

7. The Zulus appear to have entered unwillingly into this arrangement against a people who had done them no wrong, and upon whom they must have been well aware a war waged by their race, aided by the power of Great Britain, must have brought the very greatest of calamities.

8. At first it might seem incredible that such an arrangement could have been contemplated by Great Britain, or by any one acting on her behalf and using the Queen's name; but a knowledge of the Kaffir nations induces me to believe that there must be some good foundation for the statement made. The narrative enters into details upon all particulars; it is complete in itself. There is the proposal for the arrangement, the very proper objection made to it, the subsequent yielding to demands advanced on behalf of the Queen of England, the carrying the arrangement into operation to the extent of assembling the force which was to carry it out, the issuing of the requisite orders to that force, their detention under arms and ready for action until a message, as previously arranged, was delivered, stating that no necessity for action had arisen, or was likely to arise, and then the dispersion of the force. All this is stated in a manner which must, I think, create the impression that the events narrated actually occurred. At least, I am satisfied a cause for inquiry has arisen.

9. If we now consider the people for whose ruin the contracting parties entered into this arrangement, if it really was concluded, we find the people of the Transvaal Republic, all of whom are closely related to families inhabiting the Orange Free State and the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope—we find that these people had committed no offence against Great Britain. They had been forced, having been abandoned by the British Crown, to form themselves into a republic. Formal treaties had been concluded by Great Britain with that republic. I believe that at least one other European nation had entered into negotiations with them. They were to all intents and purposes an independent nation, whose liberty and freedom had been solemnly guaranteed to them by Great Britain. They had done no wrong to the British nation. It had simply been determined, with a view to British interests, to re-annex the Transvaal State to the British Empire.

10. The question therefore arises, Was it, under those circumstances, a justifiable act to enter into a secret compact with a barbarous nation, which had itself no cause of quarrel with the Transvaal State, to undertake hostilities against that republic if it resisted the destruction of its liberties and of its Government, which Great Britain, having first required it to accept, and then guaranteed to it, had next determined to take from it?

11. In forming an opinion upon this point, it must be remembered that never before in South Africa had one European race induced a barbarous nation to join with it in attacking another European race, and that civilized nations generally justly regard as at once cruel and impolitic any plan for engaging a barbarous nation under any circumstances to fall upon a civilized race inhabiting the same country.

12. The Boers are chiefly a pastoral people, living in homesteads isolated from one another, having no facilities for resisting any sudden incursion of a barbarous enemy; and it is certain that, had the Zulu nation attacked them, atrocities of the most dreadful kind would have taken place.

13. Moreover, the whole European population of South Africa would have sympathized with the Transvaal people; and I think I do not exaggerate in stating that in the eyes of that population a crime would have been committed by Great Britain which they never would have forgotten. I believe a flame of discontent would have been kindled which it would have taken many years to extinguish.

14. The effect of such an arrangement upon the native race must also have been bad. In their estimation, had it been carried out, a great crime would have been committed by one European race against another. They would never themselves have afterwards felt safe against some surprise from a power which could have done this. From the fact of their having been appealed to as the nation which held the balance of power in its hands between two European races in South Africa, their pride and self-confidence would have been greatly raised. Combinations would probably have been formed between the native tribes against the Europeans; because, on the one hand, they would have distrusted a nation which against men of its own colour and race could have formed a plan which the natives objected to as wrong, and could have stooped to solicit natives to aid them in carrying that plan out, whilst, on the other hand, they would have despised the weakness of a nation which admitted its inability to cope itself with so small a population as inhabits the Transvaal territory at the present time. From both these reasons they would have been led to think that they saw a favourable opportunity of weakening the white race in South Africa, and thus adding to their own safety from people whose designs with regard to themselves they constantly mistrust, and at the same time of obtaining booty in cattle, horses, sheep, and every kind of property which is so tempting to barbarians. In fact, I do not think that means could have been devised which would have been more likely to plunge a great part of South Africa into a series of contests between the scattered European population inhabiting that territory and the numerous native tribes by whom they are surrounded.

15. An effect apparently not anticipated arose from the arrangements stated to have been made by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, that the Zulu warriors should assemble for the purpose of falling on the Boers if they resisted him. For it appears (see *Home News*, March, 1877, and subsequent months) that the assembling of an armed force in the Zulu territory created an impression in the Transvaal that a restless feeling existed amongst the Zulus which at any