were advancing at about 3,400 yards from the camp. The 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment soon coming up extended in skirmishing order on both flanks, and in line with the guns. As the enemy still advanced, the guns commenced firing case; but almost immediately, the infantry getting the order to retire, the enemy were at the guns, and one gunner was assegaied as he was mounting the axletree box. The limber gunners did not mount, but ran after the guns.

By this time the enemy's attack extended along the whole front of the camp, a distance of 800 yards, and along the whole left, a distance of about 600 yards. Although they had been held somewhat in check by our fire, they were still advancing rapidly towards the gaps between our troops. Up to this point, their advance had been steady, and without noise: but they now began to move at the double, and call to one another. The camp followers and the The troops Native Contingent then took to flight. were soon obliged to retire upon the tents, to avoid being cut off, as the Zulus had already burst through the gaps in their line. As the men fell back, the Zulus came on with a rush, and in a very few seconds, it became a hand-to-hand conflict. The enemy, as they came on, fell in hundreds before the deadly fire

of the infantry; but those in the rear immediately took their places in the front ranks; and nothing could stop them.

There was now a general retreat through the tents in the only direction left open, that towards Rorke's Drift, over the neck of the Isandhlwana mountain, and down a steep ravine. This route soon became quite blocked up. The Zulus were already there in considerable numbers, while the Undi corps about this time made its appearance on the right rear of the camp, cutting off the retreat. Fortunately the Nkobamakosi regiment, instead of attempting completely to surround the camp, by making a junction with the Undi, followed the retreating natives, thus leaving a narrow passage open for the escape of a small number. A few of them were killed by the Undi, but that corps, believing that the camp was already plundered, seems to have decided to make the best of its way to Rorke's Drift, never deeming that the few men left there could offer any opposition to an attack.

It was in retreating through this narrow neck, that the artillery gunners and drivers were assegaied; their officers had been killed when the Zulus rushed in upon the guns, at which crisis Major Smith was stabled whilst in the act of spiking the guns. It is reported by a survivor of this terrible fight, that when Colonel Pulleine perceived that all was lost, and that the camp must fall into the hands of the enemy, he called Lieutenant Melvill and thus addressed him, "You and the senior Lieutenant will take the colours, and make the best of your way out of the camp." He shook hands with Melvill, then turning round to his men, he said: "Men of the 24th, here we are, and here we stand and fight it out to the end." He is described at this moment as appearing quite cool and collected.

The few men who escaped through the ravine towards Rorke's Drift got to the Buffalo River by slipping down slopes which were quite precipitous. How any horseman ever got safely down there is a marvel. When they got to the river, it was high, and there was a bad drift. A number of horses and men were drowned here, but those who managed to mount the steep side opposite were safe.

On the same afternoon, about 250 of the 24th and 13th Light Infantry, who had marched up from Maritzburg, had left Helpmakaar for Rorke's Drift. On the way down, they fortunately met refugees from the camp, who informed them of this great disaster, upon which they returned at once and reinforced the infantry laager at Helpmakaar.

The little garrison left to defend the ford at Rorke's Drift at this time was commanded by Lieut. J. R. M. Chard, of the Royal Engineers. He had under him one company of the 2nd Battalion of the 24th Regiment in charge of Lieut. Gonville Bromhead, and a small number of natives. As we have already seen, after the destruction of the camp at Isandhlwana, a considerable portion of the Zulu Army went off from that bloody field in this direction, expecting the post at Rorke's Drift to fall an easy prey into the hands of their victorious warriors. They soon found, however, to their cost, that they were mistaken; the little band of heroes in the fort, hastily improvising their defences as they best could with any material that came to hand, displayed such desperate valour, and made such a determined resistance, during thirteen hours, to the repeated attacks of their enemics, that before daybreak of the 23rd the Zulus were fain to retreat in dismay, leaving several hundred of their fighting men dead on the field.

Many anecdotes of personal interest are related. An officer belonging to the Natal Contingent, of the name of Young, who had been wounded in the first skirmish with Sirayo, was at the camp at Isandhlwana, being at the time invalided. He states that he fired a rifle from the corner of a waggon, until he had exhausted

his ammunition; and then, being unable to get a further supply, he left. He had a good horse, and a desperate rush carried him through a weak point in the enemy's ranks, only just in time. He was chased by the Zulus, but looking back, he saw our men completely surrounded, still firm as a rock, firing rapidly, but fighting to the last. The loud yells of the Zulus filled the air, as their awful work was done with the short stabbing assegai. Lieutenant Coghill and Adjutant Melvill fighting their way through the enemy. They were both capital horsemen and well mounted. They carried off the regimental colours, which were afterwards found in the river, near where these officers were overtaken Another officer whose conduct merits and slain. praise, and who survived the perils of that day, was Captain Alan Gardner. He also, when the camp was in the hands of the enemy, carried at great risk of his own life an order to the small force at Rorke's Drift. about one hundred men under Lieutenant Chard and Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead, warning them to fortify their post, as all was lost at the camp; and that they must defend themselves and fight to the last. But for the presence of mind of Captain Gardner displayed amid the carnage of Isandhlwana, the little garrison at Rorke's Drift would have been

taken by surprise and probably destroyed. As it was, Bromhead and Chard maintained an heroic resistance throughout the night, and were relieved next morning by Lord Chelmsford.

It appears from a deliberate survey of all the facts connected with this terrible disaster at Isandhlwana. as supplied by subsequent inquiry and elucidation, that our Zulu enemies have been very much under-Lord Chelmsford had evidently not used sufficient means to reconnoitre the country in his He seems to have been quite ignorant of their proximity, although in considerable force within a short distance of his columns at least two days before the attack. He does not appear even to have sent out scouts; a necessary measure, one would have thought, to guard against surprise; a precaution indeed which was never neglected by the Boers, who understood the country and the Zulu method of attack. Then again, he should not have pushed on so far away from his camp without leaving some means of communication with his base, especially in a hilly country. The want of this precaution nearly led, as it proved, to his being cut off. It was by mere accident, by the fact of his encountering Commandant Lonsdale, that Lord Chelmsford was saved, with his Staff, from advancing into the camp, at that time actually in the possession of the enemy. The difficulty of the country was an argument, therefore, for the necessity of establishing communication with his rear. It is a remarkable fact that notwithstanding the firing of the guns, and the repeated volleys of musketry which were exchanged at the camp during the conflict, the sound seems scarcely to have reached him, though distant only twelve miles from the scene of slaughter.

With regard to the defenceless state of the camp at Isandhlwana, it is inexplicable to me that Lord Chelmsford's experience of Kaffir warfare had not taught him the necessity of parking his waggons, or going into "laager," when forming his camp. is a precaution which was always taken as a matter of course in former Kaffir wars. The old fighting 73rd, under Colonel Eyre, would never have made this mis-I can remember that they never camped out in the bush, without securing themselves in this manner. The "laager" was formed by drawing up the waggons as they arrived at the ground, so as to touch each other in a continuous rampart, leaving a hollow square in the centre; they were then lashed together by thin strong hide ropes or "trek-tows," which were passed over the front wheels, and made fast in the Inside the square were disposed the officers' and soldiers' tents, if they had any, for the men were often

unprotected, and simply slept on the ground, covered up in their field blankets, with the horses and cattle. Outside the laagered waggons a strong picket was posted. Before retiring, and from time to time during the night, these pickets were visited by the officer on duty. In case of alarm, the sentries fired, and if necessary retreated through the intervals of the waggons; and the little garrison was on the alert and safe from surprise. It is evident, that had the camp at Isandhlwana been formed in this way, a mere handful of soldiers might have resisted almost any number of less disciplined natives. A proof of this was, indeed, afterwards exhibited in the heroic defence of the little garrison at Rorke's Drift under Chard and Bromhead, during the same night.

The precipitate zeal which induced Colonel Durnford to push on so far away from the camp, to attack the enemy, seems to have contributed in the first instance to the disaster. It seems that, by so doing he drew the fire of the Umcityu Zulu regiment which was lying in ambush behind the heights; and according to native information, but for this, the attack would have been put off. He had taken the command out of Colonel Pulleine's hands; and with him, therefore, must lie the responsibility of withdrawing the troops away from its defence. The orders given to Colonel

Pulleine being to defend the camp in the General's absence. Colonel Durnford's daring spirit of enterprise seems to have led him into an indiscretion on this occasion; but it is an error that we are always inclined to excuse in a distinguished soldier.

It cannot be denied, that the Zulus carried out their plan of attack very astutely; and that they appear to have exhibited a great deal of self-control and obediance to discipline on this occasion. That they should have occupied a position only a thousand yards away from Lord Chelmsford's reconnoitring column on the afternoon of the 21st, without being discovered, seems almost incredible. Yet they appear to have betrayed This is not a small matter, no signs of their presence. when we consider how easily they might have overpowered the General's small force. At that time, they were advancing in regular formation, each division of their army holding its proper position, and acting independently. Their plan of attack was not to be carried out until the night of the 21st or morning of the 22nd, as we learn from native scouts, when the disposition of their force would have been completed. The unexpected attack of Colonel Durnford's mounted men, though it forestalled their encounter, found them admirably disposed to take advantage of it, and they were enabled to carry out their usual outflanking

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movement, whilst the nature of the ground and the unprotected state of the camp, gave them every advantage in the attack. These are soldier-like qualities. And finally, though our own soldiers did their duty, as British soldiers always have done, and always will do, without a thought of flinching before those overpowering numbers, we must also give the Zulus due credit for their reckless bravery, shown by the undaunted manner in which rank after rank pushed on, to fill up the gaps left vacant by their slain brethren, who fell in heaps before the deadly fire of the British infantry. This is not an enemy to be despised.

APPENDIX.

I. KETCHWHYO'S ALLEGED CRIMES.

Scepticism regarding the Pentateuch may or may not be a theological and ecclesiastical sin; but more religious than belief in ancient Hebrew books is the moral duty of cherishing a reasonable scepticism, to the extent of requiring and scrutinising all the attainable evidence, concerning enormous charges of inhuman criminality, too easily raised under favour of our prevailing antipathies to alien races and classes of men. This Zulu King is a half-naked barbarian, who cannot read and write any more than some of our Norman Kings: vet his character, as it appeared to Sir T. Shepstone in his visit of 1873, and as it still appears to Bishop Colenso—as it would appear, I should think, to all unprejudiced readers of the various reports of conversations with Ketchwhyo or messages from him yet published—is neither more nor less than He is not a madman, like King Theodore of In "Macmillan's Magazine" of March, 1878, Abyssinia. will be found the simple narrative, forwarded by Bishop Colenso, of "A Visit to King Ketshwayo," in June, 1877. the reporter being Magema Magwaza, who is the Zulu manager of the Bishop's printing-office. The Bishop says, "I have had him with me from a boy for more than twenty years, and I am sure that his statements are thoroughly to be relied on, as accurate reports of what he has seen and heard

in Zulu Land, and of what he believes with reference to the condition of that country, and the intentions and wishes of its present rulers." This parrative of Magema's, some time before it was sent to England for publication, was read to Mr. Anthony Trollope when he visited Bishop Colenso in Natal read to him by a young lady, who must have been the Bishop's daughter. "The bulk of the white inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg," says Mr. Trollope, "would probably not have believed a word of it. I believed most of it. every now and then arousing the gentle wrath of the fair reader by casting a doubt upon certain details." In the chapter on Zulu Land, added to the recent abridged edition of his "South Africa," Mr. Trollope expresses his "much doubt" of Sir Bartle Frere's assertion, that the reign of Ketchwhyo has become more savage and cruel than former Zulu govern-At any rate, I should think that Magema, the Christian Zulu educated by Bishop Colenso, is surely a more credible witness than the few native informants, mere passing travellers or even refugees, who in 1876 brought into Natal some wild rumours they had heard of the massacre of girls and young women for refusing to marry elderly soldiers.

The only record that has ever been published, or that seemingly exists, of any evidence whatever to sustain that most horrible charge, in itself to my mind incredible, will be found in the Parliamentary Blue Book C.— 1748, pages 198 and 216. Mr. Osborn, Resident Magistrate at Newcastle, in Natal, in an unofficial letter, not dated, to Mr. John Wesley Shepstone, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, says, "From all I can learn, Cetywayo's conduct has been and continues to be disgraceful. He is putting people to death in a shameful manner, especially girls. The dead bodies are placed by his order in the principal paths, especially at points where the paths intersect each other, cross roads. A few of the parents

of the young people so killed buried the bodies, and thus brought Cetywayo's wrath on themselves, resulting not only in their own death, but destruction to the whole family. It is really terrible that such horrible savagery could take place on our own borders. Our Kaffirs will never civilise so long as the Zulu Chief remains unrestrained in his barbarous acts towards his people." Now, all this is merely what Mr. Osborn at Newcastle heard from "the natives in this division." His residence was nearly a hundred miles distant from the Zulu kingdom. It does not appear that he was ever in Zulu Land to make inquiries; and the above statements are but the rumours overheard by him across the border, which was and is a constant barrier to free intercourse and communication of intelligence between Ketchwhyo's subjects and those of the Natal Government.

The two messengers, Ulujile and Umhlana, sent by Sir Henry Bulwer at the beginning of September, returned on the 9th of October, with a very courteous, friendly, and docile answer from Ketchwhyo to the Lieutenant-Governor's admonition that he should not attack the Swazies. "I am not aware," said the King, "that I have ever done anything which would be thought wrong or contrary to the wishes of the Natal Government. The English nation is a just and peace-loving one, and I look upon the English people as my fathers; I shall not do anything outside of their Government." Now, what the messengers say is, "We heard that the King was causing some of the Zulus to be killed, on account of disobeying his orders respecting the marriage of girls; and we saw large numbers of cattle which had been taken as fines; otherwise the land was quiet."

Sir Henry Bulwer, in his despatch of October 13th, speaks of a "report which had reached" his Government that "some months ago," at the yearly festival, the Nhlouhlo and Hloko

regiment were authorised by the King to marry, and thereupon "to avoid compulsory marriages with men of these regiments, various devices were resorted to by marriageable girls and by their relatives and lovers. The King, on the deceptions being discovered, ordered, so it was reported, large numbers of girls and others connected with them to be killed, and their bodies to be placed across the high roads, in order that travellers might see the King's displeasure at the laws being broken." Sir Henry adds that this report was "confirmed from other sources," but he does not particularise; and it is obvious that any current popular rumour among the credulous Zulus of the border would be repeated several times, with some variations, in the hearing of white men disposed to listen to those rumours.

There has never been, so far as the published papers show, any further evidence obtained on this subject; it has never been specified in what district of Zulu Land these atrocities were perpetrated; or in what month of the year 1876; or from which of the well-known Zulu regiments the "impi" was drawn for their execution; or which of the Indunas superintended the dreadful work; nor have the names and residences of any of the victims been mentioned.

We have reason here to ask, why did not Sir Henry Bulwer cause a strict inquiry to be made into the truth of the facts by a special commissioner sent into Zulu Land? It may be said that the King would have resisted, or at least resented such a proceeding. If that were so, and if our Government were thus debarred from the right of investigation, what becomes of our pretended right to enforce the coronation laws or pledges of 1873? We ought either to refrain from dictating to the Zulu kingdom matters of its domestic government, or else to provide, in a regular official manner, as by appointing a British Consul to reside there, for

correct information of what actually takes place in that country.

Upon this matter of putting people to death, in 1876, on account of infraction of the military marriage laws, it seems not very unlikely that the King may have inflicted capital punishment, in a very few instances, on persons guilty of practising frauds against his Government, from pecuniary or other motives, to evade the operation of those laws. A marriageable woman among the Zulus, in Natal as well as in Ketchwhyo's realm, is an article of property belonging to her male parent or some other kinsman, who expects to sell her for so many cows or oxen. The female herself has little more choice of a husband allowed her, under ordinary circumstances, than where she happens to be one of the class. daughters of men in a certain elder married regiment, who are required to take husbands from amongst a certain regiment of young men. It is quite conceivable that some members of her family, for selfish and sordid purposes, might conspire to defeat this regulation by secretly giving her to somebody who would pay them a higher price for her. These persons would fall under legal condemnation. If, in any particular case, the female herself were involved in such condemnation, we could only say that the law is detestable in all cases, and so indeed it is; but it is very different from a wholesale massacre of virgins for naturally refusing to give themselves to men individually appointed by the King to be their husbands. This rule seems to be neither more nor less than that the young woman, if she is to be married at all, must be married to a man who is enrolled in an assigned regiment, which may number five or six thousand men; and it is perhaps the home tyranny of her parent, or of a brother, an uncle, or a remote cousin, that would force her to be married, for his emolument, if she wished to remain froe.

I may remark that a very few actual cases, supposing them to have taken place, of which we have no positive evidence, would be multiplied into hundreds by the marvellous power of Zulu gossip on the border. Moreover, some European visitors or residents who sought to provoke English hostility against Ketchwhyo have lent their arithmetical skill to this process of exaggeration, which Bishop Colenso is very well able to correct. The number of mission converts known to have been put to death is reduced to three; and these cases having been investigated prove not to have occurred with the King's sanction, but to have been due to incidental charges, such as a suspected poisoning by the flesh of a diseased ox, or to private vindictiveness of some chief, as is related in Magema's narrative. It does not appear that the simple profession of Christianity, unless where it is accompanied with a desertion of the military service and repudiation of the laws of the kingdom, has ever been treated as a crime. Some of the converts dwelling around some of the foreign missionary stations have been charged with various habitual violations of those laws, not the least offence being that of contraband trading in arms and ammunition. Ketchwhyo has also been much displeased by the injurious newspaper reports which persons connected with the missions have sent to Natal, and of which he has been told by his officious visitors. There is a vehement conflict of opinions between rival parties of the English, German, and Norwegian clergy in that country, with reference to Zulu politics, and it is a pity they cannot leave that burning topic alone; but "Sobantu," as Bishop Colenso is called by the grateful natives, is a man who has suffered in the cause of what he believes to be truth, and he deserves some attention upon these questions of contemporary fact. Whatever may be thought of the Pentateuch "critically examined," the Second Table of the Decalogue must be upheld and applied to our dealings with the Zulu King; both its commandments not to kill or steal, or covet our neighbour's land, and that which forbids the bearing of false witness against our neighbour.

The barbarian soldier-king has talked of "washing his spears," and we are shocked by that rhetorical phrase in time of peace. But the chivalry of Christendom allows it to be an elegant form of speech that a gallant gentleman should be complimented on "fleshing his maiden sword."

There is much cruelty and oppression in Zulu Land, as in Turkey and elsewhere. The Rev. R. Robertson has collected a list of twenty-five murders, but he does not show that these are the acts of the King. It is well that British influence should be exerted with just regard to national feeling, with strict fairness and even gentleness to the individual ruler of that nation, for the reformation of established and customary wrongs. These are, chiefly, the universal military conscription, with the social and domestic evils incidental to that system—the custom of polygamy, with the buying and selling of women—and the hideous superstition of witchcraft, to which hundreds of lives are yearly sacrificed, and by which the criminal law is often converted into an instrument of death to innocent persons. These deplorable evils began long before the reign of Ketchwhyo, and he can scarcely possess the power to put an end to them at once. He has to reckon with a strong feudal aristocracy, the hereditary State Councillors and Captains of an armed nation.

II. ALLEGED MENACING PREPARATIONS.

THE Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, in his memorandum of January 9th, two days before our actual invasion of Zulu Land, gives the following account of what Sir Bartle Frere chooses to call menacing demonstrations on the side of the Zulus:—

"In the early part of September the gathering of a large body of Zulus was reported by our border agent at the Lower Tugela to be taking place on the opposite side of the river, and within a few miles of the border. It was reported also that two large Zulu regiments were there. Ostensibly, the gathering was for hunting purposes; but as there was no game in the neighbourhood, the alleged object was, of course, discredited. It was supposed the gathering was a demonstration of some kind. A number of the Queen's troops had recently arrived in Natal by land and sea, and there had, unfortunately, been much loud and loose talk in consequence in Natal regarding the object for which these troops had come, it being freely and openly said that they had come with the object of invading the Zulu country. These reports did not, of course, fail to reach the King's ears, and he told the Natal messengers who took my message of the 16th of August what he had . . . The border agent said that he had heard that the King had ordered the hunts to be kept up along the border. A letter from the resident magistrate of the Umsinga division confirmed the news . . . and the magistrate stated that the Zulus were watching day and night along the Buffalo. The King was troubled, it was said, and thought the English were surrounding him.

"On the 20th of September we received a message, dated the 80th of August, from the Zulu King, in which he expressed his disappointment at receiving no answer about the boundary dispute. He was becoming suspicious, he said, and the Natal Government was turned against him and wished to deceive him.

"His suspicions, it is certain, had been aroused, as above noticed, by the arrival of so many troops in Natal, and by the rumours of an intended invasion of the Zulu country which had reached him. It was these rumours, and the apprehensions to which they gave rise, that were, no doubt, the cause of the gathering of the large body of Zulus opposite the Lower Tugela district, and not far from the border. gathering had been ordered ostensibly for the purpose of hunting, but really with the object either of watching the border or of making a demonstration. The demonstration led to the despatch of a detachment of troops to Grey Town, and this step in its turn increased the apprehensions of the Zulus and the suspicions of the King, though the reasons for it were at once and frankly communicated to him. So-called hunting parties of armed men were then established along the border to keep watch, and other preparations made by him.

"Then came the incident of the Middle Drift, where an armed party of Zulus interfered with Messrs. Smith and Deighton, who had gone there with the view of examining the condition of the Drift. While so engaged an alarm was spread among the Zulus on the opposite side, and a number of men came down and laid hold of Mr. Smith and his companion, and, forcibly detaining them, asked them a number of questions as to the object for which they were there—for the ground belonged to their King—as to the object for which the soldiers had come to Grey Town, and so on. Their excitement gradually cooled down, and after detaining the two for about an hour and a half they let them go. It subsequently appeared that the occurrence had

created a good deal of excitement in the district, a report having spread that the English were crossing, and the Zulus flocked from all directions to resist the invasion.

"It is evident, indeed, from all the information received, that a feeling of disquiet and uncertainty was coming over the Zulu country. There was an uneasiness in the minds of many well-disposed Zulus because of a supposed misunderstanding with the Government of Natal.

"Zulus who had cattle near the border, or cattle among their friends in Natal, came and took them away. They did not know what might happen. The land, they said, was not quiet.

"The statement of a Natal native, who was in the Zulu country in the early days of September, shows something of the manner in which, at the King's kraal and elsewhere among the Zulus, men's minds were disturbed at that time, when every passing event acquired unusual significance."

Sir Henry Bulwer looked upon these demonstrations as symptoms, not of an impending attack upon us, but of fear that we were going to attack them.

III. LATEST FROM THE TRANSVAAL

It is on the 12th of April, 1879, that this sheet is sent to press; the second anniversary of the Annexation of the Transvaal; the birthday of a bad business; and perhaps the worst of it is yet to be seen. The most recent sign of public spirit in that quarter, since the beginning of our Zulu war, is worth putting on record. The following (says the Natal Witness) is a translation of the oath of mutual allegiance

taken by a great number of respectable Transvaal Boers at the Wonderfortein meeting. It will strike most people that this is the oath of men who are to be respected; and that such men are likely to secure the sympathy of the great bulk of the English nation: -- "In the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, and praying for His gracious assistance and mercy, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, for us and for our children, to unite in a holy covenant, which we confirm with a solemn oath. It is now forty years ago since our fathers left the Cape Colony to become a free and independent people. These forty years were forty years of sorrow and suffering. We have founded Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic. and three times has the English Government trampled on our liberty. And our flag, baptised with the blood and tears of our fathers, has been pulled down. As by a thief in the night has our free Republic been stolen from us. We cannot suffer this and we may not. It is the will of God that the unity of our fathers and our love to our children should oblige us to deliver unto our children, unblemished, the heritage of our fathers. It is for this reason that we here unite, and give each other the hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to be faithful to our country and people, and looking unto God, to work together unto death for the restoration of the liberty of our Republic. So truly help us God Almighty."

THE END.

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