivers, states:—Yesterday morning, the 13th May, about 100 women and their children included, belonging to Mbuzo's tribe, fled down from the Qudeni mountain in the Reserve territory to the banks of the Buffalo river with a very large number of cattle, and yesterday morning, the 13th May, it appears three companies of Sutu forces from the Nkanhla captured cattle of the Chief, Mbuzo's, near the sources of Umfungose River, and were then followed by seven companies of Mbuzo's people, whose scouts found out that there was a larger Sutu force on their left in ambush, and upon finding this out, Umbuzo's seven companies made a safe retreat in time to get away clear of them. Two brothers of Mbuzo's were killed with Tom, and the rest of those border police of Mr. Osborn's. Umbuzo's people inform me that Mbuzo has seven companies, and is on the western slope of the Qudeni Mountain facing Buffalo River, and has scouts out watching movements of Sutu forces. Large numbers of families and cattle of Mbuzo's tribe have fled down to Tugela River facing Fort Buckingham.

(Signed) NGOLA X
his
mark.

Before me this 14th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

Enclosure 5 in No. 28.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umvoti, to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Somhashe Location,
Wednesday night, May 14, 1884.

I COLLECTED taxes in Makedama's location yesterday from the people of that tribe, and Hlangabeza's people. No news of any importance since I last wrote; Mawele informs me that Umbuzo's cattle were brought across the river into this location, but the men watching the drifts sent them back, allowing the women and children to stop. No women have crossed into Hlangabeza's location. Those who crossed into Homoi's location have gone back, and are at present on the island in the Tugela. Those who crossed into Makedama's and Somhashe's locations are still there, mostly as temporary fugitives, only one or two wishing to stay permanently as refugees. I shall be down here until Friday morning.

(Signed) W. D. WHEELWRIGHT, R.M.

Enclosure 6 in No. 28.

Minute Paper.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umsinga Division.

Forwards statement of Ncombo, one of Mr. Osborn's border police in re disturbances in the Reserve territory. Matyana's return from Peitermaritzburg.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,

THE statement of Ncombo for the information of his Excellency:—

Matyana Mondisa has just arrived from Pietermaritzburg, and has gone home to his families on this side of the border and near junctions of Buffalo and Tugela Rivers.

He expressed that neither Matyana Sityakuza or Faku Ziningo should be trusted as loyal Reserve people. He wished to send his cattle further into this division and distribute them amongst his friends for safe keeping for him. I refuse to allow this without his Excellency directs this may be done, because it would be opening the gate for thousands of cattle to be brought into Natal, and spread lung-sickness, and lead to troubles and complications which I showed him clearly would be the case.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga.

May 15, 1884.

Umsinga Division, Natal, May 15, 1884.

NCOMBO, one of Mr. Osborn's native border police, stationed at the sources of the Mhlatusi River, foot of Babanangu Mountain states:—

“About six days ago Mr. Osborn with his forces consisting of the military, native mounted police, and native forces of Mavumengwana, Siunguza, Monzamu, Hlongo-wana Bilibana, made an attack upon the Sutu encampment in the Nkanhla Forest and drove the Sutus further into the forest, and next morning shelled or fired cannon into the Sutus. Previous to this Tom by orders had the Mhlatusi Drifts well watched, and was himself supported with a force of people of Matyana, Sityakuza, and Faku Ziningo, loyal Reserve people, and on the morning of the shelling of the Nkanhla, Nomandindi (the brother of Faku Ziningo) who with his section of the tribe are located nearer the Nkanhla came to support Tom's force and induced him with his force to advance and attack the Sutu forces being driven out of the Nkanhla by the cannon and forces of Mr. Osborn, and when Tom's force had advanced to near the Mpanhleri Hill and on the eastern side, a large Sutu force in ambush there and in league with Nomandindi joined him and poured upon Tom and his forces; of Tom's own police, were then killed, Tom, Mazwi, Mahlatshana, Nganzana, Qakolo, Roizana, Kubeni, and a large portion of the people of Matyana, Sityakuza's, and Fakuziningo's, and there escaped from Tom's own men Mbilini, Zubolo, and Ngazana.

After this the Sutu force swept off towards the Mahlabatini, taking all the people and cattle on their way with them, and large numbers, including Ndwandwas, who were considered up to then loyal Reserve people, joined the Sutu forces and went off with them. Matyana, Sityakuza, and Faku Ziningo, with the remainder of their people have taken refuge in the Mangeni Valley. My cattle are near Hlubi's, but I fled across the Buffalo to this side with my family yesterday, and I was overtaken by Mlonyeni, a messenger from Fakuziningo to inform me that the day before yesterday Hlubi's force of mounted and footmen, that is half of this force (for the other half had divided and gone off towards the east of Babanangu after the first Sutu force which killed Tom and his people, and were ahead of another Sutu force following in their rear, and the Sutu force in advance) made an attack upon another Sutu force consisting of people of Matyana, Sityakuza, and Fakuziningo and Ndwandwe, who had joined or become Sutus very recently and separated from their Chiefs Matyana-Sitshakuza and Faku-ziningo, —this attack took place the day before yesterday (13th May 1884) and resulted in Hlubi's force gaining a complete victory over them, and killing, it is said, all of that Sutu force with the exception of one man Sikova, who escaped on horseback (son of Matyana Sityakuza.) Mlonyeni also informed me that fighting or gun firing had been going on all night of the 13th and next morning, yesterday, 14th May, at the Nkanhla Forest.

A few days ago some of the Sutus shouted out they had killed two white men at Qudeni, Martin Oftebro's former residence, and that one was Martin Oftebro, but I do not believe the one was Oftebro, for he is with Mr. Osborn's forces. I have not been

able to get any information about Mr. Osborn and his forces, as the Usutu forces are between us in the Nkanhla, but the greatest portion of the Sutu forces have left the Nkanhla during the last few days and gone to the Mahlabatini. I am now going to Hlubis to see about my cattle.

(Signed) NCOMBO ^{his} +
mark.

Read over, interpreted, and adhered to, before me, this 15th May 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division.

Enclosure 7 in No. 28.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umvoti, to SECRETARY, NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Greytown, May 17, 1884.

I RETURNED from the tax collecting last night; everything quiet in the locations and no alarm among our Natives. On Thursday morning, one of my men who had been sent down to the Dumudumu Drift, reported that Umbuzo, with an impi consisting of about 9 or 10 amavigo, had started the evening previous to meet Hlubi who had sent for him, and who had on his road burnt some kraals and scattered some of the Usuto; the messenger stated that he learnt from Umbuzo's people that the missionary at the Mahlabatini had been killed with his Amakolwa. On Thursday I was at the Tembu Drift of the Tugela, and at about 11 a.m. I heard firing going on in the direction of Etshaneni, Godidi's stronghold; it sounded like volley firing, and lasted about half-an-hour; at about 4 o'clock p.m. I could see dense masses of smoke which appeared like kraals burning. Yesterday morning, one of the men watching the Entanjani Drift, which is opposite to the Etschaneni, came and reported that on the day previous, Hlubi and Umbuzo had attacked the Usuto force stationed at Godide's place, and after a short engagement, had beaten them back and captured a very large troop of cattle, which they took up on to the high land. I suppose they would be proceeding to Osborn. I could not get any particulars as to the losses on either side; the man further stated that Hlubi burnt down the kraals after he had beaten the Usuto.

(Signed) W. D. WHEELWRIGHT, R.M.,
Greytown.

No. 29.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 19, 1884.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 13th instant,* I have the honour to enclose copies of the further communications that have passed between his Excellency the High Commissioner and myself regarding the reported action in the Zulu country of certain subjects of the Orange Free State and of the South African Republic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 29.

(Telegram.)

SIR HENRY BULWER to Sir H. ROBINSON, Cape Town.†

* No. 21.

† See Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

Enclosure 2 in No. 29.

HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to Sir HENRY BULWER, Pietermaritzburg.*

Enclosure 3 in No. 29.

HIGH COMMISSIONER, Cape Town, to Sir H. BULWER, Pietermaritzburg.†

Enclosure 4 in No. 29.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Sir H. ROBINSON.

May 11. I sent the two following telegrams‡ to the Secretary of State yesterday.

Enclosure 5 in No. 29.

Sir H. ROBINSON to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Cape Town, May 12, 1884, 11.50 a.m.

Pietermaritzburg, May 12, 1884, 1.40 p.m.

12th. Yours yesterday. I sent on 10th to the Secretary of State the following telegram§ in reply to one from him desiring me to press Transvaal Republic for early answer to your representations.

Enclosure 6 in No. 29.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. ROBINSON to Sir H. BULWER.

Cape Town, May 14, 1884, 2.41 p.m.

Pietermaritzburg, May 14, 1884, 4.17 p.m.

14th. I have received the following telegram¶ from the British Resident, Pretoria.

Enclosure 7 in No. 29.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Sir H. ROBINSON.

May 16, 1884. I forwarded yesterday evening the following telegram¶¶ to the Secretary of State.

Enclosure 8 in No. 29.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. ROBINSON to Sir H. BULWER.

Cape Town, May 16, 1884, 6.10 p.m.

Pietermaritzburg, May 16, 1884, 7.15 p.m.

Much obliged for your Excellency's message of to-day. I communicated substance of Hudson's telegram to Secretary of State on 14th.

* See Enclosure 2 in No. 14.

† See Enclosure 3 in No. 14.

‡ Nos. 95 and 96 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

§ No. 97 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

¶ Enclosure 1 in No. 22.

¶¶ No. 109 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

Enclosure 9 in No. 29.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir H. ROBINSON.

(Telegram.)

May 17, 1884. I forwarded yesterday evening the following telegram* to the Secretary of State.

No. 30.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 19, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN my Despatch of the 13th instant,† I reported the action that the Resident Commissioner had felt it necessary to take at the Inkanhla, and his proceedings up to the 10th instant, on the early morning of which day an attack was made on his camp by an Usutu force under Dabulamanzi. The attack, I reported, had been successfully repulsed with a loss of two men killed, and two or three wounded on the side of the Resident Commissioner, whilst of the Usutu force, so far as it was then known, 21 men had been killed.

2. Mr. Osborn has since informed me that on a further examination of the ground over 100 bodies of the Usutus were found; Dabulamanzi's horse was also killed, and his revolver and hat were picked up. What happened to Dabulamanzi himself has not been ascertained, but there is some cause to suppose that he was either killed or wounded.

3. On the night of the 13th instant I received a message from Mr. Osborn informing me that he had fallen back to the Entumeni, which is distant 12 miles from Etshowe; and in a letter dated the 12th instant he states that his men were too tired to follow up the success of the morning of the 10th; that they had therefore rested during the whole of the 10th, and that on the following day, receiving information, which he believed to be reliable, that Ndabuko had despatched Bejana and 20 companies of Usutu with instructions to cross the Umhlatusi below the Inkanhla, and get between Mr. Osborn's force and Etshowe, with the object of a simultaneous attack being made upon it from both sides, he had decided to move back his force in the direction of Etshowe so as to defeat that project.

Another reason for returning may have been the desire to obtain reinforcements, as numbers of Mr. Osborn's men had deserted on the night of the 9th instant, dreading the expected Usutu attack, and he had remaining with him only about two thirds of the force with which he had originally advanced.

4. On the 14th instant Mr. Osborn wrote to say that he had heard from John Dunn that the coast Natives on whose assistance he had relied now refused to move to the attack on the Inkanhla. They had become completely demoralised by the reports as to the proceedings and intentions of the Boers, and were unwilling to leave their own border exposed to attack by the Usutu under Bejana. It would be necessary, said they, that they should first cross the Umhlatusi, and clear away Bejana and his force; that even when this was done they would not, they declared, go to the Inkanhla unless the troops went with them.

5. Under these circumstances Mr. Osborn was at a great loss to know what to do. He had 2,000 men with him, but he had evidently felt himself unable to deal with the Usutus in the Inkanhla with that number, and eventually he had been obliged to retire. The Usutus in the Inkanhla were meanwhile being strengthened by reinforcements from the main Usutu force under Umnyamana; and as Mr. Osborn had not felt himself in a position to advance into the Inkanhla during the five or six days he was in the neighbourhood and before the Usutus there were reinforced, he could not, of course, expect to do so with only the same force with which he had retired. Nor would it be possible for him, he said, to keep the force he had together much longer, apart from the question of feeding it, as the men seeing nothing done would be sure to leave in order to provide for the safety of their families. There seemed, then, to him no alternative

* No. 111 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

† No. 19.

but that of employing troops; and it was for this reason he sent me the telegraphic communication of the 14th, the purport of which I communicated to your Lordship on the following day.*

6. As it was a serious question if it would be advisable to employ troops in such a service as that of an expedition to the Inkanhla, and as, supposing the consent of Her Majesty's Government were given to their employment on this service, it was certain that a considerable time must elapse before anything of the sort could be attempted, and as, moreover, it was equally certain that with delay the force with Mr. Osborn would melt away, for Natives cannot remain long in the field in a state of inaction, it seemed to me that it would be far better that the force should be allowed to go to their homes until such time as they were called up for active service; and I therefore suggested the advisableness of this course for the consideration of the Resident Commissioner in a telegram (see Enclosure 6) which I despatched to him on the 16th instant.

8. But it being evident that the danger to the Reserve, in consequence of the Boer action in Zululand, was a very real and serious danger, I felt myself obliged to submit to your Lordship my opinion that it would be necessary, in order to uphold our position there, that we should have more troops, and that more troops, it seemed to me, would be required whatever we now decided upon doing—whether it was to deal with the Zulu country across the Umhlatusi in the way suggested by me in my telegram of the 9th,† or whether it was to support the Reserve, supposing Her Majesty's Government decided not to deal with the country across the Umhlatusi, or whether to strengthen the borders of the Colony in the event of any reverse in the Reserve.

9. Lieutenant-General Sir L. Smyth being expected the next day, I said that I would desire to express that opinion subject to a reference to him; and accordingly on his arrival here on the evening of the 17th instant, I put the position before him. He decided to proceed in the first place to Etshowe, and he has therefore left for that place, where he will confer with the Resident Commissioner and the officer commanding the troops at Etshowe, and others on the spot as to the best mode of providing for the defence of the territory.

10. In the meantime I have not received any positive information as to what the Usutus have done in the Inkanhla since the 10th instant. A force of the Abaqulusi had been seen not far from the borders of what is known as Hlubi's territory, and it was their presence which had decided Mr. Pretorius to take special measures of precaution against an attack. Two smaller forces of Usutus have also been seen below Hlubi's district and near the Ibanango, and Hlubi, who started with 130 or 140 men on the 11th instant, had a slight skirmish with another Usutu party which was following him in the Reserve. He had, however, after retiring for awhile, again moved forward, apparently on the 13th instant, and after some skirmishing appears to have effected a junction with the loyal Chief Umbusu, and together with him to have made an attack on Godide's stronghold in the Reserve from which they succeeded in carrying off a number of cattle.

11. Several fugitives have come across into Natal, mostly women and children, and they will be allowed to remain on the Natal side of the valley of the Tugela for the time being.

12. In defending the Reserve the chief difficulty will lie in the Inkanhla district, which is a very broken and wooded country, and which is the part of the Reserve where the Chiefs belonging to the Usutu party for the most part reside. It is, moreover, of convenient access from central Zululand. This difficulty indeed would not be so great were it not for the action of the Boers which, relieving the Usutus from any fear of danger in their rear from either Usibebu or Uhamu, sets them free to direct all their strength against the Reserve, and which has upset the minds of the loyally disposed people in the Reserve who are under the apprehension that the Usutu rule will be restored under the protection of the Boers.

13. The safety of the Reserve, therefore, depends in a very great measure on what takes place in central Zululand; and if the Boers there either encourage or suffer the Usutus to attack the Reserve, the task of defending the territory and of maintaining order and peace in it will be tenfold and twentyfold greater than would otherwise be the case.

* No. 108 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

† No. 95 in [C. 4037] May 1884.

14. I have the honour to enclose copies of the following communications, namely :—

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Osborn. | Telegram, 13th May 1884. |
| 2. | Mr. Osborn to Sir H. Bulwer. | ” 13th ” ” |
| 3. | Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Osborn. | ” 14th ” ” |
| 4. | Mr. Osborn to Sir H. Bulwer. | ” 14th ” ” |
| 5. | Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Osborn. | ” 14th ” ” |
| 6. | ” ” ” | ” 16th ” ” |
| 7. | Mr. Osborn to Sir H. Bulwer. | ” 15th ” ” |
| 8. | ” ” ” | ” 17th ” ” |
| 9. | Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Osborn. | ” 18th ” ” |

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(To be forwarded by Special Messenger.)

May 13, 1884.

MR. PRETORIUS, writing on the 11th instant, explains that he did not send the hundred men, because on the 5th he had heard that the abaQulusi and two other impis, encouraged by the arrival in central Zululand of the Boers, intended to attack his district with the help of the Usutus in it.

He also heard that your requisition was brought to Tom's post by a strong escort upon which the Usutu had fired. Two messengers he had sent to Tom on the 2nd instant had not returned on the 11th; he had heard that Tom's post had been attacked, but his fate was unknown. He has sent two other messengers to you via Natal.

Hlubi, with all available men, started to join you at the Nkandhla on the morning of 11th. Hlubi intended to be in position same night.

But if you have retired, as it is said, I fear he may be in danger. You should take steps to warn him in this case.

Mr. Fynn says there is a report that Tom has been killed, and that Oftebro has been defeated.

Enclosure 2 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Entumeni, May 13, 1884. 7 a.m.

I BROUGHT my force here yesterday and camped. I had no encounter with Usutu since their night attack, but they attacked and killed many of my border watch on Umhlatusi.

Undabuku brothers and Nkandhla, Usutu impi, with all their cattle, reported to have crossed to other side.

I have sent to verify. Believe report to be true.

Enclosure 3 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

14th May 1884. I have received your letter of the 10th and telegram of the 13th instant. The repulse of the night attack was most creditable. Please express to Commandant Mansel my satisfaction at the conduct of his men.

I conclude that you found the force with you insufficient for the purpose for which you went to the Nkandhla, and in view of its retirement and of the murder of the

border guards, I fear that unless something is done, the whole of the central portion of the Reserve will be given up to disorder. If the Usutus have really left the Inkandhla that so far alters the case that it may give time to organise for defence before they return. But if they are not gone what do you propose to do? for if we leave them masters of that part of the country even the loyal Natives in the district will, for their own sakes, be forced to join them, and all the Central Reserve will be lost. Please let me know. I do not think any time is to be lost.

Enclosure 4 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Entumeni, May 14, 1884.

REPORT not true that Undabuko and Nkandhla Usutu impi crossed Umhlatusi, most of their cattle only went. I have reliable information that Usutu reinforcements have come and are still coming to Nkandhla from Umyamana, which is entirely owing to the action of the Boers. Dunn informed me during the night that the people refuse flatly to assist in operations unless the troops take part, and people be allowed first to cross Umhlatusi to drive off the Usutu force there in their rear. This is most serious and involves the gravest consequences, as without this aid I cannot push active measures, and the Usutus will overrun the country. I am renewing my efforts to get the reinforcement, but fear will not succeed, and the employment of the troops has now become absolutely necessary if Reserve is to be held.

Enclosure 5 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(To be forwarded by Special Messenger.)

May 14, 1884, 11.30 p.m. Your telegram of this day received with the greatest concern. Please state the reason why you did not send your force of three thousand men into the Nkandhla on the 7th instant, as you intended to do, or on the following days, and why you did not follow up your advantage of the 10th.

Was the position too strong for your force, or was it reluctance on the part of your force?

You state that the employment of troops is now absolutely necessary. Please state what is the number you would require, also state the manner in which you would employ them, and what would be the plan and object of military operations.

On what native force could you rely to take the field in conjunction with the troops?

What do you mean by people crossing the Umhlatusi to drive off Usutu force in their rear? What force and where? Furnish by post sketch of position.

Enclosure 6 in No. 30.

(Telegram.)

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(By Special Messenger.)

May 16, 1884. Your letter of 14th. If you cannot obtain reinforcements from coast Natives you will be unable to act against Inkandhla even if it were otherwise advisable to do so under present circumstances. Therefore question for you if advisable to keep what remains of your force at Entumeni, for difficult to maintain them there, their presence may even invite Usutu attack, and if attack is made on them you cannot be sure of them. Is it not better to let them go and make arrangements for safety and defence of their families, and hold themselves in readiness at any moment you call upon them to turn out?

Enclosure 7 in No. 30.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Entumeni, May 15, 1884.

Yours 13th. I am endeavouring to get reinforcement sufficient to return to Nkandhla. No chance of getting men from Dunn and Chiefs near him; my present force is little over two thousand. I sent off message to Hlubi who, I think, would either join Umbusu or return home.

Enclosure 8 in No. 30.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Entumeni, May 17, 1884.

Yours of 14th. First. Force was sent into Nkandhla only on the morning of 9th, as I had given the Usutu till the 8th to come to terms. Second. Force was too fatigued because of the previous day and night's operations to pursue, and I also found that over one third of my force had melted away during Friday night. I also ascertained that a strong Usutu force was moving to cut us off from Eshowe; further, the temper of a great part of the remaining force was such, that I thought it absolutely necessary to move to Entumeni. Third. Four hundred troops, including mounted men, required to support Native force at Nkandhla. They are not likely to come into collision with the Usutu, the object being to reduce the Usutu to terms and to maintain British authority in the Reserve. I could rely upon the force with me now, number about two thousand, and from the North Umbusu about one thousand and Hlubi. Fourth. Dunn's and other coast tribes decline to leave their homes unprotected, as there is an Usutu force under Bejana immediately beyond Umhlatusi threatening them, which force they consider it necessary to disperse before they can join in operations at Nkandhla.

Enclosure 9 in No. 30.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(Telegram.)

May 18, 1884. Mr. Pretorius says that Hlubi had a slight skirmish, but has moved forward again with 168 men to support you at the Inkandhla by way of Qudeni. This movement is because your retirement was unknown. I am very anxious about Hlubi. I sent word to Mr. Pretorius of your retirement as soon as I heard of it. Mr. Fynn gives Native report that Hlubi had some fighting, apparently on the 13th, and again on the 14th, also that the Usutu said two white men were killed, one being Oftebro. From Umvoti there is a report that Hlubi and Umbusu had joined.

No. 31.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 18, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

May 20, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received, through a private source, a copy of a notification that appears to have been issued on the 1st of May by certain Boers calling themselves "the Committee of Dinuzulu's Volunteers."

2. The notification in question is addressed to the Chief Uhamu, and the purport is that Dinuzulu, who is styled the successor to the throne of Zululand, has, in consequence of the continual shedding of blood within his territory, taken refuge with the Committee with the desire to see peace and quietness restored to his country. The notification disowns the intention on the part of the Committee to wage war. Their object, the notification says, is to restore and maintain peace in Zululand. They intimate that Dinuzulu is with them and that they are on their way to the Umahlabatini (*i.e.*, Ulundi).

Uhamu is advised to lay down his arms without further delay and to conduct himself in a quiet and peaceable manner; and the Committee on their part promise to prevent further bloodshed.

A notification of a similar purport, it is stated, has been sent to the Chief Usibebu, whilst Umnyamana has received orders to lay down his arms without further delay and to maintain peace and order.

3. This document, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy together with a translation, is marked, it will be perceived, R $\frac{\text{No. 4}}{84}$, showing that it was not the first that has been issued.

4. The action of the Boers is, as I have said, the result of a compact made with the Usutu party.

In my Despatches of the 6th and 8th instant* I stated that the chief object of the Usutus was the destruction of Usibebu and Uhamu; the Boers were to assist the Usutus in this purpose and were in return to receive a cession of territory. The notification now forwarded does not show the nature of this or of any compact. It would rather seek to show that all that the Boers desire to do is to restore peace and order and to establish Dinuzulu. But it is difficult to believe in the first place that the Boers would undertake this task without receiving remuneration for it, and I am quite sure that the object the Usutus, on their part, have is not so much the restoration of peace and order as the destruction of Usibebu and Uhamu.

5. In confirmation of this view I have seen a private letter, the writer of which received his information from the Boer camp, in which it is stated that the Usutus were beginning to be dissatisfied because they had supposed the Boers would go at once and destroy Usibebu, and the Boers have not done this as yet.

6. It is, however, certain that nothing short of this will satisfy Umnyamana and the other Usutu leaders; and even if the Boers are unwilling to do this, if on the contrary they only desire to restore order, they will be forced by the Usutus to carry out the Usutu programme of the destruction of Usibebu or the arrangement will fall through.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 31.
(Translation.)

R. No. 4, /84.

Sungin, May 1, 1884.

WE have the honour to inform you that Dinizulu, the successor to the throne of Zululand, has, in consequence of the continual shedding of blood within his territory, taken his refuge to us, with the desire to see peace and quietness restored to his country.

We have not come to wage war; our object is to restore and maintain peace in Zululand.

We hereby inform you that Dinizulu is at present amongst us, and that we are on the way to Mahlabatine.

We advise you to lay down your arms without further delay, and to conduct yourselves in a quiet and peaceable manner, and quickly to recall your commando.

We on our part promise to prevent further bloodshed.

To Captain Usibebu a letter of similar purport has been sent. Captain Ummamane has also received orders to lay down his arms without further delay, and to maintain peace and order.

The Committee of Dinizulus's Volunteers—
(Signed)

P. R. SPEIS.
J. F. VAN STADEN.
H. J. POTGIETER.
C. F. MEYER.
T. G. N. STEENKAMP.
A. N. G. LAAS.
A. J. UYS.

To Captain Oham, Umjekule.

* Nos. 12 and 16.

No. 32.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 18, 1884.
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 10th May*, transmitting a copy of a letter received by you from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve, stating that he had been unable to comply with a request from Mr. Osborn that he might be furnished with 100 mounted and armed men at the Inkandhla.

I approve of the terms of the reply which you sent to Mr. Pretorius.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 33.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 19, 1884.
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 8th of May,† forwarding copies of communications addressed to the Resident Commissioner in Zululand by the Chief Usibebu, urging his claims to assistance against the Usutus and their Boer allies.

You will have learned from the decision conveyed to you in my telegram of the 17th ultimo‡, that Her Majesty's Government had decided not to sanction military operations beyond the Reserve.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 34.

THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
 3, Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.,

June 19, 1884.

MY LORD,

I BEG, on behalf of the Committee of this Society, to forward for your Lordship's information a copy of a letter which we have received from Mr. William Grant. Your Lordship will observe that Mr. Grant states that Mr. Osborn's force had proceeded to Inkandhla for the purpose of enforcing the payment of taxes, and that this step was taken while the Usutus were engaged in burying the remains of Cetewayo. The statements made on this subject by Mr. Grant and the brothers of Cetewayo are completely at variance with those published by "the Natal Mercury," which represents the Usutu Chiefs, especially Qetuka, as having provoked Mr. Osborn by "eating up" the cattle of loyal Natives. The Committee feel strongly that these and others matters connected with the Reserve call for serious inquiry on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and that if such an investigation does not take place further lamentable disturbances and loss of life are only too likely to ensue.

I am also asked to call your Lordship's attention to the following copy of an advertisement which was published in the "Times of Natal" of May 15th:

"To Able-Bodied Men!

"Able-bodied men of good character, who can ride and shoot well, are required at once. Applicants must be prepared to find their own horse, carbine, &c. such as they may require for field service. Satisfactory remuneration offered. For further particulars apply by letter or personally to A.B.C.D. 'Times of Natal' Office, Pietermaritzburg."

* No. 17.

† No. 16.

‡ See No. 112 in [C.—4037], May 1884.

There seems good reason to believe that the "able-bodied men" referred to in this advertisement were wanted for service in Zululand. So many men were leaving Natal for the Gold Fields in the Transvaal that it was not expected that any large number of persons would respond to the appeal; and of course the defeat and flight of Zibebu have probably for the present put an end to the vocation of adventurers of this class, so far as Zululand is concerned; nevertheless, we think it right to draw your Lordship's attention to the above advertisement, because it serves to show that the disturbances in Zululand have been aggravated by outside interference in its most reprehensible form. Moreover, the Committee think it is not surprising that when it became known that Zibebu drew supplies from Natal, the Usutus should be tempted in self-defence to seek the aid of the Boers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. W. CHESSON,
Secretary.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 34.

COPY of letter from Mr. WILLIAM GRANT, dated "Durban, Natal, 13th May 1884."

On the 8th instant messengers reached me from the Inkandhla, and I enclose a copy of the message they brought. When the messengers left, the ceremonies connected with the interment of the King's remains were not nearly completed, but as they passed near the Residency they saw preparations being made for an armed advance, and were told that Mr. Osborn proposed proceeding to the Inkandhla with a force to compel the payment of taxes.

Since then, great alarm has been created by the receipt of a telegram, "Mr. Osborn attacked by the Usutu." A great scare appears to have been created in the Reserve among the anti-Usutu; a special meeting of the Executive Council has been held in Maritzburg, and on Sunday the 11th instant more British troops were despatched to Etshowe. And all this disturbance and excitement has been created because of the folly of attempting to enforce by arms the payment of taxes while the people were engaged in burying the remains of their King.

I am satisfied that there was no intention whatever to defy Mr. Osborn's authority, or to refuse the payment of the tax demanded. The Princes had advised all the Chiefs to pay under protest for the obvious reason that they wished to give an emphatic contradiction to the statements made by the authorities regarding the Reserve. Some of the people residing close to the Inkandhla have already paid, and a prominent Chief in that neighbourhood, Qetuka, who had promised Mr. Osborn he would pay when the remains arrived for interment, sent especially to ask Mr. Osborn to wait until the ceremonies were completed, and his people would then pay.

The process of the interment of a King is long and elaborate, and, circumstanced as these people are, would probably extend to well nigh if not fully 20 days. The preparation of the vault alone takes several days. The excavation is of a considerable size. The vault itself is all built of stones which have to be gathered and selected. In this case, as the remains had travelled on a waggon, the waggon was broken entirely up into fragments, and all pertaining to it deposited in the vault with the remains. All the oxen employed in drawing the waggon were killed, and the meat handed over to the old women for consumption.

After the interment is completed a very strong enclosure is made of stakes, which have to be found, cut, and carried, and shrubs and trees are planted inside it. A kraal is also built close to the spot to be occupied by trustworthy men, who guard the remains lest they be conveyed away by witch doctors and keep in order the enclosure. This is all done in silence. The only voice heard is that of the Chief in charge giving in a subdued tone the necessary directions. When this work is completed there is then heard the weeping and the wailing, and in connexion with this part of the ceremony all the ring-headed men shave their heads, and have the ring itself reconstructed. Then follows the ceremony of purification, which involves the slaughter of a considerable number of cattle. Every man who handled the soil or anything connected with the work of interment carefully rubbing his hands with the digested contents of the animals stomach, the more prominent men anointing themselves with the galls of the several beasts slain. After this is over the custom is for the surviving heir to the throne (in this case it was the Regent Ndabuko) to receive visits of condolence from all the Chiefs and people.

They extol the virtues of the departed and descant on the magnitude of the loss the nation has sustained, the conversation terminating with a reference to the regal position and responsibilities of the survivor and their duties as good and faithful dogs (subjects). The final ceremony is the "washing of their assegais." Their national custom is to do this in the blood of some foreign and subservient tribe, and, in their normal state, that is what happens. The substitute, when this plan cannot be followed, is a gigantic hunt in which all the people take part ending in the slaughter of all the game and wild animals that cross their path. After this, any required change in the appointment of officers is made, and the usual duties and functions of the State are assumed.

You will be glad to hear that the earnest wish I expressed in two or three messages to Ndabuko that there should be no sacrifice of human life has been thoroughly respected; not a single life has been taken, or I ought rather to say *given*, for it is a distinct violation of their feelings to allow a King to pass away without a proper escort.

I attribute the delay in the operations against Zibebu to the delay in the interment of the remains, as I have little doubt the intention of the Usutu in the late King's territory was to do the "washing of the assegai" in that way. An attempt is being made to set up the idea that the disturbances in the Reserve are caused by an Usutu force *which has entered the Reserve*. Nothing of the kind has happened. The authorities of course are averse from admitting that so large a proportion of the residents in the Reserve belong to the King's or national party, but you can positively assert that such is the case, and the present sufferers from the cruel and unjust treatment of the authorities are men born in the Reserve and who have resided there all their lives. This last act of the authorities places the Government in a most serious position. An advance has been made, and it is stated, blood shed. So should the Usutu feel they have reached the limit of endurance, resistance may follow, and a considerable number may fall, the alternative being the ignominious retreat of Mr. Osborn and his men.

Copy of message received by Mr. Grant on the 8th May. The messengers left the Inkandhla on the 30th of April, and were sent by Ndabuko (Regent) and his brothers Siwetu, Shingana, Dabulamanzi, and Mahanana.

The Princes sent to say that they left Etshowe with the remains of the King by the consent of Mr. Osborn to bury them at Dabulamanzi's Kraal, and finding they were unable to approach the place owing to the bad state of the road, they sent messengers back to inform Mr. Osborn accordingly. Mr. Osborn sent word that they might proceed to another kraal which he named. On arriving at this kraal the inmates stated they had been instructed to refuse all food. The Princes upon hearing this, ordered the waggon to proceed, and that night they reached Utumene and slept at Johannes's (a native Kolwa). Early the next morning they proceeded on their way in the direction of the Inkandhla, where they had determined upon depositing the remains. At the Ntubene they met an armed force awaiting them on both sides of the road in charge of Mavumangwan. They were not, however, attacked or interfered with. Mavumangwan said, "Mr. Osborn has told me to stop you." No attempt was made to stop us, and the force fell back and gradually disappeared. So we went on until we reached the Inkandhla and buried the King close to the kraal of Lohungu. The Princes say we want Mr. Grant to come and look after us and see all that transpires, and report, for we know that a great many lies are told of us. We greatly want our friend to come and remain with us, for we are in great trouble, and have no one to direct us. We know he holds us firmly by the arm, but we want to see him here. Messengers just returned from Mnyamana say that he very much wants Mr. Grant to go to him, that he was alone and wanted him to direct the affairs of the country, and to take charge of Dinuzulu who had been left in his care by the King. Mnyamana says, "I have taken Dinuzulu because he was sleeping in the bush, but I shall give him to Mr. Grant as soon as he arrives."

Regarding the payment of taxes by the people, the Princes have instructed them to pay under protest, and after the ceremonies connected with the burial are completed all who live here will pay Mr. Osborn what he demands, but "Why should an armed force be sent against us while we are engaged in burying the King?" We have not yet cut the poles, &c. required for protecting the grave, and we hear that a force is to be sent against us. Qetuka (residing near the Inkandhla) who had agreed to pay taxes, though under protest, when the remains of the King arrived sent messengers

to Mr. Osborn to ask him to wait a little till the burial was completed, when he would pay.

Mr. Osborn sent to inquire why they refused pay taxes. The Princes replied, "We are taking medicine to-day, and we have not yet met [received] the people. When the ceremonies are all over we will send messengers to Mr. Osborn and inform him."

Durban, 10th May 1884.

(Signed) WILLIAM GRANT.

No. 35.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.

(Received June 20, 1884.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

20th June. I have sent some one officially to Boers in camp at Zululand on subject of what has happened, and in hope to avert serious trouble that threatens as result of action of Boers in the country.

No. 36.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 21, 1884.
I HAVE received your Despatch of the 13th ultimo,* with enclosures, reporting the proceedings of Mr. Osborn in the neighbourhood of the Inkanhla, and his encounter with a strong Usutu force.

2. Mr. Osborn appears to have done everything that was possible, under the circumstances, to maintain peace and order, and to have defended himself, when attacked, with judgment and success. At the same time, the warning which you conveyed to him was both judicious and well-timed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 37.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 21, 1884.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

20th June. According to telegram from officer commanding at Etshowe the British Resident in Zululand reports the Usutu party collecting to the north of the Umlatoosi, intending attack upon the Native Reserve. The officer commanding requesting instructions, I have asked the British Resident for information; in the meantime, subject to approval of your Lordship, have authorized such military assistance to Commissioner for defence as officer commanding in his judgment considers necessary and possible to give.

No. 38.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

TELEGRAPHIC.

June 22, 1884. Yours, 20th June.† Action approved. 550 2nd Battalion South Lancashire Regiment, and 500 additional drafts have been ordered to South Africa, early date.

* No. 19.

† No. 35.

No. 39.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 23, 1884.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

22nd June. District of Hlubi being in danger of attack by Usutu party troops will be moved in support of it. There is reason to fear Boers also intend to assist in attack; this would be deliberate defiance Her Majesty's Government, aggression without cause or justification; still I trust agent I have despatched may be able to avert.

No. 40.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, June 23, 1884.

I HAVE received your Despatch of the 16th ultimo,* enclosing copy of a correspondence with Mr. Pretorius, Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory, in reference to the recent Usutu disturbances, and to the reasons which determined him not to send the contingent of 100 men applied for by Mr. Osborn.

2. I concur in your opinion that under the circumstances Mr. Pretorius was justified in acting as he did.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 41.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, June 24, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 8th May,† and I approve the terms of your reply to Mr. Grant's letter of the 26th April, which you enclose for my information.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 42.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

MY LORD,

May 27, 1884.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 19th instant,‡ in which I transmitted to your Lordship the telegraphic correspondence that had passed between his Excellency the High Commissioner and myself on the subject of the Boer movement in Zululand, I have now the honour to transmit copies of three further telegrams that have passed on the subject.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

* No. 26.

† No. 15.

‡ No. 29.

Enclosure 1 in No. 42.

Sir H. ROBINSON to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Cape Town, May 19, 1884, 10.52 a.m.

Pietermaritzburg, May 19, 1884, 12.23 p.m.

18th.—Received following * from Hudson.

Enclosure 2 in No. 42.

Sir H. ROBINSON to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Cape Town, May 20, 1884, 2.20 p.m.

Pietermaritzburg, May 20, 1884, 3.48 p.m.

20th.—Mine of 18th. I have not telegraphed Hudson's message of 15th to Secretary of State. Have you done so? If not, do you think it desirable that I should do so?

Enclosure 3 in No. 42.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir H. ROBINSON.

(Telegram.)

May 20, 1884.—No, I have not telegraphed. I thought your Excellency would have done so. I would suggest that main points—that is about intention to issue proclamation, but refusal to take overt action to prevent—should be made known to Secretary of State.

No. 43.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT. HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 27, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN my Despatch of the 19th instant,† I stated that the Lieutenant-General Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa had arrived in Natal, and had proceeded to Etshowe with the view of considering the steps to be taken for the defence of the Reserve territory.

2. The Lieutenant-General returned on the 23rd instant, and on the following day furnished me with a memorandum on the military resources at his command and the probable requirements for the defence of the Reserve.

3. The Lieutenant-General and I have been anxious not to ask for a larger number of reinforcements than is absolutely necessary. In my previous despatch I said that what we should require here would depend upon what is done in central Zululand. If the Boers who have entered that country act in accordance with the spirit of the notification which was issued by the Committee on the 1st May,‡ their professed object being the restoration of peace and order, they will neither interfere themselves nor allow the Usutus to interfere with Usibebu on the one side, or with the Reserve on the other. But if they have entered, as it is said they have done, into a compact with the Usutus to conquer the rest of Zululand for them in consideration of a cession of territory, they will hardly be able to hold to these pacific professions, and indeed information has already reached me that they have sent a hostile message to Usibebu requiring him to recognize Dinuzulu. This proceeding is at entire variance with their peaceful declaration, and if they disregard the declaration in respect of Usibebu they may equally do so in respect of the Reserve territory, in which case it is difficult to say to what extent our resources may be called upon to defend it.

4. But for present purposes of defence, and assuming that no such eventuality as that referred to arises, the Lieutenant-General is of opinion that a reinforcement of 1,000

* See Enclosure 2 in No. 22.

† No. 30.

‡ See Enclosure in No. 31.

infantry will be sufficient, and I therefore telegraphed to your Lordship to that effect on the 24th instant.*

5. I have the honour to enclose copies of the communications that have passed on this subject.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 43.

GENERAL, Tugela, to GOVERNOR, Pietermaritzburg.
(Telegram.)

Stanger, May 19, 1884, 2.20 p.m. Pietermaritzburg, May 19, 1884, 2.50 p.m.

May 19, 1884.—Will your Excellency kindly allow Bond to communicate to me text of Lord Derby's telegram; shall leave Tugela to-morrow early.

Enclosure 2 in No. 43.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir LEICESTER SMYTH.
(Telegram.)

May 19, 1884.—Yours of to-day. Secretary of State says that integrity and peace of Reserve must be maintained, and in reply to my later telegram, expressing opinion that more troops will be wanted, says that Her Majesty's Government are prepared to defend Reserve. His Lordship awaits my report as to military reinforcements after conferring with General.

Present question, I apprehend, is to consider what will be best way to defend Reserve and then report what necessary.

I hear this evening that Usutu beginning to distrust Boers, because they have not gone against Usibebu; also that Umnyamana not in favour of Boers; but I doubt if this be so.

Enclosure 3 in No. 43.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.
(Telegram.)

May 20, 1884.—The General will be at Etshowe to-day. See and give him every assistance, and consult him. Her Majesty's Government will maintain the Reserve and defend it. The General will consider the question of defence. Will it be possible to fill up the Inkandhla with loyal Natives on whom reliance can be placed? Is the Usutu force still there? By some it is said they have gone to Ulundi.

Enclosure 4 in No. 43.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.
(Telegram.)

Fort Pearson, May 20, 1884, 5.50 p.m. Pietermaritzburg, 6. 38 p.m.

Entumeni, May 20, 1884.—I have no certain information about Hlubi; reported that he joined Umbusu. I have sent messengers via Natal banks of Tugela to Umbusu and Hlubi. They are not back yet. It is certain that Undabuku and three brothers have gone across the Umhlatusi, it is supposed to Ngome. Dabulamanzi only has remained; supposed to be severely wounded, if not dead.

* See No. 2.

Enclosure 5 in No. 43.

General Sir LEICESTER SMYTH to Sir H. BULWER.

(Telegram.)

Fort Pearson, May 21, 1884, 6 p.m. Pietermaritzburg, 7.45 p.m.

May 21, 1884.—Nothing can exceed gratitude and satisfaction felt in Reserve at decision of Her Majesty's Government. State of feeling and alarm hitherto deplorable. Am in cordial communication with Osborn, and have sanctioned, at his request, slight addition to Reserve carbineers, &c., which I am sure will meet your Excellency's approval. I beg most strongly to urge what I spoke to your Excellency about Boers. All agree it is immediately essential; if they keep clear the business will not be difficult, but if they get mixed up it will be terrible throughout South Africa.

Enclosure 6 in No. 43.

(Telegram.)

General Sir LEICESTER SMYTH to Sir H. BULWER.

Fort Pearson, May 22, 1884, 9 a.m. Pietermaritzburg, May 22, 1884, 10.37 a.m.

Tugela, May 21, 1884.—Dunn informs me this evening that some few men from the Inkandhla have come in. Would it be possible to issue a proclamation which might have the effect of producing further submission?

Enclosure 7 in No. 43.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir LEICESTER SMYTH, Durban.

(Telegram.)

May 22, 1884.—Yours of 21st. I think best to await your return before reporting to Secretary of State your proposal for 2,000 troops and artillery, which I fear is a large demand to make on Her Majesty's Government. If action purely for defence, will not a less number be sufficient? Osborn reports Indaluko left Inkanhla. If this be so, and if people there are coming in, as your later telegram says, I trust that no expedition there will be necessary; but I shall be glad to see you back, so that we may fully discuss what is required and what is to be done. I hear you have sent for troops from Cape Town, and are sending troops to Middle Drift. Not hearing it from you, I have not informed Secretary of State.

No. 44.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

Mr LORD,

May 27, 1884.

WITH reference to my Despatches of the 16th and 19th instant,* I have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copies of further letters I have received from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve. These letters relate mainly to the present position of Hlubi, who appears to have retired, with a great number of cattle seized by him from Godide, on or about the 14th instant, and to be in a situation either to advance towards the Inkanhla should Mr. Osborn send for him, or to fall back to the assistance of Mr. Pretorius should he be required in that direction.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

* Nos. 26 and 30.

Enclosure 1 in No. 44.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
May 15, 1884.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, No. 16. I trust that my letter despatched from here Sunday last, 11th May, will supply the required information, and be found sufficiently explicit with regard to the situation of the district under my care at the time of receipt of Mr. Osborn's letter. I acted to the best of my knowledge and judgment for the safety of the district.

I returned last night from the Izipezi, where I had gone to see Hlubi, and personally to bring him all the assistance I could possibly obtain and spare, 34 mounted men drafted from the Nkandi. Hlubi had again moved forward yesterday with the force he has with him. I saw no possibility to reach him without being absent from my post during the night, which I did not consider myself warranted to do under existing circumstances. He would be at the Qudeni bush the same night trying to reach Mr. Osborn at the Nkandhla that way. I have sent the 34 men after him with order to reach him same night.

The Usutu force, to which I referred in my letter of 13th May last as being at the Zungueni, is still there retaining its position and evidently watching. I have as many men ready at that point as I can spare.

Another Usutu force is on the road to Tabankulu, evidently for the same purpose as the one at the Zungueni. I have a force ready in that direction as strong as possible.

I received a report from Hlubi that he had a skirmish with the Usutu, who opposed him on his way when he attempted to force his way through on Monday last. One of his men was slightly wounded and four on the other side were killed. The messenger's report was very incoherent. I could not make out clearly, from what he said, how it occurred. I was told on my return last night that a report of the skirmish had been spread as early as Tuesday last by a straggler, and as usual, exaggerated. Hlubi took a number of cattle, how many I have not yet been able to ascertain. My orders to him were to act strictly on the defensive on his way down.

I forward this letter by a special messenger to Umsinga to catch Friday's post from there. The post from Rorke's Drift goes only twice a week.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 44.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
May 18, 1884.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letters No. 17 and No. 18, and was glad to receive reliable information with regard to Mr. Osborn's position. Wild and exaggerated rumours had been afloat about the result of the attack made by the Usutu on Mr. Osborn's force, to which I did not attach much value. Since 3rd May last I have not heard from him.

Since despatch of my last letter, dated 15th May, I received a report from Hlubi to the effect that Mr. Osborn had managed to communicate with him at the Qudeni. From what I could gather, Mr. Osborn had directed him to move from where he was toward the junction of the Insuze with the Tugela, and to cut straight from there to the Entumeni. He (Hlubi) was instructed at the same time to take with him as many men from Umbusu as he could get. The messenger who brought the report informed me that Hlubi's force had been considerably strengthened by men belonging to Matyan and Faku. He could not tell me in how far the call made on Umbusu for men had been responded to. The position of Umbusu's district exposes him to great danger.

My order to Hlubi, when he left, was to try and open up communication with Mr. Osborn, and as soon as that had been done to take orders from the Resident Commissioner as to the course he would have to pursue.

To-day another messenger from Hlubi arrived. Hlubi, it appears, has failed for some reason or other to carry out the instructions received from Mr. Osborn. He is still at the Ensingabantu with his force, and has again requested me to send him more men

(foot men). He states to require these to get the cattle out from the "kloofs" of the Insuze. I cannot possibly comply with the request under circumstances. He has out of this district already 134 horsemen, besides, as far as I can make out, fully 100 foot men. To these must be added Matyaan's, Faku's, and Umbusu's men, so that I believe not to be far wrong in estimating the force with him to be at least six or seven hundred strong. I do not feel justified to weaken the defensive force here any more for the purpose of strengthening his force. I am of opinion that Hlubi ought to be able to force his way through to Entumeni with the force at his disposal. I do not know of course whether or not Hlubi received fresh orders, which may be the cause of his remaining for the present at Ensingabantu. This is not impossible.

I hope to be able to inform your Excellency definitely with the next post what Hlubi's instructions are, and what he is doing. I do not like to recall him at this juncture. With the men at my disposal under my own and my son's command, I believe I could manage to hold my own at present. Hlubi's force might be a very great help to Mr. Osborn. I will do my utmost to assist him.

My reasons for stating that I believe to be able to hold my own at present are, that I received reliable information about the state of affairs at the Tabankulu. Reverend Stallbom has been to his station, in the vicinity of which the Boer laager then was. He returned last evening and informed me that the Boers, whom he personally visited, told him that Mnyamana would hear of nothing but to fight Usibepu. This the Boers appear to refuse to do. Upon this Mnyamana had summoned the Abaqulisini to him and they had obeyed the summons. The Boers moved at once towards Oham. The fact of the Abaqulisini being away and the Boers being at Oham, as I have no reason to doubt, diminishes to some extent the danger of invasion by a large force in the upper part of my district. I do not wish it to be inferred from this that I have in any way relaxed vigilance in that quarter. I still keep myself in readiness, in event of an emergency there to meet force with force. But the fact of my knowing this makes me feel more at ease with regard to the absence of Hlubi and the force with him from the district. They can be spared here for a few days, as far as I am able to judge, and might do good service lower down. For this reason I should very much like to see Hlubi with Mr. Osborn. It is, however, impossible to sketch out a definite plan. I must do the best I can, and act as circumstances demand.

I do not feel justified at the present moment to ask for more assistance. With Mr. Van Velden's ready help in and about the office, and my son's assistance on the border, I think I will be able to manage affairs satisfactorily. Should I find it, however, necessary, I will not fail to avail myself of your Excellency's kind offer, and will write at once.

I have just returned at 5 p.m. from the border, where I had gone to see and make sure that all was right. Last night the border guard caught seven (7) men who had come through for the purpose of stealing cattle. They had managed to lay hold of a few head of cattle, but were caught before they crossed. I had them punished on the spot and sent away. They state to have come from Mnyamana because they were starving.

I will duly consider the advisability of building a laager, and will write again on the subject.

A brother to Matyaan ka Tischakuza, with the name of Sikoffa, has taken refuge here with his women and children. A number of the cattle taken by Hlubi at the Mthaleni belong to him. He states to have been forced by Devandwa's people to join the Usutu at the Nkandhla with all his stock. When Hlubi appeared he turned back at once.

Hlubi's presence with the force supports the loyals.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 3 in No. 44.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,

May 20, 1884, 9 p.m.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the state of affairs in my district is very much the same as when I despatched my last letter on Sunday, the 18th current, at 9 p.m. I have the guards on the border in good working order. At the

Nkandi I have a force consisting of 57 horse and 70 foot men. At the Umhlungwaan the force is 70 horse and over 200 foot men strong. Regular communication is being kept up between the two posts, so that in case of necessity I can mass the men in a very short time.

From Hlubi I heard to-day. He has drawn back some distance from where he was on Sunday last, and is at present with his force about half way between me and the Qudeni. The report states that he has received instructions from Mr. Osborn to wait six days. He would then receive orders as to his movements. I do not much rely on the accuracy of these verbal reports, and purpose to start early to-morrow morning to ascertain Hlubi's exact position, and learn from him the import of Mr. Osborn's last message. It will not be second-hand at least. I will write again by the post which leaves Umsinga on Friday at 3 p.m.

I have to-day despatched a letter to Mr. Osborn with reliable men, and hope this will reach him. I have asked him to let me know what day he intends to attack the Nkandhla. If the situation here should then be what it is at this moment, I proposed to make a quick move down with a force from here to assist him. This will, in case I see my way clear to it, be kept a strict secret, so as to incur no risk of an attempt being made by the Usutu to make a raid in here. With the men at my disposal I make as great a show of force during the day on the border as possible and have them again together at night. I believe to have checked in and out gress effectually.

I have also proposed the placing of a competent white man with Hlubi. We might keep up written communication more readily, and on the whole I consider it desirable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 4 in No. 44.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,

May 22, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, as stated in my letter of 20th May last, I have been to see Hlubi for the purpose of inquiring personally into what he has been and still is doing, and also to ascertain his position at present. I hereby beg to report as follows, for your Excellency's information:—

Shortly after Hlubi left here with his force he states to have received, by way of Kranskop, verbal instructions from Mr. Osborn to attack Godidi's people. He at once, with the assistance of Umbusu's and Matyaan's men, made the attack and succeeded in dispersing them with a loss on their side of 20 killed. At the same time he captured a number of cattle. Godidi's people retired toward the Nkandhla with a number of their cattle, where they are supposed to have joined the rebels. Hlubi's loss was two (2) men (foot) killed, and four (4) slightly wounded. Since then he has not heard again from Mr. Osborn, but is ready to receive and carry out, as far as possible, any further orders.

I found Hlubi with his force, 150 horse and 40 foot men, encamped about 8 miles on this side of the Ensigabanto. Umbusu's and Matyaan's foot men were in position at the Ensigabanto. The strength of this force he could not give me, but I believe it to be sufficient to form a good and serviceable guard. Hlubi has drawn his force back for the purpose of being in a position to assist here should it be found necessary; and especially to check the Usutu about the Zungueni should an attempt be made to invade the Reserve from that quarter, where, I understand, they still are in considerable force in command of Mehlekazulu. I have instructed him to keep up a good show of horsemen with Umbusu's and Matyaan's men for the purpose of giving them more confidence, and at the same time to show the rebels that he is ready to act with his force at any moment in their direction.

This is the position held at present by the contingent from here, and I consider it to be in every way satisfactory.

The situation in the upper part of this district, the Nkandi way, has not changed since my last communication. My fears of an invasion by the Abaqulisini in that direction have been considerably allayed since information of their withdrawal by Mnyamana. The force placed in that direction remains in position however, and I am keeping a sharp look out.

Orders have been issued to every man capable of bearing arms to join at once the different posts. Women and children must take care of the cattle.

I have not decided anything about building a laager. Should I consider it expedient, I will inform your Excellency at once of my decision. I would call out all the real or suspected partisans of the Usutu to do the work.

I hope to hear from Mr. Osborn when he intends to attack the Nkandhla, and will, as stated before, do my best to co-operate with him from here.

I am laying my plans accordingly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

No. 45.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 27, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a Border report I have received from Mr. Fynn, the Resident Magistrate in the Umsinga Division, relative to the Zulu Chief Faku-ka-ziningo and his desire to seek refuge in Natal from the Usutus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 45.

MINUTE PAPER.

Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division, forwards message to him from Faku Ziningo, at Mange Valley, and reply thereto.

The Honourable the SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Enclosed the above-mentioned message from Faku-ka-ziningo, and my reply.

Yesterday Matyana Mondisa sent to inform me he and his people are returning to their homes to see about their crops and reap them, as the baboons were destroying the mealies and corn.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Umsinga Division.

May 23, 1884.

INBIKO and NGOME, Messengers from Faku Ziningo.

Inbiko states: Faku has sent us to pay his respects to Mr. Fynn, and to say that he, Faku, remembers that when in trouble before (January 1879) during the Zulu war he received shelter, and was enabled to return to his homes through Mr. Fynn, and now he, Faku, is in the Mange Valley, having fled from Sutu forces, who have killed his people, furnished by him to support Tom, Mr. Osborn's Border Police, and who so separated Faku's men to watch the border that they had no chance of being in one body to resist the Sutus, and one man is missing and two wounded. Faku asks for shelter and safety like Mr. Fynn gave him before, so that Faku and people may return to their kraals and breathe without fear as before. There is no fresh news; two days after Tom and his party were killed, that is some of them, Ndabuko and Ziweddu left the Nkanhla with their families to go to Mnyamana at the Ngome, and a Sutu force accompanied them.

All Faku's available or able-bodied men are with Hlubi's forces at the north-east of Qudeni. Mehlokazulu has a Sutu force with him, and they were assembled north-east of Babanangu mountain, but left there many days ago and went towards the Nhlazatsha, it was said, to join Mnyamana.

(Signed) INBIKO ^{his} X
mark.

Before me this 23rd May 1884 at Resident Magistrate's Office, Pomeroy, Umsinga Division.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate.

REPLY, per Inbiko and Ngome, to Faku-ka-Ziningo.

Some of the people who fled to my border are returning to their homes to look after their crops and prevent the grain being destroyed by wild animals, baboons. I think Faku should do the same, but be careful to keep a good look out, but in any case Faku must send to Mr. Pretorius for guidance; he will do his best to look after the safety of the peacefully-disposed people in the Reserve Territory.

May 23, 1884.

(Signed)

HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate.

No. 46.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

MY LORD,

May 27, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of letters which have been received from the Chief Usibebu by Mr. Osborn, and by Chief John Dunn.

2. The position in which Usibebu is placed by the alliance of the Boers with the Usutus, and by the declaration of their intention to attack him should he not recognize Dinuzulu, is indeed deplorable. He appeals—and he has some claim to appeal—to us for our assistance, but we are unable to give him any.

3. The only way in which, so far as I can see, the dangers that are threatening both Usibebu and the Reserve Territory can now be averted is, since we will not ourselves interfere, by recognizing the interference of the Boers in Central Zululand as an accomplished fact, and by entering into communication with them with the view of moderating their action and preventing the worst consequences of their interference.

4. I have despatched a telegram to your Lordship to say that I propose to do this.

There is no doubt that any communication that is established between the Boers in Zululand and myself should properly be initiated by them, for they have gone into the Zulu country in disregard of the British Government, and their action is such as to compromise, not only the Chief who was appointed by us an independent Chief, but also our interests and our safety in the Reserve. But I am unwilling to lose any chance of averting the serious dangers to which I have referred

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 46.

USIBEBU (per Mr. Eckersley) to Chief JOHN DUNN.

SIR,

Manhlagazie District, May 19, 1884.

I HAVE the honour, at the request of the Chief Usibebu, to inform you that when this letter reaches you the combined Boer and Usutu forces will have invaded my territory. The result I cannot say, but he means to have a good try to keep his own. He begs me to say that you are treating him very badly; he did not expect it from either you or the British Government. He says you have thrown him away; but is at a loss to know what he has done wrong. He thought that when he fought against his own nation that you would always help him in case of need, now he has found out that he need not depend on you. He asks you for the last time to come and help him out of his difficulties. He does not see anything of Johan (Colenbrander); if he cannot get through himself, why does he not send the boys through to him. He is very much disappointed at Johan not coming, as he likes him to be near him in a case of this kind. He must have help as the odds are great and the Boers are very good marksmen.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY,
At the request of Chief Usibebu.

J. R. Dunn, Esq.

Enclosure 2 in No. 46.

USIBEBU (per Mr. Eckersley) to MR. OSBORN.

SIR, Manhlagazie District, May 14, 1884.
 I HAVE the honour at the request of the Chief Usibebu to inform you that the Usutu party have large supplies of ammunition and guns which they have received from the Boers who have invaded Zululand.
 The Chief Usibebu humbly and respectfully begs that Her Majesty's Government will not leave him defenceless against the attack of the combined Boer and Usutu force, but will grant him a permit to purchase ammunition for defence of his territory.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, Jun.,
 At the request of the Chief Usibebu.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.,
 &c. &c. &c.
 Commissioner, Native Reserve.

Enclosure 3 in No. 46.

USIBEBU (per Mr. Eckersley) to MR. OSBORN.

SIR, Manhlagazie District, May 19, 1884.
 I HAVE the honour, at the request of the Chief Usibebu, to inform you that a letter came in yesterday evening from the Boer Commando, who are at the Ingomi, dated May 16, 1884, to inform the Chief Usibebu that they have resolved to make Dinuzulu King of Zululand and of the Zulu nation, and if you do not give in to our views we will fight with you. My Chief begs me to say that he intends to fight should they come to him, and die a British subject.

The Chief begs me to say that he blames you very much for not helping him in his trouble. He has fought against his own nation for the British Government, and now that the Boers are coming you will not help him. I am surprised at you keeping quiet, as I do not know what I have done wrong to you or the British Government. The Chief begs me to say that he does not expect that this letter will reach you before the deed is done, as we expect them every minute. The Boers write to say they are only waiting for Somkela, when they mean to march into us. The Chief begs me to say come and see the place I die in, as this is the last hope of getting a message through and of instructing you to come and assist him against the combined Boer and Usutu force.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, Jun.,
 At the request of the Chief Usibebu.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.,
 &c. &c. &c.
 Commissioner, Native Reserve.

No. 47.

The RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON.
 THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received June 26, 1884.)

Government House, Cape Town,
 June 4, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from the British Resident in the Transvaal, covering copies of correspondence respecting the recent Boer invasion of Zululand.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON,
 High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
 &c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 47.

BRITISH RESIDENT, Transvaal State, to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

British Residency, Transvaal State, Pretoria,
 May 19, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of your Excellency and of Her Majesty's Government, copies of late correspondence with the Transvaal Govern-

ment on the subject of the present movements in Zululand on the part of Transvaal and other Boers, viz. :

1. Copy of a letter to State Secretary, dated 5th May 1884.
2. Copy of a letter to State Secretary, dated 6th May 1884.
(These two letters enclosed respectively copies of your Excellency's telegrams of 1st May and 3rd May 1884.)
3. Translation (copy) of letter in reply to above from the State Secretary, dated 9th May 1884.
4. Copy of letter to State Secretary, dated 12th May 1884.
(This letter transmitted copy of your Excellency's telegram, dated 7th May 1884.)
5. Copy of letter to State Secretary, also of date 12th May 1884.
(This letter conveyed the substance of your Excellency's telegram of 10th May 1884.)
6. Copy of letter from State Secretary (in reply to No. 5) dated 13th May 1884.
A summary of the contents of this reply was conveyed to your Excellency in my telegram of the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE HUDSON,
British Resident.

His Excellency the High Commissioner for
South Africa, Cape Town.

SECRETARY TO BRITISH RESIDENT TO STATE SECRETARY.

British Residency, Transvaal State, Pretoria,
May 5, 1884.

SIR,

I AM directed by his Honour the British Resident to send to you, annexed, for the information of the Transvaal Government, copy of a telegram received yesterday from his Excellency the High Commissioner, and which his Excellency desires should be communicated to your Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. RUTHERFOORD,
Secretary to British Resident.

The Hon. the State Secretary,
Pretoria.

SECRETARY TO BRITISH RESIDENT TO STATE SECRETARY.

British Residency, Transvaal State, Pretoria,
May 6, 1884.

SIR,

I AM directed by his Honour the British Resident to send to you, annexed, for the information and early consideration of the Transvaal Government, copy of a telegram received this day from his Excellency the High Commissioner, in reference to matters in Zululand implicating Transvaal subjects.

His Honour desires me to add that he hopes to be favoured at the earliest possible time, and on or before Saturday, the 10th instant, with the views of the Transvaal Government on this communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. RUTHERFOORD,
Secretary to British Resident.

The Hon. the State Secretary,
Pretoria.

STATE SECRETARY TO BRITISH RESIDENT.

HON. SIR,

Government Office, Pretoria, May 9, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters under date of 5th May and 6th May, in reply to which I am directed to inform you :—

(1.) That the Government can do nothing in this matter than refer to their letters on the same subject under date of 22nd December 1883 and 22nd February 1884.

(2.) That no field cornet of the name of Conraad Meyer is known to this Government. But, nevertheless, the Government will at once institute an inquiry about this

matter with the Landrosts of Wakkerstroom and Utrecht, and will, further, take all steps in their power to oppose all unlawful acts.

The Hon. the British Resident.
Pretoria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. EDUARD BOK,
State Secretary.

SECRETARY TO BRITISH RESIDENT TO STATE SECRETARY.

British Residency, Transvaal State,
Pretoria, May 12, 1884.

SIR,

I AM directed by his Honour the British Resident to send to you, for the information of the Transvaal Government, copy of a telegram received on Saturday evening last, the 10th instant, from his Excellency the High Commissioner, and to request that it may as soon as possible be submitted for the consideration of the Government, and its views thereon communicated as soon as may be.

The Hon. the State Secretary,
Pretoria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. RUTHERFOORD,
Secretary to British Resident.

British Residency, Transvaal State,
Pretoria, May 12, 1884.

SIR,

I AM directed by his Honour the British Resident to state, for the early information of the Transvaal Government, that a telegram has been received about noon to-day from his Excellency the High Commissioner conveying the Secretary of State's desire that he should press strongly on the Transvaal Government the importance of their not allowing armed Transvaal Boers to enter into Zululand, and I am to request an early communication of the views and intentions of the Transvaal Government on the subject.

The Hon. the State Secretary,
Pretoria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. RUTHERFOORD,
Secretary to British Resident.

STATE SECRETARY TO BRITISH RESIDENT.

(Translation.)

Government Office, Pretoria,
May 13, 1884.

HON. SIR,

I AM instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated 12th May, enclosing contents of telegram from his Excellency the High Commissioner, expressing the desire of his Excellency the Secretary of State that this Government should be strongly reminded of the importance of its not allowing armed Transvaal Boers to enter Zululand.

After early consideration thereof, and in reply thereto, the Government must state, in the first place, that they cannot think the matters are reported without exaggeration. Every year a goodly number of Boers from the Orange Free State, from this country, and also from Natal, "trek" with their cattle into Zululand for the winter season.

It is stated to the Government that there are some persons, indeed, who have obtained from Oham and other Captains leases for a long number of years. It is now just the season when such Boers migrate into Zululand, and possibly occasion is found in these circumstances to originate the reports in question. This Government has no knowledge of any alienation to Boers of any portion of Zululand, as is mentioned in a previous telegram.

If, however, this proves to have happened, then it is against the wish and without the consent of the Government, and the cause thereof must be sought for in the condition to which Zululand has been reduced during late years, without any action on the part of this Government, and in regard to which this Government has not been permitted to exercise any influence.

When the Government made representations to you, such as, among others, those contained in their letter of 16th March 1883, in which complaint was made of the doings

of the Zulu nation, more especially of Oham, they received for reply, by your letter of 5th June, telegram of Lord Derby, of 26th April, that Her Majesty's Government could not undertake to execute the obligations which necessarily rest upon the Transvaal State, as fixed by the Convention, to administer their own borders and to deal with all persons who might come within them. Since then the Zulus have several times violated the boundary of the Republic, and the Government has had to preserve the peace and protect the lives and property of the burghers in their own way and at their own expense.

The burghers of this State have long and much suffered from this endless disturbance in Zululand, which has more than once produced most tragical and murderous exhibitions.

Her Majesty's Government, who, as a matter of fact, have taken upon them the direction of Zululand, failed to restore order and quiet in Zululand and establish peace there. The disputes and divisions produced indirectly by Her Majesty's Government threaten to exterminate the whole Zulu nation and to depopulate the land.

The Government of this Republic, although in a position and able to put a speedy end to all this bloodshed and these atrocious murders in Zululand, were forbidden by the Convention to interfere in Zululand affairs. This Government entertains no doubt that it would have been fully in their power, when the late King Cetywayo returned, to have re-established him in his rule over the whole of Zululand without the effusion of one drop of blood, were it not that the way was closed by the Convention. Consequently they were obliged to stand by and witness with deep sorrow the incompleteness of the then carried-out restoration of the late King Cetywayo, and the many and unprevented intrigues against the King which were brought into play, and which could not fail to put a speedy end to his much-troubled and remarkable life. And even after the death of the King, Her Majesty's Government has not been fortunate enough to put an end to these most atrocious murderings, and establish peace in Zululand.

Her Majesty's Government, unwilling or unable to control affairs in Zululand, has at length brought the Zulu nation to see and understand that their intestine disputes can have no other result than their entire destruction and extermination as a people, and the great majority, the best of the Zulu nation, Oham not excluded, still continue to acknowledge the good deeds done to them and the deliverance wrought out for them by the emigrant Boers, who, at the time of Dingaan's tyranny, were not only the deliverers of the nation, but also introduced equitable and lawful authority in and over Zululand, and it is for this reason that the Zulus have never ceased to look for the help of the Boers as the only power able to arrest their disputes without bloodshed. It is therefore not surprising that Boers, acquainted with these facts and actual occurrences, and seeing that the Government of this State dare not interfere, and that Her Majesty's Government seem utterly unwilling to amend affairs in Zululand, to arrange the disquiet and subdue the uproar, now throw themselves in despair into the flames, and despising all dangers, on their own authority and responsibility pass into Zululand to take the control upon themselves or to establish and secure a peace.

The Government has already taken all the measures in their power to oppose all unlawful deeds, as was intimated to you in their letter of 9th May, and as will appear from further orders given to Landdrosts and officers and an issued proclamation.

If, however, this Government must gather from the contents of the telegram from Her Majesty's Government that it is expected that they should hinder the doings of the Boers in Zululand, then this Government must be permitted to remark that Her Majesty's Government, notwithstanding that this State is so much younger and so much weaker than the Imperial Government, still wishes to impose upon it still greater and heavier obligations than Her Majesty's Government is willing to take upon itself, measures which must most certainly lead to movements the end of which is not to be disregarded.

It is therefore the absolute duty of this Government to inform Her Majesty's Government that it is, under such circumstances, to their regret, impossible to give effect to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government as expressed in the telegram.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. EDUARD BOK,
State Secretary.

The Honourable the British Resident,
Pretoria.

No. 48.

The RIGHT HON. SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE
EARL OF DERBY. (Received June 26, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Government House, Cape Town,
June 4, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from the British Resident covering a translation of a proclamation by the Acting President of the Transvaal, forbidding Transvaal subjects to take part in the disturbances in Zululand.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON,
High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 48.

BRITISH RESIDENT, Transvaal State, to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

British Residency, Transvaal State,
Pretoria, May 19, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, for the information of your Excellency and of Her Majesty's Government, a cutting from the "Staats-Courant" of the 18th instant, with a translation, containing a proclamation by the Acting-President of the South African Republic, on the subject of the reported movements of Transvaal Boers into Zululand, with the design of taking part in the conflicts now going on in that country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE HUDSON,
British Resident.

His Excellency the High Commissioner
for South Africa, Cape Town.

PROCLAMATION BY ACTING PRESIDENT.

(Translation.)

PROCLAMATION.

To Landdrosts, Commandants, and Field Cornets of the South African Republic.

Whereas it is brought to the notice of the Government of the South African Republic that some persons of this Republic leave their wards for the purpose of connecting themselves with and giving help as volunteers to the Zulus in Zululand who are fighting among themselves.

And further, as the Government considers that it has good grounds for being obliged to attach belief to the reports that on the part of the said Zulus efforts are employed to recruit volunteers by the inducement of unusually high reward.

The Government, having regard to the evil involved therein,

Orders all Landdrosts, Commandants, and Field Cornets of the South African Republic strictly to see to it that no burgher leaves his ward with the purpose of joining the fighting parties, and enjoins them to warn all burghers that in case of transgression they will be severely punished according to law.

The aforementioned officers are hereby charged to give immediate notice to the Government of this Republic of the slightest transgression of this proclamation.

God save land and people!

Given under my hand.

(Signed) P. J. JOUBERT, Acting President.
W. EDUARD BOK, State Secretary.

Government Office, Pretoria, May 9, 1884.*

True translation.

(Signed) R. RUTHERFOORD, Sworn Translator.

* NOTE.—The proclamation above translated first appeared in the "Staats Courant" of 15th May.

(Signed) R. R.

No. 49.

COLONIAL OFFICE to ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR, Downing Street, June 28, 1884.
I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant,* enclosing further letters from Mr. Wm. Grant relative to the state of affairs in Zululand.

I am to observe in reply that the allegations against Mr. Osborn rest apparently on Kaffir gossip picked up by native messengers when passing Etshowe, and that the insinuation that Usibebu was assisted by white men and was drawing supplies from Natal, contained in the last paragraph of your letter, is based seemingly upon the anonymous advertisement which you quote from the "Times of Natal."

I am further to point out that, as Mr. Grant writes from Durban, he would obviously have been able to produce some evidence of the alleged recruiting of volunteers in Natal for service in Zululand if there had been any foundation for the allegation. On the other hand, for the same reason (viz., his residence in Natal), he cannot be accepted as an authority in regard to rumours of occurrences in Zululand.

The Secretary to the
Aborigines Protection Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. H. MEADE.

No. 50.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 28, 1884.
I TRANSMIT to you copies of a letter from the Aborigines Protection Society, and of the reply† which I have caused to be addressed to the Society, in regard to Mr. Osborn's proceedings in Zululand and Mr. Wm. Grant's communications to the Society.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 51.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, June 30, 1884.
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the 27th May,‡ transmitting copies of correspondence relating to the state of Zululand and the defence of the Zulu Native Reserve.

My telegram of the 22nd instant§ will have informed you of the despatch of reinforcements to South Africa in case of necessity.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 52.

WAR OFFICE to COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR, War Office, July 1, 1884.
I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to transmit to you, for the information of the Earl of Derby, the accompanying copy of a letter, with its enclosures, which has been received from General the Honourable Sir Leicester Smyth, with regard to the state of affairs in South Africa.

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. G. DEEDES.

* No. 34.

† Nos. 31 and 49.

‡ Nos. 43, 45, and 46.

§ No. 38.

Enclosure in No. 52.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 27, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that I arrived at this place on the evening of the 10th instant, and after consulting with his Excellency the Governor, left by the midnight train next day for Verulam en route for Etschowe.

About five miles after passing the Tugela I met J. Dunn on the road, who informed me that he had a large force of his Natives out in the veldt to the left of the road, protecting the road and the portion of his territory between the road and the sea. He had also another force out on his far eastern border for the purpose of watching some bodies of the Usutus, who threatened him from across the Umhlatuz near its mouth.

He told me that much alarm and uneasiness prevailed in the Reserve on account of the uncertainty of the course intended to be pursued there, and that some of his people were beginning to waver, not knowing which way things would go.

In accordance with the permission of his Excellency previously received I acquainted him with the decision of Her Majesty's Government, recently received by cable, which was hailed with the utmost relief and joy, and the news, which quickly spread over the country, has had a most beneficial effect.

I pushed on to Etschowe expecting to meet Mr. Osborn there. He, however, was not able to come in from Entumeni until the following morning.

As regards this place Entumeni, which is 13 miles from Etschowe, in the direction of the Inkandhla, I confess I had on my first arrival here thought that Mr. Osborn, when he retired from the neighbourhood of the Inkandhla after his night action of the 10th instant, should not have halted at Entumeni, where the Usutus might have followed him up, but retired on the strong fort and position at Etschowe. But after hearing Mr. Osborn, who pointed out that the retention by us of Entumeni would keep clear some rather difficult ground in the vicinity, and taking into consideration the circumstance that any further retrograde step on his part would weaken in the minds of the loyal Natives the effect of the good news just promulgated, I changed my opinion and thought it advisable to push on a detachment to the place in moral support of the friendly Chief Sigunferga and Natives who were in its neighbourhood.

Entumeni is plainly visible from Etschowe. The intervening country is safe and open, the troops are laagered, and the place is in the direct road to the Inkandhla.

I find it difficult to get any reliable intelligence as to strength of the Usutus in the Inkandhla. By some they are represented to be in strong force, as indeed it seems reasonable to suppose, they must at one time at any rate have been, or they would not have ventured to attack Mr. Osborn with his (say) 3,000 men.

Other accounts say that Ndabako, Usiwetu, and Mnyamana have left the Inkandhla, though it is not known for what place, and they would most likely take all their people with them. It may be that there are those in the Inkandhla who would come in if assured of personal safety; and John Dunn informed me, on my return journey, that some few men had called from the neighbouring hills to his scouts to know if they might come in, and that he had received and protected them.

I learn that there is a tribe which has always lived in the Inkandhla, and which is said never to have been conquered. They are now attached to the Usutu party. They used to work in iron and copper, which are said to be plentiful there. This Inkandhla is a very difficult and rugged country, the interior of which is but little known. But all accounts agree that it would not do to actively employ British troops in it.

By the enclosed copy of a memorandum* to his Excellency the Special Commissioner, your Lordship will see the reasons which have induced the request for a reinforcement of one battalion at full war strength.

Even if it should so turn out that the force now in South Africa could, with its Native allies, clear the Inkandhla the greater part of it at any rate would have to remain for some time in the Reserve, and it would not be prudent to leave Natal without troops for any length of time, or the force in Zululand without a reserve.

I am anxious to push up some more cavalry, and another division of guns to Etschowe, and shall apply to his Excellency for permission to that effect. It is necessary, I believe, to keep a force for the present in Natal in case of any danger arising to the border of the Colony on the side of Hlubi. I am very grateful for your Lordship's permission to buy horses to complete the mounted infantry of the 58th, as also to make up deficiencies in artillery and cavalry.

* Not printed.

The situation of the troops is as follows :—

Dragoons. One squadron at Fort Curtis ; remainder at Pinetown.

Royal Artillery (made up in gunners by garrison artillery). One division at Fort Curtis ; rest at Maritzburg.

1st A. and S. Highlanders at or on march to Fort Curtis (giving a detachment to Entumeni), except one company at Durban, which will soon be relieved by the rest of garrison battery from Cape Town, and which I wish to push up to join head-quarters.

Head-quarters and three companies Welsh Regiment at Maritzburg ; two companies at Fort Curtis. I had intended before knowing anything about these disturbances to have concentrated the Welsh Regiment at Maritzburg as they have been much split up, and have had hard work and much exposure ; and I have subsequently destined them for the middle drift column.

But, as I explained in my memorandum to his Excellency, the latter project has been abandoned, and the sole line of advance would be from Etschowe.

The mounted company Welsh Regiment is here, and very efficient ; that of the 58th will very soon become so under Lieutenants Collinson and Lucy, and that of the Highlanders is diligently drilling, taking great interest in their new work.

The company Royal Engineers will be used hereafter according to circumstances, meanwhile their services will be usefully and economically employed in military work.

His Excellency Sir H. Robinson has lent me his military secretary, Major Boyle, who will be employed in the topographical department ; and he will give me the rest of the troops in Cape Town for a short time should occasion demand.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. SMYTH,
Lieut.-General, Commanding Her Majesty's Forces,
South Africa.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.
War Office.

P.S.—Your Lordship will observe that I have somewhat modified my original view as to the amount of reinforcement required. This has been partly owing to the fact of the Admiral, upon whose advice and assistance I can always count, paying a visit in his flagship to this portion of his command, and partly to one of the reasons specified in my memorandum to his Excellency the Governor, namely, the desire to limit my requisition on home to as small an amount as possible.

(Signed) L. S.,
Lieut.-General.

I forward two copies of telegram* to the Governor, which his Excellency will send to the Colonial Office.

(Signed) L. S.,
Lieut.-General.

No. 53.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received July 2, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 31, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a statement made by a Zulu named Umtokwane to the Secretary for Native Affairs.

2. This man is well known as one of the persons employed in carrying on communications between Bishopstowe and the Usutu party, and a few days ago, on crossing the Tugela into the Colony, he and another Native named Maginga were discovered by the border police and taken to the magistrate, who sent them to the Native Department. Umtokwane there gave out that he had come with a message from Ndabuko to the Government, as well as with messages to Bishopstowe, and to Mr. W. Grant, though it may be doubted if he had any intention of coming to the Government.

* Enclosure 5 in No. 43.

3. The statement made by him to the Secretary for Native Affairs is of little account, but his arrival in the Colony for the purpose of visiting Bishopstowe and Mr. W. Grant is to be noticed as showing the communication passing between the people who have taken up arms against the authority of the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory and the Usutu partisans in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 53.

Office of Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal,
May 26, 1884.

STATEMENT of Umtokwana and Maginga two Messengers from Ndabuko.

Umtokwana states: We have been sent here by Ndabuko to complain to the Government that he is being killed by Mr. Osborn. Some time ago notice was given to the Zulus in the Reserve that they were to pay taxes. After receiving this notice Qetuka, Sigananda, Melelise, Mangati-ka-Godide, and Bafohlozi sent to ask Mr. Osborn for Cetywayo's body in order that they might bury it before they paid the taxes. Mr. Osborn gave them the body, and said it was to be buried at Dabulamanzis kraal--the "Izulwini," but as a waggon could not get to this kraal a message was sent to Mr. Osborn to say it would be buried at Keke's kraal, a waggon could not get to that kraal either, so it was ultimately buried at Luhungu's kraal. On the day on which the body was buried Noztshina, one of Mr. Osborn's messengers arrived at that kraal with a message from Mr. Osborn to the effect that he would give them time to pay their taxes. Noztshina was told to thank Mr. Osborn for this, and returned. A few days after, three of Mr. Osborn's police came to summons Ndabuko and the rest of Mpande's sons to appear before him with all the headmen of the district. Ndabuko sent two messengers, Makahleleka and Maqutshana, to Mr. Osborn to say that the headmen were all scattered, but word would be sent to them, and they would go to Mr. Osborn as soon as they had assembled. When these two men got to Mr. Osborn he asked them who had sent for them, and said he did not now want Ndabuko and the headmen or their money, and sent them away. A few days after this one of Mr. Osborn's messengers, named Mnyamana, came to where Ndabuko was and said that Mr. Osborn was coming to attack him, and that he, Mnyamana, was then on his way to Mbuza and Hlubi to order their people to arm. A few days after this Mr. Osborn came up with an armed force (Impi) consisting of Mavunengwana's and Sigananda's people to attack Matshobana's kraal, but the people on seeing the force ran away, and there was no fight. Mr. Osborn then went to Luhungu's kraal, where the body had been buried by Ndabuko, told the people to run away, and they did so. Mr. Osborn's force captured some cattle, killed three men, one woman, and a child. These people were killed by Siyungusa's men. As soon as the Usutu heard of this they turned round and fought with Mr. Osborn's force, which was defeated, and he had to retire, and the cattle were recaptured by the Usutu. Mr. Osborn's force was followed to where he had encamped for the night, and a fight took place which resulted in Ndabuko's party having to retire. The Usutu were ordered to retire by Dabulamanzis; they were not defeated; he expected to find Mr. Osborn's camp asleep, but when they got there they found they were ready for the attack, so the Usutu retired. There were only six of the Usutu killed in this engagement. Whilst this was going on Tom was having another fight with his police and men who were about him (in all three "Amaviyo") against Sigananda and Mbonambi's people. The fight between these people was caused by Tom capturing the cattle belonging to two kraals and killing one man. Tom's party was defeated and he himself killed; he was killed by Magengana ka Nomanndindi; none of Sigananda's people were killed. After this Hlubi's attacked Ndwandwe and took some women, children, and cattle; three Basutos and one of Sigananda's men were killed in this engagement.

Ndabuko has sent us to report all this to the Government, as he says he knows he will be blamed, and it will be said that he is the cause of all this fighting in the Reserve.

When we left Zululand, six days ago, it was expected that a fight would take place the next day, as Hlubi was out with a large force, burning all the kraals round the Inkandhla, and Hlubi's and the Usutu forces were facing each other.

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

Ndabuko told us that after we had reported this to the Government we were to go to Bishopstowe and report it there, after that I am to go on to Durban to Mr. Grant, and take him back with me to Zululand, to watch what is going on and to write letters for him to the authorities. Maginga is to return to Zululand after we have reported at Bishopstowe, and I go on alone to Durban.

Ndabuko told us to report also that some of the Dutch had come into Zululand to protect Dinuzulu at Mnyamana's kraal at the Isikwebezi, and as soon as they arrived Mr. Osborn and John Dunn sent up 20 whitemen to help Sibebu against the Usutu.

(Signed) MTOKWANE ^{his} X
mark.

Maginga states: The above is the message Ndabuko told us to deliver.

(Signed) MAGINGA ^{his} X
mark.

A true translation.

(Signed) C. R. SAUNDERS,
A. R. N. H. Ct.

No. 54.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received July 2, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
May 31, 1884.

MY LORD,

ON the 28th instant* I reported to your Lordship (by telegraph) that information had been received by the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory to the effect that the Boers in Zululand had publicly proclaimed Dinuzulu as King on the 21st of May.

2. I have now the honour to transmit a copy of the Sub-Commissioner's letter containing the information given to him on the 25th instant by Mr. Wilhelm, who had just come from the Boer camp, and who was apparently present on the occasion of the ceremony.

3. According to Mr. Wilhelm the proclamation took place in the presence of a very large concourse of the Usutu people, among whom were Ndabuko, Usiwetu, and Tshingana, the brothers of Cetywayo.

Umnyamana was not there: he was prevented, he said, from being present by illness, but he consented to the arrangement made between the Boers and the Usutus, to which, indeed, he must already have been a party. Uhamu is said to have been represented by all his Chiefs, and through them to have agreed to what was done, and to have promised both acknowledgment of Dinuzulu as King and submission to him.

Usibebu was represented by some of his Chiefs who promised, it is said, on his behalf, to give up all women and children captured in the late disturbances who might wish to return, as also the late King's cattle, and to acknowledge Dinuzulu as King and successor to Cetywayo; Dinuzulu and the Boers, on their part, agreeing to respect Usibebu's territory as given to him by the British Government, and to see that he would be in no way molested.

4. After the proclamation the agreement previously entered into between the Boers and Dinuzulu was brought out, read, and explained, and afterwards confirmed and signed. The main purport of the agreement appeared to be that the Boers would protect Dinuzulu and support his authority in central Zululand, the portion lately under Cetywayo, provided he kept strictly within his own boundary; they, on their side, receiving a certain portion of land for their services,—how much Mr. Wilhelm could not say.

* No. 7a.

5. On the same day two proclamations were issued in the name of Dinuzulu, the one announcing that he had assumed the government as successor to his father Cetywayo, and granting a general amnesty, and the other calling upon all his people to return peacefully to their homes.

6. Such is the nature of the information brought down by Mr. Wilhelm, and I have no reason to doubt its general correctness.

7. What the extent of territory ceded, or to be ceded, to the Boers is, it is not stated; but whatever it may be we may be sure that the Usutu party and those who have advised them in this matter will not be satisfied with a mere protection given to Dinuzulu within the territorial limits assigned to his father. They will not be satisfied with anything short of the destruction of Usibebu or of the overthrow of his independent rule, neither of which is contemplated in the proclamation or in the agreement as given out. Nor will they be satisfied probably with anything short of the recovery of the Reserve, though that will be a project independent of Boer aid. But sooner or later the Boers will have to face the question between the Usutus and Usibebu, the question arising out of the determination of the Usutu leaders to compass the destruction of Usibebu, and they will either have to assist the Usutus in that object, which will be against the letter of the agreement as given out, or the new alliance will be severely tried.

8. A short time will be sufficient to develop the nature and more immediate consequences of this Usutu compact with the Boers.

If the agreement made is of the nature reported it ought, if it is faithfully kept on both sides, to prevent further disorder in central Zululand.

I have all along, as your Lordship is aware, recommended an extension of our rule or of our authority over that unhappy Zulu country, as the best means of restoring order, as the best means of securing the permanent welfare of the Zulu people, and as the best means of solving the Native question in this corner of South Africa. But Her Majesty's Government have been unwilling to accept this responsibility, and what I foresaw has taken place or is in process of accomplishment. I do not think this compact will secure the welfare of the Zulu people. Eventually, I believe, it will be to their lasting loss, and it will leave the Native question unsolved and further from solution than ever, a question for the future with increased difficulties and multiplied dangers.

9. But the introduction of the Boers into Zululand is now an accomplished fact. We have allowed it. We have not gainsaid it; and as a fact therefore, every day gaining strength and consistency, we must accept it. If the Boers abide by their declarations,—by the declarations, that is to say, with which they are credited, if they will neither interfere themselves, nor allow Dinuzulu to interfere, with the independence of the Chief Usibebu or with the status of the Reserve Territory under our authority, if they will compel Dinuzulu and the Usutus to keep quiet,—the arrangement will at least give us the advantage of order and peace for a time.

But whether this will be possible it remains to be seen.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 54.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

SIR,

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve, May 25, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated May 23rd.

Yesterday (the 24th) at 9 p.m. Hlubi arrived here with a small escort. He had come back to obtain permission to proceed to Umsinga to see one of his wives who is reported to be dangerously ill at or near Dr. Dalzell. I gave him leave to go. He is to be back here to-night. His force is left under command of his brother Leatha at the same place where I had visited him, as stated in my letter of 22nd May last.

From what he stated I learned that on Thursday evening, the 22nd last, Umbusu had sent to inform him that the Usutus were gathering and preparing for an attack on his force and the loyals. Hlubi proceeded same night with his whole force, horse and foot, in the direction of the Nkandhla. At daybreak on the 23rd he was on the Nthaleni between the Umhlatuzi and Insusa rivers, where he came in sight of an Usutu impi about 10 companies strong. He attacked at once and routed them with a loss of about 50 men on their side, and none on our side. A number of women and children and

cattle were captured. I don't know what to do with the women and children. I think it will be best to set them at liberty if Mr. Osborn approves. Hlubi reports his force to be in good spirits.

My reports from the upper parts of this district are satisfactory. The men are doing duty willingly and cheerfully. No signs are noticed of the reappearing of the Abaqulisini since they have been summoned by Mnyamana. Thefts on a small scale are committed during the night, but I believe this to be done by Sirayo's people, who left here, or by the Hlalozi fugitives, who cleared out. The thieves at any rate are thoroughly acquainted with the country; several have been captured, but some make good their escape back into Zululand.

This morning (25th) a Mr. Wilhelm (not the one living at Pemvaan) coming from the Boer laager passed here on his way down to the city. From him I gathered the following information with regard to the state of affairs in central Zululand. On Wednesday, the 21st of May last, Denizulu was publicly proclaimed King by the Boers in the presence of a very large concourse of people. Dabuku, Uzuetu, and Chingana, Cetewayo's brothers, were present. Usibepu was represented by some Chiefs. He is reported of having been prevented from attending personally on account of a raid having been made, a few days previous, by a party of Abaqulisini from the Transvaal into his territory, in which (eight) kraals of his people were destroyed. He pursued them personally, and followed them up to the border of the Transvaal. Commissioner Ferreira had taken the matter up, and promised an inquiry, upon which Usibepu returned. The Chief representing Usibepu promised on his (Usibepu's) behalf to give up all women and children captured in the late disturbances who wish to return; also the late King's cattle, and to acknowledge Denizulu as King and successor to Cetewayo. Denizulu and the Boers on their part agreed to respect Usibepu's territory as given to him by the British Government, and to see that he would in no way be molested. Oham, who was represented by all his Chiefs, agreed to all that had been done by the Boers and Denizulu assisted by his council. He would acknowledge Denizulu as King and promised submission. Mnyamana sent word that he was prevented through illness from being present, but consented to arrangement made, or being to be made, by the Boers and Denizulu. Denizulu, my informant tells me, had lately been with Mnyamana in the Ingomo Bush, and was escorted from there to the Boer laager by about eight thousand (8,000) men.

After Denizulu had been proclaimed, the agreement, entered into by the Boers and Denizulu, assisted by his council, was read, explained, confirmed, and signed. The contents of this document he could not give me in full. From what he understood the Boers agreed to protect and support Denizulu in the exercise of his authority in central Zululand, late Cetewayo's territory, provided he kept strictly within his boundary. Denizulu assisted by his council of Chiefs agreed to give the Boers a certain portion of land in return for their services; how much he could not say, nor does he believe it to have been fixed.

Denizulu issued on the same day two proclamations. The first was that he had that day with his council of Chiefs assumed the government in central Zululand as rightful heir of and successor to Cetewayo. He granted a general amnesty to all for any act committed against his late father, or his father's party up to date.

The second proclamation was that all his people must in obedience to his order as agreed upon in council return peacefully to their homes and bury the assegaai. The Boers promised to give all assistance required in carrying out this order.

When my informant left, the Boer Committee were sitting in council with Denizulu and his Chiefs for the purpose of arranging further particulars, and settling any disputes. He expected that the council would sit for at least a week longer.

I have given your Excellency the report as received by me as nearly as possible in my informant's own words. He assured me of this being a true and correct statement.

Before this I had not received a single reliable report with regard to the state of affairs in central Zululand, except the information I received from Rev. Stallbom, a report of which I had the honour to forward to your Excellency in my letter of 18th May last.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

No. 55.

THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY TO COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society, 3, Broadway Chambers,
Westminster, July 2, 1884.

MY LORD,

WE beg, on behalf of the Society, to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Meade's letter, dated June 28.*

We are at a loss to understand your Lordship's meaning when you say that the allegations which the Society has brought before you "rest apparently on Kaffir gossip "picked up by native messengers when passing Etshowe." We believe that the message of which we sent your Lordship a copy emanated directly from Ndabuko and his brothers, and was sent by them in the native fashion to Durban. We did not, and do not, ask your Lordship to accept the statements thus made without inquiry, but we respectfully submit that they ought not to be treated as mere tittle-tattle. Your Lordship also discredits the statement as to an alleged attempt in Natal to recruit volunteers for service in Zululand, which you say is based seemingly upon an anonymous advertisement in the "Times of Natal," and Mr. Meade, on your behalf, points out that "as Mr. Grant writes from Durban, he would obviously have been able to produce some "evidence of the alleged recruiting of volunteers in Zululand if there had been any "foundation for the allegation." We answer, that even if we were unable to lay before your Lordship anything more than the advertisement in question, it is not prudent in the present state of Zululand to dismiss the matter as of no importance. At any rate, it appeared to us that the fact that able-bodied men, who were prepared to provide their own horse, carbine, &c., were being publicly invited to tender their services for active employment presumably in the Zulu country ought to be made known to Her Majesty's Government.

But we are glad to say that the friends of the Zulus in Natal have not been remiss in their duty, as might be inferred from your Lordship's letter. Mr. Ferneyhough, of Pietermaritzburg, informs us that he sent to Sir C. Mitchell, the Colonial Secretary, a photograph of a circular addressed to an inhabitant of that city who appears to have answered the advertisement in the "Times of Natal." The circular is drawn up in the following terms :

"The able-bodied men are required for service in the Zulu Reserve, for, amongst "other duties, the protection of the property of white residents and others from the "Usutu marauders. Persons willing to undertake this duty should proceed to the "Reserve via Stanger and Lower Tugela. At the station or place of rendezvous on "the other side of the river, Mr. Johan Colenbrander, or one of his agents, will receive "and further direct and inform persons entering on the service."

Mr. Colenbrander's connexion with Zibebu is well known to every one acquainted with the recent history of Zululand, and we therefore need say nothing on that point; but we think that on behalf of the Zulus, and also in the interest of public morality, we are entitled to protest against any unauthorised white men, whether residents of Natal or of the Transvaal, taking part in the inter-tribal warfare in Zululand.

We have, &c.,

(Signed) L. L. DILLWYN.

(Signed) F. W. CHESSON.

P.S.—We beg to inform your Lordship that this morning we have received letters from Natal fully confirming the statements we have made. It is said that twenty or more white men proceeded to Zululand in consequence of the advertisement above referred to, and that some of them had already got into collision with the Natives.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.

&c. &c. &c.

No. 55a.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

July 4, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of despatching this evening a telegraphic message in which I have informed your Lordship that I have received from Mr. Rudolph, C.M.G.,

whom I had sent to the Boer Camp in Zululand, assurances that the Boers have no intention of attacking the Reserve Territory.

I have further stated, on the information given to me by Mr. Rudolph, that it is probable a difficulty will now arise between the Boers and the Usutus in respect of the cession of territory to the former in return for their services against Usibebu, and that there are about 800 Boers in Zululand, while more are coming in from the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal, and even from the Cape of Good Hope.

I have added that it is impossible to doubt that this movement will lead to the practical absorption by the Boers of the Zulu country, and that it will be the cause of grave difficulties both for the Reserve and for Natal.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,	I have, &c.
&c. &c. &c.	(Signed) H. BULWER, Special Commissioner.

No. 56.

COLONIAL OFFICE to ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 8, 1884.

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant* relating to the reported recruiting for Usibebu within the colony of Natal, and I am to inform you that copies of the correspondence have been transmitted to Sir Henry Bulwer for his observations.

The Secretary to the Aborigines Protection Society.	I am, &c. (Signed) JOHN BRAMSTON.
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No. 57.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 8, 1884.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 28th ultimo,† I have the honour to transmit to you, for any observations which you may desire to make upon it, copies of further correspondence‡ with the Aborigines Protection Society relating to the reported recruiting in Natal on behalf of Usibebu.

Sir Henry Bulwer.	I have, &c. (Signed) DERBY.
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No. 58.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received July 9, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

MY LORD,

June 10, 1884.

I ENCLOSE a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. William Grant.

2. Mr. William Grant is one of those persons who, by reason of their irresponsible interference in Zulu affairs, and of the ill advice given by them to the Usutu party, are greatly answerable for the disorders which have of late afflicted the Zulu country.

3. I have reason to believe that he and certain other persons are concerned in the present movement in Central Zululand, a movement the ultimate result of which will assuredly not be to the advantage of the Zulu people.

4. I have reason also to believe that to his interference and advice the defiance recently shown by the Usutu party in the Inkanhla to the authority of the Resident Commissioner and their open collision in arms with that authority are mainly due.

* No. 55.

† No. 50.

‡ Nos. 55 and 56.

5. It is necessary to bear in mind these things in reading the present letter written by Mr. W. Grant, who would now assume to play the part of a peace-maker in respect of the very disorders which he has been instrumental in creating.

6. Under these circumstances I have not felt myself called upon to answer Mr. W. Grant's letter—a letter which, I must add, is, in my opinion, really intended for those in England who, misled by the information received from this Colony, have done not a little, in supporting him, to support the cause of disorder in the Zulu country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 58.

Mr. W. GRANT to Sir H. BULWER.

SIR,

Durban, June 3, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that in compliance with a pressing message from Mnyamana, the principal adviser of the National party, I am about to proceed to Zululand.

In case I can be of any service in assisting the adjustment of differences between England and the National party, I shall freely use my best efforts in that behalf, and I need hardly say without fee or reward.

There are no differences which do not arise from misconception; there are no differences which do not admit of a ready and complete settlement if only no overt action takes place in the Reserve.

The late unhappy collision in the Reserve is much to be regretted, but if no further collision occur there it will perhaps have served a good end in bringing matters to an issue. My earnest hope is, therefore, that a complete cessation of hostilities between the Tugela and Umhlatusi rivers will bring about a perfectly good understanding between Her Majesty's Government and the National party.

I am quite willing, with your Excellency's permission, to go into any portion of the Reserve, in order to prevent the possibility of further bloodshed in that district.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., (Signed) WILLIAM GRANT.
Governor of Natal.

No. 59.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received July 9, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 10, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of various reports from the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory and of other communications relative to the state of affairs in the Reserve and in the country beyond.

2. The most serious information contained in this correspondence is that regarding the intentions of the Boers towards Usibebu. If this information is correct it shows that the Boers who have taken up the cause of Dinuzulu have departed from the peaceful declaration they made at the time they proclaimed him as successor to Cetywayo, and that either that declaration had no real meaning, or else the Usutu leaders, who aim at something very much more than the peaceful establishment of Dinuzulu's rule in central Zululand, have refused to accept the interpretation of their compact with the Boers which the latter put on it in their declaration of the 21st May, and have brought a pressure to bear on the Boers which they have been unable to resist.

3. Until, however, I receive other information which I expect on this subject I suspend any further expression of my opinion.

4. From Mr. Pretorius' reports it appears that Hlubi and Umbusu have had an engagement with an Usutu force on the 1st June and worsted it. I have desired the Sub-Commissioner to retain Hlubi's force strictly for the defensive purposes of his district until such time as their services may be required in active operations and under

proper supervision, and I have made arrangements with the Resident Commissioner to send Mr. M. Oftebro, to the Qudeni, to take charge of the people of Umbusu and of other loyal people in that district, and to take steps for their defence against Usutu attacks.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 59.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
May 30, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the state of affairs in this district is generally satisfactory. The men are still at their posts on the border. I consider it advisable to keep them in position for the present, not knowing how matters stand, or what turn they may take in central Zululand. I have ordered Hlubi to advance again with the force under his command to the Ensingabanto, so as to be nearer the Inkandhla in case his services should be required in that direction.

Last night two messengers sent by me into central Zululand in the direction of the Zungueni returned. They report that when they left the Zungueni on Wednesday evening the 28th current, the Boers had summoned Dabankulo, Zingulu-ka-Lokwasi, and Mehlekazulu with their men to repair to the Skwebezi near the Ingomo. Previous to this summons a messenger from Dabulemanzi at the Inkandhla had arrived to call Mehlekazulu, who is said to have gone to the Inkandhla. My messenger could not tell me whether or not the summons to the Boers had been obeyed. They left as soon as the messengers with the summons from the Boers had arrived.

I have not heard a word from Mr. Osborn. My last messengers to him have not returned. I purpose sending again to-day by way of Natal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 59.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 2, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 30th ultimo, and I am glad to learn from it that the state of affairs in your district is generally satisfactory.

It is with great concern, however, that I perceive you have ordered Hlubi to advance again with the force under his command, and to go to the Ensingabantu so as to be near the Inkandhla in case his services should be required in that direction. I gather from what you say that you have received no communication from Mr. Osborn, but I think you must have fully understood from the information sent to you by me that, when you despatched Hlubi on the 10th or 11th ultimo to assist Mr. Osborn in his operations in the Inkandhla, you had despatched him too late for that purpose, as Mr. Osborn had retired from the Inkandhla on the 11th of the month. I was even afraid that the attempt of Hlubi, under those circumstances, to proceed to the Inkandhla might be attended with great risk to himself. I therefore desired you to take steps to bring back Hlubi and his men as soon as it could conveniently be done, and I gave you to understand that his force should, until further orders, be utilised only for the defensive purposes of the district against any Usutu attacks that might be made on the district.

Before, however, these instructions could reach you or you could act upon them, Hlubi had proceeded some way into the country, and there eventually he appears to have joined Umbusu, and to have had several encounters, to have taken a great number of cattle, and, in fact, to have carried on in an independent manner active hostilities against people belonging to, or believed to belong to, the Usutu party.

Proceedings of this kind are open to much objection, because neither are they conducted under the responsibility or control of a European, nor are they part of any

regular scheme for punishing and repressing those Usutus in the Reserve territory who have taken up arms against the authority of the Resident Commissioner; and they can only lead to trouble and mischief. I was under the expectation, however, that with Hlubi's return from this expedition, begun under a misconception, an end would be put to any such further proceedings. It is therefore with surprise that I learn from you that you have again sent Hlubi forward on another expedition, and I have to request that you will, as soon as you can consistently with his safety, take steps for his return, and that you will employ him solely and simply for the defence of the district until further orders, and until such time as the services of his force on active operations and under proper supervision may be required.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

Enclosure 3 in No. 59.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 1, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, according to reports received by me, the Boers have again fixed their "laager" at the Hlobane. It is said to be their intention to attack Usibepu. Usibepu, it appears, refuses to give up the late King's cattle to Dinuzulu, as demanded from him by the Boers, who have thereupon resolved to compel him by force of arms. * * * * * The same messengers informed me that, from what they were able to gather in their intercourse with Natives belonging to the Abaqulisini tribe, it is the intention of the Abaqulisini and Hlalozi in Central Zululand to attack Hlubi and his people. They appear to make no secret of this.

A report received by me a few hours later in the day confirms this. The superintendent of the border guard reported that from information received by him, he was led to suspect that an attack was contemplated at or near the Nkandi. He had at once ordered all horsemen to meet at the point where he expected the attack would be made. I have no doubt that should the plan be attempted, the force under him will be found prepared and sufficient to meet the invaders. I will proceed to the border personally to see that nothing is wanting for the protection and safety of the district. The footmen remain in position at the other points on the border.

From prisoners, caught by the border guard, coming from the Hlalatye, I received a report that Dabuku was collecting an impi in that quarter. The object and destination of this force the prisoners could not tell me. My opinion is that if the report of an intended attack upon Usibepu is correct, this force is destined to act against him in conjunction with the Boers.

I have not heard from Hlubi lately, but expect a report from him shortly. He must keep up communication with the force stationed opposite the Zungueni.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 4 in No. 59.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 3, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that last evening a messenger from Usibepu came here with the following message from his Chief. He states his name to be Vclokohlela, and his companion who started with him to have been Manyevunfeef. We were both well mounted. We were sent by Usibepu on Sunday morning (1st June) to report to the Sub-Commissioner at Hlubi, with request to forward the report without delay to the Governor, that the Boers, supported by a strong Usutu impi had entered his (Usibepu's) territory, evidently with hostile intentions. When we left Usibepu the Commando was at the Nongoma mountain, distant about 12 miles from Bangonoma,

Usibepu's chief kraal. Usibepu says that the Boers sent word to him that they were coming to fight him, because he refused to come to them. He (Usibepu) did not go to the Boers because the Government was not there.

The messenger, Volokohlela, further states: We met the Boers on our way here. We were chased by them. We fled, and unfortunately happened to meet an Usutu impi. My fellow messenger, Manyevunfeef, was shot dead, I believe by Umemeza, brother to Umbeleni. I took another direction, toward the Ingomo, and managed to escape, but not without the loss of my horse and gun. When I came near the Ingomo bush I had to leave my horse on account of the bad places I had to get through. I got away on foot, and during the night reached the Umvolozzi, where I obtained the loan of a horse from a friend and came on here. Messengers have also been sent to Mr. Osborn.

I have despatched this report also to Mr. Osborn with mounted men for fear that the messengers sent direct from Usibepu might not reach him.

I have heard nothing more since my last communication about the intended attack on this part of the Reserve by the Abaqulisini. We were fully prepared to meet them should they have made the attempt. They also most likely have been withdrawn toward Usibepu, or may have been placed to watch Oham.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 5 in No. 59.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Nqutu, Zulu Native Reserve,

June 3, 1884, 8 p.m.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that a messenger arrived this moment with the report that Hlubi has had a successful engagement with the rebels on Sunday last, 1st June. It appears that the Usutu, headed by Dabulamanzi, Mchleka-zulu, and Siganando attacked Umbusu at daybreak on Sunday. Umbusu seems to have become aware of the approach of the rebel force and had immediately sent to Hlubi for assistance. Hlubi proceeded without delay to Umbusu's kraals with his force and succeeded in routing the rebels entirely. All the cattle taken from Umbusu were recaptured, and about 100 men of the enemy killed. Hlubi's loss was two men killed (Basutos), and two men wounded, one seriously and one lightly in the arm. When the messenger left, Hlubi with his force was still at the Umvogoos river, near Umbusu's kraal, but he intended to fall back again on his position, near Ensingabanto. Hlubi also reports to have received no information or orders from Mr. Osborn up to the time the messenger left there. I should add that Umbusu's loss in men is not known, the messenger at least could give me no information on that point. Hlubi was supported by Matyana's men.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 6 in No. 59.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

June 10, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 1st and 3rd of June.

I have just returned from Etshowe, where I have arranged with Mr. Osborn for the establishment by him of a regular communication with you twice a week. This communication will be carried out by means of messengers who will pass for some part of the way through Natal. I have also made arrangements with him under which Mr. M. Oftebro will proceed to the Qudeni country and will take charge of Umbusu's people and other loyal people in the neighbourhood.

With reference to my letter to you of the 2nd of June I have to observe that the return of Hlubi to the district which is under you, and his employment for the defensive purposes of the district will not prevent you, as soon as Mr. Oftebro is established at

the Qudeni, from giving him at any time such assistance as you may be able to spare should he require it for the defence of the people under him.

You will put yourself in communication with Mr. Oftebro and arrange with him for your mutual defence against any Usutu attack.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 60.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.
(Received July 9, 1884.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

8th July. Officer commanding in Reserve proceeded with detachment British troops and Natives examine neighbourhood of Inkandhla, and, in order to re-assure loyal followers, returns 10th July. Usutu party, Inkandhla, have captured lately large number of cattle belonging to loyal chief, Reserve.

No. 61.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 10th ultimo,* transmitting correspondence with the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory, on the state of affairs there and in other parts of Zululand.

I approve of the communications which you addressed to Mr. Pretorius.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 62.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G.
(Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 12, 1884.

MY LORD,

MY attention having been called to an advertisement in the "Times of Natal," of the 20th ultimo, calling for able-bodied men of good character who could ride and shoot well, and were prepared to provide horse and carbine, &c. for field service, with regard to which it was alleged that a letter was sent from that office informing applicants that such able-bodied men were required for service in the Zulu Reserve; and also to a letter signed "Iqiniso" which appeared in the "Natal Witness" of the 26th ultimo, making certain allegations as to the state of the Reserve Territory, I sent copies of the papers to the Resident Commissioner for his report, which he has furnished to me, and a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, together with copies of the papers to which I refer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

* No. 59.

Enclosure 1 in No. 62.

"Times of Natal," Tuesday, May 20, 1884.

To able-bodied men.

Able-bodied men of good character who can ride and shoot well are required at once. Applicants must be prepared to provide their own horse, carbine, &c. such as they may require for field service. Satisfactory remuneration offered.

For further particulars apply by letter or personally to A.B.C.D., "Times of Natal" Office, Pietermaritzburg.

May 13, 1884.

Enclosure 2 in No. 62.

"Times" Office, Pietermaritzburg,

1884. From A.B.C.D. to

The able-bodied men are required for service in the Zulu Reserve for, amongst other duties, the protection of the property of white residents and others from the Usutu marauders. Persons willing to undertake this duty should proceed to the Reserve, via Stanger and Lower Tugela. At the station or place of rendezvous on the other side of the river, Mr. Johan Colenbrander, or one of his agents, will receive and further direct and inform persons entering on the service.

Enclosure 3 in No. 62.

The "Natal Witness," Monday, May 26, 1884. Correspondence. The policy of despair. (To the editor of the "Natal Witness.")

SIR,

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

Nothing short of the foregoing would have brought the Cabinet to sanction the use of Imperial troops in Zululand again. The local official statement respecting the late flare up in the Reserve, and given to the public as official gospel, is that the Usutu party in the Reserve began to plunder non-Usutu men in the Reserve, that tax collecting had nothing to do with it, and that Ndabuko went to Inkandhla ostensibly to bury his brother, but in reality to raise the country. So much for the story which the officials wish believed. I will give you the other side of the question; your readers can please themselves as to believing it or not. I know what I state is true, and that is enough for me. Long before Ndabuko left the Residency with his brother's remains resistance to the collection of the taxes had set in. Many of the most influential Chiefs in the Reserve declined to pay. Mr. Osborn coerced payment of taxes before he left for the Inkandhla. Ndabuko reached the Inkandhla about the end of April. When he got there he found the whole country in a ferment with anger at the rumours that Malemati (the Resident) was coming to compel them to pay, and bringing some hostile tribes with him. They said they would die before they would pay. Ndabuko called a meeting of all the head men, and quietly but firmly told them that all this defiance must cease. He told them that now he and the other brothers had come into the district any disturbance would at once be attributed to them by Mr. Osborn. He insisted there should be no defiance and no disturbance. He advised them to pay under protest, but to pay quietly and not get into a row. He pointed out the unseemliness of shedding blood also over the very

bones, as it were of their late King. The headmen fell in with his views, and messengers were at once despatched to Mr. Osborn to tell him that the people would pay the taxes quietly after the funeral. The obsequies of the late King took about a fortnight, and when they were nearly at an end Ndabuko sent Undungunye and other Chiefs sent other men to tell the Resident that the funeral was over, and they were ready to pay up. Great efforts were being made all through that portion of the Reserve, selling cattle, &c. to raise the needful. Despite this avowed willingness, however, Mr. Osborn went to them on a war footing with a mob of hostile tribes. The whole thing now assumed a new and fell aspect. A large seizure of cattle was made by some of these hostile natives. The despoiled ones resisted, and righteously, because a clean sweep was made of even cattle belonging to people who were in no way implicated. In the resistance blood was shed, but the cattle driven off to Mr. Osborn. The enraged owners followed, and tried to recover them by a midnight attack on the place where they were, but being few in number they were easily repulsed. This is in short the whole history of the event which has been so skilfully used to compass long defeated aims!

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

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

However, all this has been adroitly used by the genius of despair, and "order is to be maintained in the Reserve." But how? Imperial troops will not do it. The iniquitous and un-English policy of tribe against tribe will be used, with the troops for a base, and this scientific application of the Kilkenny cats principle will pass as maintaining order. Facts are hard matters to fight, and the great fact of Zululand, so strenuously denied by Sir Henry Bulwer and his whilom apostate, but now zealous apostle the "Mercury" (*i.e.* that the Usutu or National party of Zululand comprises the bulk of the population both in and out of the Reserve) was on the point of proving too strong. Another year of the present anarchy, however, will invert this. The Usutus will have been decimated and then Sir Henry Bulwer and the "Mercury" can affirm with conscientiousness that the Usutus are but a few headstrong marauders.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) IQNISO.

Durban, May 23, 1884.

Enclosure 4 in No. 62.

MR. OSBORN TO SIR H. BULWER.

Minute.

HIS EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE to state that my proceeding at the beginning of last month with an armed force to Nkandhla had nothing whatever to do with hut tax or the collection thereof. I had postponed the further collection of the tax.

The Usutu at Nkandhla began attacking the loyal people in their neighbourhood seizing all their cattle and other property, wounding and attempting to kill them. At least 12 kraals of loyal people had been thus attacked and despoiled and the inmates driven away before I consented, on the urgent application of several of the loyal and most influential chiefs and headmen in the Reserve, including Siyunguza, Mavumengwana, &c. to take the action I did to protect the loyal people and check the Usutu in their aggressive action to which there can be no doubt whatever they were instigated by Ndabuko and his brothers. As to the hut tax, the brothers had forbidden the Usutu people at Nkandhla paying it under threats of the gravest consequences, and they did all they could to incite the people to open rebellion. It is untrue that Ndabuko sent his messenger Unduncunya to me, and other chiefs sent other men to tell me that the funeral was over and they were ready to pay. No such messengers came to me. Moreover, as I have stated above the collection of hut tax had been temporarily postponed and the question concerning the tax had nothing whatever to do with the very serious circumstances which demanded the action I took for protection of the Reserve. It was Ndabuko and his brothers who ordered the attack upon me during the night of the 10th, and the attacking force was led by one of them, viz. Dabulamanzi. His force was not a small one as stated by the "Witness" correspondent; it consisted of over 1,300 men.

It is true that Chief John Dunn assembled his men under arms. He did this as a strong Usutu force under Bejana and Somhlogo and some of Somkele's people had taken up a position immediately beyond the lower Umhlatusi, and were threatening to invade the Reserve at that point and to attack him.

With regard to the alleged contingent of white men, present with Mr. Dunn's force and forming part of it, I have to state that I have ascertained that there were altogether 10 men, viz. eight white men and two coloured men. Of these two came from Natal, the rest were traders, mostly from Central Zululand, who had come into the Reserve for safety, they were under Johan Colenbrander, who had obtained their services to assist him in taking and escorting to Manhlagazi some horses he had purchased for Usibebu. Mr. J. Colenbrander found, however, this number of men wholly inadequate for the safe escort of the horses, on account of the presence in the field of the forces of Bejana and the others, and he therefore endeavoured to procure additional volunteers by advertising for them, intending to offer their services for defence of the Reserve should the route to Usibebu continue impracticable. In the meantime as the ten men were not employed on any duty, Chief John Dunn engaged their services for one month from the 15th ult., with pay at 10% to each for the month to assist him in any defensive operations that may during that time become necessary. The danger of immediate attack from beyond the border being no longer apprehended, Mr. Dunn discharged the men on the 5th, and as Mr. Colenbrander was unable to continue his journey to Usibebu, the 10 men dispersed, and he himself returned to Natal yesterday. I have not been able to ascertain that these white men took any part in the seizures of cattle lately made by Chief Dunn's force, and it is utterly untrue that they killed any single man or burnt a single kraal.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

Eshowe, June 9, 1884.

No. 63.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G.
(Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg,
Natal, June 14, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copies of two reports from that part of the border of this Colony where the Middle Drift crosses into Zululand.

2. The Inkanhla Bush lies, although at some distance, in that direction, and the district is one where the Usutu party in the Reserve is congregated. On the 1st instant a party of Usutus appear to have come into collision with some of the Natal natives on the Natal side of the river, in which several lives were lost.

3. According to the statement made to the Resident Magistrate by one of the Natal natives, appointed by his Chief to watch the border, a party of Usutus on the Zulu side of the river, seeing him and the others with him on the Natal side of the river,

asked them to whom they belonged. On their replying that they belonged to the Government, the Usutus opened fire upon them, wounding one of their number and obliging them to take shelter behind stones. Later, the Natal natives came across another party of Usutus, who had crossed the river into Natal higher up the river, and appear to have called upon them to lay down their arms. The Usutus refused, and a conflict arose which resulted in the death of nine of the Usutus.

The Resident Magistrate has been instructed to take the depositions in this case, and special measures are being adopted for maintaining the peace in that part of the border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 63.

Inspector FAIRLIE, N. M. P., to COMMANDANT, N. M. P.

SIR,

Fort Buckingham, May 30, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that a patrol in charge of Lance Corporal M'Dermott returned yesterday from Middledrift, and to forward his report herewith.

Mr. Pennefather's statement that five Usutus had come over and captured a hundred refugees is, I think, exaggerated. I believe about a dozen were taken, and there were about sixty Natal natives who did not prevent them.

The refugees, however, escaped again next day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. J. FAIRLIE,
Inspector, N. M. P.

The Commandant, N. M. Police.

PATROL REPORT.

May 26th, 1884.—Left camp with troops, Kennedy, A. Graham, and Lee with packhorse and native, Saturday at 9.30 a.m., and proceeded to Pennefather's store. Arriving there at 1.30 p.m., turned the horses out to graze knee-haltered till 6 p.m., then tied them up to a tree for the night, and fed them on mealies.

Pennefather informed me that on the evening the previous patrol had left five Usutus had come over to this side of the river, and compelled over a hundred unarmed refugees to return with them, in spite of some fifty loyal Kaffirs forming the border guard on the Natal side. Pitched tents near the horses, close to the river.

May 27th.—Fed the horses on mealies at 6 a.m., and let them graze at 7 a.m.

Sent Kennedy and A. Graham to patrol the river at 10 a.m.; they returned at 2 p.m. and said they had not seen a single Kaffir on or from the other side. A man called Tyler, accompanied by a one of Osborn's Kaffirs, came over the drift and slept at Pennefather's for the night.

He informed me that he had left Mr. Mansell with forty men patrolling about five miles from us, and that the Usutus were encamped not more than six miles from Pennefather's store. Tied the horses up at 6 p.m. and fed them on mealies.

May 28th.—Turned the horses out to graze at 6 a.m.; at 10 a.m. saddled up and patrolled up the river to the hot springs. Saw several cattle belonging to the refugees on the island. Saw no Kaffirs on the other side. Returned from patrol at 2 p.m. and let the horses graze till 6 p.m.; then tied them up and fed them on mealies.

May 29th.—Let the horses graze at 6 a.m.; at 9 a.m. trooper Lee and self patrolled down the river, passing the Middledrift. Saw no Kaffirs on the other side. Returned at 11 a.m.; at 12.30 Corporal Tully's patrol arrived to relieve us. Left Pennefather's store at 1 p.m. and arrived in camp at 4 p.m., and reported myself to Sergeant Dorehill.

(Signed) J. J. M'DERMOTT,
Lance Corporal, N. M. Police.

May 28th, 1884.—Kaffirs came in to Pennefather's store and reported that the Usutus had shouted across the river in the morning; that they were then moving to attack Hlubi.

(Signed) J. McD.

Enclosure 2 in No. 63.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umvoti County, to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Resident Magistrate's Office, Greytown,
June 6, 1884.

I ENCLOSE the statement of one of Gayede's people who was present at the fight at the Emtanjeni drift, in which nine of the Usuto were killed. Nine other men of the Usuto party came into Gayede's location for protection, and were brought up here, but as they all wished to return to Zululand I let them do so, after disarming them; from their statement it appears that Dabulamanzi, Mehlokazulu, and Undabankulu started from the Inkandhla with an impi of sixteen "Amaviyo," to attack Umbuzo's people. On Saturday they travelled all night, and on Sunday commenced burning some of Umbuzo's kraals, and taking his women, children, and cattle; they were not aware that Hlubi was close at hand, with his force, and with Umbuzo's impi; after they had taken possession of the cattle, &c., and killed the old men and boys who were herding the cattle, they were attacked by Hlubi and Umbuzo's impis, and utterly routed with great slaughter, all the cattle and women they had captured being retaken; it was a portion of the Usuto who were repulsed who wounded one of Gayede's people, and who were killed on the Natal side of the Tugela; these men further state that at the time they started to attack Umbuzo another impi had gone up to Mnyamana in order to proceed against Usibebu. Dabulamanzi had a very narrow escape; the Abesuto pursued him until his horse knocked up, when he got off and took refuge in the broken country in Godide's district.

(Signed) W. D. WHEELWRIGHT.
Resident Magistrate, Umvoti.

STATEMENT of MAROLO, residing under the CHIEF GAYEDE, in the County of Umvoti.

I was ordered by my Chief to watch with others the Umtanjeni Drift, in the Tugela river.

Last Sunday (1st June) late in the afternoon we could see fighting in the Reserve. The Usutu party were fighting with the Basutos (Hlubi's people) and Umbuzo's people. The Usutu party were beaten, and some of them ran down the Tugela river, in the Reserve, and some came towards the drift we were watching. We were standing at the drift on the Natal side of the river when they came running down to it. They saw us, and said, "Niyilipi"? (what side do you belong to?) We said "To the Government." They immediately opened fire on us, and we were obliged to take shelter behind stones. They then went on down the river, still keeping in the Reserve. Shortly after this we were told by some of Umbuzo's people that a party of the Usutu had crossed into Natal further up the river; one man on our side was wounded, a bullet penetrated his shield, cut his leg, and passed along his stomach. On going further up the river we found a party of the Usutu, and we told them they were to give up or put down their arms now that they had come into Natal. They refused to do so, and threw assegais at us. One man had a gun; he aimed at us several times, but it would not go off. He then threw an assegai at us. We also threw assegais at them after they had started. We killed nine men; one wounded man got away, and we took two of them prisoners later in the evening. The two men now in the office are the two we took as prisoners.

I cannot say how many men there were all together because it was getting dark, and they were in the thorns. The man who had a gun was killed.

(Signed) MAROLO his X mark.

Witness

(Signed) A. BOAST,
Clerk and Zulu Interpreter.

(Signed) W. D. WHEELWRIGHT,
Resident Magistrate.

No. 64.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a minute from the Resident Magistrate in the Umsinga Division, giving the names of the Boer leaders who took part in and were present at the ceremony of the declaration of Dinuzulu as successor to Cetywayo.

I have, &c.
(Signed)

H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 64.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umsinga Division, to the Honourable the SECRETARY,
NATIVE AFFAIRS.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, for the information of his Excellency the Special Commissioner, that I this day received the following particulars from Mr. Potter, of Nodesberg and Bivana river, North-west Zululand border, on his way down from his farm at the Bivana drift:—

That Long Christian Van Royen and Johanes Meyer, C.'son informed him Dinazulu was crowned on the 22nd May 1884 at the Mnyati mountain by Andries Laas, and Philip Speis declared the coronation.

Jacobus Van Starden informed him the Boer Committee consisted of eight, viz.:—Dirk Uys, Chairman; Cornraad Meyer, Jacobus Van Starden; Andries Laas, Tunis Stinkholim,* and three others.

Piet Labuschagnie informed him no boundary had been made between the Boers and Zulus. Waiting to hear what steps the English are now going to take; and some have asked Mr. Potter to let them know from Pietermaritzburg.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN, R.M.,
Umsinga Division.

May 30, 1884.

No. 65.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of two reports, with their enclosures, received from the Resident Magistrate in the Umsinga Division, giving information regarding the state of affairs across the border in that neighbourhood, and more particularly regarding the encounter that took place on the 1st instant between Hlubi and the loyal Chief Umbusu on the one side and the Usutus under Dabulamanzi on the other side.

I have, &c.
(Signed)

H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

*? Steencamp.

Enclosure 1 in No. 65.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umsinga, to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS.

MINUTE PAPER.

Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division, forwards statement of Bubesi, a border watcher, and a letter from Hlubi, regarding fight with Sutus, Sunday, 1st June 1884, at Nkanhla, and Hlubi's request for Martini cartridges, and to let Mr. Osborn know.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS,

I HAVE the honour to enclose the above information and Hlubi's request. I have replied to Hlubi as follows:—"I have just received your letter (1 p.m.) per Nkonyana, and will forward it to-day to his Excellency the Special Commissioner. Your communications, as I told you before, must be through or to Mr. Commissioner Pretorius, with whom I have now established a regular tri-weekly post, which reaches Pietermaritzburg within 36 hours. I have no ammunition, and if I had I could not send any to you unless authorised by his Excellency. Your messenger also informs me, you ask for arms for Matyana Mondisa."

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division.

6th June 1884.

MR. PHIN.

SIR,

Aquene, June 5, 1884.

I HEREBY inform you that I have had an engagement on the 2nd June, on Sunday, at Cotoangane, killed about 200 Kaffirs that were with Dabelamanoz and Mochlokazulu and Dabenkolo; but we have killed him and Dabelamanoz son also, and more other Chiefs not seen, but heard that they are killed. I have had three men killed and five wounded, and on the 4th June I went to the Insusa and kaptured 1,149 head of cattle and 150 goats and sheep. I was going back again, but runners have come that the Dutch and the Maquलोce came to the boundary and were going across the Blood River into Transvaal, going along the border towards the junction of Blood River and Bufflou River to cross into into my teretary while I am engaged down here as I would let Government know about it, and the loyal Kaffirs are all say that is there cow and that is there cow, and I am wanting to know from Government what I am to do. I have put a stop to it. I want you please to let Mr. Osborn know as soon as possible, and Government also, and I also want some more Martine amunishen if there is some please oblige me with some for I have got no more. Please send it through to Mondis Machine to cross as soon as possible by the bearer. I have not much more knews to let you know this.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) CHIEF HLUBI.

Resident Magistrate's Office, Pomeroy,
June 5, 1884.

BUBESI of Mdenge's kraal, junction of Sibindi and Buffalo River, Umsinga division, and a border watcher, states:—On Saturday last, 31 May 1884, I crossed over into the Reserve Territory, and went to near the Hlabankosi to see about a debt owing to me, and left there on Tuesday last. On my way back I heard there had been a fight between the forces of Hlubi and the Sutus at the Nkanhla, on Sunday last, and the Sutus repulsed with heavy loss; and on Wednesday morning I heard further accounts of that fight, as follows: That Mehlokazulu, by orders of Dabulamanski, had brought a force of Sutus from Zungeni, to the Nkanhla; that Hlubi with whatever forces he could assemble had on Sunday (1st May 1884) proceeded to assist and check the Sutu forces from an arranged attack upon Mbuzo. Hlubi's force suddenly came upon the Sutu forces sooner than he was prepared for, and a Sutu force under Mehlokazulu got in rear of Hlubi. Fighting began, the two contending forces alternately outflanking each other, resulting in the Sutu forces being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter. The Sutus fled across the Tugela (middle drift?) where a Natal force of Natives attacked

them (the Sutus) killing some and forcing the rest back across the Tugela to the Nkanhla (Reserve Territory). It is said Mahemu Hlubi's brother was killed, and another brother badly wounded, and Nkebelele, as three important casualties of Hlubi's side. It was not known how many, or if any more, on Hlubi's side killed or wounded. I heard that the last thing on Sunday (1 May 1884) the Sutus shouted out to Hlubi's force, "The sun will yet rise to-morrow, beware," and Hlubi's side called back in reply, "Yes, and we will then enter your stronghold, beware." Towards the following morning it began snowing over all the country there and up here, and there has been no further news of what may have since taken place.

On Saturday last (31st May 1884) while I was at the Mhlabamkosi, reports come in to Nongamulana (the petty Chief of this division) stationed there (by Mr. J. W. Shepstone more than a year ago), that a large force of Boers were to come or were coming down Blood River, and to follow the Buffalo river down, and with the object of killing Hlubi. Some said, but the report that arrived from young Pretorius to Nongamulana, was, "There is a Boer force reported coming; guard well in watching the fords; place families in shelter, while I (young Pretorius) reconnoiter if it be true." No reply to this before I left. There had been a scare there on Friday night (30 May). The cattle of one kraal had got out in the night, and were supposed to be taken by Matyokobezi (Sutus) and there had been a pursuit as far as Zungini and Mvunyane River, and captured three women there; that is, across the Mvunyane River in Cetywayo's territory. These women on being questioned, said the Sutu forces were being called together at the Ngome, at Mnyamana's, and that there was no Zulu force about as that supposed to have stolen the cattle; and then Nongamulana released the three women and returned home. In the mean time the supposed stolen cattle had been found in the gardens of the owner of the cattle.

(Signed) BUBESI ^{his}
X
mark.

Before me, this 5th June 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division.

Enclosure 2 in No. 65.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Umsinga, to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS.

MINUTE PAPER.

Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division, forwards statement of Nkonyana Hlahla, account of battle on 1st June 1884 between Hlubi's forces and Sutus attacking and burning kraals of Mbuzo, Reserve Territory.

THE HON. THE SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS,

I HAVE the honour to forward the above account of the battle, for the information of His Excellency the Special Commissioner:

Mbuzo's chief wife informs me that on the 1st June 1884 the Sutu forces began very early that morning burning down kraals of Mbuzo's, and killed a wife of his, a sister the wife of late Mbopa, a daughter the wife of a son of late Mbopa, a half brother of Mbuzo, viz., Mamtshelwane, two wives of Nkonjwa the brother of Mbuzo, and that some of these women had young children, but it is not known how many were killed.

Mr. Hamilton from Zibebu's country, yesterday, told me many of the Boers at the Mnyati mountain who are not to be given farms there, are trekking back to the Transvaal.

7 June 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
R. M., Umsinga Division.

Before me, Henry Francis Fynn, Resident Magistrate, Umsinga Division, appeared, Nkonyana Hlahla of the tribe Sitali—Chief Matyana Mondisa—who states,—During last week we captured two spies as messengers from Dabulamanzi at the Nkanhla Reserve Territory, who were in communication with Matyana Sityakuza to get him to comply with an arrangement for him and his people to join the Sutu party at the Nkanhla, the rest of Matyana Sityakuza's people having some time before joined the Sutu party. These two spies of Dabulamanzi's made their escape in the night from us, before Hlubi's arrival; Matyana Sityakuza admitted receiving communication from these two men through Skonyana, one of his principal men; Matyana Sityakuza and Fakuziningo it was arranged were to watch Matyana Mondisa's movements forward towards the Nkanhla, and then slip down to the Buffalo River and cut off any attempt of Matyana Mondisa's to get across Buffalo river into Umsinga Division, when the Sutu force moved to attack Mbuzo and tribe; at this stage Hlubi arrived and frustrated this plan, and so again severed Matyana Sityakuza and Fakuziningo's union with Sutu forces in the proposed movements.

On Sunday (the 1st June 1884), very early in the morning, while Hlubi and Matyana Mondisa were near Martin Oftebro's old house at Qudeni, we received information that the Sutu forces were already burning down kraals of Mbuzo's. Hlubi ordered an advance at once of Mbuzo's force near us, the latter to hug the edge of the bush; it was then raining; we advanced along the open ridge towards the Kotongweni (Godide's natural stronghold), we could then see Mbuzo's kraals in flames, and saw the Sutu forces preparing to attack us when nearer to them. Hlubi directed my Chief, Matyana Mondisa, to send my portion of the force under my leadership to take the left and eastern flank; I did so. Faku Ziningo and force were with us there under fear of Hlubi and by compulsion; Hlubi opened fire upon the Sutu force, and the battle began; the Sutus fell back over a rise, and Hlubi ordered us, his force, to feint a retreat, and Mbuzo was then (on) our right flank, but unknown to and out of sight of the Sutu forces; this movement encouraged the Sutu forces to come in view and to make a determined pour upon us, shouting "Sutu, the Sutu." Hlubi shouted, "Now is the time, rush into them," and we rushed determinedly and killed the Sutus in heaps and dispersed them. Mbuzo's force on the right rushed upon the Sutus on their right as they fled, cutting off the Sutus from escaping up to the right. The pursuit continuing and slaughter, Hlubi called some of the force to the right where Dabulamanzi and Mehlokazula, both mounted, and a number of men were escaping into the Kotongweni (Godide's natural stronghold), a wooded basin and precipitous, into which they escaped. The Sutus were pursued to the Tugela River bank, and fled across the river just above Middle Drift, and were there met by the Makabeleni tribe (Natal side) who attacked the Sutus, killed many, amongst them Ndabankulu ka Lukwazi, the rest who escaped to the Natal side escaped back over the Tugela River to the Reserve Territory side, by a drift lower down, but the bulk of the Sutu force did not cross the Tugela River. They fled down the side of the Tugela River on the Reserve Territory side. Mzikele, the son of Dabulamanzi, was killed when the battle began, where 500 Sutu dead bodies were counted next morning. There were considerably more than that killed in the pursuit after the battle, and down the valley on either side and at the Tugela River. On our side Nkebelele, Hlubi's Induna, was killed in the battle and was shot through the chest, and a young man of Hlubi's badly wounded by a bullet up along his arm; he might recover. A young man of Mbuzo's and a man of Tomu's were killed; these were all that were killed or wounded on our side, and one horse killed belonging to Hlubi's young wounded man.

Next morning (after the day of the snow, Monday, 2nd June 1884) Tuesday the 3rd June 1884, Hlubi sent his forces, including us, to the Nsuze Valley, and we came up that valley and captured a very large number of cattle; we were now and then fired upon, but without any harm being done, and the Sutus fled from our sight as we collected and drove the cattle along on our way up the Nsuze valley. This large herd of captured cattle we drove to Ngasa Hill north of Qudeni Mt., where they are now, but badly affected with lung sickness, and mostly in low condition. Hlubi is there with his force.

(Signed) NKONYANA HLUHLA his X mark.

Before me this 6th June 1884.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate,
Umsinga Division.

No. 66.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G.
(Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED intelligence from the Resident Commissioner at Etshowe on the 13th instant that Usibebu had arrived there at sunset on the previous evening accompanied by two white men and three Natives. He informed the Resident Commissioner that he had been attacked by a combined force of Boers and Usutus seven days previously (the 5th instant), that he had been defeated with great loss, and that his kraals had been burnt and his cattle taken.

2. I at once communicated the substance of this intelligence to your Lordship in a telegraphic message, and I have now the honour to enclose copies of the communications I have so far received on this subject.

3. I expect a full report from Mr. Osborn of the circumstances of this very serious event; but meanwhile from a private note received from him I learn that Usibebu had met the attack made on him in a very determined manner and had compelled the Usutu force to give way, when the Boers, who numbered from 500 to 600, opened such a fierce fire on the Manhlagazi as compelled them in their turn to give way. They were then pursued by both Usutus and Boers, and a great number of them were killed. The defeat was in fact complete. The cattle belonging to Usibebu's people, many thousands in number, were looted, and the kraals burnt down. When Usibebu left the work of destruction and plunder was still going on.

4. Such is the first result of the declarations of peace and peaceful intentions with which the Boers announced their entry into Zululand. According to the purport of their notification of the 1st May* and of the proclamations of the 21st May the object of the Boers was to restore and maintain peace and order in the country, to prevent bloodshed, and to establish Dinuzulu as successor to his father in peaceful authority over central Zululand.

5. Such was the purport of the declarations as they reached us, of the 1st and 21st of May. Before the month was over a combined force of Boers and Usutus had marched upon Usibebu's territory, and a few days later he was attacked and defeated with great loss of life, and his country given over to plunder and destruction.

6. It is impossible to regard without feelings of the greatest pain and concern the ruin that has thus been brought upon the Chief Usibebu.

He was placed and left in the position of an independent Chief by us. He has always looked upon himself as belonging to the Government, and has always shown himself a loyal friend to the Government. Immediately after Cetywayo's restoration he became, because of his independence, the object of the fiercest hate of the Usutu leaders. His territory was invaded by a formidable Usutu force two months after Cetywayo's restoration. The invaders were driven back with a prodigious loss. But the event was the beginning of a long series of conflicts which ended in the destruction of Ulundi and the flight of Cetywayo. That Usibebu punished and spoiled those who had attacked him is unquestionable; but he never sought to take advantage of his successes or to extend his rule. His desire was to be left alone and in peace in the territory over which he had been placed, and when he was forced into action it was, with few exceptions, to resist the intrigues and attacks directed against him. Had we taken over central Zululand for the benefit of the Zulu people we should have found no more loyal neighbour or supporter than Usibebu. But we hesitated to do this: we left the country to take its chances. We left it in confusion and disorder, and the Usutus have made a bargain with the Boers which has brought about, on the plea of the restoration of order, this most undeserved fate on the head of a Chief who has proved himself to possess as chivalrous and gallant a nature as the history of the Zulu nation can show.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

* See my Despatches of 20th May 1884, and of 31st May 1884 (Nos. 31 and 54).

Enclosure 1 in No. 66.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

MINUTE.

His EXCELLENCY,

THESE two letters reached me late last night. I forward them for your Excellency's information.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

September 6, 1884.

SIR,

Manhлагаizie District, June 2, 1884.

I HAVE the honour at request of the Chief Usibebu to write you his message which is as follows :—

The Chief wishes you to see the General in Command of the troops in the Reserve and plead for help from him against the Boers and Usutu party ; he says that he would not ask for help only for the people who he has mastered getting the Boers to help them, that has made him very angry. He wishes you to plead for him as he has always recognized you the same as the Usutus did : although they have made an attack on you now, he has always known you to be his father.

The Chief wishes you to inform the General that the Boers are at Oham's, and go every day, sometimes 7, 8, or 10, to ask Oham to go with them to their camp to talk. They have blocked up Oham, who is in his caves. He managed to get a messenger through to Usibebu to ask him to send to the British Government for help as he can see no way of getting out. They seem to want Oham as they are all day asking him to go with them : they would bring a waggon for him and his son if he would agree to go. Oham has sent down to Usibebu to say that he is cheating the Boers and told them that he will conza to them. The Chief says that he does not know if he is cheating the Boers or him.

The Boers called up Oham's indunas, and told them that they had made Dinu ulu, son of Cetywayo, King of Zululand and of the Zulu nation, and that the boundary is the Tugela River, saying that they made Impanda King, and so they do with Cetywayo's son. They also say that the Zulus need not fear anything from the English, that they had beaten the English at the Majuba Cop. When they said they had made Dinizulu King, they gave him a white horse, saying that all the people had to pay cattle as tribute to it, and they intended to do the same themselves. The Chief wishes you to plead for him ; he does not want anything to do with the Boers ; he only knows the British Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, JUNIOR.
Pro the Chief Usibebu.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.,
Commissioner, Native Reserve.

SIR,

Manhлагаizi, June 4, 1884.

I HAVE the honour, at the request of the Chief Usibebu, to inform you that the combined Boer and Usutu forces have at last invaded his territory, and the fight may be to-night or to-morrow morning. The Chief begs me to say that he is very much disappointed in not getting help from you and the British Government ; he wishes me to say that he does not know how he will manage against such a large impi ; besides the Boers, all the Usutus across the Pongola River are coming on to join them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN ECKERSLEY, JUNIOR.
At the request of the Chief Usibebu.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 66.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

Eshowe, 7 p.m., June 12, 1884. Fort Pearson, 9 a.m., June 13, 1884.

Pietermaritzburg, 9.58 a.m., June 13, 1884.

Usibebu arrived here at sunset this evening on horseback. Reports he was attacked

by Boers and Usutu seven days ago and defeated with great loss, his kraals burnt and cattle taken.

He came accompanied by two white men and three Natives.

Enclosure 3 in No. 66.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

TELEGRAM.

June 13, 1884.—I am deeply concerned to hear of Usibebu's misfortunes. Give him every hospitality in the Reserve.

Enclosure 4 in No. 66.

The Honourable Sir L. SMYTH to Sir H. BULWER. (Received June 13, 1884.)

SIR,

Maritzburg, June 13, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, paraphrase of a telegram received this day from the Officer Commanding at Eshowe, reporting the very serious intelligence that Usibebu has been totally defeated by Boers and Usutus, and that he has taken refuge in the Reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. SMYTH, Lieut.-General,
Commanding Her Majesty's Troops,
South Africa.

His Excellency
The Governor and High Commissioner.

From Officer Commanding, Eshowe, to GENERAL.

By special runner June 12.

USIBEBU, Dark, Ekersley, and few followers arrived five to-day. Attacked by six hundred Boers and five thousand Usutus on fifth. Usutu fled when attacked by Usibebu. Boers fell on his flank. Usibebu lost everything, six brothers, and many hundred killed, five traders, total (sic. query Natal) wagons, all cattle taken. One Boer supposed killed. Do not believe Boers will cross Umhlatoozi, but think Usutus will now collect in Inkandhla.

Enclosure 5 in No. 66.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

Eshowe, June 14, 1884. Fort Pearson, June 14, 1884, 6.45 p.m.
Pietermaritzburg, June 14, 1884, 8.15 p.m.

USIBEBU says he came purposely to complain about Boers and Usutu having attacked him, and to ask for speedy armed assistance to re-establish him and people in territory. I send his statement by post to-day.

Enclosure 6 in No. 66.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

SIR,

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve, June 12, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Chief Usibebu arrived on horseback at my office here shortly after sunset this evening. He informed me that the combined forces of the Boers and Usutu attacked him in his territory seven days ago, and defeated him with great loss. They had looted all the cattle belonging to himself and his people, and were engaged burning down their kraals.

Usibebu, being greatly fatigued in consequence of his long journey, he informed me that he would state to me to-morrow morning full particulars of the affair, and his object in coming here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Natal.

No. 67.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a further correspondence with Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the Zulu Native Reserve, regarding the state of affairs in his district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.
Downing Street.

Enclosure 1 in No. 67.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 7, 1884.

SIR,
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated 2nd June. In obedience to the instructions conveyed to me therein I have without delay withdrawn Hlubi's force to within the border of this district, where I left it yesterday (Friday) evening last the 6th current.

When Hlubi left here my instructions to him were to proceed direct to the Resident Commissioner; or, if he failed to accomplish this, with his force, to try and open up communication and then to take his orders from Mr. Osborn. On his way down he was to act strictly on the defensive, and to assist the loyals only in case they should be attacked by the Usutu. Hlubi declares that he has strictly adhered to the instructions received. Shortly after he left here he received verbal instructions from Mr. Osborn to assist the loyals threatened by Godid. He again received another verbal message some days later to the effect that he was to remain in the neighbourhood of the Ensingabantu for three weeks after receipt of message so as to be ready with his force, when its services should be required. In obedience to these orders he acted, and always acted in his engagements in defence of the loyals attacked by the Usutu. When I left Hlubi yesterday my order to him was to sit still and act on the defensive only till the receipt of further orders either from Mr. Osborn or myself.

I may be permitted, however, to draw your Excellency's attention to the position in which Umbusu and other smaller loyal Chiefs will be placed by the withdrawal of Hlubi's force from the neighbourhood of the Ensingabantu. They will be almost entirely at the mercy of the Usutu. The Usutu are in force between Mr. Osborn and Umbusu. It appears that Umbusu and other loyal Chiefs can expect no assistance from that quarter. From my letter of 3rd June last your Excellency will see that had Hlubi's force not been near the Usutu would have succeeded in driving off Umbusu's cattle with the women and children to the Nkandhla. Hlubi informed me that when the Usutu fled a number of the captured women and children were killed by them. I expect to hear from the Resident Commissioner soon and to receive orders from him.

The state of affairs in this district continues so far to be satisfactory. The women and children made prisoners by Hlubi after his engagement with the Usutu on 22nd May last have been placed at different kraals here. I gave instructions that they

should be well treated till such time that it will be safe and desirable for them to return and join their relatives.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 2 in No. 67.

Sir H. BULWER, to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 10, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt this evening of your letter of the 7th instant.

I notice the disadvantage that may arise from withdrawing at this moment any assistance that Hlubi may be able to give to Umbusu and other loyal people in that portion of the Reserve in defending themselves from Usutu attacks; and, had you informed me in your letter of the 30th May that the defence of Umbusu had any part in your decision to send Hlubi forward, I should have been prepared to give my consideration to the importance of that object. But your letter of the 30th May threw no light on the object for which you had sent Hlubi forward, and I was afraid that he would begin again a course of irregular hostilities with people belonging to, or supposed to belong to, the Usutu party.

In a letter which I addressed to you this morning I said that Mr. M. Oftebro was about to proceed to the Qudeni district to take charge of Umbusu and other loyal natives, and I stated that it would be desirable for you to act in concert with Mr. Oftebro for your mutual defence. Should Mr. Oftebro not have arrived when you receive this letter you will be at liberty, should you think fit, pending his arrival, to send Hlubi forward again to such a position as will enable him, in case of necessity, to give assistance to Umbusu should the latter be attacked.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 3 in No. 67.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 12, 1884.

SIR,

I CONSIDER it my duty to inform your Excellency that by the last issue of cartridges to the men with Hlubi my supply in store here has been reduced to fifteen hundred (1,500) Snider cartridges. The men on the border have each the supply they carry, viz. 40 rounds. In case of further fighting being necessary I may find myself short of cartridges. Powder and lead I am provided with in sufficient quantity for the present. I may therefore be permitted to suggest the advisability of sending up a supply of Snider cartridges to be kept in store here in case it should be required. I make the suggestion to your Excellency because I have not succeeded up to date in re-establishing communication with the Resident Commissioner.

The state of affairs in this district is the same as when I last wrote, viz. on the whole satisfactory.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 4 in No. 67.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 15, 1884.

I HAVE received your letter of the 12th instant, and I will take steps for forwarding to you a supply of Snider ammunition.

The Resident Commissioner will have informed you of the attack made by a combined force of the Boers and the Usutus upon Usibebu and of the defeat of the latter.

In view of this event it will be necessary that you should be prepared for an Usutu attack upon your district at any time. Be good enough, therefore, to take the best steps you can for its defence, for the safety of the women and children, and for the protection of property, and to inform me of the measures taken by you for these purposes.

Please also to let me know if you require assistance, and if so in what manner assistance can best be given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

No. 68.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G.
(Received July 16, 1884.)Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a despatch I have received from the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory reporting the arrival in the Territory of a great number of Native refugees from the Kwamagwaza and other mission stations in Central Zululand and the steps taken by him to give immediate relief to such as were in need of it.

I enclose also a copy of the reply in which I have approved of the steps taken by Mr. Osborn and authorized the locating of these people in the Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 68.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

SIR,
Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve, June 4, 1884.
I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that about the middle of last month, during my absence at Nkandhla, a large number of Christian and other Natives residing at Kwamagwaza came into the Reserve as refugees, bringing their cattle with them. These people were followed shortly afterwards by the Reverend R. Robertson, the missionary who had charge of the Kwamagwaza Mission Station.

I ascertained that these refugees, including women and children, numbered about 2,000, and Mr. Robertson informed me that as it was not safe for them to remain near the Umhlatusi border, he and the people were moving by the main road to a position south of Eshowe, where they would encamp temporarily until further arrangements could be made respecting them. They halted, and remained at the Inyoni, about eight miles from the Tugela lower drift.

On the 21st May I received from Bishop Mackenzie, who had arrived at the Inyoni, an urgent application for assistance to the refugees, many of whom he stated were perfectly destitute, and without any means wherewith to purchase food, and that they must starve unless immediate relief be extended to them. In answer to his application I authorised the Bishop to purchase at once on the spot 25 muids of mealies which I requested him to issue to only those people who were actually destitute and had no

means of otherwise supplying their pressing want. I also urged that all ablebodied persons who are thus destitute should, without loss of time, seek employment in Natal, and thus provide for their own maintenance, as no further relief out of the public funds would be extended to such as are able to provide for their own needs.

I further requested the Bishop to favour me with a report showing the actual condition of these refugees, and the probable extent of further relief, if any, that they will need. I now annex hereto a copy of a letter on the subject received by me from him dated the 26th May.

The Bishop makes reference to the necessity of a place in the Reserve being allowed to the refugees upon which they may build and cultivate, and he asks that they may be granted permission to settle down at a hill called Indulindi, which is situate between the Inyoni and Tugela rivers. But since receiving his letter, I have been informed by the Reverend R. Robertson that finding the spot at present temporarily occupied by the refugees at Inyoni very unsuitable to their requirements, he obtained the consent of Chief John Dunn, within whose district he considered the locality to be in, to remove to another and more suitable spot, and that he and the refugees have accordingly moved to the Umsundusi river, where they are now erecting temporary huts for shelter. He also informed me that it was his intention, and the intention of the majority of the refugees, not to return to Kwamagwaza, and that he wishes to establish himself with his people permanently on one or more mission stations within the Reserve, I presume at Umsundusi.

I now beg to be favoured with your Excellency's directions as to whether this application for the establishment of one station for the Kwamagwaza people, under Mr. Robertson, is to be taken into consideration and dealt with in accordance with the existing instructions on the subject of establishing new mission stations in the Reserve.

There are other missionaries as well, who, with their Christian people, had to abandon their stations in Central Zululand, viz., Dr. Oftebro, of Sitshuili, and Mr. Samuelson, of St. Paul's; they are at present at Eshowe. There are also the German missionaries, who had to quit their stations in Northern Zululand. Some of these I think it not unlikely will apply for permission to establish themselves in the Reserve.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
H.M. Special Commissioner, Natal,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

To M. OSBORN, Esq., Resident Commissioner for the Zulu Native Reserve.

DEAR SIR,

Eshowe, May 26, 1884.

IN accordance with your desire expressed at our interview on 24th instant I have the honour to state more formally the circumstances under which I appealed to you (1) for mealies to feed starving people; and (2) for a place where our people may live and build in the Reserve.

Soon after the Norwegian Mission Station at Inhlazatye and Imoule were attacked by the Usutu our Christian people at Kwamagwaza (also beyond the boundary of the Reserve) heard that an attack would be made upon them too. They had just time to get away with wives and children, what they could carry with them, and cattle. They had to leave their houses, their crops just ready to be gathered, and a very considerable extent of land ready ploughed for the next sowing season. When the Christian people left, the heathen living amongst them and in the neighbourhood were afraid to stay and came out too, so that when they crossed into the Reserve the Christian people numbering altogether about 500 were accompanied by perhaps about three times that number of heathen, much the larger part of whom consisted of women and children all without food and most without cattle wherewith to buy food.

I beg to thank you, Sir, for the kindness with which you have relieved me from payment of the 25 muids of mealies I ordered up at once to prevent actual starvation and for your assurance that nothing which is absolutely necessary at this emergency to save life will be refused. I will make quite plain your conditions that those who have friends and relations in the Reserve shall go to them, and that all those who have cattle must provide for themselves.

I will also request Reverend R. Robertson to furnish you with a more accurate statement than I can give of the number of families who have neither food nor cattle. The 25 muids with some given by Mr. John Dunn from the kraals of people who had deserted them or been driven away have staved off the first danger, but the future is anxious and difficult.

With regard to place of abode. What might happen if return to Kwamagwaza were possible at once I cannot say. The land is poor there. The want of a market is much felt, and the poor people have now twice been turned out of house and home. But there is no present prospect of their return and winter is at hand, the proper season for building, after which it will be time to plough for next season. The people would like, therefore, to settle somewhere without delay and leave quite open the question of future return to their old home.

They would like to remain and build at the place you have allowed them to occupy temporarily, on the southern spur of the hill Indulindi. The land is good and there are few people in the neighbourhood already, for (1) the place is on a hill, whereas the ordinary Zulu prefers either the slope or the parts below, and (2) in the old times it was kept as grazing ground for the King's cattle.

What few people there are belong to a petty chief Uzeisa. There is no wagon road there at present, but the people will soon find one. For this permission therefore I beg now to apply, feeling very hopeful that as these Christian people have ever been loyal to the British Government, and are now, for the second time, suffering for their loyalty, so you will find them, when settled in the Reserve, a source of strength, and their more skilled labour and better mode of life a good example to their neighbours.

I should add that Reverend R. Robertson, who came out with the people and is now amongst them, will probably wish to continue to live with those who have been attached to him so long.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DOUGLAS,
Bishop for Zululand.

Enclosure 2 in No. 68.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 16, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 4th instant, reporting the arrival in the reserve of a large number of Natives from the Mission Stations in Central Zululand.

It will be necessary under the circumstances to give these Natives a locality where they can reside. I approve of the steps taken by you to afford relief to their immediate wants, and I agree with what you say as to the necessity of the able-bodied men seeking work so as to secure a means of livelihood for themselves and their families.

It would be well also for you to consider the propriety of organising for defensive purposes such of the people as are able to bear arms.

M. Osborn, Esquire, C.M.G.,
Resident Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 69.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

MY LORD,

June 17, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of a despatch I have received from the Resident Commissioner and of other communications on the subject of the present situation in the Reserve territory.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 69.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,

June 10, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to represent for your Excellency's information the present position in the Reserve.

The attitude of the Usutu people residing at Nkandhla continues to be defiant and openly hostile. They act under the leadership of Dabulamanzi and are assisted in their hostile proceedings by Usutu men from beyond the Umhlatusi.

About 10 days ago a party of armed Usutu under Dabulamanzi and Mehlukazulu entered the Reserve from Central Zululand and joined the Usutu force at Nkandhla. Immediately on the arrival of this reinforcement Dabulamanzi organised and led an attack upon the Chief Umbuso who, with the valuable assistance of Hlubi and his contingent then in the neighbourhood of Umbuso, completely defeated and routed the Usutu and captured a considerable number of their cattle. So far as I have been able to ascertain Umbuso lost three men and Hlubi two in the engagement. The number of killed on the Usutu side exceeded 100.

These continued hostile proceedings of the Usutu against the loyal people in the Reserve necessitates further and more concerted action in order to effectually suppress their rebellious conduct, and to restore peace and good order in the Reserve.

All the loyal people residing southward and northward of Nkandhla have had to abandon their kraals, their families being obliged to find such shelter as they may be able to construct temporarily with boughs, &c. in places where they will be safe from attack; they have to endure much privation in consequence, and as they were obliged to abandon their stores of grain at their kraals, bringing with them only such quantities as they could personally carry, they must soon experience serious difficulty in obtaining a sufficiency of food for their own sustenance.

With the view to enable your Excellency to judge of the relative strength of the Usutu and of the loyal people in the Reserve, I submit the subjoined particulars thereof.

The following are the Usutu Chiefs and the probable strength in fighting men of each. They are all at Nkandhla where, and in the vicinity of which place, they reside:—

Name of Chief.	No. of Companies.	No. of Men.
Qetuka	7	420
Muntuwapansi	7	420
Sigananda	8	480
Godide	4	240
Dwandwe	10	600
	<u>36</u>	<u>2,160</u>

In addition to these, account has to be taken of any reinforcements obtained by the Usutu from Central Zululand. I am unable to say what number of men were brought from thence by Dabankulu and Mehlukazulu but I understand they amount to four companies or about 240 men.

The loyal chiefs and their strength are as follows :—

South of Nkandhla.			No. of Companies.	No. of Men.
Siyunguza	-	-	16	960
Mavumengwana	-	-	6	360
Dhlogolwana	-	-	5	300
Nonzama	-	-	5	300
Umgijwa	-	-	4	240
Sikonyana	-	-	2	120
The Nkani people	-	-	12	720
John Dunn and the chiefs living near him on coast.			64	3,840
North of Nkandhla.				
Umbusu	-	-	12	720
Tamana	-	-	2	120
Matyinana and Matyana Nondisa			3	180
Faku-ka-ziningo	-	-	4	240
			<u>135</u>	<u>8,100</u>

Of the loyal people, in case of further active operations, about one-fourth, or say 2,000 men, would be required to guard the Umhlatusi border, leaving 6,000 men to operate with against the Usutu at Nkandhla.

I consider that to ensure the speedy and satisfactory reduction to submission of the Usutu and restoration of order, it will be necessary to send as soon as practicable a sufficient force to Nkandhla. The force to consist of the loyal natives specified backed up and supported by a sufficient number of Her Majesty's troops. One column to advance from Eshowe and the other from Mr. Pretorius' district.

The native force from the country south of Nkandhla will number about 5,000 men ; that from the northern side about 1,260 exclusive of Hlubi's men and any others Mr. Pretorius could send. I have requested Mr. Pretorius to inform your Excellency direct, as soon as possible, of the strength of the force he will be able to send, and to likewise acquaint me at the same time.

As I am strongly of opinion that the operations indicated should be taken as soon as possible in order to avoid further difficulties and complications, I trust your Excellency will be pleased to authorise them at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.,
Natal.

Enclosure 2 in No. 69.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Telegram.

14th June 1884.—Have you sent Oftebro to Qudeni, and have you sent word to him and to Pretorius to be on their guard ?

Enclosure 3 in No. 69.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Telegram.

Eshowe, 15th June 1884.—Oftebro started for Qudeni last Monday at sunrise. Have written to both him and Pretorius to take extra precautions. Post to Pretorius via Natal is in working.

No. 70.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 16, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 17, 1884.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date,* I have the honour to forward a copy of a further despatch (with enclosures) which I have this day received from the Resident Commissioner at Etshowe, together with the statements made to him by the Chief Usibebu and Mr. J. Eckersley relative to the recent attack upon Usibebu by a combined force of Boers and Usutus.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 70.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 13, 1884.

SIR,

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date in which I reported the arrival of Usibebu, I have the honour to transmit herein for your Excellency's information copy of a statement before me this day by that chief. Also a copy of a statement by Mr. John Eckersley, junior.

Usibebu has informed me that he will wait here until your Excellency's reply reaches me respecting his complaint and his request for assistance. He is anxious to return as soon as possible to his territory to attend to the necessities of his scattered people, as far as he may be able to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency
Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.
Natal.

P.S.—The original documents produced and handed in by Mr. Eckersley are attached to the copy of his statement.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 13, 1884.

Appear the Chief Usibebu, who states :—

I arrived here last evening. I came to you, the Resident Commissioner, to report that I have been attacked in my territory by the combined forces of Boers and Usutu, who entered my territory four days previously. The attack took place eight days ago on the banks of the Mkuzi river, and on this side of it. I had retired with my people to that spot to be out of the way, fearing I should be attacked, because the Boers had summoned me and I did not go to them. In making the attack the Boers came first and began firing on my men, they then retired and came on again with the Usutu. The Boers and Usutu combined then came straight at us and attacked us at once. The Usutu army advanced in the usual Zulu way, with breast and two arms. The Boers were at first behind the Usutu, but shortly afterwards in different other positions. The Boers were urging on the Usutu, threatening to shoot them if they retreated. The enemy on getting to within a few hundred yards began the attack on me by the Boers opening fire on us; they were on horseback when they fired, keeping up a heavy fire all the time. When the enemy was within a short distance from us (a few yards) my force met

it and the fight took place. The left wing of my force closed with the right arm or wing of the enemy, and drove it back in confusion on to the breast. While this was going on, the Boers, having taken up a favourable position, opened a heavy flank fire on my men, and it soon became impossible for them to stand it, and they gave way; they retreated, pursued by the Boers, who shot down many in their retreat. The Usutu too pursued. My force ran to the Mkuzi, and while crossing this river very many of my men got killed by the enemy, as the river was deep and the drift not very practicable. My force retreated across the Mkuzi, where all our families and cattle had been placed for safety. The enemy kept up the pursuit until late that day when the Usutu retired to the battle-field; the Boers remaining at some waggons belonging to traders that were stationed at the Mkuzi. The next day the Boers and Usutu went to collect our cattle; they took two days to collect them and returned on the third. All the cattle of myself and my people were at the Bombo for safety; they were all carried off by the enemy.

The enemy captured a large number of our women and children, and the Usutu killed many women.

I did nothing the day after the fight, but the following day when my men had collected together I started on my journey to come to Eshowe, to report what had been done to me and my people by the Boers and Usutu. When I told my people of my intention to come here they endeavoured to dissuade me, and advised I should send the report by messengers. I told them that I had already sent letters to you (the Resident Commissioner) a short while previously to say that I was about to be attacked, without any result. The matter had now arrived at so serious a point that it was necessary I should go and state in person what I had to say. I therefore came myself. I complain that this attack has been made upon me by the Boers and Usutu in my own territory without any cause. I had done nothing to provoke it; I have never had anything at all to do with the Boers, and I know not why they destroyed me and my people. I was appointed chief by the English, who gave me the territory. I belong to the English, and therefore now come to complain to them. I could hold my territory against the Usutu or other black men, but I cannot do so against white people. The Boers had nothing to do with me. I do not belong to them, nor have I given them cause to make war on me; they are entire strangers to me. The Usutu have gone over to the Boers. They belong to the Boers, who have helped them with an armed force against me. I and my people belong to the English, to whom I am now come to complain. I come to ask those to whom I belong to give me armed assistance, to enable me to return to re-establish myself in my territory. I ask to be thus helped quickly to enable me to return to my territory, to collect together those of my people and our families, and place them in safety before they are all exterminated by our enemies. Unless this help be given me we must die; all our cattle and property have been taken from us, and the people have nothing to subsist upon. As it is, I believe weak persons and young children will, by this time, have perished for want of sufficient food.

The Boers told me they had come into Zululand to put a stop to bloodshed, they said they would not interfere with me as I belonged to the English, and they had nothing to do with me. They have acted in an opposite direction entirely, for they have not only interfered with me, but without cause have killed large numbers of my people, looted our cattle, and burnt our kraals.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 13, 1884.

John Eckersley, jun., states:—

I reside at Mandhlagazi with the Chief Usibebu. I have been living with him for the last three years. I am a trader, and have trading stations in the chief's territory. I am often with the chief to assist him in any matters wherein he requested my help.

About the 4th of May last I was at the chief's kraal "Banganomo" when Marwanca and two other native messengers arrived there. They stated in my presence that they were sent by the Boers, who were then near the Hlobane in Zululand, to deliver to Usibebu a letter, which letter they at same time produced. The chief who was present requested me to open the letter and read it to him. I opened it, but could not read it because I found it was written in the Dutch language. There was no one who could read Dutch, so the chief told the messengers to return and tell the Boers that they should write to him in English, as there was no one with him who understood Dutch.

The messengers left then. The letter remained in my possession, and I now produce it. It is dated "Sungin 1 Mei 1884." [Letter referred to produced and marked A.]

After this another letter was brought to the chief: it was sent by the Boers by some of Uhamu's men. The chief told me that this second letter had come from the Boers, and he asked me to read it for him. I found this letter too was in Dutch, but that a written translation thereof into English was appended to it. This letter is dated from "Incoma rand 16 Mei 1884," and is signed by "D. C. Uys." I produce the letter. [Letter produced and marked B.] I read the English translation to Usibebu, who sent no reply to it.

After this three Boers, viz., John Combrink and two others, came to Usibebu, with whom they had an interview, at which I was present. They told the chief that they were sent by the main body of the Boers to tell him their intention was to make Dinuzulu king over Cetywayo's territory. They wished him to consent to their doing so, and to acknowledge that he is king over the territory to which Cetywayo had been restored. They would not interfere with Usibebu or his territory, as they knew the territory was given to him by the English Government. They wanted him to be on friendly terms with Dinuzulu. They, the Boers, had come to take this step of placing Dinuzulu in authority to put a stop to the blood-shedding in Zululand, which they as a neighbouring people could no longer tolerate.

The chief replied that he would be very glad to find the blood-shedding put a stop to, and he was pleased to hear that it was their object to do so. He said he had nothing whatever to do with Dinuzulu or the territory to which Cetywayo was restored. He held his appointment from the English, and he has no power to give the consent they ask without being told to do so by the English to whom he belonged.

The three Boers then left.

On the 14th of May a native messenger sent by the Boers brought to Usibebu the letter dated the 13th, signed by their secretary, A. Schiel. To it was appended an English translation, which I read to the chief. I now produce the letter. [Letter referred to handed in and marked C.] This letter was written at the Hlomohlomo, near Usibebu's border, and from thence sent on to Usibebu by one of the chief's own men. The Boers after sending it left Hlomohlomo and went towards their headquarters.

A.

(Translation.)

To Captain USIPEBU (? Chief), Manhlagatie.

Sungin, May 1, 1884.

WE have the honour to inform you that Dinuzulu, the successor to the throne of Zululand, has, in consequence of the continued bloodshed within his territory, and with the desire to see peace and tranquillity restored to his country taken his refuge with us.

We have not come to wage war; our object is to restore and maintain peace throughout the whole of Zululand.

We do hereby inform you that Dinuzulu is at present with us, and that we are on our way to Mahlwatine.

We have to request you to lay down your arms without further delay, and to conduct yourself in a quiet and peaceable manner to enable us to consult and carry on negotiations with you.

We have further to request you to retire within your own territory, and we promise you, on our part, to prevent any further bloodshed.

To Captain Oham a letter to the same effect has been sent, and Captain Umniannane has also received orders to lay down his arms without further delay, and to preserve peace.

The Committee of Dinuzulu's Volunteers,

(Signed)

P. R. SPIES,
 J. F. VANSTADEN,
 H. J. POTGIETER,
 C. F. MEYER,
 S. G. N. STEENKAMP,
 A—— LAAS,
 A. SCHIEL, Secretary.

B.

(Translation.)

To the Chief USIPEBU.

Ingomo Mountain,
May 16, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to notify to you, in the name of the Committee, that we, on Monday the 19th May 1884, have resolved to assist to place Dinuzulu, as a legal heir of late Cetewayo, King of Zululand and of the Zulu nation, in all his rights and possessions, and request you to send a deputation to assist us and thereby obtain your co-operation.

I also beg to notify to you that we expect Somkela every minute, and upon his arriving here will give you notice to enable you to open your correspondentie with Natal and elsewhere.

(Signed) D. C. UYS,
Chairman of the Managing Committee of
the Volunteers of Dinuzulu.

C.

(Translation.)

To the Chief USIPEBU.

Hlomohlomo, April 13, 1884.

I HAVE herewith to inform you that the missionary, Rev. Kuk, is called by his society to come as quick as possible to Germany.

Rev. Hörmann, living on the border of your territory (*sic*), does not wish to stay alone on his station during the present times; he wishes to live for a few months down in Natal.

Rev. Stallboom has ask the committé to help the missionaries out between the Usutu impis, fearing the Kaffirs, Mapela, and others of the Usutu party, and I have received order to help them on their trek.

We know that the missionarries (*sic*) need not fear anything of your people, but notwithstanding I request you to give strong orders to your people not to do any damage (*sic*) to one of the stations.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) A. SCHIEL,
Secretary of the Committee of the
Volunteers of Dinuzulu.

No. 71.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 21, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of 16th ultimo,* enclosing a despatch from Mr. Osborn in which he reports the arrival in the Reserve Territory of a number of native refugees from the mission stations in Central Zululand.

I approve of the action which has been taken in this matter.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

* No. 68.

No. 72.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER,
G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 21, 1884.

I HAVE received your Despatch of 16th ultimo,* transmitting copies of further correspondence with the Sub-Commissioner in the Reserve Territory on the subject of the condition of affairs there.

I approve of your communications to Mr. Pretorius.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 73.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 23, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 23, 1884.

MY LORD,

IN continuation of my despatches noted in the margin,† on the subject of the state of affairs in the Reserve, and of the measures taken for the defence of that territory, I have the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of the following further correspondence, namely :—

1. Mr. Pretorius, Sub-Commissioner to Sir H. Bulwer, Despatch, 14th June 1884.
2. Sir H. Bulwer to Lieut.-General the Honourable Sir L. Smyth, Memorandum, 18th June 1884.
3. Mr. Pretorius, Sub-Commissioner, to Sir H. Bulwer, Despatch, 17th June 1884.
4. Mr. Pretorius, Sub-Commissioner, to Sir H. Bulwer, Despatch, 17th June 1884.
5. Officer Commanding, Etshowe, to Lieut.-General the Honourable Sir L. Smyth, Telegram, 20th June 1884.
6. Sir H. Bulwer to Resident Commissioner, Telegram, 20th June 1884.
7. Sir H. Bulwer to the Honourable Sir L. Smyth, Memorandum, 20th June 1884.
8. Resident Commissioner to Sir H. Bulwer, Despatch 25, 18th June 1884.
9. The Honourable Sir L. Smyth to Sir H. Bulwer, Memorandum, 21st June 1884.
10. Resident Commissioner to Sir H. Bulwer, Telegram, 21st June 1884.
11. Sir H. Bulwer to Mr. Pretorius, Sub-Commissioner, Despatch 26, 23rd June 1884.

2. The action of the Boers in Zululand, the compact they have entered into with the Usutu party, their attack on the 5th of June on the Chief Usibebu—an attack which, so far as an opinion can be formed, was made without any provocation on the part of that Chief, and without any just cause or reason, and which, as it was entirely at variance with the openly professed objects of the Boers in entering the Zulu country, was undoubtedly the result of a previous secret arrangement with the Usutu leaders,—and the defeat of Usibebu, followed by the devastation of his country and his escape into the Reserve, have, as might be expected, produced a profound impression here, and are the cause of the most serious danger both to the Reserve Territory and to the place of this position of South Africa.

3. The loyal people in the Reserve have at once taken the alarm and are living in the apprehension that the Boers and Usutus will next invade the territory. The sudden overthrow of Usibebu they regard as a great blow to the Reserve because they perceive that, with Usibebu removed out of the way in the north, there is nothing now to prevent the Usutus concentrating their whole strength against the Reserve and, even without aid from the Boers, carrying the work of destruction throughout the country.

4. On the 17th instant Mr. Pretorius, writing to me from the upper portion of the territory, stated that if the report of the defeat of Usibebu should be true, he believed the district in the Reserve under his care would be in danger; and later on, the same day, he wrote that the danger of an Usutu attack being made on the territory had been greatly increased by the victory of the combined Boer and Usutu forces over Usibebu, and seeing that the Boers had not hesitated to assist the Usutus in their attack on

* No. 67.

† Nos. 67, 68, and 69.

Usibebu he did not expect, he said, they would withhold their assistance should the Usutus attack Hlubi and that district. He represented at the same time the desirability of troops being sent to the district, as the presence of a white force would greatly strengthen the Native force, and give confidence to the men in case an attack on the district should be made.

5. I received Mr. Pretorius' letters, which were written from the upper portion of the Reserve, on the night of the 19th instant, and on the following day the Lieutenant-General Commanding sent, for my information, the substance of a telegram which he had just received from the officer commanding the troops at Etshowe, which is in the lower portion of the Reserve, stating that the Usutus were collecting on the north side of the Umhlatusi for an attack on the Reserve, that it was believed they would cross the border about 10 miles above the St. Paul's Mission Station, and that their intention, so it was said, was to kill the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Dunn, and other loyal Chiefs, and requesting instructions as to what he was to do in the event of the Reserve being invaded and the loyal people being attacked.

6. One great difficulty in connection with the defence of the Reserve Territory arises from the circumstance that the upper portion of the Reserve is separated from the lower portion by the broken country about the Inkandhla, which country is for the most part occupied by people belonging to the Usutu party, some of them being people properly resident in and belonging to the Reserve Territory, and others being people who sought refuge there from Central Zululand after the defeat of Cetywayo last year. The country is so broken that there is no road through it from the upper part of the Reserve to the lower part under the most favourable circumstances, and as, since the retirement of the Resident Commissioner from the Inkandhla on the 11th May, all communication through that broken country has been cut off, this unfavourable situation entails the practical obligation of defending two different territories, the one under the Sub-Commissioner, Mr. Pretorius, in the upper part of the Reserve, and the other, which is more immediately under the Resident Commissioner, in the lower portion of the Reserve.

7. The defence of either of these territories is practicable, and would not be difficult against any ordinary Usutu attack; and with regard to the mid-territory of the Reserve, the Inkandhla district, which lies between them; that district also could be reduced to order, and communication between the upper and lower portions of the Reserve be re-opened had we only to deal with the Usutus belonging to the Reserve. But the interference of the Boers in Central Zululand, their support of the Usutu party, and the action taken by them, have created conditions which gravely compromise both the defence of the territory from Usutu attacks from without, and the restoration of order in the district affected by Usutu disorder within the territory.

Until the interference of the Boers in Zululand there was little danger of an Usutu attack from without, because there was a check on the Usutu party inherent in the presence on the other side of the Zulu country of the Chiefs Uhamu and Usibebu with whom they were at enmity. The arrival of the Boers in Zululand, and their championship of the Usutu cause have completely altered the situation, and the destruction of Usibebu by the Boers has set the Usutu party free to concentrate their whole strength on the Reserve or on any portion of it, so much so that, even supposing the Boers to abstain from giving active assistance to the Usutus, and supposing them not to restrain the Usutus, in respect of whose conduct, however, they have virtually assumed responsibility, from attacking the Reserve, it will require all the defensive resources of the territory to be held in readiness to resist Usutu attacks, and it will require that those defensive resources should be strongly supported by military assistance.

8. This I say, looking at the situation as it now stands, affected by the past action of the Boers, but not affected by any future action on their part. This I say, assuming that the Boers take no future action which is directly hostile to us. But if—and I am bound to consider the contingency—but if the Boers do take an action that is hostile to us, if they incite or encourage the Usutus to attack the Reserve, or if, going beyond this, they themselves give active assistance to the Usutus in an attack on the Reserve, as it is said by some people they intend to give, then the difficulty will become tenfold, and the action of the Boers will mean a declaration of hostilities against the British Government which will lead to a severe struggle in this part of South Africa, and to consequences which may affect the whole of South Africa.

9. I am unwilling to believe that there can be any such intention on the part of the Boers. I am unwilling to believe that they can propose to commit an act of such flagrant and unprovoked hostility against the British Government as to make an attack upon the Reserve Territory which they know to be under the British authority. But assuming, as

I will assume, that there is no such intention on the part of the Boers, it nevertheless remains for us to deal with the situation as affected by their presence and by their action, to deal with an altered Zululand, in which the Usutu party, encouraged by the triumph to their cause and by the overthrow of Usibebu, and relieved from all fear in that quarter, will turn their attention to the Reserve Territory, with the view of compassing the destruction of the loyal Chiefs and people opposed to them in it, and of compelling the Resident Commissioner to retire from the territory over which he would have no control.

10. I know very well that this has long been one of the cherished objects of the Usutu party, encouraged by the mischievous advice they have received from their partisans in Natal. Hitherto they have found this object out of their reach because they have never been able of themselves to attain the first object at which they aimed—namely, the overthrow of Usibebu. After the restoration of Cetywayo in the early part of last year all the resources of the Usutu party were devoted to that object, the attainment of which was preliminary to any serious attempt to carry out their designs on the Reserve Territory. But they failed to attain that object. Every attempt that they made, every attack on Usibebu, only recoiled on their own heads in the shape of defeat, loss, and confusion; and although they remained numerically the strongest party in Zululand, their reputation was discredited, and they were powerless to effect the objects which they and their white partisans in Natal had in view—the destruction of Usibebu and of Uhamu by force of arms, the recovery of the Reserve Territory by means of agitation, intrigue, and disorder, and the re-establishment of the Usutu rule in its worst form over the whole country. Powerless, I say, to effect this, they then decided to enter into a compact with the Boers. How that compact was brought about I will not here enter into; but the Usutus entered into this compact with the Boers, and part of the compact was undoubtedly the overthrow of Usibebu by Boer assistance. That object, then, which they were unable of themselves to attain, the Usutus have now attained by the aid of Boer rifles. Usibebu is overthrown. Uhamu must either yield, or will be overthrown also. And then there remains the attainment of that other part of their designs directed to the destruction of the anti-Usutu people in the Reserve, and the recovery of the territory for the Usutu party.

11. Now what the full nature of the compact between the Boers and the Usutu leaders is I do not know, nor do I know whether the Boers have entered into any understanding with the Usutus regarding the Reserve Territory, or whether their compact only extended to the overthrow of Usibebu and the subjugation of Uhamu, the Boers receiving in return for these services a territorial concession. As I have said, it is difficult to believe that the Boers have entered into an arrangement with the Usutu party regarding the Reserve territory. But whether they have done so or not it is necessary to be prepared to defend the Reserve against the Usutu attacks which will surely be directed against it.

12. Mr. Osborn's despatch of the 18th of June, the information contained in which was the occasion of the inquiry made by the Officer Commanding at Etshowe on the 20th instant, shows that the active work of Usutu aggression, consequent upon the defeat of Usibebu, has already begun. On the night of the 16th instant an armed party of Usutus entered the Reserve from Central Zululand and attacked a party of border watchers, of whom three were killed. Mr. Osborn also reports that several of the Usutu people who, had taken refuge in the Reserve during many months past, had suddenly left the territory and had returned to Central Zululand. Some of these people told their friends amongst the loyalists that they were leaving because they had received private information regarding an intention on the part of the Usutus to attack the loyal people. Mr. Osborn had also received intelligence that the Usutus were concentrating in Central Zululand for the purpose of making a combined attack upon the Reserve.

13. On the 20th instant I reported to your Lordship by telegraph that information to this effect had been communicated to the Lieutenant-General by the officer commanding the troops at Etshowe, and that the latter had asked for instructions, and that I had, subject to the approval of your Lordship, authorised such military assistance to be given to the Resident Commissioner for the defence of the Reserve Territory as the officer commanding at Etshowe might in his judgment consider it necessary under the circumstances to give, and might feel himself in a position to give.

14. The Lieutenant-General has deemed it expedient, in view of this threatened attack, to increase the military force at Etshowe. I have also brought under his notice, for the reasons stated in my memorandums of the 18th and 20th instant, copies of which are among the enclosures to this despatch, the importance of military support being given to Mr. Pretorius and the loyal people in that more distant portion of the territory which is known as Hlubi's territory; and the Lieutenant-General, under the circumstances of

the case, has consented to send a detachment in support of that portion of the Reserve. I have informed your Lordship of this intention in my telegram of yesterday's date,* and I venture to hope that, for the reasons which are mentioned in my memorandum to the Lieutenant-General of the 20th, this step will have your approval.

15. In the meantime Mr. Rudolph has proceeded in my name to the Boer Camp in Zululand. He will probably reach his destination this evening, and I can only trust that he will be enabled to avert some of the worst consequences to which the action of the Boers in the Zulu country is tending.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 73.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 14, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letters.

I took, without delay, measures to move Hlubi with his force forward toward the Ensingabantu. At the same time I have again impressed upon him to act strictly in accordance with the orders given him before, viz., on no account to do anything in the way of hostilities except in self-defence or in defence of the loyal people. He has also been duly apprised of the arrangement made with respect to the Qudeni district, as stated in letter, and knows that Mr. Oftebro is there, or will be shortly, to take charge of that part of the Reserve. I have further arranged to receive notice, without loss of time, of Mr. Oftebro's arrival at his post, with the view to appoint a convenient place of meeting him, for the purpose of making our plans for mutual defence. My reason for making Hlubi move toward the Ensingabantu is that, from information recently received, I know Mehlekazulu to be still in the Nkandhla. He will, I feel sure, spare no effort again to fall upon Umbusu and other loyal people.

With regard to the state of affairs in my district I have nothing of importance to report. If anything the people are becoming more easy. I gave permission to about 100 footmen on Thursday last to return to their kraals for the purpose of assisting in gathering in the crops. Still they remain under orders and must be ready, on receipt of notice, to join their posts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Enclosure 2 in No. 73.

Sir H. BULWER to the Hon. Sir L. SMYTH.

MEMORANDUM for the Lieutenant-General Commanding.

I HAVE the honour to forward for your information a despatch† I have received from the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve Territory on the subject of the situation in that territory.

The despatch was written before the intelligence arrived of the attack made upon the Chief Usibebu by a combined force of Boers and Usutus on the 5th instant, of the complete defeat of Usibebu, and of his escape into the Reserve.

That intelligence unquestionably affects the position in Zululand and in the Reserve in a very serious manner.

As I have informed you I propose to send some one on my behalf to the Boer camp in Zululand on the subject of what has taken place and with a view to prevent, if possible, the further serious troubles which threaten the public peace.

The restoration of order in the Inkandhla district depends very much on the support the disorder there receives from beyond the Umhlatusi, and one of the objects I have in view is to put a stop to that support.

* No. 39.

† Enclosure 1 in No. 69.

It seems to me a question, therefore, until this matter is settled, or until the troops under your command are reinforced, how far it will be advisable to act upon the recommendation of the Resident Commissioner that immediate steps should be taken to enforce our authority in the Inkandhla district.

The part of the Reserve which gives me more cause for uneasiness at the present moment is that where the Sub-Commissioner (Mr. Pretorius) resides, and where Hlubi and his people are located.

The people in that district are capable of making a good defence, unless attacked, indeed by very superior numbers, and the last report* which I have received from Mr. Pretorius, which I also forward for your information, is, so far as it goes, more satisfactory.

I have asked Mr. Pretorius if he requires assistance, and I should be obliged if you would consider how far it may become possible for you to send a detachment to that neighbourhood so as to give assurance to the loyal people of the district.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

June 18, 1884.

Enclosure 3 in No. 73.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 17, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I received a reliable report to the effect that the Boers had a battle with Usibebu; that Usibebu has been defeated and been driven across the Bomvo. The report reached me yesterday. I have every reason to believe this report to be correct.

If the report is true, I believe the district in the Reserve under my care to be in danger. My conviction is that the Boers will set the Usutu on the Reserve.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 4 in No. 73.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 17, 1884, 8 p.m.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter.

At 2 p.m. to-day I despatched a letter in which I briefly stated the receipt of the report of Usibebu's defeat. Since despatch of that letter I received full confirmation of the report from different sources. I have not had word about it from Mr. Osborn. In fact, I have not yet received anything from him since 3rd May last.

In the same letter I informed your Excellency that, in my opinion, the danger of an Usutu attack being made here has been greatly increased by the victory of the combined Boer and Usutu forces over Usibebu. I lost no time in taking all measures possible for safety and protection of the district. I have doubled the watches on the border and have strengthened the force lying there as much as possible. The horsemen I have at three places, and regular communication is kept up between the three posts.

I will take all possible measures for the safety of women and children and protection of property. My plan is to fix three places where the people will have to repair to (*sic*) in case of an attack threatening. Two places I have decided upon, viz., Masotjen, Hlubi's place, near Rev. Johnson's mission station, and Mafieslen, another suitable place distant about five miles from Masotjen. The other place will be somewhere at the Nkandi. This is a preliminary arrangement. It will not do to have all women and children at one place, no place being large enough to shelter them, and also because the cattle could not for any length of time be kept confined to one spot. I will, however, arrange to have special runners ready on the border, so as to give timely notice of any danger that may arise.

* Enclosure 1.

I start to-morrow to see Hlubi and Mr. Oftebro. I consider it will be necessary for me to bring Hlubi back with his force. I will see, however, to leave a small mounted force with Mr. Oftebro, say about 30 men, should we find it imperative to do so for the protection of Umbusu.

I consider it highly desirable, if it could be arranged by your Excellency, to send a few companies of soldiers to this district. The presence of a white force will greatly strengthen the Native force here and raise the confidence of the men, in case any attempt to attack this district is made. Seeing that the Boers have not hesitated to assist the Usutu in the attack upon Usibebu, I do not expect that they will withhold their assistance should the Usutu, which they certainly wish to do, decide upon attacking Hlubi and this district.

I will write by next post and inform your Excellency of any further arrangements I may think it desirable to make; also the result of my interview with Mr. Oftebro.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 5 in No. 73.

From CURTIS, Tugela, to GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

20th.—Osborn reports Usutu collecting for attack north of Umlatoosi. Supposed will cross Beje, border police station, ten miles above Paje (?) drift. Mean kill Osborn, Dunn, and loyal Chiefs. Usutu say soldiers friends. Many Usutu gone from Reserve. Have strongly urged Osborn come camp with Usibebu. Please wire instructions. Am I to see loyals destroyed and Reserve overrun?

Enclosure 6 in No. 73.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

(Telegram.)

20th June 1844.—Colonel Curtis reports Usutus about to attack Reserve. No report from you. Please report fully.

Enclosure 7 in No. 73.

MEMORANDUM for the Lieutenant-General commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg,
June 20, 1884.

I HAVE not received as yet any report from the Resident Commissioner on the subject of the telegram from Colonel Curtis of this date, of which you were good enough to send me a copy, but I have telegraphed to him for information, and as soon as I receive it I will let you know.

In the meanwhile, I am disposed to think that what may be contemplated is an Usutu raid, directed by certain Usutus north of the Umhlatusi river, against certain of the loyal people on this side of the river, rather than any general Usutu attack upon the Reserve. But of course I may be mistaken.

Whichever it is it should of course be resisted, and I should wish such military assistance to be given to the Resident Commissioner in defence of the district as the officer commanding the troops may judge it necessary under the circumstances to give, and may feel himself in a position to give; and I have telegraphed to the Secretary of State on this subject.

Since our conversation this morning I have been thinking seriously over your proposal to increase the force at Etshowe by all the available men you can spare from here; and I am quite prepared to defer to your military judgment of what is expedient and necessary to be done in such a matter.

At the same time I would wish to ask your consideration again to the position of the district known as Hlubi's territory.

Hlubi's men would, I think, be very well able to hold their own against the attack of any ordinary Usutu raiding force, but it would be a matter of great importance if under

the present circumstances some support, if only for the moral effect it would have, should be given to that part of the country.

What Mr. Pretorius says on this subject I have read to you, but in order that you may consider his letters, which I received last night, I send them herewith for your perusal.

What I would venture to suggest for your careful consideration, is the question whether, in the event of Usutu raids being made into the Reserve, the raiders finding a large military force in the Etshowe district, will not turn all their attention to that district where there is no military force at all; and a strong Usutu attack may consequently be directed against Hlubi which he may prove unable to resist.

Should anything of this kind occur I fear it would have a bad effect on this Colony, and especially on those districts which adjoin or are in the neighbourhood of Hlubi's territory, and the difficulty would be much increased if all the available military force were at Etshowe.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 8 in No. 73.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Etshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 18, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that during the night before last an armed party of Usutu entered the Reserve from Central Zululand and surrounded Umtagati's Kraal on this side and near to the Umhlatusi and attacked the inmates, who at the time consisted of about eight men stationed there by me as a border watch under Beje. The attack took place shortly after midnight and I regret to say that the Usutu succeeded in killing three of the border watch and wounding three others including Beje himself. The attacking party did not molest any other kraal, although there are several in the vicinity of the one occupied by Beje and his men; it withdrew to the opposite side of the river, and was seen about sunrise yesterday morning marching towards and in the direction of St. Pauls.

With the view to protect that part of the border I have now placed there about 150 men to patrol.

2. I have further to report that during the last three days several families and individuals who came into the Reserve as refugees some months ago, and have hitherto been residing among loyal tribes, have suddenly returned to Central Zululand. Nearly in every case they left during the night, and without any notice to their neighbours. A few instances occurred in which they informed the loyal people that they were leaving because they had received private warning from their friends in Central Zululand that it is the intention of the Usutu to attack the loyal people in the Reserve.

3. I transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of a message received by me this afternoon from the Chief Siyunguza by his messengers Umhlonghlongo and two others. I have taken steps to verify the statement made by the man Umbulawo, that an Usutu force is assembling at Siteku's kraal. I have at same time communicated with the different loyal chiefs with the view to secure their readiness to act in concert in the defence of the Reserve.

4. The Chiefs Siyunguza and John Dunn have each asked that a body of troops be stationed in their respective localities. They and their people reside along the Umhlatusi border and they consider that the presence of about 100 troops at each place would tend greatly to prevent any attempt to invade at those points, that it will also re-assure their own people and prevent panic. Mr. Dunn thinks that about 100 troops stationed near Port Durnford would prove of the greatest advantage in the direction stated. I informed both Chiefs that I should forward their request for your Excellency's consideration, which I have now the honour to do.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
Her Majesty's Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-Enclosure.

Etshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 18, 1884.

Umhlongohlongo, Sifu and Mahlabainlu, state :—

We are sent by our Chief, Siyunguza, to report to you. That yesterday four men of his people residing near the Umhlatusi went bathing in that river; while they were doing so, they crossed to the opposite bank where they were suddenly surprised by two small companies of Usutu, who at once attacked them and killed one of them, the other three escaped in flight. The name of the man who was killed is Unagile.

2. Yesterday two other men of Siyunguza's people, viz., Umbulawo and another who came to join him here in the Reserve about a month and a half ago, went through Umhlatusi to dig some sweet potatoes in their garden which they had abandoned on the other side. While they were at the garden eight men of the Usutu came suddenly upon them. Five of these eight were brothers of Umbulawo; they told him they had been some time on the watch there hoping to see them to induce them to leave the Reserve and return to them, as the Usutu intended to attack the Reserve. They told him that the Usutu were concentrating at Entembeni, the kraal of Siteku (one of Cetywayo's brothers); that Somhlolo's and Somkele's forces were expected to arrive there, and also the main Usutu force from inner Zululand. That these forces were now on their way for the place of rendezvous where they will combine and attack the Reserve. That the force will enter the Reserve at a point below where Beje is stationed as border watch (about 10 miles above the waggon drift to St. Paul's), and from thence sweep downwards to attack and kill you, the Resident Commissioner, Siyunguza, and John Dunn. That the troops at Etshowe will not interfere against them as they are there for, and not against, the Usutu. That all the white people are siding with the Usutu, you alone are their enemy. That the Usutu have become aware that Usibebu is at present with you; they say Usibebu is their prey, and belongs to them, and they intend to come for him. They were unable to say what day the Usutu force will invade, but they said it will be as soon as they had all come together at Siteku's kraal.

Umbulawo told his brothers he would not return to them; he would remain with Siyunguza and die with him if necessary. They then allowed him to return to his home in the Reserve.

Siyunguza would like to send a small armed body through Umhlatusi as scouts to observe the proceedings of the Usutu. He also repeats his application that troops may be stationed near him at once as protection.

Reply :—

I must distinctly prohibit the sending of any armed men by Siyunguza for any purpose across the Umhlatusi. The sending of armed men would be construed by the Usutu as an attack upon them and afford them excuse to invade the Reserve. It is advisable, however, that Siyunguza should obtain all the information he can by private means and acquaint me therewith. He should prohibit his people from crossing the river at their own discretion. The fate of Unagile is a warning to others, and unless this be carefully attended to complication will arise for which Siyunguza will be held responsible.

I have already explained to Siyunguza that I have no power to move troops either to his vicinity or elsewhere. Siyunguza must remain on the alert with his men and ready to take instant defensive action should it become necessary.

Enclosure 9 in No. 73.

The Hon. Sir L. SMYTH to Sir H. BULWER.

MEMORANDUM for his Excellency the Governor and Special Commissioner in reply to Memorandum, Government House, 20th June; subject, Telegram Officer Commanding at Etshowe, 20th June 1884.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's memorandum of yesterday, which reached me this morning, and I have since spoken with you on its subject. I have always understood the expediency of supporting Hlubi, but I hoped that some means of giving support might be found other than those of sending a costly expedition to his country, and thus causing a very inconvenient division of the force under my command.

In view, however, of the memorandum under reply, and of our conversation this morning, in which a subject of special interest was mentioned, I feel I should not be justified in delaying the order for the march to Rorke's Drift of a squadron of dragoons and a detachment of infantry, with the view of affording moral support to that part of the country.

(Signed) L. SMYTH,
Lieut. General.

June 21, 1884.

Enclosure 10 in No. 73.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.
(Telegram.)

Etshowe, June 21, 1884.

The report of Colonel Curtis refers to statement sent in my despatch of 18th.

The Usutu forces have not yet assembled, but it is believed they will soon. From to-day I will sleep at the camp every night. Mansel and his men move to the camp to-day as a precautionary measure.

Enclosure 11 in No. 73.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 23, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 17th instant.

I fully recognise the danger there is, under the present circumstances, of an attack being made by the Usutus on the district under you; and the Lieutenant-General commanding Her Majesty's forces in South Africa, to whom I have shown your letters, has expressed his readiness, in view of the situation, to send a detachment of troops in support of that portion of the Reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c.
Sub-Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

No. 74.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,
K.G. (Received July 23, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 23, 1884.

MY LORD,

I INFORMED your Lordship by a telegraphic message, despatched on the 20th instant,* that I had sent someone charged with an official communication in my name to the Boers now in Zululand, on the subject of what has taken place in that country, and in the hope of averting the serious trouble that is threatening us as the result of their action.

2. The intelligence of the attack, on the 5th instant, upon Usibebu, and of his defeat by a combined force of Boers and Usutus, reached me on the 13th instant. The proceeding of the Boers in making this attack was wholly at variance with the pacific declarations made by them on the 21st of the preceding month as to their purposes in entering the Zulu country, and there can be little doubt now that the attack was made without any cause or provocation given, and that it was made in pursuance of a secret compact entered into between the Boers and the Usutus. What other stipulations that compact may contain are not known to us, but the fact that this attack was made on Usibebu completely upset any hopes that might have been formed from the pacific declarations of the 21st of May.

3. The Boers having entered upon a policy of violence, it was impossible to say where this would end and to what it might not lead. There could be no mistake as to

* No. 35.

the immediate effect the overthrow of Usibebu and the part taken by the Boers in it would have upon the Zulu country generally, and as to the danger which it would bring on the Reserve territory.

The defence of that territory, whether against the Usutus or against the Boers, or against both combined, is a matter which engages the honour of the British Government, let alone the important interests which are involved in it.

It became necessary for me, therefore, after consultation with the General Commanding, to advise your Lordship of the positive necessity that had arisen for the despatch of that reinforcement which had already been asked for, and of the possible necessity that might yet arise for the despatch of further reinforcements.

4. At the same time I felt it my duty to lose no chance of averting the very grave dangers that threatened us, and for this purpose I decided to send someone in my name to the Boer camp.

I selected for this service Mr. G. M. Rudolph, C.M.G., who is now a resident magistrate in this Colony, but who was formerly landdrost of the Utrecht division in the Transvaal. Mr. Rudolph, it will be remembered, gave abundant proof of his loyalty to the British Government by his conduct during the Transvaal war in 1881. He is well acquainted with the leaders of the present Boer movement in Zululand, is held in much respect by them, and possesses special qualifications for the task such as probably no other person in the Colony possesses.

5. Mr. Rudolph, in reply to my request, at once consented to undertake the service. He came to Pietermaritzburg for the purpose of seeing me and of receiving my instructions, and he left for Zululand on the morning of the 19th instant.

6. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the official letter of instructions which I furnished to Mr. Rudolph, and beyond what I have said in that letter I may mention that the general tenor of my instructions to him was that he should represent to the Boer leaders the gravity of the situation caused by their action in the Zulu country, that he should do this in a manner which should neither, on the one hand, compromise the position of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the questions at issue, nor, on the other hand, give occasion to the persons with whom he was dealing to take exception to the representation made to them, and that he should enter into a general consideration of the situation, with a view to prevent any further mischief, and to remedy, so far as may be possible, the mischief that has been already done.

7. I know not what the full intentions of the leaders of this movement may be, and I know not what reception, after what has happened, they may be disposed to give to any person coming to them in the name of the Government. The task that Mr. Rudolph has undertaken is, after what has happened, one of very considerable delicacy and difficulty, but I have great confidence in his ability and discretion, and I trust that he may be able to avert the dangers, arising out of the action of the Boers, which threaten the public peace, and which, I am bound to inform your Lordship, are of no ordinary kind, and will lead, if they are not prevented now, to the gravest consequences to British authority in South Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 74.

SIR H. BULWER to Mr. RUDOLPH.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 19, 1884.

SIR,

You have been good enough, at my request, to undertake a journey into the Zulu country for the purpose of proceeding to the Boer camp, which has been formed in Central Zululand.

I have explained to you, in the interviews I have had with you, the state of affairs in the Zulu country, and the manner in which the situation has been affected by the arrival in the country, at the end of the month of April, of a large force of Boers and by their proceedings, so far as they are known to me, since that time.

At the beginning of the present month the territory of the Chief Usibebu was invaded by a combined force of Boers and Usutus, the former numbering, it is said, some 500 men. They attacked the Chief Usibebu, killed great numbers of his people, and gave up his territory to plunder and destruction.

Usibebu succeeded in effecting his escape into the Reserve territory where he has laid before the Government his complaint of this grievous act of hostility and aggression, and I enclose, for your information, a copy of a despatch I have received from the Resident Commissioner, together with statements made by the Chief and by Mr. J. Eckersley who accompanied him.

The Chief Usibebu, as you are aware, was, at the time of the restoration of Cetywayo in January last year, left in the position of an independent chief by the British Government. He agreed to certain conditions, and those conditions, I am bound to say, he has always shown a loyal disposition to observe. Unfortunately for him the fact of his independence provoked the bitter enmity of Cetywayo and of the leaders of the Usutu party. Without cause or warning his territory was invaded by a large Usutu force in the following March. The invasion was repulsed and the invaders driven back with severe loss. Then followed a long contest, caused by the determined efforts of the Usutus to destroy both Usibebu and Uhamu, a contest which was decided, for a time, by the superior strategy of Usibebu who, evading the main Usutu forces that were in the field against him, carried the issue of the war to Ulundi itself where the Usutu force with Cetywayo was defeated and Cetywayo himself driven into flight, but which was subsequently renewed and carried on at intervals with frequent conflicts between the two sides.

During this contest, although Usibebu was led into several retaliations upon those who had attacked him, the only object he appears to have had was to defend his territory from Usutu invasion and aggression. He was forced to take action by the attacks made on him and by the attempts to compass his destruction. He had no wish to extend his rule, and made no attempt to do this when after the Ulundi fight he might have done so with some success, his only purpose apparently was to defend his rights and uphold within his own territory the independent authority he had acquired from the British Government.

The attack made upon him on the 5th June by the combined force of Boers and Usutus appears to have been made, so far as the information is before me, without cause and without provocation; and the part taken by the Boer force in this attack and in the grievous injuries inflicted on Usibebu and his people is one of the matters which will engage your attention.

Another very serious matter is the manner in which the Reserve territory is affected by the action of the Boers. One of the first results of the interference of the Boers in the Zulu country and of the relations into which they appear to have entered with the Usutu leaders was the violent and disorderly conduct of the people belonging to the Usutu party in the Reserve, some of them being inhabitants of the Reserve, and others people who had taken refuge in it during the troubles in Central Zululand and to whom shelter and protection were given. These people, headed by Cetywayo's brothers Ndabuko and Dabulamanzi and others, began to threaten and then to plunder the loyal people in the neighbourhood of the Inkanhla, and then openly defied and resisted the authority of the Resident Commissioner when he proceeded to the disturbed district for the purpose of restoring order. They openly resisted his authority and attacked him with armed force.

In these proceedings they have been supported by Usutus from Central Zululand who by entering the Reserve in arms have practically invaded the territory. This conduct on their part is attributed, and attributed apparently with good reason, to the reliance they place upon the support of the Boers who have entered into relations with the Usutu leaders; and the defeat of Usibebu by the aid of the Boers is an event which threatens the Reserve with still more serious trouble, for the Usutus encouraged by what has taken place, and relying upon the support of the Boers will, there is cause to fear, enter upon a course of aggressions and disturbance in the territory, the suppression of which will entail much loss of life.

This state of things, consequent upon the action of the Boers in Zululand, is, as you will perceive a very serious one, and one that is attended with grave danger to the public peace both in the Reserve territory and beyond; and it is on this account that, knowing your experience and relying on your tact and good judgment, I have requested you to go into the Zulu country for the purpose of obtaining that information and explanation regarding these proceedings which it will be my duty to lay before Her Majesty's Government, and of considering in what way the critical conditions to which I have referred may be remedied or prevented.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. BULWER,
 Special Commissioner.

No. 75.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER,
G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 29, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of 23rd ultimo,* and to express to you my approval of your having despatched Mr. Rudolph to the Boer camp in Zululand, to endeavour to prevent any further breach of the public peace.

I have, &c.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 76.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 30, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,

June 27, 1884.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th instant,† I have the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a further correspondence relating to the recent defeat of the Chief Usibebu by the combined force of Boers and Usutus and to the unfortunate position in which that chief is placed.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 76.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

June 21, 1884.—Usibebu extremely anxious to hear if you can render him assistance in recovering his territory, if you cannot do so soon, he wishes to return at once to look after his people.

Enclosure 2 in No. 76.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

TELEGRAM.

June 23, 1884.—I am writing to you about Usibebu. Await my letters. Meanwhile rely upon it Usibebu could not get back to his own country in safety.

Enclosure 3 in No. 76.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg,

Natal, June 23, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegraphic communications of the 12th and 13th instant, and of your despatches, of the 12th and 13th instant, informing me of the attack made on the 5th instant upon the Chief Usibebu by a combined force of Boers and Usutus, of the defeat of Usibebu, of the

* No. 74.

† No. 70.

heavy losses inflicted on his people, and of the destruction and plunder of the property of the tribe; and further, of Usibebu's arrival at Etshowe, and of his request for armed assistance to re-establish him and his people in his territory.

On receiving your first telegram reporting what had taken place, I expressed the concern with which I had learned of Usibebu's misfortunes, and I desired you to give every hospitality to him.

The statements which accompanied your despatch, of the 13th instant, would show that the attack made upon Usibebu was made without any provocation given on his part, and without, so far as I can judge, any sufficient cause or justification whatsoever; and it is with pain that I think of the heavy and unprovoked injury that has been inflicted on him.

I have informed Her Majesty's Government of what has happened, and I have sent a communication on the subject to the Boer camp; and I will do what I can on behalf of the interests of this unfortunate chief and his people.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G., &c. &c. &c. Resident Commissioner, Reserve Territory.	I have, &c. (Signed) H. BULWER, Special Commissioner.
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Enclosure 4 in No. 76.

From OFFICER COMMANDING, Eshowe, to GENERAL.

TELEGRAM.

25th. Usibebu's messengers report Boers and Abaqulusi returned to Hlobane Hill with captured cattle; some Usutu attacked his women Lelombo, but were repulsed.

No. 77.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received July 30, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg,
Natal, June 30, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copies of further communications bearing on the situation in the Reserve territory.

2. That situation still remains very critical, waiting upon what the action of the Boers and of the Usutu party in Central Zululand may be.

Although I have not yet heard from Mr. Rudolph, I have received private information which leads me to hope that the Boers will refrain from participation in any movement against the Reserve. But it must be observed that the very fact of the presence of the Boers in Central Zululand, and their interference in the affairs of the Zulu country, an interference which has taken place without any regard or reference to Her Majesty's Government, to whom all the Zulus, and, indeed, all the natives in this part of South Africa, have hitherto looked as the master and arbiter of the destinies of the Zulu country, and which has gone to the extent of proclaiming a successor to Cetywayo and of attacking a chief who was made independent by us, have already revolutionised the situation in Zululand at large, have compromised us in the eyes of the native population, and have created an imminent danger to the Reserve.

3. The support afforded by the Boers to the Usutus, and the overthrow of Usibebu, have now given to the Usutu party an undivided supremacy in all the Zulu country north of the Umhlatusi. That supremacy, it is very certain, they never would have acquired of their own unaided strength; but no matter by what means it has been acquired, it is theirs at this present moment, and it places at their mercy and at their disposal the whole of the Zulu people north of the Umhlatusi, who must perforce, willing or unwilling, accept it, and who must all alike go with the stream or be swept away by it.

4. Unless, therefore, the Usutus are now held in check by the Boers, and it is perhaps doubtful how far the latter may be able to hold them in check, there is no saying to what length the ambitions and the passions of the party will not carry it.

5. It is hardly possible to expect that the Usutu leaders, under the circumstances, and looking to the past conduct of Ndabuko and Dabulamanzi, will respect the integrity of the Reserve, encouraged, as they have been, by those who advise them from Natal, to agitate and to defy and resist the authority of the Resident Commissioner, and to hope by so doing, and by the representations made on their behalf by persons who are careless of the wrongs that would be inflicted and of the evils that would result, to oblige the British Government to retire from the territory and to leave it to them.

6. The ambition of a dynasty once more hopeful of re-establishing itself in its former power, the fierce desire of a party eager to take revenge upon those who have opposed it, and the passions of individuals bent upon gratifying private animosities, are all motives which move to the commission of great crimes; and when it is remembered that none of those motives are wanting to the Usutu party, that the Usutu leaders are elated by the overthrow of Usibebu, that they are freed from all restraint or apprehension in that direction, that they are badly advised by irresponsible partisan advisers, and that they rely upon the support which they believe they will receive from their Boer allies in case of need, it is not to be wondered at that those who are responsible for the peace and safety of the Reserve territory should find cause for grave anxiety in the present state of things in Zululand.

7. That the Reserve territory is exposed, in consequence of the course of recent events, to a great danger there can be no question. It is a danger, however, which must be met and resisted, because otherwise not only will the honour and good faith of the Government be sacrificed, but the peace and good order and the safety itself of this neighbouring Colony of Natal will be imperilled.

8. Such is the result of the interference so far of the Boers in Zululand. What their intentions are with regard to the future I hope to learn very shortly from Mr. Rudolph, as also what measures, if any, they are taking or are able to take for maintaining that peace and good order, to secure which was their declared object in entering the country.

9. In the meanwhile, the Usutu danger lies clearly before us, and our duty is to defend the Reserve by all the means at our disposal. The loyal natives, however, are much discouraged by what has happened, and do not conceal their apprehensions that before long the Usutus will invade the territory.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c. &c.	I have, &c. (Signed) H. BULWER, Special Commissioner.
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Enclosure 1 in No. 77.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Sir H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 21, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, as stated in my letter of the 17th instant, I left here on Wednesday morning, the 18th, for the purpose of seeing Mr. Oftebro, and to arrange with him for the defence of loyal subjects in the Reserve against an attack of Usutu rebels. The severe weather we experienced that day forced me to return, the foottracks being rendered impassable through snow. Hence my delay in writing. I again started on Friday, the 20th, and returned this (Saturday) evening.

I reached Mr. Oftebro on Friday evening at the Ensingabantu. Considering the state of affairs at Umbusu, and the fact that Umbusu's men are not provided with fire-arms, we came to the conclusion that the presence of a mounted and armed contingent was absolutely necessary for the protection and safety of that part of the Reserve. Consequently, I agreed to assist him for the present with 30 or 40 mounted men. I will select the men to-morrow, and send them forward at once. These men are to be under Mr. Oftebro's direct command. We further arranged that in case of an attack on the people under his charge being contemplated by the Usutu from the Nkandhla, he will, as soon as such information reaches him, without loss of time report to me. Should the state of affairs in my district permit, I will render him any assistance in my power. I do not believe that Mr. Oftebro will find it possible, as affairs are at present with him, to render me any assistance here, should it be required.

During my absence letters from Mr. Osborn arrived in which he duly informs me of Mr. Oftebro's appointment; also of the postal arrangement between Etshowe and here.

I will, therefore, resume direct communication with him, as he desired me to do. I do not, however, suppose, considering the existence of a tri-weekly post between here and the city, that my writing direct from here to your Excellency, or forwarding a copy of any letter to the Resident Commissioner, if anything of importance with regard to the affairs in this district should occur, will be considered irregular.

It is impossible to state anything more definite with regard to the state of affairs up here than what I did in my last communication. I gave my view of our situation frankly. European residents appear to be very uneasy. I may add that I find it extremely difficult to obtain reliable information about affairs and doings in Central Zululand. I spare no effort to become acquainted with the plans and movements of the forces at present in there, so as to be ready at any time.

Mr. Rudolph's note, written from Government House, reached me at 2 a.m. on Friday, the 20th instant, the post having been delayed by the weather. I immediately despatched, as requested, a notice to the Boers in Zululand, informing them of Mr. Rudolph's mission. It being carried by two mounted men (Zulus) I expect it to arrive at the Boer Camp this (Saturday) evening.

Hlubi will be back to-morrow. I feel that the utmost vigilance is necessary at present, and am doing all I can to be ready and prepared should anything happen; also to make the most efficient and safe arrangements for the protection of women, children, and property. I hope to have the ammunition here on Tuesday or Wednesday next, having made arrangements to send for it as soon as informed of its arrival at Umsinga, which Mr. Fynn promised to do.

His Excellency Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

Enclosure 2 in No. 77.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 23, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter dated the 18th instant, received by me from Mr. Oftebro, in which he reports the unsatisfactory effect the news of Usibebu's defeat is having on Umbusu's and other loyal people north of Nkandhla.

I have directed Mr. Oftebro to do all he can to reassure the people, and insure their readiness to take defensive action in case of attack. I also informed him that I thought it probable that some troops would be sent through Rorke's Drift to the upper part of the Reserve.

I have requested Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner, to issue, if possible, a supply of ammunition to Hlubi, who, I consider, ought to remain a while longer at the Qudeni, as should he retire now, it is more than probable that the Usutu will again attack Umbusu and the other loyal people, and these, without Hlubi's assistance, will not be able to offer successful resistance.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
H.M. Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.
Natal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

Equdeni, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 18, 1884.

SIR,

I AM in receipt of your letter of the 14th. I mentioned in my last that Umbuzo had 10 strong companies (including Matyana's two) that he can put in the field; from further enquiry I find that the statement I made is correct. The report about Usibebu's defeat reached us on the 16th, but was disbelieved by all. Your letter confirms the sad news. It has greatly discouraged the people, and they have already driven their cattle towards the border. It is the common belief that Dabulamanzi will be reinforced, and the people have very little confidence in their power to repel the Usutu, should they be attacked; that Dabulamanzi, when reinforced, will repeat his attack on Umbuzo

is beyond doubt. I do not believe that among the whole force there can be found more than 12 guns, and very little ammunition. The only reliable force is Hlubi's own men, but they are short of ammunition, and, for some unaccountable reason, they are unable to obtain any. To restore confidence here, it will be necessary that a forward movement should be made from Entumeni, a movement towards the Insuze, even if a native force, would engage the attention of the Usutu. Unless some movement is immediately made, I fear that all the loyal natives, Umbuzo included, will seek safety in Natal. Should the Usutu get possession of the Equdeni, they will obtain a stronghold equally as inaccessible as Nkandhla. I will see Hlubi about the cattle Umbuzo asked for. I think it is only fair he should have some.

* * * * *

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. OFTEBRO.

Enclosure 3 in No. 77.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. PRETORIUS.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 27, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 21st instant, and I have to convey to you my approval of the steps you have taken, after consultation with Mr. Oftebro, to act in conjunction with him for the defence of the loyal people of that portion of the Reserve.

I learn with satisfaction that communication has again been established between you and Mr. Osborn. In view, however, of the present circumstances of the country it may be advisable that I should continue to receive from you direct regular reports of what is passing in the district under your authority, as also of any information which you may be able to obtain as to the state of affairs across the border; I shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you will continue to report to me accordingly in addition to any reports you may make to the Resident Commissioner.

A. L. Pretorius, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Sub-Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 4 in No. 77.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 27, 1884.

SIR,

I DULY received your despatch of the 18th instant.

It was apparently on the strength of the information contained in that despatch that the officer commanding the troops at Etshowe based his telegram to the Lieutenant-General Commanding on the 20th instant.

In consequence of that telegram in which the officer commanding the troops at Etshowe asked instructions as to what he was to do in the event of an Usutu attack being made on the Reserve, I informed the Lieutenant-General that I should wish such military assistance to be given to you in the defence of the district as the officer commanding the troops should judge it necessary under the circumstances to give and should feel himself in a position to give.

It was with much regret that I heard of the night attack made on your border watch by a party of Usutus, and of the murder of three men of the watch; and I approve of the steps taken by you to protect that part of the border by stationing a patrol of 150 men there.

With regard to the request made by the chiefs Siunguza and John Dunn that troops should be stationed in their respective localities I have brought this request under the notice of the Lieutenant-General Commanding; but in his opinion, in which I quite

concur, it would not be advisable to break up the force now at Etshowe by sending detachments to different parts of the country.

M. Osborn, Esq. C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Resident Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 5 in No. 77.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
June 27, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE received your despatch of the 23rd instant.

I enclose, for your information, a copy of a report I have received from Mr. Pretorius showing the steps taken by him to give assistance to Mr. Oftebro, and to act in conjunction with him for the defence of the loyal people in that part of the country. I enclose also a copy of a reply I have addressed to Mr. Pretorius, from which you will learn that I have approved of the arrangements made by him.

I should inform you that, in compliance with a request made to me by Mr. Pretorius on the 12th instant, I forwarded to him last week, namely, on the 18th instant, a supply of 15,000 rounds of Snider ammunition.

I should further inform you that the Lieutenant-General Commanding Her Majesty's troops in South Africa has been good enough, at my instance, to send a detachment of Her Majesty's troops for the defence of the upper part of the Reserve, which is under Mr. Pretorius, to give a moral support to the loyal people in that part of the country, and I trust that by their means the protection of all that part of the country, including the loyal people under Umbusu and in the neighbourhood of the Quedene will be sufficiently secured.

M. Osborn, Esq., C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Resident Commissioner, Reserve Territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 78.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER,
G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, July 30, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 12th of June,* transmitting copies of an advertisement in the "Times of Natal" and of a letter in the "Natal Witness" on the subject of recruiting in Natal for service in the Zulu Reserve, together with a copy of a memorandum by Mr. Osborn on these documents.

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

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

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

* No. 162.

No. 79.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER,
G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, August 4, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches,* forwarding correspondence respecting the Reserve territory in Zululand, and the action of the Boers in that country.

In acknowledging these despatches I desire to refer to your telegram of the 10th ult.,† and to my telegraphic reply of the 23rd ult.,† and to observe that I conclude that it may now be understood that the Boers have no intention of threatening the Reserve, and may probably not take action beyond the territories of the chiefs bordering on the Transvaal.

In conclusion, I have to convey to you my approval of the action taken for the protection of the Reserve.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 80.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY, K.G. (Received August 6, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
July 8, 1884.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of an official report, of date the 29th June, which I have received from Mr. Pretorius, the Sub-Commissioner in the upper part of the Reserve Territory, relating to the state of affairs in his district. Mr. Pretorius states that Hlubi and a portion of his people had a few days previously been seized with a panic in the belief that an immediate attack would be made upon the district by the Boers and the Usutus, and the women, children, and cattle had been sent away from the kraals. The panic, however, was subsiding, and the assurances sent by Mr. Rudolph from the Boer camp had enabled the Sub-Commissioner to allay any immediate apprehensions. The arrival of the troops, Mr. Pretorius says, will have the effect of promoting a feeling of security in all that part of the Reserve. Mr. Pretorius had also received favourable reports both from the Inkanhla and from across the border, and in a private letter to me he mentions he had learned from an Usutu source of information that the numbers of the Usutus in the Inkanhla had been of late reduced, and that, as far as he could gather, there was no immediate intention on their part to attack the loyal chief Umbusu again.

2. I have received no official report from Mr. Osborn as to what is passing in the lower portion of the Reserve, but in a private letter to me of the 4th of July he mentions that an Usutu force from the Inkanhla, eight companies strong, had attacked some of Mavumengwana's people, and had seized the cattle, about three hundred head in number, of eleven kraals. The people belonging to the kraals had fled on the approach of the force, and, so far as was known, no one had been killed.

3. On the 3rd instant, Colonel Curtis, commanding the troops at Etshowe, with a force of dragoons and mounted infantry, made a day's march through the district of the loyal chief Siunguza with the view of reassuring the people. They returned the same evening to the camp. On the 7th instant Colonel Curtis proceeded with a force of three hundred troops and a body of natives to make a reconnoitering expedition with a view of obtaining information regarding the country between Entumeni and the Inkanhla, and of giving confidence to the loyal people living there.

I enclose copies of the communications that have passed on the subject of this military measure.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 80.

Mr. PRETORIUS to SIR H. BULWER.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,
June 29, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, of the 27th instant.

In accordance with the wish therein expressed, I will continue to send regular reports from here direct to your Excellency, and will not fail to forward any information I may be able to obtain with regard to the state of affairs across the border.

I forward annexed hereto copy of a letter, despatched to Mr. Osborn after my last communication to your Excellency, in the matter of arrangement made by me with Mr. Oftebro for sending him from here a mounted contingent, for protection and assistance to loyal natives about the Nkandhla and Qudeni. I have set forth in that letter my reasons for not being able to send forward the men to Mr. Oftebro, as I had agreed to do. Hlubi has been and still is to some extent in a state of great alarm. He summoned all his people to his place. A large number refused to move and are still at their kraals. Among these are Lupatswana and Llomnies, two of his chief men. I did my best to assure them that I do not believe any danger existed as long as Mr. Rudolph was in Central Zululand. Hlubi would not be convinced. He even influenced Bishop McKenzie to move out. The other Europeans remained and were in no way alarmed. Hlubi's action caused considerable alarm throughout the district, which, I am happy to say, is gradually subsiding. I think he has found out that he has been mistaken. Grounds for alarm he had none. My fears of an Usutu raid has been greatly diminished since receipt of Mr. Rudolph's note. The arrival of the soldiers will, I trust, further promote a feeling of security in this part of the Reserve. My reports from Central Zululand and from the Nkandhla way, all favour the supposition that, at any rate, a cessation of active hostilities may be hoped for. Mr. Osborn has written to say that he will duly apprise me of any steps about to be taken with regard to the Nkandhla rebels. I will keep myself ready to receive and carry out any orders he may consider it advisable to forward. I intend to see Hlubi again to-morrow and hope to be able to reason away his fears. In case I succeed I will induce him to assist Mr. Oftebro with a good and serviceable contingent. As long as the panic lasted I could do nothing. I believe that the refusal of his chief men, who live at or near the border, to move in by his order, has had a salutary effect on his mind. These men are under control of the superintendent, who, it appears commands their entire confidence. I offered Hlubi to build him a laager near his place. He appeared not to care for it at present. This shows that his fears of an invasion are subsiding.

Mr. Fynn in a letter dated 26th June states that the wagon with ammunition has not yet arrived at Umsinga. The waggon sent from here is waiting and Mr. Fynn has kindly promised to see the ammunition transferred without delay. I expect its arrival every moment now. I have written to Mr. Osborn for a supply of Martini Henry cartridges. Hlubi's men have 16 good Martini Henry Rifles, which are useless at present. I do not think that I require any more just yet.

His Excellency
Sir H. E. Bulwer, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

Mr. PRETORIUS to Mr. OSBORN.

Ngutu, Zulu Native Reserve,

June 23, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Hlubi, with the force he had with him, arrived here this morning. He happened to be away from his camp when my order arrived. Hence the delay.

I regret to find it impossible to carry out the arrangement made with Mr. Oftebro, with regard to the sending of a contingent of 30 mounted men to him from here. Hlubi has become so thoroughly possessed of the idea that the Boers with the Usutu will attack this part of the Reserve, that he stoutly refuses to send one man away. On his way back to here on Sunday night he despatched messengers in all directions to all his

people with notice to repair at once with women and children and property to his place. This being done during the night caused considerable alarm. I was roused at 11 p.m. on Sunday night. Hlubi's messengers had gone to the border watch, and at 2 a.m. this morning the superintendent arrived, to inquire what was up. On the border they knew of nothing. Affairs were reported to me from 2 a.m. all through the day as quiet. All Basutos have been moved and are still moving by Hlubi's order towards Masotjen. I have the border watch out again, however. As I informed you my latest information about the movements and doings of the Boers and Usutu in Central Zululand do not lead me to believe, whatever their plans for the future may be, that we are in immediate danger of an attack at this moment. My reports from the Zungueni way, where Nomgameyana is stationed, are in no way alarming. I believe that the Boers, pending the mission of Mr. Rudolph, will do all they can to restrain the Usutu from active hostilities. I am, however, doing all in my power to be prepared, not knowing what turn events may take.

I received a request from Mr. Oftebro for some slaughter cattle. He states to have written to you about it. I will send him some and will expect further instructions from you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. L. PRETORIUS,
Sub-Commissioner.

M. Osborn, Esq.,
Reserve Commissioner, Eshowe.

Enclosure 2 in No. 80.

The Hon. SIR L. SMYTH to SIR H. BULWER.

Memorandum for His Excellency the Governor, &c.]

June 30, 1884.

IN view of the rumour that Dabulamanzi and his people have left the Reserve, and of the information received from the officer commanding at Echowe that the Usutus are collecting at the Ngome for a final attack on Usibebu's people, I would wish to enquire whether there appears to be any political objection to a reconnoitring movement being made by the troops at Echowe in the direction of the Inkandla, with the object of endeavouring to ascertain whether the Usutus are or are not in force there just now, and of obtaining information as to the country adjoining the Inkandhla, at the same time giving some proof to the loyal natives, who, like Siyunguza's people, are more immediately exposed to danger and have been much disheartened by Usibebu's overthrow, that military assistance is at hand in case of necessity.

From a purely military point of view such a step would, I think, be very desirable.

(Signed) L. SMYTH,
Lieutenant-General.

OFFICER COMMANDING, Echowe, to GENERAL.

TELEGRAM.

29th. Bejan reported to have tried to seize cattle of Palana in Reserve, cattle recaptured; Palane threatens retaliation, but Osborn sent to prevent him. Reported Hlubi fallen back and has left Umbusu who is threatened with attack by Methlakazulu at Ibabanango; Hlubi should not have been called back.

Strong bodies troops so seem very necessary at Rorke's Drift.

OFFICER COMMANDING, Echowe, to GENERAL.

TELEGRAM.

29th. No. 2. Prisoners escaped from Boers five days ago report Boers still at Ingomi with many Transvaal Basutos. Usutus collecting there for final attack on Usibebu's people who are scattered and starving, Usibebu anxious to return at once, but have persuaded him to remain few days.

Enclosure 3 in No. 80.

Sir H. BULWER to the HON. SIR L. SMYTH.

MINUTE.

THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL COMMANDING,

I DO NOT think there will be any objection to this course on political grounds, on the contrary, a military demonstration of this sort, being in itself a further proof of the intention of the Government to defend, if necessary by force of arms, the Reserve Territory, would be calculated to give re-assurance to the loyal people. But I will, with your permission, put the question you ask to the Resident Commissioner.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
July 2, 1884.

Enclosure 4 in No. 80.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

TELEGRAM.

July 3, 1884.

The General enquires whether there is any political objection to a military reconnaissance from Eshowe in the direction of the Inkandhla. Will you state how this is in your opinion.

Enclosure 5 in No. 80.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

Eshowe, July 5, 1884.

No political objection to making reconnaissance in direction of Inkandhla. I strongly recommend that it be made.

Enclosure 6 in No. 80.

Sir H. BULWER to the HON. SIR L. SMYTH.

MINUTE.

THE LIEUT.-GENERAL COMMANDING,

SINCE writing my minute of the 2nd, I have, with your permission, put the question referred to in the minute to the Resident Commissioner. His answer is here recorded, and it will be seen that he recommends the reconnaissance.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
6/7/84.

Enclosure 7 in No. 80.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

Eshowe, July 7, 1884.—Colonel Curtis started this morning with 200 cavalry and 100 infantry and body of natives for reconnaissance towards Inkandhla.

No. 81.

SIR HENRY BULWER, G.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,
K.G. (Received August 13, 1884.)

Government House, Pietermaritzburg,
Natal, July 15, 1884.

MY LORD,

I STATED in my Despatch, of the 8th instant* that Mr. Osborn had, in a private letter, informed me of an attack which had been made on some of Mavumengwana's people in the Reserve by an Usutu force from the Inkanhla, when about 300 head of cattle were seized and taken away by the Usutus. I have now the honour to forward a copy of the official despatch in which Mr. Osborn reports the circumstances of this attack.

2. It is stated in the official report that the Usutu force was assisted by some Usutus who had taken refuge on the Natal side of the border, and who, after taking part in the attack, again returned to Natal. I have sent Mr. Osborn's report to the Resident Magistrate in the Umvoti county, in order that he may make inquiry into the facts of the alleged action on the part of these people.

3. Mr. Osborn informs me also that a few nights after this attack another party of Usutus surrounded, during the night, a kraal belonging to a loyal native, and attacked it, killing four men and wounding another man dangerously. The kraal which was attacked lay at a distance of only three or four miles from Entumeni.

4. In my Despatch of the 8th instant,* and in my Telegraphic Despatch of the 9th instant,† I reported to your Lordship that the officer commanding the troops had proceeded with a force of 300 troops and a body of natives to make a reconnoitering expedition in the direction of the Inkanhla, with the view of obtaining information regarding that neighbourhood, and of giving confidence to the loyal people living there. This reconnoitering expedition appears to have been attended with success, as the country and the approaches to the Inkanhla were well examined, and the presence of the troops had the further effect of encouraging many loyal people, who had been driven away from their homes, to return to them. But it resulted in a recommendation made by the officer commanding, which was endorsed by the Resident Commissioner, that before the troops returned a military post should be established at Esungulweni, which is distant from Entumeni about 12 miles, and the recommendation appears to have been mainly based on the impolicy of obliging the loyal natives again to leave their kraals, which they would be compelled to do if the troops retired. I considered that the proposal to depart from the original purpose of the expedition was open to much objection, but in view of the Lieutenant-General's opinion that for military reasons it would be advisable under the circumstances to establish a post at the place named, I have acquiesced in the establishment of this further post for the time being.

5. I have the honour to transmit copies of the communications which have passed on this subject, and which are in continuation of the correspondence forwarded in my Despatch of the 8th instant.*

6. From the upper district Mr. Pretorius reports that the people have, with the arrival of the troops, recovered from their alarm, and that they are all gone to their homes. A few raids, however, still continue to be made by the Usutus, apparently for the purpose of cattle lifting.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 81.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
July 5, 1884.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Usutu in Nkandhla made on the 3rd instant a raid on some of the Chief Mavumengwana's people. It appears that an Usutu

* No. 80.

† No. 60.

force of eight companies strong proceeded unobserved down the eastern bank of the Tugela until opposite the people it intended to attack.

The people, on discovering the proximity of this force, fled leaving their cattle and other property a prey to the enemy.

The Usutu seized all the cattle and plundered the other loose property of 11 kraals in that neighbourhood, all belonging to Mavumengwana. The number of cattle so carried off, and not including some that were retaken, is somewhat over 500 head, and a few women and children were captured and carried away.

On getting information of the attack Mavumengwana started in pursuit with about 300 men but he was unfortunately not able to overtake the Usutu, who managed to reach Nkandhla with the cattle before he could come up to them.

The Usutu force was strengthened by men belonging to the parties of Umpelana, Geyugeyu, and Gulubi, Usutu who took refuge with their cattle across the Tugela a little below middle drift (on the Natal side) and are there still. The men referred to came from the Natal side of the river to take part in the attack on Mavumengwana's people, and I understand that they have since recrossed the Tugela where they are now with the headmen stated, by whom they must have been sent to assist the Usutu force.

I have directed Mavumengwana to station a strong body of his men in a position about four miles this side Tugela in order to prevent any further raid from that quarter, and native patrols have been placed in the same direction.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, &c., &c., Natal.	I have, &c. (Signed) M. OSBORN, Resident Commissioner.
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Enclosure 2 in No. 81.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

11th July. I consider it most important that Colonel Curtis maintain his position at Esungulweni, and fix a post there. I strongly recommend this.

Enclosure 3 in No. 81.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

TELEGRAM.

11th July. Yours of to-day, I must ask you to be good enough to explain the reasons for considering it most important position Esungulweni should be maintained.

Enclosure 4 in No. 81.

TELEGRAM.

CURTIS, Essengulwane, to GENERAL.

9th July, 3 p.m. Just returned from reconnaissance, thoroughly reconnoitered approaches on this side of Inkandhla, see no difficulty in attacking, went one mile beyond Komo, saw few Usutu scouts but no cattle. Report is to follow in few days. Whole country deserted, loyal natives do not understand reconnaissance, wanted to attack at once. Return Eschowe to-morrow all well.

Enclosure 5 in No. 81.

TELEGRAM.

CURTIS, Isungulweni, to GENERAL.

10th July. Feeling of natives here very strong regarding retirement from here. Until our arrival whole kraals deserted, women living in bush, thinking we remain, have returned; if we retire, fear Usutu again raiding on larger scale; shall I establish strong infantry post here? I consider absolutely necessary, as natives lost all confidence, could leave 200 Highlanders and mounted infantry, Welsh, here, cavalry and guns fall back Eschowe increase force Entumeni, remainder Welsh regiment, await your orders here.

Enclosure 6 in No. 81.

TELEGRAM.

CURTIS to GENERAL.

10th July. People flocking back to deserted kraals, it would be very wrong to abandon present position; quite safe here. Place clear, Inkandhla. Chiefs very dissatisfied (in ?), nothing done. Fear will not come again.

Enclosure 7 in No. 81.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

12th. Colonel Curtis has more than ample force at Esungulweni to deal with Inkandhla, and present time and circumstances are opportune for necessary operations. I earnestly urge that he be instructed to begin them at once. If he withdraws now from position, I fear very unsatisfactory effect upon loyal natives, of whom he has with him a force of about 3,000 men.

Enclosure 8 in No. 81.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

TELEGRAM.

Eshowe, July 13, 1884.

Yours *12th. I write by post this day the reasons you require.

Enclosure 9 in No. 81.

Sir H. BULWER to Mr. OSBORN.

TELEGRAM.

July 14th. Yours of 12th. At instance of military authorities and after reference to you, Colonel Curtis with military force went to reconnoitre neighbourhood of Inkanhla. Movement to be strictly for reconnoitring purposes, and party, as I understood, was to return on 10th. I did not doubt also you would provide party with one or two hundred natives as scouts. Instead of this, a force of about three thousand natives appears to have accompanied Colonel Curtis, and on the 10th instant he proposes to establish a new military post near Inkanhla; you, in a telegram of the 11th advising this; and now on the 12th you urge active operations at Inkanhla. These proposals and your action in sending 3,000 natives are entirely at variance with original intention, as named to me, of a reconnoitring party; and I must request you to give an explanation for so serious a departure from the plan.

* 11th (?).

Enclosure 10 in No. 81.

The Hon. Sir L. SMYTH to Sir H. BULWER.

Memorandum for His Excellency the Governor.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Excellency's information copies of three telegrams from Colonel Curtis, who has been engaged in conducting a reconnaissance in the direction of the Inkandhla.

Though the establishment of a third post on the Eshowe line is not, in a military point of view, quite convenient at the present moment, yet looking to the absolute necessity which would exist for the hearty co-operation of native allies in the event of military operations being required in the Inkandhla, which indeed it would be useless to attempt without them; the strong recommendation from the officer conducting the reconnaissance and the Resident Commissioner in the Reserve that a post should be established at or in the neighbourhood of Essengulweni; and the fact that that place is the very first that would be occupied in the event of an advance, commanding as it does the junction of the roads from Middle Drift and Eshowe (it is, in fact, on the main road between these two places, but there is an indistinct track joining it from the eastward), I am of opinion that it would be advisable, in view of the above considerations, to form an advanced post there; and, after consultation with your Excellency, I sent the telegram to Eshowe, of which copy herewith.

I have just read the papers which your Excellency has been so good as to send me relative to the recent attack on Mavumengwana; this Essengulweni post should, according to the map, be of service in preventing further attacks on that chief from the direction of the Inkandhla. It will be advisable to send up at once to Eshowe some infantry to fill up the gap caused by the new post. A strong company from St. Helena will arrive here during the week, and be retained in this place.

(Signed) L. SMYTH,
Lieutenant General.

July 14, 1884.

TELEGRAM.

FROM GENERAL TO OFFICER COMMANDING, ESHOWE.

July 12th. Send at once to Curtis, you may form post not less than 250 strong at Essengulweni or preferably place nearer to Entumeni which suits all requirements. Entumeni to be quite 200 strong. Have daily system mounted patrols supported by infantry along advanced road. Firmly entrench and abattis advanced post, which must be within signalling distance of Entumeni, and which must have native scouts in sufficient force as determined by you.

Enclosure 11 in No. 81.

Mr. OSBORN to Sir H. BULWER.

Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve,
July 13, 1884.

SIR,

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, received by me last evening, in which you request to be informed of my reasons for considering it most important that a position on the Sungulweni should be maintained, I have the honour to state that the following considerations weighed with me and are the reasons on which my recommendation is based.

1. That the country between Entumeni and Nkandhla was up to about seven weeks ago occupied by loyal people of the tribes of Dhlongolwana, Nonzama, Pagade, and some of Mavumengwana's people. That, owing to the hostile attitude and proceedings of the Usutu at Nkandhla, all these people had to abandon their homes, and with their families seek safety in and about the forests at Entumeni, where they have hitherto remained. It was, however, impossible for them, on their removal, to carry with them more food supplies than would last them for only a short period, and they had to abandon their stores of grain in the pits in their kraals. They have since not been able to fetch any grain from thence owing to the danger of attack by Usutu who were continually prowling about in parties on the look-out to cut off any of the loyal people, who they knew were suffering from want of sufficient food, that may venture to fetch their grain. In the meantime, the Usutu were appropriating the grain to their own use, and about the 1st instant I ascertained that they were beginning to remove it to Nkandhla.

These circumstances presented to my mind three principal conditions: first, that it was desirable, if at all possible, to bring about some arrangement by which the large number of families of loyal people could be relieved from the exposure to which they are now subjected by having been compelled to leave their huts and remain in the open veldt with only the scanty shelter of boughs and tufts, especially during the present unusually cold winter; second, that unless some means could be found for them to obtain possession soon of their grain all these people would have to be fed at public expense or starve; third, that it was most important that the Usutu should be prevented from carrying off the grain to Nkandhla.

Esungulweni is a ridge of grassy hills stretching from opposite Entumeni through the centre of the district in which the kraals referred to are situated, on to the Komo hill which is a prominent spur of Nkandhla. If therefore a military post could be established on that ridge the difficulties stated in foregoing three considerations would be removed as the people could then with safety return to their homes and remain there.

I have ascertained that since Colonel Curtis' arrival with the detachment for reconnaissance at Esungulweni, nearly all the families have availed themselves of the protection afforded by the presence of the troops and have returned to their kraals, while the men in considerable number have armed and joined the detachment for duty.

If no military post is established there all these people will have to again abandon their kraals the moment the detachment now at Esungulweni for special duty withdraws.

2. I have further to state that the establishing of a post at Esungulweni, which is on the road to Nkandhla, would be of material use and assistance in any active operations against the Usutu in Nkandhla.

His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.,
H.M. Special Commissioner,
&c. &c. &c.
Natal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. OSBORN,
Resident Commissioner.

Enclosure 12 in No. 81.

Sir H. BULWER to the Hon. Sir L. SMYTH.

MEMORANDUM for the LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Commanding Her Majesty's Forces,
South Africa.

I AM obliged by your memorandum of the 14th instant.

With regard to the proposal which was made by the officer commanding the troops in the Reserve on the 10th instant, and endorsed by the Resident Commissioner on the 11th instant, to establish a military post at Esungulweni, that is a proposal which, as I observed when I had the opportunity of speaking to you on Saturday on the subject of the three telegrams received by you from Colonel Curtis, involves a considerable departure from the original purpose of the military movement. It seemed to me, as I said, that the proper course for the officer commanding the reconnoitring party to take would have been to complete his reconnaissance, and then report to you, making any recommendations he might have to offer. I thought, therefore, that this departure from the original purpose was open to objection, but I said that if you considered, as you appeared to do, the establishment of a military post at the Esungulweni under the circumstances a matter of military importance, I would accept your opinion that a post should be established there for the time being.

With regard to any military movement beyond that of establishing a post at Esungulweni I trust none will be made without previous authority from you and myself.

I sent for your information yesterday a copy of a telegram which I had received from the Resident Commissioner recommending that Colonel Curtis should proceed to active operations, and I now send you a copy of the communication which I addressed to him in reply.

Government House,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
15th July 1884.

(Signed) H. BULWER,
Special Commissioner.

No. 82.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., to SIR HENRY BULWER,
G.C.M.G.

SIR,

Downing Street, August 19, 1884.

HER Majesty's Government have had under consideration the despatches in which you have reported the attacks of the Usutus, aided by Boers, upon Usibebu, and the defeat and flight of that chief into the Reserve.

In the communications which Usibebu has addressed to the Government, he assumes the attitude of an ally from whom aid, to which he is justly entitled, has been withheld; and there appears to be an impression in other quarters that there is ground for this view, and that assistance has been withheld from Usibebu merely from a desire to avoid the loss of life and expense which might result from the employment of a British force in his support.

This is, however, not the view of Her Majesty's Government. They do not consider that they have denied to Usibebu any assistance to which he was entitled. If they had been under an obligation to aid him, such aid would not have been withheld on the ground of its inconvenience or risk. Usibebu was chosen with twelve others, in 1879, by Lord Wolseley as an "appointed Chief" in Zululand. Under the terms of the settlement then arrived at, Her Majesty's Government assumed no obligation to guarantee the peace or defend one Chief against another. In 1882, when it was determined to restore Cetywayo to the greater part of his former kingdom, it was decided that Usibebu should be left independent, because he protested against being brought under Cetywayo, and represented that he could hold his own. Even then, however, no guarantee of independence was, or could be given to him, and it was obvious that his relations with Cetywayo must depend in a great measure on his own conduct. For some considerable period he had been at enmity with the Usutu party, and he had occasionally been engaged in open hostilities against them; and in March 1883 these hostilities were revived, the fault on that particular occasion resting, as you believe, with a brother of Cetywayo and others of the Usutus. Subsequently, Usibebu appears to have gone into alliance with Oham, whose territory had been brought under Cetywayo, but who was resisting the execution of that arrangement by force. In June of that year Cetywayo, who had hitherto not openly taken the field, collected a large force at his own kraal. This step Usibebu judged, rightly or wrongly, to be a menace to him, and in July, by a rapid movement, he surprised the King, dispersed his army, destroyed his kraal, and drove him as a fugitive into the Reserve. In this invasion women were killed, and the country of the Usutus was devastated, by the returning forces of Oham, which had formed the right wing of Usibebu's force. In the early part of 1884, the war was renewed, success still resting with Usibebu, who announced about that time to the Resident Commissioner his intention of annexing Cetywayo's country. At length the fortune of war changed in favour of the Usutus, who had obtained the assistance of certain Boer adventurers, and Usibebu was in his turn defeated and obliged to fly into the Reserve. During the whole of this period you, assisted by Mr. Osborn, had striven to your utmost to maintain or restore peace, and had dissuaded both sides from acts of retaliation. Your efforts, which were impartially employed, have had the cordial approval of Her Majesty's Government, but, beyond those earnest endeavours to bring about peace beyond the Reserve, and the maintenance of the integrity of the Reserve itself as a place of refuge for either party without distinction, Her Majesty's Government do not perceive that it would have been right for them to intervene. The condition of Zululand since 1879 has been one of chronic war, carried on by barbarous reprisals, and opinion is hopelessly divided as to the degree of blame to be assigned to each chief or party. Usibebu at least has often acted on his own responsibility; his recent defeat was the consequence of his victory of 1883, and his ambitious projects of the present year, and Her Majesty's Government has never entered into any engagement to aid or defend him. All, therefore, that he is entitled to is an asylum in the Reserve, and it cannot be too clearly understood that his position of safety there must not be abused, and if he or others should attempt to make it a focus for intrigues or plans of future retaliation, such attempts must be checked, if necessary, by removing them from the Reserve.

Sir Henry Bulwer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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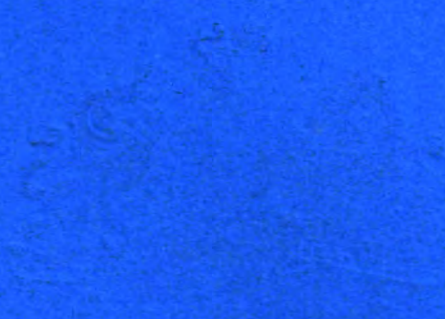
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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF ZULULAND

AND

ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

(In continuation of [C.—4037] May 1884.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
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