

THE ENGLISH ALLIANCE WITH THE VOORTREKKERS AGAINST THE ZULUS DURING MARCH AND APRIL 1838

A E Cubbin
University of Zululand

Dingane's enemies

In this year of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek it is appropriate to highlight the little known episode when the English of Port Natal co-operated with the Voortrekkers. The combined action of the two groups culminated in the battle of Thukela on 17 April 1838 which was a titanic struggle between the English-led Port Natal army and the Zulu impis. This was the first occasion on which the English had dared take on the might of the Zulu impis in direct combat. With the support of the Voortrekkers in the north they felt that with their combined firepower, they could be successful if they attacked the Zulus along the coast. It was, however, to be a great gamble.

The first permanent settlement of traders/hunters at Port Natal was established in the middle of 1824 by Henry Francis Fynn and Lieutenant Francis George Farewell. They had developed a trade in ivory, skins, horns and cattle and had achieved relative stability under Shaka's aegis. As the number of Zulu refugees escaping from Shaka's and later Dingane's vagaries swelled at Port Natal, Dingane became increasingly apprehensive of this potential source of opposition. Henry Fynn explained that "the European settlement, in the eyes of Dingane, was objectionable, not only because it was an imperium in imperio, but because it harboured many that confidently assumed to have vowed everlasting vengeance against himself and as constantly plotting to bring about his downfall".¹ Ships' cannon, awesome horses and a formidable number of muskets at Port Natal must have been cause for concern and even a threat for Dingane. Dingane probably tolerated the English settlers in his kingdom only because there were few of them.

The delicate balance of power between Dingane and the English settlers at the Port was upset by the rapid incursion of the numerous and militarily successful Voortrekkers in October 1837. Dingane resisted this unwelcome encroachment by killing Retief and his commando on 6 February 1838. This was followed up by successful engagements at Blaaukrans on 17 February and Italeni on 11 April which left his Voortrekker enemies² temporarily demoralised. He then sent his triumphant impis against the English force from Port Natal to break the two-pronged attack on his homeland. Dingane had shrewdly realised that the Whites would act in concert: "I see that every white man is an enemy to the black, and every black man an enemy to the white, they do not love each other and never will".³

The alliance between the English people at Port Natal and the Voortrekkers had been welcomed on 24 October 1837 by the military leader of Port Natal, Alexander Biggar, as having "infused a lively spirit among us";⁴ the common experience of the Sixth Frontier

J Stuart and D McK Malcolm (eds), *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, p. 241. (Pietermaritzburg, 1950).

2. G Cory, *The Diary of Francis Owen*. (Van Riebeeck Society VII) p. 177.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

4. *Graham's Town Journal* [G T J], 7 December 1837. The Scot Alexander Biggar, peninsular veteran and 1820 settler leader, was the father of eleven children. He was ruined by the Sixth Frontier War of 1834. His son Robert left for Port Natal in 1832 with Robert Dunn's party. Alexander and his young son George joined Robert at Port Natal in 1836.

War of 1834—1835 cemented the alliance.

Retief's diplomacy in stilling the fears of the English speaking settlers at Port Natal was also significant.⁵ Retief would have realised the need to placate both the English at Port Natal and the Governor in Cape Town if he was to succeed in establishing a permanent home for his wandering people. The advantage of the alliance with the English against the Zulus would have been obvious to an experienced campaigner like Retief. The American missionary, Rev Daniel Lindley, pointed out the reality of the situation: "The Port Natal people, black and white have no favour to expect from Dingane, should he succeed in overcoming the Boers".⁶

Port Natal before the battle

Our telescope focuses on Port Natal on 12 March 1838 where the Rev Francois Owen had arrived after a harrowing journey from Mgungundlovu from where they had fled after the death of Retief and his commando on 6 February. He found that his colleague from the Church Missionary Society, Rev Wallace Hewetson, had arrived on 14 March on the schooner 'Mary'. They settled in the safety of the Point where they conferred and decided to offer their services to the Voortrekkers as they believed that the Voortrekkers were going to govern South Eastern Africa and that it was necessary to work through them if they wished to carry on missionary work among the Zulus. This proposal had been supported by the Voortrekker, Frans Roos, a new arrival at Port Natal.⁷

Owen soon found out that the settlers and their black wards had decided to make use of Dingane's preoccupation with the Voortrekkers to settle a few old debts and that they even went so far as to formally declare war against Dingane.⁸ The immediate cause of their wrath was the news of the deaths of Thomas Halstead (Retief's interpreter), George Biggar, and lastly the killing and robbing of Carl Blanckenberg's 17 Coloured traders by Dingane because of the latter's refusal to visit him.⁹ Owen also discovered that the Zulu refugees at Port Natal wished to replace the cattle that had been taken by the Zulus over the years in the process of Zulu nation building; this was particularly felt by Captain Gardiner's men living at Hambanathi (Gardiner's second mission station at the mouth of the Tangathi river) who were forbidden by Gardiner to join in the campaign.¹⁰

Owen along with Hewetson and Lindley, strongly objected to what they regarded as a filibustering campaign of "plunder and revenge". The settlers were adamant and explained that "... self preservation, the first law of nature, alone actuated them to carry the war into the enemies' country".¹¹ Their situation had long since been parlous and this was the first occasion that the settlers had considered it possible and necessary to attack Dingane. This was the first time that English-speaking men outside the Cape Colony had made war on the Zulu people to the north of the Thukela (this now seems to be the accepted spelling for the Tugela River). On the 13th March Owen recorded: "A declaration of war has been formally declared by the Natal settlers against Dingane"¹². Win or lose, there was bound to be a severe retribution for the entire settlement at Port Natal i.e. even those not immedia-

5. G Preller, *Voortrekkermense* III, pp. 153—154. (Cape Town 1938).

6. D J Kotze, *Letters of the American Missionaries*. (Van Riebeeck Society XXXI), p. 223.

7. G Cory, *op cit*, p. 126 and pp. 119—120.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 123, 127.

9. *Ibid*, p. 127.

10. *Ibid*, p. 123.

11. *Ibid*, p. 124.

12. *Ibid*, p. 127.

tely involved, like missionaries, women and children. Obviously the difference on this occasion was the heavy involvement of the Voortrekkers whom the settlers had backed to win in the struggle for hegemony in Natal. Despite the lack of ready contact there was a close working relationship between the Voortrekkers and the settlers. Henry Ogle, one of the leaders at Port Natal, had adopted a plan of co-operation with the Voortrekkers who had told him: "You people take the lower route (i.e. along the coast), and we'll take the upper one ..." ¹³ Immediately the settlers became aware that the Zulus were going to attack the Voortrekker laagers, Alexander Biggar arranged for Dick King (the hero who was instrumental in relieving the siege of Port Natal in 1842) to warn them. After four days and nights on foot he arrived in the nick of time to warn them and witness the Zulu attack on 16/17 March 1838 against the Voortrekkers at Blaaukrans. ¹⁴ A less happy incident concerns the fate of George Biggar who was also despatched with a letter to warn the Voortrekkers but arrived a day late and in the melee with the Zulus was shot twice by a certain Van Vorren (sic, probably Van Vuuren). The last shot was a deliberate one despite Biggar's pleas for mercy. In extenuation it may be pointed out that he had been seen communicating with the Zulus but with his father's (Alexander) known sympathies there was little chance of George having been anything but loyal to the Voortrekkers. ¹⁵

With the Port Natal settlers expecting an imminent attack by the Zulus, the cutter 'Ligonier' arrived at Port Natal on 12 March and the master undertook to remain in the bay for three weeks during this unsettled and dangerous period. 13 March was an important day. Firstly a delegation to the Voortrekkers set out "for the purpose of agreeing on the day of the attack" and secondly "the Natal army departed". The force was a thousand strong, had 100 guns and was led by the English settlers. ¹⁶ One of them, John Stubbs, was seen wearing an old straw hat with an ostrich feather and he carried an elephant gun of which the butt was covered by a panther skin. The impi of Zulu refugees he led chanted: "The wild beast i.e. Dingane, has driven us from our homes but we will catch him", and proudly displayed their banners: 'Izinkumbi' (the locusts) and "For justice we fight". ¹⁷

On 15 March the remaining Europeans at Port Natal sought safety on Salisbury island in the bay. On 17 March news was received from the commandant of the Natal forces that an embassy from the Voortrekkers was en route to Port Natal with a plan of union with the settlers. It now seemed more certain than ever that the Trekkers and the English would unite their efforts against the Zulus. Owen records the excitement: "March 17:- News has arrived today from the commandant of the Natal forces, that an embassy from the Boers proceeding hither in order to agree upon some plan of union with the Natal people, met him on the road: the Dutch and English will now unite against the Zoolus". ¹⁸ This was momentous news, but the struggle for hegemony in Natal was going to be traumatic because Dingane's military might had already been effective in the attack on the Voortrekkers at Blaaukrans, the news of which had filtered through to Port Natal. At the divine ser-

13. Interview: James Stuart with John Ogle kaWohlo, 7 March 1914, (Killie Campbell Africana Library (K.C.): K.C. 23404, File 9, item 16, p. 2).
14. Refer to the accounts of Hully and Owen (In G Cory: *op cit*, pp. 179 and 125. Also R P H King "Memories of my father". (In *The Outspan*, 5 September 1941).
15. J Bird, *Annals of Natal*, 1, p. 371. Refer also to K.C. 27172 Natal History: "On the side of the Biggars" pp. 114-130. Natal Archives (N.A.): Shepstone Papers, 1, 1825-1849, Journal 4 December 1838, 26 March 1839. Refer particularly Monday 17 December 1838.
16. G Cory, *op cit*, pp. 126-127. On p. 166 Kirkman mentions 30 whites and 2,500 Africans.
17. (K.C.) Church Missionary Record (C M R), No. 11, November 1838, IX, p. 270. Refer also to G Cory: *op cit*, pp. 126-127.
18. *Ibid*, p. 127.

vice on 18 March Alexander Biggar wept bitterly for the death of his son, George.¹⁹ In a sense Biggar was unconsciously weeping for his own death because he was later to join the Trekkers and die on commando.

On the same day Captain Allen Gardiner arrived at Port Natal from Hambanathi. Owen wished to remain at Berea, Gardiner's first mission station, with Gardiner, provided "The combined forces of the Dutch and the English" were successful. Owen realised the latent danger of the situation at Port Natal as Dingane had warned that "he should come down in a more sudden way than he had attacked the Boers".²⁰ But the settlers were now preparing the fort on the strategically situated Point. Rev Owen encouraged the beleaguered settlers as best he could. "I walked about the camp (which is a small square fortified in a manner, on every side by waggons, thorns, planks, poles, etc., and containing several huts)".²¹ But the tension of waiting for the possible Zulu attack became too much for some as on the evening of 22 March there was a false alarm caused by drunken revelry occasioned by four Europeans whom Owen severely reprimanded.²²

25 March was a sad day for Port Natal. Captain Allen Gardiner and his entourage set sail in the 'Mary' having come to the conclusion that the Trekkers would not allow him to work at Hambanathi. "For some time and indeed until a few days prior to our embarkation I had buoyed myself up with the expectation of entering into an agreement with the Boers for retaining the land and settlement at Hambanathi but when I considered their embittered feelings towards the British Government and the (latter?) country which, as a British Officer known to have exerted all his influence with the Colonial Government to frustrate their plans, it appeared to me that whatever concessions they might be induced to make in the final instance there could be no cordial openness and that all my plans for instructing the natives would eventually be sapped and defeated".²³ The English community at Port Natal had lost an important and experienced leader in their hour of need; now the settlement was more exposed to attacks from Dingane's impis than ever.

On 28 March Owen regretfully learned that his offer to become minister among the Trekkers had been declined by Gert Maritz because of the unsettled conditions in Natal. On 1 April the settlement received the alarming news that Gardiner's Hambanathi Zulus, now left to their own devices, had crossed the Thukela with their guns and had plundered Zulu cattle. Dingane had them peremptorily killed²⁴ — a grim warning to any invader of the Zulu homeland.

On commando

On 2 April 1838 the first Natal commando from Port Natal returned excited and full of news. Their commando consisting of John Cane, Henry Ogle, John Stubbs and others had set out on 13 March to join the Trekkers. However, soon after crossing the Mngeni a dispute as to whether Cane or Ogle's Zulu wards should lead the commando, broke out.

19. (K.C.) C M R, p. 270. Refer also to "Mediator" 2 November 1838: Letter by Alexander Biggar, 6 August 1838. See also p. 4 of this article.

20. G Cory, *op cit*, p. 124. Also Local History Museum, Durban (L H M) Owen to Jowett, 31 March 1838.

21. G Cory, *op cit*, p. 128.

22. *Ibid*, p. 127. Refer also to (K.C.) C M R, *Ibid*, p. 270.

23. Grahamstown 1820 Museum (S.M.) 162: Allan Gardiner to D Coates 30 March 1838. Refer also to C de B Webb's "Allen Gardiner", In *Natalia*, 4 December 1974, p. 33. He supports this as Gardiner lost R10,000 worth of property.

24. G Cory, *op cit*, p. 129.

Cane's men won the altercation over precedence in which fifty Zulus were seriously injured. But, ominously, Ogle's faction swore revenge²⁵ and this was to have a serious repercussion at a critical stage during the battle of Thukela.

The commando had been unable to join up with the Voortrekkers because of swollen rivers and had therefore marched on and attacked the undefended Mangalazi umuzi's of Sotobe and Nombanga at Untunjambili near the present Kranskop. Because the local men were serving in Dingane's impis in their campaign against the Trekkers, the Port Natal commando had no difficulty in plundering 4 000 head of cattle and 500 women and children. It is significant that this expedition never crossed the Thukela i.e. entered Zulu territory aggressively. The English must have been aware that it was only a matter of time before they (and therefore Port Natal) could expect to face the full brunt of Dingane's retribution for this filibustering raid into Zulu territory. In the short term they had got away cheaply. The commando had lost only two men, one of whom was bitten by a snake and the other had been summarily shot by Cane because he had attempted to rustle some of the stolen cattle for himself before the final division. When the army returned there was a state of euphoria at Port Natal, and Owen was deeply concerned. "There is no king in Israel: everyman does whatsoever is right in his own eyes. A cow may be purchased for 15/- (previously £2-5/-)"²⁶ and the Rev Daniel Lindley lamented that "Cattle mania now rages in the land".²⁷ And so the spoils of the raid were divided in proportion to the amount of levies provided by the settlers. It is significant, in the light of this episode, that I can find no evidence to suggest that the British Government criticised this blatant act of aggression and clear case of enforced slavery, whereas the later Ncapayi incident was much publicised and severely criticised, presumably because the Trekkers — and not English speaking settlers — were involved.

Owen, Hewetson and Lindley roundly chastised the leaders of the campaign not only because they thought it was wrong but also because of the imminent attack that Port Natal could now expect from Dingane's impis. However, buoyed up by their recent success the Port Natal commando began to prepare for their next attempt to attack the Zulus which was to leave nine days after the return of the first expedition. The settlers at Port Natal could call upon approximately 3 400 fighting men out of a population of 10 000 Zulu adherents.²⁸ Robert Biggar, having returned from the Cape in March, was dissatisfied with his share of cattle received and was determined to lead another raid not only for cattle but also to revenge the death of his brother, George.²⁹ The English settlers were fairly confident of acquitting themselves well and they had a meeting at Congella to make detailed arrangements for the attack. Lindley and Owen attempted to dissuade them from attacking Dingane and attempted to persuade them to remain on the defensive and conserve their strength at Port Natal for the expected attack by the Zulus. But the settlers were determined and the expedition was made ready.³⁰ The pent up frustrations of the settlers and their Zulu wards who had been long dependent upon the mercy of Dingane, the desire to assist their new allies, the Trekkers, and the chance to rustle large numbers of Zulu cattle, was too great a temptation for the Port Natal commando to resist.

25. W C Holden, *History of Natal*, p. 64 (London 1855).

26. G Cory: *op cit*, p. 130; L M H Owen to Jowett, 31 March 1838, pp. 2—3.

27. D J Kotze, *op cit*, p. 242. Also [K.C.] C M R, *Ibid*, p. 272. "They thought of nothing but the Zulu's rich flocks."

28. J Bird, *op cit*, 1, p. 551. This refers to a detailed breakdown of the population at Port Natal at this time; this from Daniel Toohey's evidence before the Native Commission in 1852.

29. G T J, 17 May 1838 refers to "a fine intelligent man about twenty five years of age". George's father was the Scot Alexander born 29 October 1781, and his brother was Robert born in 1812.

30. G Cory, *op cit*, p. 166. Also pp. 131—134.

Robert Biggar's wards left a week ahead of the commando to spy out the land. The confident Port Natal army under the redoubtable John Cane left on (the unpropitious) Friday 13 April. It consisted of 18 settlers and 30 Khoi mostly on horseback and 3 000 wards armed with assegais, sticks and shields; 400 of the latter were also armed with firearms so the army had formidable firepower. The wards were organised under their White leaders who were armed with elephant guns, pistols, swords and cutlasses and flaunted ostrich feathers in their hats.

Ominously the stalwart, Henry Ogle, remained behind at Port Natal but he allowed his wards to join the expedition.³¹ Ogle was seriously ill and it was unlikely that he would have missed out on such an expedition³² had he been well.

Providentially for the Europeans' safety the brig 'Comet' on 16 April entered Port Natal because Captain Haddon was ill. On the 17 April confused reports of the defeat of the Port Natal army began to circulate Port Natal. On 19 April Joseph Brown with a severely injured knee returned to Port Natal with full details of the expedition. Brown reported that the Port Natal army had wet out enthusiastically. The Zulu wards particularly were looking forward to revenging old wrongs perpetrated by Dingane. They sang: "We are going to kill the elephant who killed our forefathers, fathers, mothers, wives and children and who deprived us of our cattle". The army halted on the Mmzinyathi river where Robert Biggar was responsible for sending twelve spies ahead to reconnoitre. They met Zulu spies at the Mvoti river who enticed them across the Thukela into Zulu territory; Biggar's men, abandoning caution, actually fired at Kude's kraal thus diminishing the element of surprise.

Meanwhile at the council of war held on the third evening i.e. 16 April, Robert Biggar was in favour of attacking immediately to get the benefit of surprise. Cane, on the other hand was more cautious and wanted to act on the defensive and choose his battlefield. This lack of cohesion among the English leaders was to lead to a breakdown in morale. But Biggar's plan was reluctantly agreed to.

The battle

Before dawn on 17 April the army from Port Natal successfully surrounded and attacked the military umuzi (kraal) of Ndondakusuka on the prominent hill on the northern sea side near to the present John Ross bridge. When they fired upon the huts the occupants apparently held on to the ceiling branches until the huts began to collapse. The Port Natallers re-directed their aim higher with devastating effect. The Ndondakusuka umuzi was soon set alight and became a funeral pyre.

Meanwhile the Zulu impis lay concealed, hidden behind the ridges to the north of the hill waiting for the order to attack. Under the nominal command of Prince Mpande, Nkosi Ndlela, Zulu and Nongalaza, the Zulu fighting force consisted of seven impis of 1 500 and in total exceeded 10 000 warriors who were armed with assegais and shields. The Zulus bravely attacked the devastating firepower of the Port Natal musketeers while attempting to engage in close range, i.e. hand to hand, fighting. They attacked in traditional chest and enveloping horn formation. They were eager to fight the Port Natal army

31 Natal Archives (N.A.), Garden papers, p. 666. We are informed here that: "Ogle who had stopped behind told some parties that he had given his people instructions to behave in this manner i.e. revenge on Cane's wards, in revenge for the battle for precedence in the Ntunjambili raid — they did. Daniel Toohey heard this and went to Ogle who denied it."

32. K C 23404, File 9, item 16: James Stuart's interview with John Ogle ka Wohlo, 7 March 1914, p. 2.

after their recent success against the Trekkers at Italemi on 11 April and they wanted to revenge the humiliation of Ntunjambili inflicted on the Zulus by the Port Natal army. Now they were outraged by the attack against the Ndongakusuka umuzi which they heard so clearly as they waited in the bushy valleys just out of sight waiting for the command to attack.

The Port Natal army was marshalled by Robert Biggar and successfully repulsed the determined Zulu onslaught three times. Biggar was responsible for detaching Cane to deal with the Zulu right horn and Ogle's men, without their leader, had the great responsibility of receiving the Zulu left horn to prevent envelopment. Ogle's wards accomplished their task successfully but instead of then attacking the main body of Zulus on their flank they either deliberately or inadvertently retreated. They possibly felt that the time had come to revenge themselves on Cane and his men for their personal slight imposed upon them at the outset of the Ntunjambili campaign. The sight of this large body of men retreating at this crucial stage gave new heart to Mpande's Zulus who closed in on the diminishing ranks of the Port Natal army. Being mounted on horses the Port Natal leaders had by this stage lost the initiative of manoeuvrability because they were hemmed in by the mass of Zulus. In the penultimate moments of the battle there were scenes of great bravery. John Cane, one of the first settlers, fought mounted, with his pipe in his mouth. He received the first assegai in his chest while the second impaled him between his shoulder blades. Stubbs and Biggar fell close by and the disheartened and fearful remainder of the Port Natal armies retreated to the Thukela river where they were forced by the Zulu hordes to leap 30m into the mealstrom of bodies in the river below. Very few gained the Natal side and it was here that Carl Blanckenberg was killed. The Port Natal wards now threw away any distinguishing insignia or weapons and joined the mad rush to escape and then to make their way back to the relative safety of Port Natal.

The outcome

The battle had been closely fought and was costly in human lives.³³ The Zulus lost three entire regiments of 1 000 warriors each. Of the Port Natal leaders John Cane, Robert Biggar, John Stubbs, Carl Blanckenberg, Thomas Carden, John Russel, Richard and William Wood, Henry Batt, John or Thomas Campbell, Richard Lovedale and two or three other settlers died on this memorable day. Only two or three Khoi managed to make their escape while very few of the Zulu wards, mainly Ogle's, eventually managed to return to Port

33. For a composite picture of the battle the following sources can be consulted: W C Holden, *op cit*, pp. 63–75. Rev. Holden has gone to particular trouble to authenticate his sources of information only seventeen years after the battle. On page 63 he refers to a "full investigation" and on page 74 he informs his readers that "Most of the particulars herein I can vouch for as being correct, having conversed with several who were engaged in the transaction, and others who were residing in Natal at that time". Also J Bird, *op cit*, 1, pp. 551–552. George Chadwick's pamphlet on this subject is remarkable for the detailed military and topographical aspects of this battle. G Cory, *op cit*, pp. 131–134, gives an exciting original account of the first news. Refer also to (K C) C M R, *op cit*, pp. 274–276. Also D C F Moodie, *History of battles* (Cape Town, 1888), pp. 407–413. Also Transvaal Archives (T A) U G Louts Versameling, 1, Nr. 135, p. 3. Also W Wood: *Statements respecting Dingaan*, pp. 32–34 (Cape Town 1840). Here William Wood blames Robert Biggar for causing the failure of the expedition because he split the Port Natal army at a critical stage. William's mother is presumably the woman Owen had in mind when he wrote: "An English woman ... was almost frantic with grief". Vide G Cory, *op cit*, his father and his uncle in this battle. Also (N A) *Garden papers*, pp. 666–669. Also D J Kotze, *op cit*, pp. 243–244. Lastly K C Steel drawers, *Fynn Papers: "Cane's fight with Dingaan's regiment"*, pp. 7–8.

Natal. George Duffy, Joseph Brown, Robert Joyce and Richard King escaped to tell the shocking tale.³⁴ The Zulu army was tardy in following up its advantage and only arrived at Port Natal at 09h00 on 24 April³⁵ and besieged the settlement until 4 May. The settlers were safe on the 'Comet' at anchor in the bay. The brig fired the occasional cannon shot³⁶ to keep the Zulu impis at bay.

Conclusion

The settlers at Port Natal had recklessly staked everything on one desperate battle with Dingane and lost. Everything they had worked for, for fourteen hard years, had been devastated and Natal was now "a miserable desolation".³⁷ The few settlers who decided to remain were to depend upon the kindness and the limited ability of the struggling Trekkers in the North and in the end, the mercy of Dingane and his rampant impis. However, Dingane's fears as to the loyalty of the refugees at Port Natal had been realised and they had been suitably punished. Dingane was riding the crest of a wave but he had become inextricably involved in a war of attrition with the Trekkers whose people beyond the Drakensberg were stirring themselves to revenge the death of their compatriots.³⁸ Furthermore the British in the Cape would not be happy at the instability on the South East coast of Southern Africa and before the year was out there would be a British military presence at Port Natal sent in an attempt to stabilise the situation in Natal.

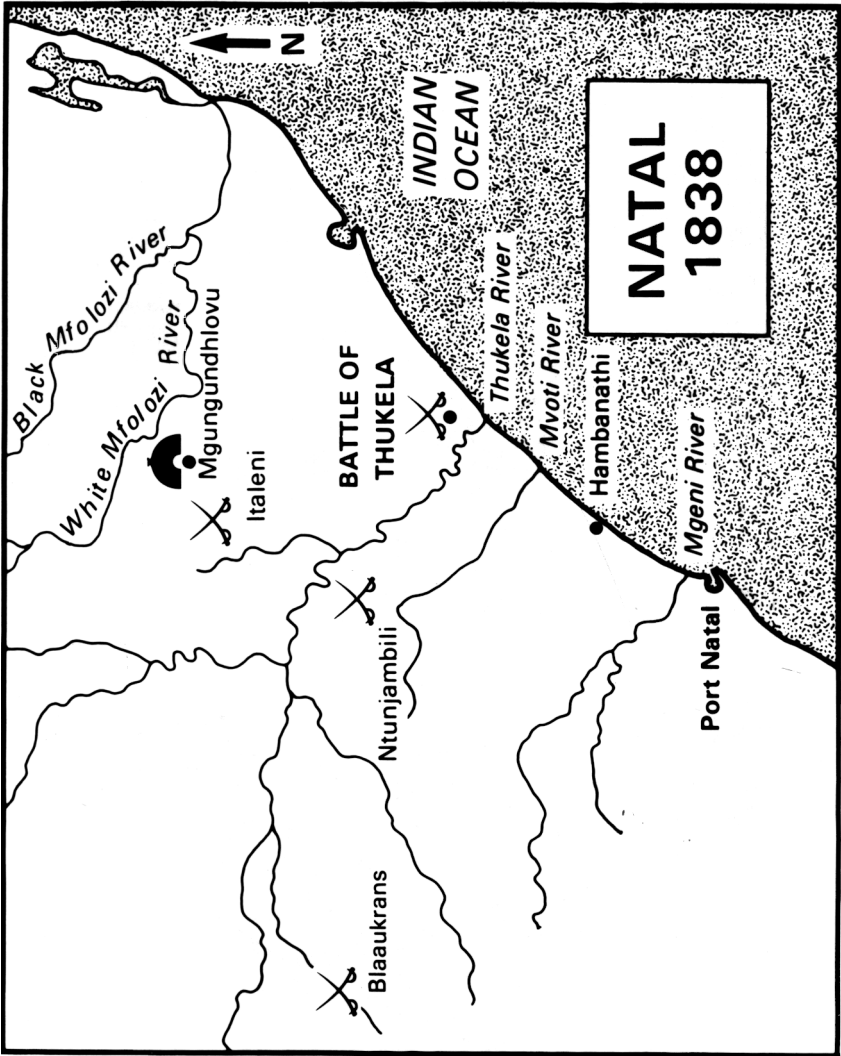
34. *G T J*, 31 May 1838.

35. *G Cory, op cit*, p. 137.

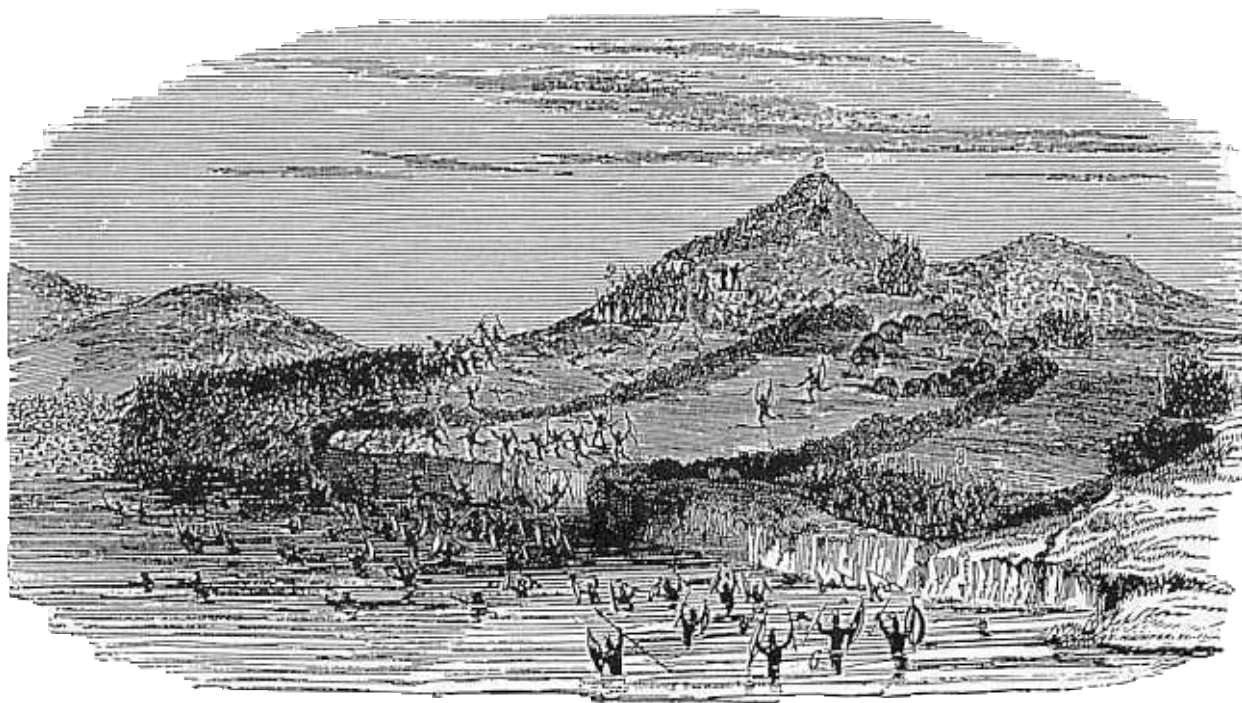
36. *G T J*, 31 May 1838.

37. *D J Kotze, op cit*, p. 243.

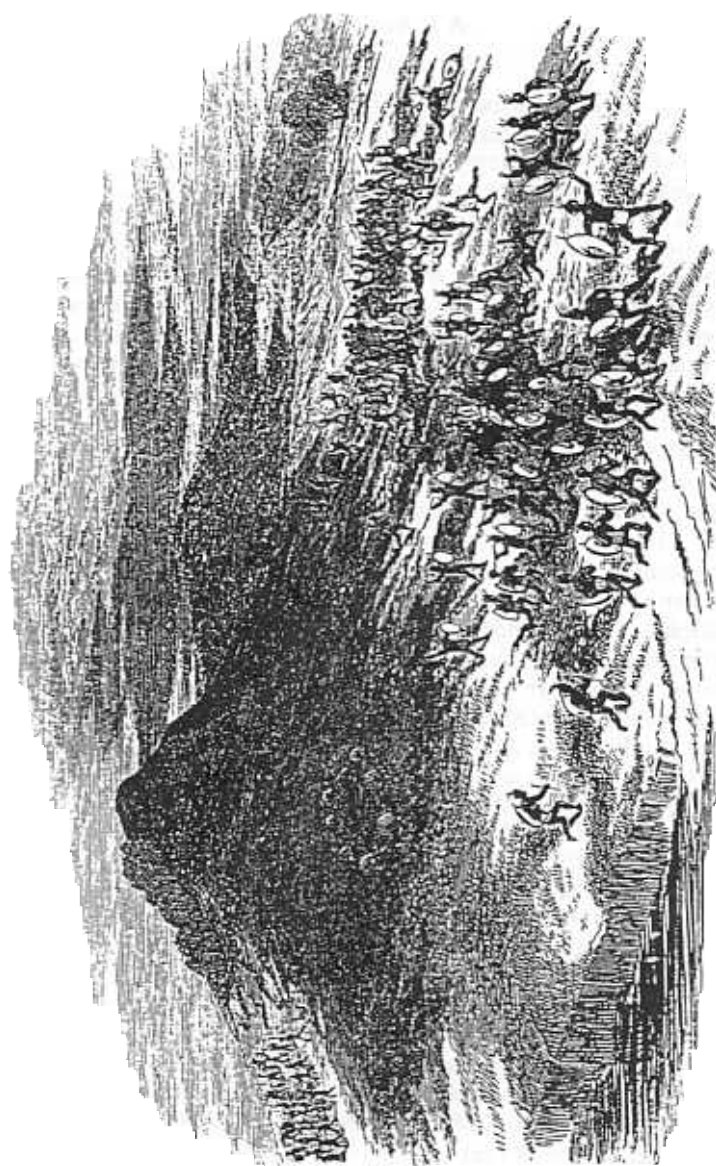
38. *G E Cory, op cit*, p. 119.



Cathy Wright L A A C University of Zululand 1988



*The battle between the Natal Kafirs, under John Cane, and the Zulus, on the Tugela River.
Rev. W.C. Holden's History of the Colony of Natal 1855 p. 67.*



of John Cane and Robert Biggar, at the Battle on the Tugela.
W.C. Holden's History of the Colony of Natal 1855 p. 71