

Bambatha's Personal Rebellion

In 1906 a portion of the Zondi people living in the Umvoti Division of Natal rebelled against the colonial government. Led by their recently deposed chief Bambatha kaMancinza, the rebels in rapid succession seized his successor (2 April), attacked the resident magistrate (3 April) and ambushed the Natal Police (4 April) before transferring their operations to Zululand (7 April). Thus began what is known as the 'Bambatha Rebellion' or the 'Zulu Rebellion', with several less well-known names as well, which disturbed the Colony of Natal during the autumn and winter of 1906.

It is generally accepted that the rebellion was triggered off by the collection of a poll tax, although there were underlying factors which conditioned the disturbances. The rebellion marks a watershed in the history of the region, in that African people, hitherto submissive to colonial rule, for the first time expressed a general grievance by resorting to violence on a large scale.

It is not always clear whether the rebels, in challenging the Supreme Chief of the colony, sought a revolution in government or a redress of grievances, and this lack of clarity applies to the eponymous hero of the rebellion. It is the purpose here to focus on what made him rebel, and, more particularly, how important the poll tax was as a motivation of his rebellion. It will be shown that for a while opposition to the poll tax was indeed his paramount consideration, but that was some time before he rebelled, and, when he actually did, to be reinstated as chief and to take revenge against his successor were his most important motives.

Yet he also launched the rebellion in the name of Dinuzulu, the putative king of the Zulu nation. Dinuzulu's involvement remains obscure. Bambatha was killed in the rebellion (or in any event vanished from the scene of it) before Dinuzulu's involvement was discovered by the colonial authorities, and the evidence of the rebels in the subsequent trials, culminating in that of Dinuzulu himself, is of such a self-serving character that one cannot say whether it was really Dinuzulu's rebellion or Bambatha's. Dinuzulu's contribution will be considered here in passing.

The poll tax, legislated and proclaimed in 1905 and imposed and collected in 1906, was a measure intended to give financial relief to the Colony caught in economic depression. Although it applied to all free adult males, its impact would be felt most widely among the indigenous 81,5 % of the population.¹ Hitherto their main liability to the government was the hut tax of 14s paid by heads of households. The poll tax of £1 applied to those men who did not pay the hut tax, and family heads now feared that bachelors would no longer contribute towards the household payment because they would have to pay for themselves. The hierarchical bonds of family would be loosened.² In practically all the divisions of the Colony there were protests against the imposition of the poll tax. Rumours spread that under the aegis of Dinuzulu there would be a forceful

resistance to its collection and a number of chiefs in Natal and Zululand sent to him for advice. He counselled payment and set an example by having his own people pay in advance of the scheduled date.³

So threatening were demonstrations against the tax in the Maphumulo Division that the government dispatched a special police field force there in early February, but bloodshed occurred first in the Richmond Division, when a police patrol clashed with armed protesters on 7 February. Next day the government proclaimed martial law and mobilized the militia, and a much larger field force, assisted by a local levy of men, scoured the area and arrested the protesters.⁴ They were court-martialled in mid-March and twelve of them were sentenced to death and executed by firing squad at Richmond on 2 April.⁵ Field forces of militia made demonstrations in force in the south and in Maphumulo during late February and March, restored order, and then demobilised.⁶

With such impressive examples of government firmness, why then did Bambatha rebel in early April?

No major problems were expected with the collection of the poll tax in the Umvoti Division.⁷ The resident magistrate, J. W. Cross, began at Seven Oaks on 22 January and continued at Rietvlei and Muden, but had to go on sick leave.⁸ Bambatha's Zondi people had been originally scheduled to pay on the 5th, but Cross rescheduled them to pay last, in Greytown, the seat of the division, on the 22nd.⁹ His replacement, Major Maxwell, dealt with a protest at Hermannsburg by gaoling the chiefs and threatening to fine them, which brought compliance.¹⁰ Cross resumed duty and collected at Matimatolo from 19 to 21 February.¹¹ By the 22nd about £1 100 had been collected.¹² A message was sent round Bambatha's 'location', really the private farms of colonists in the Loza valley, that the men were to assemble at the homestead of Hanise, an important headman, about ten kilometres north of Greytown and just off the main road to Dundee. There Bambatha would sort out and send on those who had to pay.¹³ A large number of men turned out on the 22nd and proceeded up the road to Greytown,¹⁴ but a contingent from the Impanza valley under one Nhlonhlo arrived armed and without trousers, which were required to enter a town. The Impanza contingent refused to pay the tax. Bambatha remonstrated with them, and most of them went home. But not all. A portion under Mgombana made their way up the road. Some sang the traditional Zondi war chant, a few danced in war-like fashion, and Mgombana said things about fighting and attacking the townspeople. Bambatha and a few other leaders hastened to divert the Impanza men into a timber plantation about three kilometres outside town and persuaded them also to go home.¹⁵ Bambatha did not go into town himself, as he had intended, but told Saka, the nominal headman of the Impanza section, to explain to the magistrate that he could not come because he had a headache.¹⁶

Cross noticed that most of the Zondi men who arrived were sullen and a lot of fathers were paying for their sons. Saka gave Bambatha's excuse, and when asked where the young men were, he answered they were off courting.¹⁷ Only about 90 men paid the tax.¹⁸ That evening a report of the armed assemblage in the trees reached town and the townspeople were hastily laagered in the town hall for protection that night.¹⁹

The government now moved to depose Bambatha. They did not know what had really happened on the road to Greytown, and at first it appeared that Bambatha had got cold feet only for fear of a leak upsetting the planned attack.²⁰

But the government was not deposing Bambatha just because of this. They were fed

up with his bad behaviour before this time, regarded him as a bad chief and, given the last incident and the prevailing circumstances, he could no longer be tolerated.²¹

Indeed, the record does not look good. He had become chief in 1890,²² and almost immediately he contrived to get his uncle and former regent Magwababa's Anglo-Zulu war service allowance cancelled.²³ In 1895 he was suspended as chief for four months in a cattle-stealing case, but got off when some of the witnesses perjured themselves.²⁴ The same year he started a boundary dispute with the neighbouring amaBomvu in the Krantzkop Division. His claims were rejected by the authorities, but he was unwilling to let go and the dispute poisoned relations between the two groups for years to come.²⁵ Between 1893 and 1906 he was defendant in seven criminal cases and 37 civil cases, all for debt, and the judgments were all against him.²⁶ During the Second Anglo-Boer War he alleged that local Dutch farmers were victimising some of his people because of their loyalty to the Crown.²⁷ In August of 1905 he led a gang to disrupt a wedding and in the ensuing fight between factions he helped beat a man almost to death.²⁸ By this time two or three factions were identifiable among the amaZondi in the valley, and Bambatha was associated with the Impanza section.²⁹ His particularly savage behaviour in the faction fight was fully revealed at the trial at Greytown in mid-January. On the 24th he was sentenced to a fine of £20 or three months' imprisonment with hard labour, and 42 of his followers were fined £5 with the option of a month's hard labour. All but five paid the fines. The faction fight determined the government on his removal.³⁰ The subsequent tax collection imbroglio simply confirmed them in their determination.

The Supreme Chief and the Minister for Native Affairs concurred in Cross's proposal that Magwababa be appointed chief, and Magwababa and Bambatha were summoned to the capital to be told personally of the decision, and Bambatha was to be warned that any further misconduct would result in his being physically removed from the division.³¹

Between 23 February and 3 March three messages were sent summoning Bambatha. The first time he said he would come but did not. The second time he was reported as having said: 'I am afraid I shall be arrested if I go and rather than proceed to Pietermaritzburg I prefer to die here.' The third time the messengers could not find him.³² The amaZondi were in turmoil. The Impanza section, or at least a very visible portion of them, were up in arms. The matter of the summons was discussed at two large meetings at different homesteads. One faction, associated with Magwababa, wanted him to go. The other faction, associated with the Impanza section, professed to fear for his life, sought to protect him, and urged him not to go. 'It will be better for Bambatha to die in our hands, but he is not going to be driven and shot like a beast,' exclaimed Nhlonhlo. The Impanza section prevailed and Bambatha remained in their custody.³³ The government ordered his arrest and sent a strong police force down to get him. *En route* they took Hanise into custody, but on arrival at the Impanza the country seemed practically empty of people. Neither Bambatha nor Saka nor Nhlonhlo were found.³⁴

Bambatha did not wait for the government's next move: he fled to Zululand. The government put out a warrant, and on 23 March formally deposed him. Magwababa was appointed chief for a year, acting as regent for Bambatha's younger brother Funizwe. The deputation to Pietermaritzburg assured the Minister that the loyal element preponderated in the tribe and they would restore order.³⁵ In a strange *volte-face* Nhlonhlo tried to attach himself to the deputation, but was arrested and imprisoned. So was Saka.³⁶

Bambatha, a fugitive, was not yet a rebel, but he was about to be galvanised into

action. Whose idea it originally was that he should go to Dinuzulu we may never know. And why should he take with him, besides two men attendants, a pregnant wife (his favourite one) and three of his children (but not by her)? It was an arduous trip to Usuthu which took the men seven and the dependants nine days.³⁷ The wife later insisted that Bambatha was summoned, and Dinuzulu denied it.³⁸ They do agree on Bambatha's going to Usuthu to ask Dinuzulu to give him a place to live, an escape from his many problems in Natal.³⁹ But the stories diverge thereafter. On the one hand, Bambatha's family state that Dinuzulu gave Bambatha a rifle and told him to go back to Natal and start a rebellion.⁴⁰ On the other, Dinuzulu and his adherents state that he sent Bambatha packing, but almost fortuitously Bambatha mentioned that there was a doctor among his people who could cure the sick and suffering Dinuzulu, and so two men were sent with him to bring back the doctor.⁴¹ Meanwhile the family remained under wraps at Usuthu.⁴² Bambatha, his two attendants, and Dinuzulu's two men returned to Natal, and according to the latter Bambatha produced not one gun but three on the way and began to talk recklessly of the coming war.⁴³

Bambatha left Natal on 12 March and returned on the 31st.⁴⁴ He went first to those faithful men of the Impanza section and announced that he was going to lead the rebellion against the whites and Dinuzulu would come to support him. He displayed the rifle and pointed to the two emissaries, who confirmed what he said.⁴⁵ One of them left a day or two later with a doctor, but not the one promised, and Dinuzulu rejected him outright.⁴⁶

Bambatha's object now was to rebel, and he sent to the neighbouring chiefs to tell them to join the rebellion or suffer retribution from Dinuzulu, whose army was on the way.⁴⁷ As he gathered a force, he said hardly anything about the poll tax. If anything, Bambatha was obsessed with revenge. He was enraged when he learnt that Magwababa had replaced him and over and over he vowed to kill him. (He would have done so, had not Dinuzulu's man intervened.)⁴⁸ Yet the other chiefs did not rally and Dinuzulu never came. Allegedly the emissary who brought the doctor to Dinuzulu, and then Dinuzulu himself, on being told of his rebellious acts, called Bambatha a madman.⁴⁹

With probably just over 700 men in his tribe,⁵⁰ Bambatha mustered no more than about 300.⁵¹ Many of these were commandeered,⁵² and when he left for Zululand at least half of them deserted.⁵³ Only the Impanza section remained faithful.⁵⁴

In conclusion let us return to the matter of motivation. What drove Bambatha to rebel? It was the prospect of deposition, not the poll tax. He apparently counselled the bellicose Impanza section against resisting the tax, but fell in with them when he found that he was going to be deposed. His great concern was to maintain his position and destroy his enemies. A man of his profligate and violent lifestyle would not fare long as a commoner. He fled to Usuthu in fear and returned in anger, emboldened to rebel. Perhaps someone there with another agenda was using him. Or perhaps he was a desperate man with a vivid imagination who lied himself into an impossible situation. Even with Dinuzulu's help, he would not have recovered his position, and as a rebel leader he was doomed from the outset. In Zululand he lost effective control over the rebellion.

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NOTES

1. Colony of Natal. *Statistical Year Book for the Year 1906* (Pietermaritzburg, 1907), 11. An estimated 938 472 of a total 1 154 907 on 31 Dec. 1906.
2. Colony of Natal. *Report of the Native Affairs Commission 1906–7* (Pietermaritzburg, 1907), 43; and *Native Affairs Commission 1906–7. Evidence* (Pietermaritzburg, 1907), 534. Z. A. Konczacki, *Public Finance and Economic Development of Natal, 1893–1910* (Durham, N. C., 1967), 46–50, 77–8. Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (all documents cited hereafter are in this archives depot and so it will not be referred to again), records of the Secretary for Native Affairs (cited hereafter as SNA) 1/1/231: Minute 2492, Magistrate, Umvoti Division, to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, 25 Sept. 1905.
3. *Report of Native Affairs Commission*, 43. *Native Affairs Commission Evidence*, p. 134. Colony of Natal, Department of Native Affairs. *Annual Reports for the Year 1905* (Pietermaritzburg, 1906), 108–9; and *Annual Reports for the Year 1906* (Pietermaritzburg, 1907), 14–5. Records of the Attorney- General (hereafter AGO) 1/7/74: statement of Jwebu; and 1/7/78: PM C99/1907: 'Notes taken at an interview between His Excellency the Governor and the Chief Dinuzulu at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on 20 and 21 May 1907,' 4 and 5. Records of the Supreme Court: Special Court: Zulu Rebellion (hereafter RSC), III/3/5, 3983–3991, evidence of Dinuzulu. SNA 1/1/330: 3176/1905, Magistrate. Umvoti to Minister of Native Affairs, 28 Nov. 1905; 1/1/344: 2051/1906, statement of Muziwake, 28 June 1906; 1/1/367: 1116/1907, Annual Report by the Magistrate, Umvoti Division for the Year 1906 on the Native Population, 11; and 1/4/15: C48/1906, C. W. Lewis to Commissioner of Police, 24 Jan. 1906; and 1/6/27: MJ C194/1906, Court martial of Mkamangana and 16 others, 149–50, evidence of Mbemi, and 1/6/229: 'Memorandum of C. R. Saunders, Commissioner for Native Affairs, Zululand, Eshowe, April 6, 1908,' 5–6, 9. 'The Poll Tax,' *Greytown Gazette*, 13 Jan. 1906. 'Dealing with Sullen Chiefs' and 'Poll-Tax in Zululand', *Natal Mercury*, 20 Feb. 1906.
4. Records of the Colonial Secretary (hereafter CSO) 2599: C147/1906, 'Interim Report. By Commandant of Militia, Natal. On the Native Rebellion, 1906,' 2–5, and 'Police Diary'.
5. *The Natal Native Rebellion As Told In Official Dispatches Jan. 1–June 23, 1906* (Pietermaritzburg, 1906), 49: Governor to Secretary of State, 5 Apr. 1906. SNA 1/6/26: General court martial of Makanda *et al.*
6. CSO 2599: C147/1906, 5–9A.
7. 'The Poll Tax,' *Greytown Gazette*, 13 Jan. 1906.
8. 'Poll Tax' and 'Native Unrest', *ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1905 and 3 Feb. 1906, respectively. 'Greytown', in *Natal Mercury*, 27 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1906 (two articles). SNA 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 8.
9. SNA 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 8; 1/6/27: MJ C163/1906, Court martial of Bayoli and 21 others, 12, and MJ C164/1906, Court martial of Hanise, Nhlonhlo and Saka, 4, evidence of J. W. Cross in both cases. Cf. J. Stuart, *A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906 and of Dinuzulu's Arrest, Trial and Expatriation* (London, 1913), 160–1.
10. 'Week by Week' (two articles) and 'District News,' in *Greytown Gazette*, 10, 17 and 24 Feb. 1906, respectively. 'Poll Tax in Greytown,' *Natal Mercury*, 13 Feb. 1906, and 'Dealing with Sullen Chiefs' and 'Poll-Tax in Zululand,' *ibid.*, 20 Feb. 1906.
11. CSO 3040: Magistrate. Umvoti to USNA, 19 Feb. 1906. 'County Notes... Greytown,' *Natal Mercury*, 21 Feb. 1906.
12. SNA 1/1/336: 579/1906, 'Summary of returns showing total amount [of] Poll Tax collected in Natal up to February 24, 1906.' 'Poll-Tax Payments. Results in Greytown,' *Natal Mercury*, 23 Feb. 1906.
13. SNA 1/6/27: MJ C194/1906, 153–4, evidence of Mbemi; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 30, evidence of Malamba.
14. SNA 1/6/27: MJ C194/1906, 67, evidence of Mangenge; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 12–13 and 33, evidence of Magwababa and Mangenge respectively.
15. SNA 1/1/336: 574/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 24 Feb. 1906; 1/1/ 414: 3263/1906, statement by Umkawana, 22 June 1906; and 1/6/27: MJ C163/1906, 13, evidence of J. W. Cross, and MJ C194/1906, 65, 67 and 182, evidence of Duluka, Mangenge, and Novunywa respectively; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 9–12, 28–9, 31–4, 35, 37–8, and 51, evidence of P. R. Botha, Malamba, Mangenge, Duluka, Mangwana,, Maviyo and Magwababa respectively. Archives of the Magistrate and Commissioner. Greytown (hereafter 1/GTN) 1/3/2/1: Cases Tried under Martial Law... [1906], no. 47, evidence of Mangenge. Accession 464: 'Bambata's Story (copied from Capt. J. Stuart's note book) in the field by W. F. Gebers, Intelligence.' 'The Native Trouble,' *Times of Natal*, 12 Mar. 1906.
16. SNA 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 9; 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 5, 22, 33, evidence of J. W. Cross, Gadupi, and Mangenge respectively. 1/GTN 1/3/2/1, no. 47, evidence of Mangenge.
17. SNA 1/1/336: 574/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 24 Feb. 1906; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 5,

- evidence of J. W. Cross. 'Poll Tax Payments,' *Natal Mercury*, 23 Feb. 1906.
18. SNA 1/1/336: 579/1906, 'Summary of Returns... up to and including February 24, 1906.' 'Native Unrest,' *Greytown Gazette*, 3 Feb. 1906.
 19. SNA 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 9. CSO 3040, Magistrate. Umvoti to Prime Minister, 22 and 23 Feb. 1906, and related correspondence. 'Scare at Greytown,' 'The Scare at Greytown,' 'Greytown and the Scare,' and 'Greytown Experience,' *Natal Mercury*, 23 and 24 Feb. and 1 and 3 Mar. 1906 respectively. 'Native Unrest,' *Greytown Gazette*, 3 Mar. 1906.
 20. SNA 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 10.
 21. See succeeding magistrates' remarks in SNA 1/1/196: 1647/1894 (J. E. Fannin), 1/1/298: 4068/1902 (J. Y. Gibson), and 1/1/333: 78/1906 (J. W. Cross), also the appraisal in Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, 158–61.
 22. SNA 1/1/127: 778/1890, SNA to Magistrate. Umvoti, 8 June 1890, and related correspondence.
 23. SNA 1/1/134: 1422/1890, Magistrate. Umvoti to SNA, 27 Nov. 1890, and related correspondence.
 24. SNA 1/1/196: 1647/1894, especially the 'Confidential Report re Chief Bambata' by Magistrate. J. E. Fannin.
 25. SNA 1/1/296: 2278/1902, USNA memorandum on the interview with Bambatha *et al.*, 25 Aug. 1902, and referring to the earlier 353/1895; 1/1/297: 2490/1902, Magistrate. Umvoti to Magistrate. Krantzkop, 24 Mar. 1902, and related correspondence; and 1/1/298: 4068/1902, Magistrate. Krantzkop to USNA, 4 Dec. 1902, and related correspondence. CSO 1714: 7762/1902, HE to SNA, 15 Oct. 1902, and related correspondence. 1/GTN 3/2/8: GT 421/1900, Magistrate. Krantzkop to USNA, 4 July 1900, and related correspondence.
 26. RSC III/3/9: K144 and K145, 'Copies of Civil and Criminal Record Books (Cases involving Bambata).'
 27. SNA 1/4/8: C80/1900, USNA memorandum, 16 May 1900, and related correspondence.
 28. SNA 1/1/333: 78/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to USNA, 29 Jan. 1906, and related correspondence. 'Faction Fighting,' *Greytown Gazette*, 27 Jan. 1906. 'Bambata's Story.'
 29. 'Scarecrows,' *Greytown Gazette*, 24 Feb. 1906.
 30. SNA 1/1/324: 1912/1905, USNA memorandum, 3 Nov. 1905; and 1/1/333: 78/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to USNA, 29 Jan. 1906, and P. R. Botha to SNA, 5 Feb. 1906, and related correspondence. 'The Native Faction Fighters Fined,' *Natal Mercury*, 25 Jan. 1906.
 31. SNA 1/1/333: 78/1906, MNA to HE and reply, 23 Feb. 1906, deposing Bambatha and appointing Magwababa, the latter letter subsequently being cancelled (MNA to HE, 16 Mar. 1906); and 1/1/336: 574/1906, MNA to Magistrate. Umvoti, 23 Feb. 1906. 'Bambata's Story.'
 32. SNA 1/1/336: 574/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 26 and 28 Feb. and 1 Mar. 1906, and MNA to Magistrate., 3 Mar. 1906; and 1/6/28: MJ C164, 6, evidence of J. W. Cross, who gives the quotation. AGO 1/7/54, statements of the messengers Mabaleka and Malobola [n.d.].
 33. SNA 1/1/336: 574/1906, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 24 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1906; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 13–4, 15–9, 20, 24–6, 38–42, 42–3, 43–5, and 52, evidence of Magwababa, Funizwe, Ngonyolo, Gadupi, Sikati, Bugufa, Umtwalu, and Nhlonhlo respectively. (The quotation is from Funizwe.) 1/GTN 1/3/2/1, no. 31, evidence of Magwababa; no. 36, evidence of Umhlabeni and Bukulu; and no. 42, evidence of Nomgaza and Usijibampeni. 'Bambata's Story.' Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, 64–5.
 34. SNA 1/4/16: C117/1906, Magistrate. Krantzkop to SNA, 15 Mar. 1906; and 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, 2, evidence of Sgt. George. 'Greytown,' and 'Chasing a Chief,' *Natal Mercury*, 9 and 19 Mar. 1906 respectively. 'The Native Trouble,' *Times of Natal*, 12 Mar. 1906.
 35. SNA 1/1/333: 78/1906, USNA to Magistrate. Umvoti, 17 Mar. 1906, and related correspondence; 1/1/338: 841/1906, 'Notes on Interview' with Magwababa and Funizwe *et al.*; and 1/1/339: 1071/1906, MNA to Magistrates in northern Natal [2 Apr. 1906]. CSO 3040, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 13 Mar. 1906. RSC III/3/2, 341–2 and 6142–2A, evidence of Kolekile and Ndongana respectively. AGO 1/7/52, statement of Siyeikiwe, 17 Dec. 1907.
 36. SNA 1/6/28: MJ C164/1906, evidence of Sgt. George.
 37. AGO 1/7/54, statement of Nsukuzonke, 18 Sept. 1908; and 1/7/76, statement by Jolwana, 23 June 1908. RSC III/3/2, 243–4, evidence of Siyeikiwe. SNA 1/6/29, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907.
 38. AGO 1/7/52 and 1/7/61, statements of Siyeikiwe, 17 Dec. 1906 and 12 July 1907 respectively; 1/7/68, statements of Cakijana, 20 May and 15 Nov. 1908; and 1/7/78: PM C99/1907, Notes at interview, 4. RSC III/3/5, 4005–7, 4631, evidence of Dinuzulu. SNA 1/1/344: 2051/1906, statement by Muziwake, 28 June 1906; 1/4/19: C289/1907, USNA to PM, 13 Dec. 1907; 1/6/29: CR69/1907, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907.

39. AGO 1/7/54, statement of Nsukuzonke, 18 Sept. 1908; 1/7/67, statement of Ndabayake, 23 Dec. 1907. RSC III/3/5, 4009–10, and III/3/6, 4296, 4374–5, 4629, evidence of Dinuzulu; III/3/6, 4678–81, evidence of Mankulumana; and III/3/7, 5494, evidence of Ndabankulu, and 6141, 6147, evidence of Ndongana.
40. AGO 1/7/58 and 1/7/66, evidence of Siyeikiwe; 1/7/61 and 1/7/67, statements of Siyeikiwe, 12 July and 23 Dec. 1907, respectively; 1/7/61 and 1/7/67, statements of Kolekile, 13 and 18 July and 24 Dec. 1907 respectively; 1/7/61 and 1/7/67, statements of Ndabayake, 19 July and 25 Dec. 1907; and 1/7/76, statement of Sicotu, 26 May 1908. RSC III/3/1, 386, and III/3/2, 304–7, evidence of Siyeikiwe; III/3/3, 349–54, 394–420, evidence of Kolekile; 431–43, 607–12, 634–6, 672–3, 679–81, evidence of Ndabayake. SNA 1/4/19: C289/1907, statement of Kolekile, 13 Dec. 1907; and 1/6/29: CR69/1907, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907.
41. RSC III/3/1, 119–20, evidence of Gininiza; III/3/5, 4010–3, 4016, and III/3/6, 4632–4, 4681–2, evidence of Dinuzulu; III/3/6, 4682–5, evidence of Mankulumana; and III/3/7, 5947–47A, evidence of Sisini. See also and cf. AGO 1/7/58 and 1/7/66, evidence of Siyeikiwe; 1/7/61 and 1/7/67, statements of Siyeikiwe 12 July and 23 Dec. 1907; RSC III/3/1, 386, and III/3/2, 250, evidence of Siyeikiwe; and SNA 1/6/29: CR 69/1907, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907.
42. AGO 1/7/61, statements of Siyeikiwe, 19 July 1907, and Kolekile, 13 and 18 July 1907. RSC III/3/5, 4011–2, and III/3/6, 4630, evidence of Dinuzulu; III/3/6, 4682, 4686, 4811, evidence of Mankulumana; and III/3/7, 5494–5, evidence of Ndabankulu. SNA 1/4/19: C289/1907, statement of Kolekile, 13 Dec. 1907.
43. AGO 1/7/58 and 1/7/66, evidence of Cakijana, Ngqengqengqe, and Siyeikiwe; 1/7/61, statements of Siyeikiwe, 12 July, Kolekile, 13 July, and Ndabayake, 19 July 1907; 1/7/67, statements of Kolekile, 24 Dec., and Ndabayake, 23 Dec. 1907; 68, statement of Cakijane, 20 May 1908; 1/7/70, statements of Ngqengqengqe, 30 Dec. 1907 and 27 Apr. 1908; and 1/7/80, statement of Gininiza, 26 Mar. 1908. RSC III/3/1, 385, and 2, 251–2, evidence of Siyeikiwe; III/3/1, 74–9, 88–96 evidence of Gininiza, and 305–7, 310–5, 364–5, 375–8, evidence of Cakijana; III/3/3, 1817–24, evidence of Cakijana; III/3/6, 4311–2, 4368, 4687–8, evidence of Dinuzulu; and III/3/7, 5947, evidence of Sisini. SNA 1/4/19: C289/1907, statement of Kolekile, 13 Dec. 1907, and 1/6/29, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907.
44. AGO 1/7/80, Precognition of Inspector Rose. CSO 3040: Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 13 Mar. 1906; G. Leuchars to T. Watt, 26 Mar. 1906. SNA 1/1/338: 841/1906, Notes at interview; 1/1/339: 1066/1906, statement of J. Mulligan, 6 Apr. 1906; and 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 10; 1/4/16: C117/1906, Magistrate. Krantzkop to SNA, 15 Mar. 1906; 1/6/27: MJ C194/1906, 7, evidence of Sgt. George and Tpr McGill; and 1/6/29, statement of Siyeikiwe, 5 July 1907. Bambatha left his 'location' on one day and crossed into Zululand the next.
45. AGO 1/7/66, evidence of Cakijana and Ngqengqengqe; 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908; 1/7/70, statement of Ngqengqengqe, 27 Apr. 1908; and 1/7/80, statement of Baletshe, 24 Mar. 1908. RSC III/3/1, 101–2 and 316–7, evidence of Ngqengqengqe and Cakijana respectively; and III/3/10, statement of Gininiza, 26 Mar. 1908.
46. AGO 1/7/66, evidence of Cakijana; 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908; and 1/7/70, statements of Ngqengqengqe, 30 Dec. 1907 and 27 Apr. 1908. RSC III/3/1, 103 and 316–7, 320–1, evidence of Ngqengqengqe and Cakijana respectively; III/3/5, 4022, 4043, and III/3/6, 4312–3, evidence of Dinuzulu; and III/3/10, statement of Gininiza, 26 Mar. 1908.
47. AGO 1/7/66, evidence of Cakijana; 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908; and 1/7/80, statement of Magwababa, 23 Mar. 1908. RSC III/3/1, 53, evidence of Magwababa; III/3/3, 1901–3, evidence of Cakijana; III/3/6, 4366–8, evidence of Dinuzulu; and III/3/7, 6140, evidence of Ndongana. SNA 1/1/339: 1107 and 1150/1906, statements of Hlangabeza Dlamini, 7 Apr., and Sonile Langa, 10 Apr. 1906; and 1/1/367: 1116/1907, 10; 1/4/16: C146/1906, Magistrate. Weenen to Defence, 7 Apr. 1906; 1/6/26, statement of Magwababa, 1 June 1906; and 1/6/27: MJ C163, 55 and 56–7, evidence of Sikepe and Bongolo respectively. Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (hereafter PM) 58: 365a/1906, statement by Vava Pungula. 'Greytown,' *Greytown Gazette*, 21 Apr. 1906.
48. AGO 1/7/59, statement of Ngqengqengqe, 8 May 1908; 1/7/62, statement of Magwababa, 21 Apr. 1906; 1/7/66, evidence of Cakijana; 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908; and 1/7/80, statement of Magwababa, 23 Mar. 1908. RSC III/3/1, 29–30, 39–40, and 97–8, evidence of Magwababa and Gininiza respectively. SNA 1/6/26, statement of Magwababa, 1 June 1906; 1/6/27: MJ C163/1906, 23–5, evidence of Magwababa. 'Bambata's Whereabouts,' *Times of Natal*, 4 Apr. 1906.

49. RSC III/3/2, 882, evidence of Jwebu; III/3/3, 1762, evidence of Cakijana; III/3/5, 3512 and 4005–6, evidence of Ndabankulu and Dinuzulu respectively; III/3/6, 4326, 4384, 4600, evidence of Dinuzulu; III/3/10, statement of Gininiza, 26 Mar. 1908. AGO 1/7/75, statement of Jwebu, 7 Mar. 1908. SNA 1/1/343: 1856/1906, 'Notes of Interview between His Excellency the Governor and the Envoys from Dinuzulu, at Government House on 20th June, 1906,' 4.
50. Colony of Natal. *Census of the Colony of Natal April 1904* (Pietermaritzburg, 1905: Part I Table VII. Native Male Population, No. 19 Umvoti Division, gives Bambatha 733 males 15 and older. It is assumed that there were about the same number in 1906.
51. SNA 1/1/414: 3263/1908, Magistrate. Umvoti to MNA, 3 Apr. 1907, indicating 362 men were involved in the rebellion. Also see SNA 1/1/339: 1107/1906, statement of Vava Pungula, 7 Apr. 1906, and 'Native Unrest,' *Natal Mercury*, 6 Apr. 1906.
52. AGO 1/7/58, evidence of Sofuguza; and 1/7/80, statement of Baletshe, 24 Mar. 1908. PM 59: 425/1906, statement of Malongweni, 23 Apr. 1906. RSC III/3/1, 31–3, 59, 69, and 121–2, evidence of Magwababa and Bova respectively. SNA 1/6/27: MJ C163, 38 and 116, evidence of Baletshe and Sitoti respectively; and MJ C194/1906, 97 and 99, 109, and 144, evidence of Juwili, Qandela, and Gili respectively. Archives of the Magistrate and Commissioner, Weenen, 1/WEN 1/4/2/1: Cases under Martial Law, no. 20, evidence of Nqamatshe.
53. AGO 1/7/58, evidence of Magwababa; 1/7/62, statement of Magwababa, 21 Apr. 1906; and 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908. RSC III/3/1, 66, evidence of Magwababa. SNA 1/1/339: 1071/1906, SNA to Magistrates. Umsinga and Weenen, 5 May 1906. 'Native Trouble,' *Natal Mercury*, 9 Apr. 1906.
54. AGO 1/7/58, evidence of Magwababa; and 1/7/68, statement of Cakijana, 20 May 1908. RSC III/3/1, 59, evidence of Magwababa. SNA 1/6/27: MJ C163, 34 and 74, evidence of Bayoli and Ungemuka, respectively.