

# *Bhambatha's Family Tree: Oral Evidence, New And Old*

## *The Importance of Bhambatha kaMancinza*

### **Reinstatement and a new history**

Bhambatha kaMancinza, previously well known in KwaZulu-Natal as the leader of a rebellion against colonial rule, has now become officially a figure of importance in South Africa's heritage.

On Sunday, June 11, 2006, a large crowd assembled near Greytown, in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, for a half-day's celebration entitled 'Saluting our heroes: reinstating *Inkosi Bhambatha*', the culminating event of a series which had begun in April and collectively called the Bhambatha Centenary Commemoration. The president of the Republic of South Africa, the premier of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, the king of the Zulu nation, and other public notables were there. The president, Thabo Mbeki, laid a special wreath at the Bhambatha monument, near Ambush Rock at Mpanza. The celebration then moved to the Mpanza Sports Field, where the important personages spoke briefly. The minister of communications then presented a commemorative postage stamp and the premier, Sibusiso Ndebele, and the king of the Zulu nation, Goodwill Zwelithini, handed over the certificate of reinstatement of the *inkosi* which the Natal colonial government had deposed in 1906. The keynote address by the president followed, and the celebration ended with a luncheon and musical entertainment.<sup>1</sup>

A week later a Youth Day rally, also near Greytown, carried forward the Bhambatha theme.<sup>2</sup> In September the president awarded Bhambatha the Order of Mendi for Bravery in Gold, 'for bravery in leading a rebellion against the repressive laws of the colonialist government and for laying down his life for the cause of justice.'<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, the provincial premier's office and department of education gave prominence to Bhambatha and others in the rebellion in a series of newspaper supplements aimed at schoolchildren.<sup>4</sup> The premier's office also employed a popular playwright for the staging of *1906 Bhambada — The Freedom Fighter*, a musical which ran for ten days in the provincial capital, Pietermaritzburg.<sup>5</sup> Two other musicals without government financial backing had shorter runs in the port city, Durban.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently the schools history series was published by the local university press as *Remembering the Rebellion*.<sup>7</sup> The centenary elicited only one other book, published without fanfare and without official recognition, *Freedom Sown in Blood: Memories of the Impi Yamakhanda: An Indigenous Knowledge Systems Perspective*.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Indigenous Knowledge Systems perspective of the new history**

*Freedom Sown in Blood* was the product of three years' field work by a research team of the University of KwaZulu-Natal among the Ngome section of the Zondi clan at Mpanza. Professor Yonah Seleti, an historian with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Campbell Collections, obtained a grant of R400 000 from the National Research Foundation for an Indigenous Knowledge Systems project, 'Commemoration of the Bhambada uprising of 1906: a research agenda and a quest for an indigenous knowledge system framework.'<sup>9</sup> The book was edited by Seleti and fellow academics Thenjiwe Magwaza and Mpilo Pearl Sithole. The latter, with Nelson Zondi, grandnephew of Bhambatha, wrote a chapter, 'Genealogies of the Royal *AmaZondi* of Ngome'.<sup>10</sup>

There is much of interest in this unique book, which contains nine chapters, four of them on methodology and interpretation, two on artifacts, two on women, and one on genealogy; however, there is no chapter which narrates the experience of the abase-Ngome in the rebellion, an omission which the editors never explain.

The book is closely tied to the government-sponsored Indigenous Knowledge Systems programme in arts and sciences.<sup>11</sup> Professor Seleti lays great stress on the Indigenous Knowledge Systems framework in the first chapter of the book,<sup>12</sup> and the book is strong on their ostensive methods and interpretation. It is not a history book. It tells us nothing about the causes and course of the rebellion at Mpanza and little that makes sense about the effects of the rebellion. There is little narration by the local people. Dr Magwaza mentions that seventy-six people were interviewed, thirty-four of them intensively. The stories of the seventeen men about the rebellion<sup>13</sup> — who presumably were quite willing to talk,<sup>14</sup> one of them apparently quite knowledgeable<sup>15</sup> — are not given at all in the text. A handful of stories from the twenty-one<sup>16</sup> women are used, but they are practically useless for historical purposes.

While much that is positive has been done to promote the recovery, preservation and even amplification of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the past few years,<sup>17</sup> there is a problem between previously recorded history and indigenous knowledge *qua* oral history. Oral history is most useful with respect to recent events, especially in the case of living memories. Oral history of a time beyond the reach of living memory, when it is consolidated and repeated for a relatively long period, becomes oral tradition. Yet consolidation and repetition do not make it immutable. Collective memory can be fickle. What seems to be fixed in the communal mind can change according to political or religious imperatives. The main story is twisted and the erosion of details makes it simpler.<sup>18</sup> This seems to be the case with much that happened in the traumatic rebellion or uprising of 1906.

The purpose of the present article is to compare earlier and more recent statements about the descent and family of the rebel *inkosi*, in order to establish which are probably correct. It will necessarily reflect on the practice of oral history, as linked in this case to IKS. Examples of the defectiveness of memory will become obvious.

### Fixing the 'royal' genealogy

Let us now turn to *inkosi* Bhambatha and his family tree, and focusing on the third chapter of *Freedom Sown in Blood*, entitled 'Genealogies of the Royal AmaZondi of Ngome.' A Cambridge-educated anthropologist,<sup>19</sup> Mpilo Pearl Sithole, and a grand-nephew of Bhambatha and whilom regent of the Ngome people,<sup>20</sup> Nelson Zondi, combine their knowledge and expertise to fix the succession and describe the family of the new national hero. This is the first time that Bhambatha's genealogy has been the subject of a separate study and an attempt has been made to delineate his ancestry. Considering the prominence which Bhambatha now enjoys, this achievement is both noteworthy and praiseworthy.

Zondi's role is of great importance. He and Sithole state: '[O]ur indigenous perspective-sensitive approach involves writing with "indigenous people" the people at the heart of the story. In this chapter we occasionally highlight the voice of Nelson Zondi, a royal Zondi of Ngome. This happens in sections where specific recollections or experiences are recounted. . . . Otherwise this chapter constitutes a joint project, in terms of mutual interpretation, planned layout and focus.'<sup>21</sup> Zondi himself states: 'Being a descendant of Funizwe, Bhambada's brother, I, Nelson Zondi, know the core genealogy of *amakhosi* of *amaZondi* backwards, from the current *inkosi* to Zacela. My knowledge derives from the fact that Funizwe, my grandfather, brother of Bhambada, was *inkosi* from the 23rd of February 1907 to 1950 The political dynamics of the Zondi, that were partly a result of the Bhambada-led *Impi Yamakhanda*, were such that the genealogy, particularly that of the royal house, was well known.'<sup>22</sup>

According to the official IKS policy '[t]raditional leaders are the formal custodians of the customary values of the communities, which are historically and constitutionally entrusted to them. The existence of traditional leadership in the development process of IK is therefore significant. In fact, no IKS development strategy will work if indigenous and local communities and their leaders are not directly and actively involved.'<sup>23</sup> It would seem, by his own profession, that, apart from the present *inkosi* and perhaps a few (unnamed) others, Nelson Zondi pretty much fills the rôle of the traditional leadership. He will speak and he does speak with authority on the genealogy. It seems unlikely anything in the chapter could have passed muster without his approval, and this is particularly so in the case of lineage and succession. In other words, he functions as the *group* or *collective* memory. If so, then the Ngome *collective* memory is subsumed in what V. R. Yow calls *official* memory.<sup>24</sup>

But is the genealogy presented in the project's book actually correct?

The information contained in their chapter is at variance with information recorded earlier, in colonial documents and a few books which have appeared based on contemporary research. Let us now turn to them.

## ORAL EVIDENCE, OLD AND NEW

### Documents and the orality of yesteryear

Information on the subject of Bhambatha's lineage and family was collected separately and independently by Father Arthur Bryant, Magera Fuze, and James Stuart almost a hundred years ago. Fuze's first appeared in 1922, and has been recently translated as *The Black People and Whence They Came: A Zulu View* (Pietermaritzburg, University

of Natal Press, and Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1979). Bryant's was published in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (London, Longmans Green, 1926). Stuart's remained in manuscript until published in *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1976 ongoing). None of the works pays particular attention to Bhambatha, although Stuart has much to say about him in *A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906* (London, Macmillan, 1913), presumably based on knowledge from his acquaintance with Bhambatha's brother Funizwe and other members of the abaseNgame in 1906.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the above there is information on the abaseNgame in the colonial government reports on chiefs and chiefdoms published in 1853.<sup>26</sup> More information is found in the colonial records, housed in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository; however, these references are very scattered among the records groups of the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Colonial Secretary's Office, and, in so far as they pertain to the trial of Dinuzulu, of the Attorney General's Office and the Registrars of the Supreme Court.<sup>27</sup>

### **A comparison of the two sets of sources**

Let us consider these documents, published and unpublished, in comparison with what Sithole and Zondi have recorded. The object is to note where the two source sets disagree, and then to try to explain why. In so doing I shall follow the sequence of the Sithole-Zondi chapter, referring to the chapter subheadings 'Zondi *Amakhosi* in History', 'The House of Sondaba amongst other Segments', 'Mancinza Consolidates Sondaba's Legacy', and 'Bhambada: The Fighter for the Zondi and Nguni Legacy'. I shall not deal with the Ngame succession after Bhambatha. As far as possible I shall use the terms and spellings of the chapter. There are two notable and noticeable exceptions: the use of Bhambatha instead of Bhambada, which latter name, it is suggested in the book's glossary, is ahistorical,<sup>28</sup> and the avoidance of the 'royal' in describing the Ngame ruling house.<sup>29</sup>

### **'Zondi *Amakhosi* in History' and 'The House of Sondaba amongst other Segments'**

Sithole and Zondi give the Zondi succession —<sup>30</sup>

Zondi  
 NoNdaba  
 Gagashe  
 Luqa  
 Nhlabushile  
 Zacela  
 Nomagaga  
 Magenge  
 Sondaba  
 Jangeni (= Mancinza) (mother MaMyeza)  
 Magwababa (mother MaMyeza)  
 Bhambada (mother MaPhakade) 1904 – 1906  
 Funizwe (mother MaPhakade) 1907 – 1950

After Nhlabushile the amaZondi divided into four groups, of which Zacela's lived at Ngcengeni at Nathi. Subsequently the senior house of the Zondi—it is not stated, but presumably it is Zacela's house—moved to Mkhabela, leaving the junior house under the *induna* Phungula at Nathi. When amaBomvu began to move into the Nathi area, the *induna* Vaphi reported it to the royal houses of Zondi and Sondaba, and Sondaba returned to Nathi, apparently with his own people and some of the other house, while the rest of the senior house went to KwaMachibisa (which they named Nadi) at Pietermaritzburg, Sondaba did not stay long at Nathi, but moved KwaMhlamvunkulu.<sup>31</sup> The junior house of Mashobane remained at Nathi and 'eventually became incorporated under the political patronage of *amaBomvu*.'<sup>32</sup>

Sondaba established his major homestead eNdabuko at KwaNhlamvunkulu. It is at eNdabuko that 'the amaZondi of Ngome begin their separate historical journey', for, it is implied, Jangeni was born there.<sup>33</sup> Also mentioned at this stage is a Zondi tradition that the third wife of an *inkosi* often was *lobola*'d by the *isizwe*, and for that reason bore the heir.<sup>34</sup>

The published accounts reflect a different procession.

*Fuze* states, in *The Black People* (1922), that the Ngome was the Zondi junior house, following the Nadi and Mphumuza clans.<sup>35</sup> His line of descent is—<sup>36</sup>

Dlaba  
Magenge  
Jangeni  
Mancinza  
Bambada

*Bryant* suggests, in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, that the Zondi and Nxamalala peoples were Sotho immigrants, who settled in proximity in the Nadi and Thukela river valleys. The abakwaZondi were also called the abaseNadi, under Nomagaga, [the son] of Ntsele. Both clans were subjugated by Shaka.

Subsequently the Zondi clan broke up. A portion of it went to Zululand. Another portion allied with the abaseNxamalala. Yet another became the abakwaMpumuza, who lived at the confluence of the Mpofana and Mpanza rivers. The amaNxamalala fled from Dingane, and some lodged at Zwartkop, near the future Pietermaritzburg, but the majority were overtaken and brought back. The Zondi remnant, under Jangeni, son of Maqenge, had their land taken by white 'farmers'. There is an implication that they have may moved away then, but whither they might have gone is not mentioned. About this time a sub-klan of the abakwaMpumuza, called the abakwaMadlala, moved to near Table Mountain.

Sondaba is mentioned only as the son and heir of Siguqa of the amaNxamalala—but then it is suggested they might be one and the same person, who was given to Shaka as a hostage and died on campaign without leaving an heir.<sup>37</sup>

*Stuart* interviewed Mqaikana kaYenge, of the amaMpumuza, in 1916, when he was about eighty-five years old. He tells how the Nadi and several other peoples originally were Dlamini people from Swaziland, who migrated to Natal, and at 'the tree of Dhlamini', in a forest on a ridge near KwaPakwe,<sup>38</sup> they broke into different groups to go and settle the country around. The Nadi people became known as the Zondi for having done a wrong in disliking a certain girl. Their first *inkosi* was Bihla—but later on in the interview he says Luqa. In any event the amaZondi seem to have divided into

three separate branches — Nadi, Ngome, and Mpumuza — before the Shakan troubles. The Nxamalala (or Zuma) clan were their neighbours.<sup>39</sup> Mqaikana is more interested in the careers of the amaMpumuza and the amaNxamalala than that of the abaseNgome. He does not mention the latter even by name and gives no more than the lineage of their leaders —<sup>40</sup>

Nomatshumi  
Magenge  
Jangeni  
Mancinza  
Bambata  
Funizwe

Mqaikana does not say if Nomatshumi was next in the line after Bihla/Luqa. He also places Nomagaga with the abaseNadi and Sondaba with amaNxamalala.<sup>41</sup>

The archival records provide no information on persons and events before the time of Jangeni.

It will come as no surprise to scholars familiar with legendary and mythical family trees that obscure sources disagree among themselves. Bryant's and Fuze's sources are not known, but presumably were similar to Stuart's, and they belong to the same period. There are a few matching names between Mqaikana and Sithole-Zondi, while the correspondence of movements of people between Bryant and Sithole-Zondi is tenuous. Probably none of the sources is correct, certainly not *in toto*, but elements common to all suggest some degree of factual basis.

### 'Mancinza Consolidates Sondaba's Legacy'

Sithole and Zondi state: 'It is important to note that Jangeni became popularly known as Mancinza through his praise names; this has confused some writers who thought that Mancinza and Jangeni were two distinct individuals.'<sup>42</sup>

Jangeni lived at eNdabuko. He had four wives, and 'gradually he established independent houses for them' at or named Mhlabutho, Sikhaleni, KwaGade, and Mzinto. The wives were known as MaMzila, MaDlamini, and MaPhakade. MaPhakade, daughter of the Chunu *inkosi* Phakade, was the third wife, *lobola*'d by the people, and so would bear the heir. She died and her place was taken by another of the same *inkosi*'s daughters. MaMzila bore (at least) one son, Nomatshumi, as did MaDlamini, Mazwi. The first MaPhakade bore two sons, Bhambada and Funizwe, and three daughters, Thenjiwe, Nonkasa, and Kiki. The second MaPhakade bore Mpabanga.<sup>43</sup>

Magwababa succeeded his brother Jangeni.<sup>44</sup> 'Magwababa was appointed to the throne by colonial officials, who made the brief period of Bhambada's reign questionable as they wished to impose [a? the?] colonial seal of legitimacy to Magwababa's succession.'<sup>45</sup>

There is now a sharp divergence between the two source sets.

The 1853 government reports state that Jangene, Iangene or Unjangene was a petty chief of the Engome tribe at Table Mountain, acting for the chief Ngoza, who had twelve tribes under him, scattered over a wide area east of Pietermaritzburg. Jangeni claimed to be an hereditary chief, but the government did not recognise him as such.<sup>46</sup> Bhambatha himself stated in 1895 and again in 1902 that Jangeni and his people moved

to the Loza-Mpanza area when Dr. Kelly was the resident magistrate of Umvoti,<sup>47</sup> i.e. between March 6, 1853 and February 20, 1856.<sup>48</sup>

Bhambatha also stated that Jangeni was his grandfather and Sobhuza was his father.<sup>49</sup>

Mancinza was the son of Jangeni by Mahlati.<sup>50</sup> He was also called Sobhuza.<sup>51</sup> Other sons of Jangeni were Sotshangana, Zikwazi and Magwababa.<sup>52</sup> His homestead was called eMhlabatweni.<sup>53</sup> Mancinza married four times,<sup>54</sup> and his youngest wife was MaPhakade, daughter of the Chunu chief.<sup>55</sup> According to Stuart, she was the principal wife, and by custom the tribe was called upon to contribute towards her *lobolo*; however, the tribe objected to their chief taking a Chunu wife and refused to provide for *lobolo*. Mancinza was determined to marry her, and provided the forty head of cattle from his own herd. A few months after the wedding she accused his three other wives of wanting to kill her, left his homestead to live in a Chunu one, where Bhambatha was born. MaPhakade insisted on a homestead of her own, and got it. Mancinza's other wives complained that Mancinza gave too much attention to MaPhakade, and the old homestead was wrecked.<sup>56</sup>

MaPhakade bore Mancinza two sons, Bhambatha and Funizwe, just under two years apart, and three daughters, Nonkasa (who may have been older than they), Kiki and Tengiwe.<sup>57</sup> Mpabanga and Nomatshumi were half brothers.<sup>58</sup> Nonkasa married one Falazi, who lived near the Nhlazatshe, in Zululand.<sup>59</sup> Kiki married Koti, a Bomvu, in 1902.<sup>60</sup> There are reports that other sisters, whether full or half sisters is not stated, were married to the *amakhosi* Matshana kaMondisa (Sithole) and Silwana (Chunu).<sup>61</sup>

Bhambatha was born *circa* 1865.<sup>62</sup> His father died in 1883,<sup>63</sup> and his uncles Zikwazi (1883–1884)<sup>64</sup> and Magwababa (1884 – 1890)<sup>65</sup> acted as regents for Bhambatha, who was appointed chief on June 6, 1890.<sup>66</sup>

It should be remembered that the above compression of information from colonial sources does not represent a single, discrete corpus of documents. The data are extracted from a fairly wide range of documents, whose spread attests rather than detracts from their probable veracity. All manner of persons, including Bhambatha himself, are giving evidence, and that on his antecedents is incidental to the subject of the declaration, deposition, memorandum or report. The person giving evidence has no reason to lie about it and the person taking the evidence has no reason to twist it into a lie.

### **‘Bhambada: The Fighter for the Zondi-Nguni Legacy’**

Sithole and Zondi state: ‘All oral sources point out that Bhambada kaMancinza went through his youth and early married life without noteworthy troubles — politically and otherwise.’<sup>67</sup> The outline of succession shows that Bhambatha was *inkosi* for only two years (1904 – 1906).<sup>68</sup> They say nothing further about his career here, although in another chapter Sithole deals with it at some length.<sup>69</sup> Nor do they speak of his demise, except to say that he ‘disappeared in 1906’,<sup>70</sup> but again, the matter is referred to elsewhere in the book.<sup>71</sup>

Sithole and Zondi also state that Bhambatha had four wives — MaMvanyana, MaKhuzwayo, MaSithole, and MaZuma. MaMvanyana bore him two sons, Ndabayakhe and Sizungu. MaKhuzwayo bore him two also, Nkani and Gosa. MaSithole bore a son, Cijo, and a daughter, Neleni. MaZuma, who was ‘popularly known as Manqukuthu amongst

the Royal Zondi of Ngome' (and in the written records as Siyekiwe), bore him two sons, Bulawayo/Nwelezabelungu and Mehломnyama, and a daughter, Libalele.<sup>72</sup>

MaSithole was the third wife, and it was assumed that her son Cijo would succeed Bhambatha.<sup>73</sup> Then Bhambatha made it known that his favourite wife MaZuma was the one who would produce the heir (Bulawayo), which 'caused a few perplexities and was seen as unfair in certain circles. It led to some dissatisfaction within the royal *amaZondi* and led to MaSithole and her children leaving the homestead towards an unknown gloomy future.'<sup>74</sup>

'Our research revealed that nothing is recorded about the views of Bhambatha's mother, of his sisters, of his wives or of his daughters, on how they saw Bhambatha and interpreted the 1906 political series of incidents that cost them and their whole clan so dearly.'<sup>75</sup>

Again there are remarkable discrepancies between the source sets.

There is a great deal in the official records about Bhambatha's disorderly conduct as a chief.<sup>76</sup> Stuart also has more to say about Bhambatha's tempestuous career<sup>77</sup>—and marriages—<sup>78</sup>

'He rapidly squandered the property his father had left and, like his father, ran counter to the wishes of the tribe in selecting his principal wife. The elders were in favour of his promoting a particular woman, and opposed to his own choice, on the ground that the woman was a twin. He ignored their wishes and, after one of his wives (there were four in all), had committed adultery and been expelled, whilst another had deserted, he erected a solitary hut for the principal one—calling it Emkontweni (*the place of the assegai*) thereby following once more the irregular example set by his father.'

More information on Bhambatha's family comes from the statements made by Siyekiwe/MaZuma herself and two of his children by MaMqayana, made before and during the trial of Dinuzulu, and is eked out with bits and pieces from other contemporary sources.

According to these unpublished sources, Bhambatha had four wives—MaMqayana, his first wife (whether in point of time or prominence is not clear), MaGogotshwane, MaMbalungeni, and MaSikonyana.<sup>79</sup> They are sometimes referred to by their (unmarried) names—Nontelelezi, Nomadhlozi, Nomakulu, and Siyekiwe<sup>80</sup>—the first being the same as MaMqayana<sup>81</sup> and the last as MaSikonyana,<sup>82</sup> also called Manqukutu,<sup>83</sup> of the Zuma clan,<sup>84</sup> who is variously described as Bhambatha's youngest,<sup>85</sup> favourite,<sup>86</sup> and principal<sup>87</sup> wife. Bhambatha married her about the time of the rinderpest.<sup>88</sup> The names of MaSikonyana's children—two of them—are not given, presumably because they were not with her at eMkontweni or afterwards, when the crucial events of the rebellion (which primarily interested officials taking statements) took place. They lived at eMkontweni a while and then were sent to Sikonyana's homestead.<sup>89</sup> Bhambatha sent the children of MaMqayana to be MaSikonyana's companions at eMkontweni.<sup>90</sup> They were the girl Kolekile (Bhambatha's eldest child,<sup>91</sup> born *circa* 1883/4<sup>92</sup> or *circa* 1889<sup>93</sup>), and the boys Ndabayakhe (born 1887<sup>94</sup> or *circa* 1892<sup>95</sup>) and Nonkobotshe (born *circa* 1896).<sup>96</sup> The two other *lobola*'d wives remained at the eMnyembezi homestead.<sup>97</sup>

MaMbalungeni was an aunt of Zungu, *inkosi* of the local abaThembu.<sup>98</sup> She was not fully *lobola*'d, and therefore returned to her father's homestead,<sup>99</sup> but she bore Bhambatha an (illegitimate) son, Citsho (or Ncitsho),<sup>100</sup> who was acting as a herd boy when

he was killed in 1904.<sup>101</sup> Zungu and one of his wives were charged with murder, but in an official enquiry the charge could not be proved.<sup>102</sup>

As with the documentation of his antecedents, so with Bhambatha's family. There is no reason the persons giving evidence should lie. The officials who recorded it were curious about the family relationships, but they did not — could not — have turned the evidence to any political use.

### Irreconcilability of old and new

The reader is thus presented with two sets of sources which diverge in their information on Bhambatha's family and forebears. Section by section the two source sets have been examined in detail. The divergence and contradictions between them must now be considered and explained.

The reader will have noted that both sets of sources reflect oral history. IKS lays great store by it. Seleti, comments: 'While the colonial archives are important as a knowledge base for researching the past, the project recognises the significance for this study of the landscape of oral archives and memories.'<sup>103</sup> Yet indebtedness to oral sources is also implicit in the published works of Bryant and Fuze, and is explicit in the case of Stuart. The statements in the colonial documents can also count as oral history. Moreover they are contemporary, or at least they are closer to the time referred to, which those of the Ngome project's informants are not.

There is sufficient information on the methods and procedures of the Ngome project and the community generally, also in the specific cases which are the subjects of specific chapters, but not, unfortunately, in the chapter on genealogy. The chapter has no bibliography and no notes, although some information on sources is contained in the text. The reader has no inkling of how Sithole and Zondi acquired and sorted data.

It is worthwhile in connexion with this lack to repeat Zondi's assertion of his authority: 'Being a descendant of Funizwe, Bhambada's brother, I, Nelson Zondi, know the core genealogy of *amakhosi* of *amaZondi* backwards, from the current *inkosi* to Zacela. My knowledge derives from the fact that Funizwe, my grandfather, brother of Bhambada, was *inkosi* from the 23rd of February 1907 to 1950. The political dynamics of the Zondi, that were partly a result of the 'Bhambada-led *Impi Yamakhanda*, were such that the genealogy, particularly that of the royal house, was well known.'<sup>104</sup>

As mentioned earlier<sup>105</sup>, Zondi's version of the genealogy is the *official* memory. In so far as the reader can tell, it is the admissible *collective* memory. One would like to hope that *some* of the anecdotal information with regard to persons and places within living memory reflects a sharing of *popular* memory, but there is no proof of it. The only other sources cited, presumably for the early period, are praise names, presumably furnished by the clan praise singer, Nyoni Ndlovu<sup>106</sup>. Of course, he is official, too.

The statements of the two source sets on the identity of Jangeni-Mancinza cannot be reconciled, nor consequently can the details concerning their wives be reconciled. Sithole-Zondi's statement that Jangeni and Mancinza were the same man is incorrect. The published information is sufficient to separate Jangeni from Mancinza-Sobhuza. Some time during the last century the Ngome people apparently obscured the distinction. Why? Also incorrect are the Zondi informants' elevation of Magwababa to *inkosi* (and the confusing explanation) and dating of Bhambatha's accession. Perhaps they reflect an

attempt by the partisans of Bhambatha to shift the blame for the many unhappy events preceding the rebellion onto Magwababa.

How did these errors arise? Oral historians are familiar with the phenomenon of factual error being psychological truth for their informants,<sup>107</sup> and in the Ngome time of troubles there would seem to be ample scope for the repression of memory and the development of false memory.<sup>108</sup> There can be little doubt that the 1906 rebellion or uprising and its suppression were traumatic events for the abaseNgome. Sithole suggests elsewhere how this may have affected her reluctant women informants,<sup>109</sup> but there is no effort to analyze the possible impact of this trauma in this instance. Sithole and Zondi also state that a succession 'controversy' between Bhambatha's and Funizwe's sons in the early 1950s had a profound effect on the community, but they do not say how it might have affected the collective memory.<sup>110</sup> It is also strange that the clan *inyanga* would not talk to the project team at all.<sup>111</sup> It is not surprising then that there is no mention of any *counter* memory.<sup>112</sup>

Nor is it surprising that the Ngome informants should be ignorant of the details of Bhambatha's complicated marital relations. These might well have been contentious, too, considering what Nelson Zondi tells of us the tension between Bhambatha's and Funizwe's descendants over the succession.<sup>113</sup> That there were—and are?—disputing factions is plain.<sup>114</sup> It seems clear from the book that any hostile criticism of Bambatha and his followers in the rebellion would have been and has been silenced.<sup>115</sup> Information such as existed with MaSikonyana and Kolekile and others earlier seem to have been forgotten—or, given the circumstances, suppressed?—by the Ngome informants, more probably by *their* informants earlier on. The married names of Bhambatha's wives are totally different in the two source sets. The respective accounts of the unfortunate Cijo/Citsho do not so much contradict as miss each other. Kolekile and Nonkobotshe are omitted from the Sithole-Zondi genealogy altogether.

The net result of the comparison between the two source sets is to raise serious doubts about the accuracy of the Ngome project's oral history of Jangeni's progeny and the Ngome succession in the period *circa* 1850 – 1906.

## **TWO PEDIGREES FOR BHAMBATHA**

### **Which evidence is correct?**

There are several reasons for preferring the version of the colonial documents to that of Ngome project. I shall discuss the two sets of sources then in turn.

First, the colonial documents and the books, also referred to here as the old oral evidence. It has already been stated, but needs to be reiterated, that the colonial documentation does not consist of a comprehensive, coherent corpus of statements focused on some political end. The relevant documents were produced over a period of about fifty years, and the most significant ones were produced between 1896 and 1908. They concerned succession and inheritance, land claims and litigation, and latterly the investigation and trial of Dinuzulu, and were intended to establish or clarify matters of fact. Colonial officials may have made mistakes, but usually they were careful not to, and it is unlikely that they did so. Whatever the feelings or duties of the officials recording the evidence, they had no obvious motive to distort or to falsify information about Bhambatha's family and forebears. Indeed, much of the information provided comes

from Bhambatha himself, his brother Funizwe and his uncle Magwababa, and his wife Siyekiwe and children Kolekile and Ndabayakhe. Whatever their resentments, these would not have been served by lying about his background. Unless one believes that colonial officials as a class are untrustworthy and their informants as a rule are dissembling, there is no reason for the reader to suspect them of falsehood.<sup>116</sup> The same may be said of the books, which contain the information on the early lineage of the Ngome ruling house. In this case they are often dealing with legend and myth, and they cannot pretend to be much more accurate than their inaccurate informants.

Second, the project version, the new oral evidence. There is nothing analytical about it, so the reader does not know if and how individual or plural accounts were composed to make the single given one. It is incumbent on oral historians, as it is on all professional historians, to analyze the evidence, to weigh the probabilities of truth, and to apprise their readers of their judgement. They cannot treat oral sources in isolation. This means consulting written sources, *i.e.* pertinent publications and, if possible, documents.<sup>117</sup>

Although members of the Ngome project evidently were familiar with interviewing techniques and made some probing inquiries, none of them seems to have been a trained oral historian. There is little analysis evident in the genealogical presentation. Granted the authors were concerned for the sensitivities of their informants, they could still have pointed out at least the salient mistakes of their informants, rather than just pass them on, as though they were correct.<sup>118</sup>

It is scarcely conceivable that Dr. Sithole would not have applied the rigour of critical method, had she been allowed to do so. She was acquainted with the published works (and therefore, secondhand, with some of the documents), which she refers to in another chapter.<sup>119</sup> But in respect of the royal genealogy, knowledge seems to have been the preserve of the clan's elite. Nelson Zondi *knows*; he does not have to reflect. One may suspect that Dr Sithole could not have made headway against him in any circumstances, given the dynamics of the project. One may suspect that if she had tried, she would have jeopardised the project, which, of course, could not be allowed to happen.

### **IKS and 'alternative' history**

IKS places high value on oral evidence for its instrumentality in the decolonization of the indigenous mind. It is therefore part of a political agenda. The official policy stresses, as has been noted earlier, that traditional leadership is indispensable, but does that mean it should prevail even when it is liable to be mistaken? In the Ngome project, it appears that traditional leadership — represented by Nelson Zondi — has imposed an official version of the genealogy, and the official memory is given *ipso facto* as true one. Yet IKS does not claim a privilege against truth. There is nothing in the IKS policy which suggests that rigorous critical method is *not* to be used, though admittedly, in a case such as this, it might be hard to apply. But is objective truth, even as an ideal, a *desideratum*? According to Sithole and Zondi it is not really their concern —<sup>120</sup>

'We have been used to looking at history from the point of view of documents written by white archivists and historians who reflected the attitudes and concerns of the colonial authorities. This chapter has outlined an *alternative* history, handed down through the oral traditions of people who had to sustain their pride through resilience.'

Thus the alternative history is a function of identity and resistance.

But is the alternative history accurate? The published and archival documents altogether give a plausible account of persons and events. Indeed, Bhambatha himself is one of the witnesses to it. The alternative history, the oral history of the Ngome project, gives a different account, rendered implausible for having been sealed off from comparison with the written one. Now that the project's work has been published—has become 'written history'—it is susceptible to the critical methods applied to the written word. Thus this article.

P.S. THOMPSON

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**NOTES**

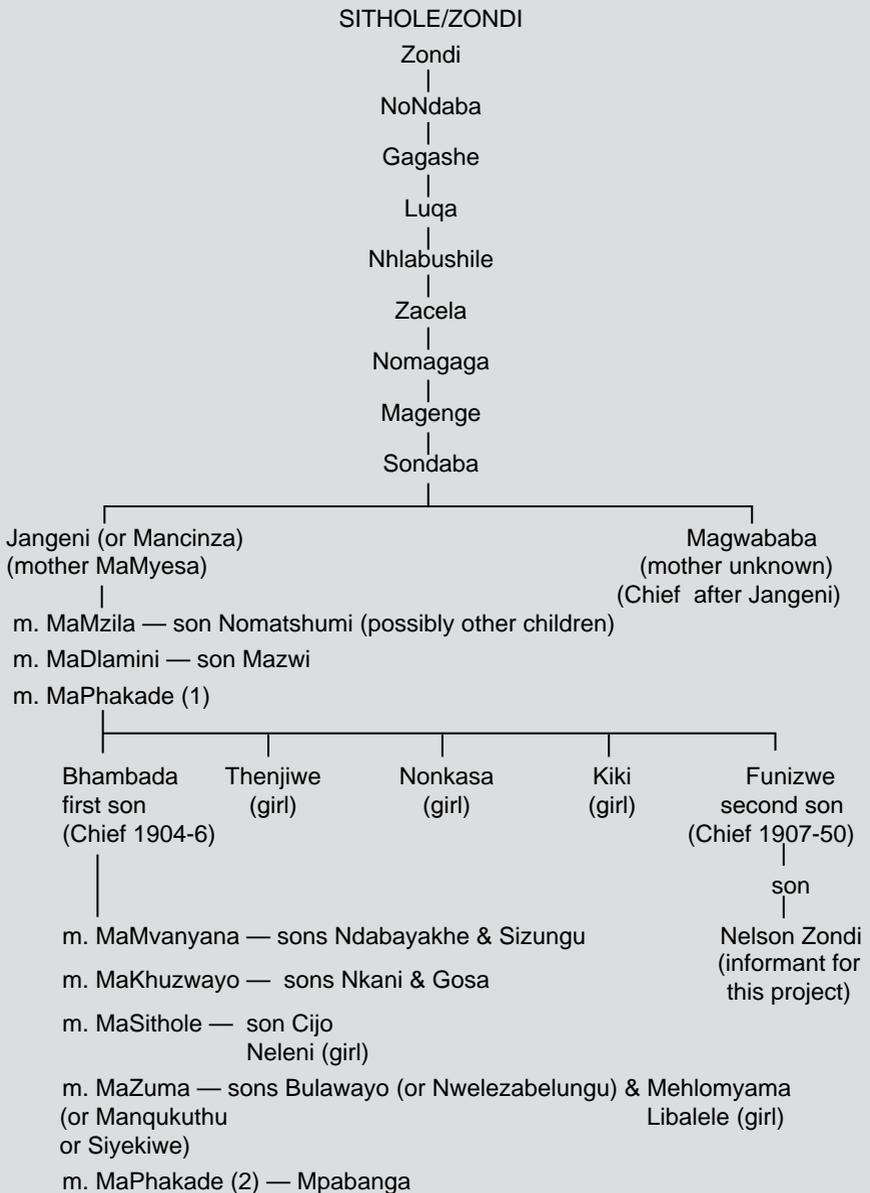
- <sup>1</sup> See Republic of South Africa, Department of Arts and Culture, and KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, *Age of Hope: Through Struggle to Freedom: Saluting our Heroes: Reinstating Inkosi Bhambatha*, for the Programme 11 June 2006; and, for the planned series of events, *Saluting our heroes and celebrating a rich heritage in KwaZulu-Natal 2006: Public Launch*[.] *Bhambatha Centenary Commemoration* [8 April 2006]. Something of the historic importance may be gleaned from Sibonelo Msomi, 'Mbeki hails "great hero Bhambatha",' in *The Witness*, June 12, 2006; but most of the press reports concern current party politics, e.g. Canaan Mdlletshe and Sapa, 'Mbeki, Zuma show unity,' in *The Sowetan*, June 12, 2006.
- <sup>2</sup> See the advertisement in *The Witness*, June 15, 2006: 'KwaZulu-Natal celebrating Youth Heroism and activity 2006. 100 years of Bhambatha Poll Tax Uprising;' and Sibonelo Msomi, 'Comrades, hands off June 16,' *ibid.*, June 19, 2006.
- <sup>3</sup> Sue Segar, 'Mbeki honours KwaZulu-Natal's greatest with National Orders,' *ibid.*, September 27, 2006.
- <sup>4</sup> See the premier's statement, 'An event to remember,' and Stephen Coan, 'Premier launches Bhambatha Rebellion centenary year,' both in *ibid.*, March 16, 2006. There were twelve instalments, appearing in *Ilanga*, *UmAfrika* and *The Witness*.
- <sup>5</sup> See 'Edutainment at the Winston [Churchill] theatre,' and Nhlanhla Mkhulisi, 'When drama, dance obscure the facts,' in *The Witness*, November 16 and December 2, 2006, respectively; and Siphon Khumalo, 'Premier's office spent R7m on Bhambatha play,' in *The Mercury*, February 23, 2007.
- <sup>6</sup> See Billy Suter, 'War, song and dance,' in *The Mercury*, November 10, 2006. The plays were *Wars of Resistance—Bhambatha KaMancinza* and *Maluju Zulu*.
- <sup>7</sup> Jeff Guy, *Remembering the Rebellion: The Zulu Uprising of 1906*. Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.
- <sup>8</sup> Published by Ditlou Publishers, Thohoyondou, in 2006.
- <sup>9</sup> [www.nrf.ac.za/publications/regofgrants](http://www.nrf.ac.za/publications/regofgrants): NRF focus area programmes grants, p. 40.
- <sup>10</sup> Chapter 3, pp. 27 – 39. Hereafter the book will be cited without its title, in contradistinction to other works cited.
- <sup>11</sup> According to the South African government's department of science and technology's *Indigenous Knowledge Systems* Policy statement, adopted in 2004 (cited hereafter as *IKS*): 'Indigenous knowledge (IK) is generally used synonymously with traditional and local knowledge to differentiate the knowledge developed by and within distinctive indigenous communities from the international knowledge system generated through universities, government research centres and private industry, sometimes incorrectly called the Western knowledge system.' (p. 10) The deputy minister states: 'The underlying fact is that indigenous knowledge has always been and continues to be the primary factor in the survival and welfare of the majority of South Africans.' (p. 4) More pertinent in this case: 'Mechanisms should be put in place to retrieve and preserve oral forms of IK to contribute to national archive material. This will be done in consultation with the Oral History Project and the National Archives.' (p. 34)
- <sup>12</sup> Professor Seleti states: 'The project to commemorate the Bhambada uprising of 1906 has been pursued within the emerging paradigm of IKS Analytical Framework. [It] afforded researchers an opportunity to interrogate the politics and domination of knowledge production by western based theoretical frameworks.' (p. 10) 'One of the outcomes of the project was to provide an analytical framework based on full recognition of indigenous systems of knowing and knowledge preservation and dissemination.' (p. 12) 'By researching alternative approaches to knowledge production, this project has contributed to the framing of an indigenous knowledge analytical framework.' (p. 11)
- <sup>13</sup> p. 20.
- <sup>14</sup> pp. viii –ix.
- <sup>15</sup> p. 97. See also p. 93.
- <sup>16</sup> pp. 9 and 20. On women see chapters 6 and 7.
- <sup>17</sup> Consider, for example, the publication *Indilinga: African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems* (2002 ongoing).

- <sup>18</sup> See Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford, University Press, 1978), chapter 4, 'Evidence,' and Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition; Walnut Creek, Calif., Alta Mira Press, 2005), chapter 2, 'History and Memory,' *passim*.
- <sup>19</sup> p. v.
- <sup>20</sup> pp. vii and 28.
- <sup>21</sup> p. 28. Cf. p. 143.
- <sup>22</sup> p. 28.
- <sup>23</sup> *IKS*, p. 19.
- <sup>24</sup> See Yow, *Recording Oral History*, pp. 36 and 54.
- <sup>25</sup> In late April 1906 Captain Stuart, Natal Field Artillery, rode from Greytown to the Nkandhla magistracy, in Zululand. He was accompanied by Funizwe, the Greytown court *induna* Kafula, and three others for the purpose of identifying Bhambatha, then engaged in the Nkandhla Division, in the event he was killed or captured. Thereafter Stuart served as Intelligence Officer with Colonel Mackay's column of militia operating in Zululand and Natal. See the reports of the Umvoti Field Force and of Mackay's column in the records of the Colonial Secretary's Office, volume 2599, confidential minute 147 of 1906, and *The Natal Mercury*, April 25, 1906, 'The Native Trouble.'
- <sup>26</sup> See above.
- <sup>27</sup> The records groups are cited hereafter as SNA, CSO, AGO, and RSC, respectively.
- <sup>28</sup> 'Bhambada [:] this is our chosen spelling for the hero of the 1906 Zulu Uprising. The choice is based on the prevalent use among his descendants, the *amaZondi* of Ngome and by the play on words in his *Izibongo* praises, which describe him as *ubhambada* ("he strikes viciously") his enemies with a knobkerrie, in comparison to others who only fight with walking sticks. The other most common spelling is Bhambatha (from the verb *ukubhambatha*) which means a mother's soothing action for her baby. This evidently has no meaning for our hero, known for his strong character and violent outbursts. A Zulu name is meant to describe the person, and a mother was traditionally believed to receive it from the family ancestors, interested to describe the destiny of the child from birth. Other spellings, found in the quoted sources, are Bambata and Bhambata.' (p. xii) See also the comments on pp. 115–116 and 154–155. The team and/or their informants are in effect saying that they use the name 'Bhambada' because they like it better than the generally accepted (since 2001) name 'Bhambatha'. It is quite singular that they should overthrow the name preferred by the ancestors and MaPhakade and to which Bhambatha himself responded apparently without demur. The definition of 'bambata' given in the Colenso Zulu dictionary of 1905 is to 'pat with the hand, as a horse or a dog'. The Doke-Vilakazi dictionaries (1948–1990) define 'bambatha' as to 'pat with the hand (as a child or dog)' and to 'slap on the back'; and the Dent-Nyembezi dictionary has for 'bhambada' and 'bhambatha', which are evidently interchangeable, to 'pat; slap on the back; press down hair'. There is nothing about striking viciously. The committee organising the centenary celebrations use the spelling 'Bhambatha'. (And yet Bryant, Fuze, R. R. Dhlomo, and Elliot Zondi have used the *d*.) In citing names in the earlier sources I have tried to keep to the historic spellings as much as possible, in conformity with the documents of the period. I am mindful that this will be of assistance to scholars, especially foreign ones, who may not be familiar with the changes in Zulu orthography over the years.
- <sup>29</sup> Bhambatha and his immediate predecessors were not kings (see p. 6), and the use of 'royal' by Sithole and Zondi to describe the house of Jangeni in this instance would seem to reflect either a mistranslation or a misunderstanding of the English term—or perhaps some pretension on the part of the present *inkosi*.
- <sup>30</sup> This is a consolidation of the lists on pp. 27 and 30. See also the photograph of the list on the Bhambatha monument on p. 42.
- <sup>31</sup> pp. 30 – 31.
- <sup>32</sup> p. 31.
- <sup>33</sup> pp. 31 – 33.
- <sup>34</sup> p. 32. The Zondi peregrinations in and around Nathi seem to have resulted in a relocation from the middle Nadi river valley to the upper Loza river valley. It would be helpful if the book had a map showing the places mentioned in the text.
- <sup>35</sup> Magema M. Fuze, *The Black People and Whence They Came: A Zulu View* (translated by H. C. Lugg and edited by A. T. Cope from the original; Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, and Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1979), p. 110.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>37</sup> Bryant, *Olden Times*., pp. 520 – 523.

- <sup>38</sup> Stuart's informant Sende kaHlunguhlungu states that the tree was at oPisweni. *James Stuart Archive* (hereafter cited as *JSA*), V, 281.
- <sup>39</sup> *JSA*, V, 1, 3 – 4, 12, 22. Cf. the completely different Zondi genealogy, ascribed to Nomgamulana, V, 12. Incidental information is also found in III, 6 and 12 (Mbokodo), and V, 281 (Sende) and 342 and 344 (Singcofela).
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 2, 4, 12.
- <sup>41</sup> See *ibid.*, V, 1, 12 and 17, 22, respectively.
- <sup>42</sup> p. 32.
- <sup>43</sup> p. 33.
- <sup>44</sup> p. 27.
- <sup>45</sup> p. 29.
- <sup>46</sup> See the 'Statement, shewing the Names of Chiefs, whether hereditary or otherwise, their places of residence, the estimated number of their people, & the amount collected . . . in payment of their taxes for the year 1851, by the Magistrate of the Inanda Location . . .', in the Supplement to *The Natal Government Gazette*, March 8, 1853; the evidence of the Magistrate in the Second Supplement, of the same date, and of the Magistrate of the Umvoti Location in the Supplement of March 22, 1853; and also the *Proceedings and Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the past and present state of the Kafirs in the District of Natal . . . 1852–1853*, pp. 32 and 35. Also, see SNA I/1/319: 853/1905, statement of Swaimana, chief of the Amagcumisa, April 17, 1905.
- <sup>47</sup> SNA I/1/210: 1353/1895, Memorandum of the Under Secretary for Native Affairs, November 4, 1895. CSO 1714: 7764/1902, Petition of Bambata to the Supreme Chief, October 4, 1902.
- <sup>48</sup> See the *Blue Books for the Colony of Natal, 1854*, p. 172, and 1857 [n.p.]
- <sup>49</sup> See Petition (n. 15) and SNA I/1/210: 1353/1895, Magistrate Krantzkop to Secretary for Native Affairs, December 2, 1895. Also, on Jangeni being his grandfather, see Memorandum (n. 15) and SNA I/1/296: 2278/1902, Memorandum of Interview with Bambata *et al.*, by the Under Secretary for Native Affairs, August 25, 1902; and on Mancinza/Sobhuza being his father, SNA I/1/134: 1422/1890, Statement by Chief Bambata of Zondi or Engome tribe, November 20, 1890.
- <sup>50</sup> SNA I/1/196: 1647/1894, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, December 27, 1894: deposition of Nyaniso; evidence of Mahlati and Nyaniso.
- <sup>51</sup> See n. 18.
- <sup>52</sup> These are the ones who have been found mentioned in the official records, *e.g.* SNA I/1/66: 760/1883, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 30, 1883 and December 5, 1884; and I/1/84: 894/1884, Secretary for Native Affairs to Magistrate Ixopo, November 27, 1884.
- <sup>53</sup> AGO I/7/67: deposition of Siyeikiwe, December 23, 1907. RSC III/3/2, pp. 292–293: evidence of Siyeikiwe.
- <sup>54</sup> An inference from Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 157.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, which states she was Mancinza's principal wife; but she is referred to as the chief wife in the correspondence of the Magistrate Umvoti (November 11, 1884) and Secretary for Native Affairs (December 5, 1884) in SNA I/1/66: 760/1883.
- <sup>56</sup> Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 157.
- <sup>57</sup> AGO I/7/67: declaration of Siyeikiwe, July 17, 1907. See also SNA I/4/19: C289/1907, declaration of Funizwe, December 13, 1907.
- <sup>58</sup> SNA I/1/338: 841/1906, Memorandum of Interview between the Minister of Native Affairs and the Under Secretary for Native Affairs with Magwababa, Funizwe and 19 others, March 16, 1906. AGO I/7/68: Resume of statement made by Cakijana at Krantzkop on the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1908. Cf. SNA I/6/28: MJ C164/1906, evidence of Duluka
- <sup>59</sup> AGO I/7/61: declaration of Siyikiwe, July 17, 1907; and I/1/67: deposition of Siyeikiwe, December 23, 1907. SNA I/1/356: 3860/1906, Commissioner for Native Affairs to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, November 29, 1906, and Magistrate Vryheid to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, December 21, 1906.
- <sup>60</sup> SNA I/1/296: 2278/1902, Statement of Bambatha, August 22, 1902.
- <sup>61</sup> Memorandum (n. 27) and SNA I/4/16: C146/1906, Magistrate Greytown to Minister of Native Affairs, April 5, 1906.
- <sup>62</sup> Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 158.
- <sup>63</sup> SNA I/1/66: 760/1883, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 30, 1883. Cf. Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 158; and Walter Bosman, *The Natal Rebellion* (London, Longmans, Green, and Cape Town, Juta, 1907), p. 18.
- <sup>64</sup> SNA I/1/66: 760/1883, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 30, 1883, and February 9 and November 11, 1884, and Under Secretary to Magistrate, February 9, 1884.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, November 11 and December 5, 1884, and May 28, 1890.

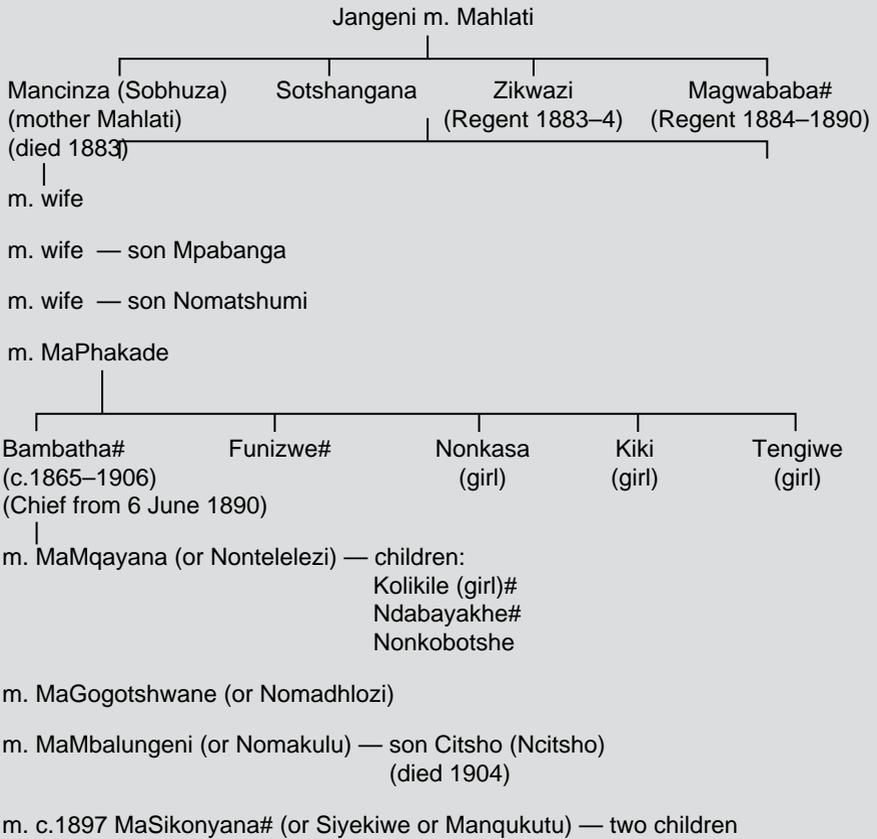
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., Secretary for Native Affairs to Magistrate Umvoti, June 8, 1890; and I/1/333: 78/1906, letter of the Supreme Chief deposing Bambata, February 23, 1906.
- <sup>67</sup> p. 34.
- <sup>68</sup> p. 27.
- <sup>69</sup> See pp. 152 - 154.
- <sup>70</sup> p. 34; but cf. p. 43.
- <sup>71</sup> See pp. x, 6, 120, 151 - 152. There is a prevailing belief that Bhambatha was not killed at the battle of Mome on June 10, 1906, but uncertainty surrounds his later career. The team, if not all the informants, believe he fled to Mozambique. Cf. p. S. Thompson, 'Bambatha after Mome: Dead or Alive?' *Historia*, 50, 1 (May 2005), pp. 23 - 48. The question of Bhambatha's whereabouts also touches on the authenticity of the photograph on the cover of the book. When and where was the original made? The caption states: 'This is a picture of early Zondis with *Inkosi* Bhambada in the middle of the front row. It is originally from the Illustrated London News of 16 June 1906, published during the Uprising. Although there is controversy over whether this is indeed *Inkosi* Bhambada, the present heir *inkosi* Mbongeleni Zondi has the picture displayed proudly in his house and confirms his forefather's identity.' The photograph is also reproduced in Guy, *Remembering the Rebellion*, pp. 64-65, with the comment (p. 65): '*Inkosi* Bhambatha kaMancinza Zondi, a photograph taken sometime before the rebellion, but revived, decorated and sensationalized in 1906.' The head of this Bhambada/Bhambatha has been used as the logogram for the Bhambatha Centenary Commemoration and on the commemorative postage stamp. The photograph is probably a press fabrication. There is no evidence otherwise of its being taken during the rebellion. If the photograph were taken before, then presumably it would have been as readily available in Natal as in England. There would have been no need for Stuart and Funizwe to go to Zululand to identify Bhambatha (see n. 3) or for uncertainty whether or not it was Bhambatha's head that was cut off purposes of identification after Mome.
- <sup>72</sup> p. 34.
- <sup>73</sup> p. 34.
- <sup>74</sup> p. 34.
- <sup>75</sup> p. 112. See also comments and Siyekeiwe and other wives on pp. 120 and 154.
- <sup>76</sup> See p. S. Thompson, *Bambatha at Mpanza: The Making of a Rebel* (Pietermaritzburg, the author, 2004), Chapters 1 and 2, especially the notes.
- <sup>77</sup> Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 158 - 159 (and cf. Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, p. 19.)
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- <sup>79</sup> AGO I/7/67: statement of Ndabayake, December 23, 1907.
- <sup>80</sup> AGO I/7/67: deposition of Siyekeiwe, December 23, 1907.
- <sup>81</sup> AGO I/7/67: statement of Ndabayake, December 23, 1907.
- <sup>82</sup> AGO I/7/67: declaration of Siyekeiwe, July 17, 1907.
- <sup>83</sup> SNA I/1/256: 3860/1906: Magistrate Umvoti to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, January 30, 1907.
- <sup>84</sup> RSC III/3/2, p. 347: evidence of Kolekile.
- <sup>85</sup> SNA I/4/19: C289/1906, declaration of Funizwe, December 13, 1907. RSC III/3/2, p. 288: evidence of Siyekeiwe.
- <sup>86</sup> AGO I/7/67: declaration of Kolekile, December 24, 1907. RSC III/3/2, p. 338: evidence of Kolekile.
- <sup>87</sup> Stuart, *Zulu Rebellion*, p. 158. According to Siyekeiwe (AGO I/1/61: deposition, July 17, 1907, and I/7/67: deposition, December 23, 1907) Bhambatha did not appoint a chief wife.
- <sup>88</sup> RSC III/3/2, p. 289: evidence of Siyekewe.
- <sup>89</sup> AGO I/7/61: deposition of Kolekile, July 15, 1907. RSC III/3/2. p. 238: evidence of Siyekeiwe.
- <sup>90</sup> AGO I/7/61: deposition of Kolekile, July 15, 1907.
- <sup>91</sup> SNA I/4/19: C289/1907, declaration of Funizwe, December 13, 1907.
- <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* AGO I/7/67: statement of Ndabayake, December 23, 1907.
- <sup>93</sup> SNA I/1/356: 3860/1906, Magistrate Umvoti to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, January 30, 1907.
- <sup>94</sup> SNA I/4/19: C289/1906, declaration of Funizwe, December 13, 1907.
- <sup>95</sup> SNA I/1/356: 3860/1906, Magistrate Umvoti to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, January 30, 1907.
- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>97</sup> AGO I/7/67: declaration of Kolekile, December 24, 1907.
- <sup>98</sup> SNA I/1/324: 1912/1905, Magistrate Umvoti to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, November 1, 1905.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* AGO I/7/67: statement of Ndabayake, December 23, 1907.
- <sup>100</sup> SNA I/1/324: 1912/1905, Magistrate Umvoti to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, November 1, 1905.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* *Greytown Gazette*, October 7, 1905: 'A Chief Charged: With Wilful Murder.'

- <sup>102</sup> *Greytown Gazette*, October 14, 1905: 'Week by Week.'
- <sup>103</sup> p. 8.
- <sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>105</sup> See supra, p. 5.
- <sup>106</sup> See pp. 30 and 32, and cf. pp. 27, 28, 30, 34 and 38.
- <sup>107</sup> Yow, *Recording Oral History*, pp. 22 and 58.
- <sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45–49.
- <sup>109</sup> pp. 113 and 116; also cf. p. 138. Also, see Thompson, *Voice of the Past*, p. 110, and Yow, *Recording Oral History*, p.p. 45–46.
- <sup>110</sup> pp. 29–30.
- <sup>111</sup> p. 77.
- <sup>112</sup> See Yow, *Recording Oral History*, p. 54.
- <sup>113</sup> See and cf. pp. 28 and 35.
- <sup>114</sup> See and cf. pp. 29, 34, and 38–39. For the period of Bambatha's chieftaincy see SNA I/1/196: 1487/1896, Magistrate Umvoti to Secretary for Native Affairs, September 15, 1896; I/1/228: 1496/1896, C. Tatham to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, September 3, 1896, and the Under Secretary's memorandum, September 9, 1896; I/6/27: MJ C163/1906, p. 98: evidence of Umfulatelwa, and MJ C194/1906: p. 53, evidence of Magwababa; also *Greytown Gazette*, February 24, 1906: 'Scarecrows,' a letter by C. Tatham, February 23, 1906. For the period just afterwards see SNA I/1/348: 2581/1906, Notes on Interview (October 11, 1906): Secretary for Native Affairs and Magwababa; and in the records of the Chief Native Commissioner 178: 1175/1914, Acting Magistrate Umvoti to Chief Native Commissioner, July 17, 1914.
- <sup>115</sup> *Pace* Nelson Zondi. This construction can also be placed on the relative reluctance of women to speak out about the rebellion—see Chapters 6 and 7.
- <sup>116</sup> By which I mean a lie rather than an error.
- <sup>117</sup> Yow, *Recording Oral History*, pp. 143–149 passim. Thompson, *Voice of the Past*, pp. 134 and 209. Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, *Listening for a Change: Oral Testimony and Development* (London, Paros [1993], pp. 56–57 and 140–145 passim. Also, see Anthony Selden and Joanna Pappworth, *By Word of Mouth: 'Élite' oral history* (London, Methuen, 1983), pp. 43–45, 129–130, and cf. pp. 17–19, and 32–33.
- <sup>118</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 129–148 passim.
- <sup>119</sup> See Chapter 8, 'Rebellion or Uprising,' especially pp. 142, 147–149.
- <sup>120</sup> p. 38. Italics are mine.

**BHAMBATHA GENEALOGIES***(Prepared by Shelagh Spencer, assisted by Paul Thompson and Adrian Koopman)*



ARCHIVAL SOURCES  
(No relevant information found prior to Jangeni)



*These informants include:*

*Family members in 1906 and 1907 (indicated with #)*