

The record of a racist killer?

William Harte, Natal Carbineers, 1906: A centennial appraisal of the life and times of a Natal Militia soldier and his photographic and literary record

Service Record: WHF (William Herrod Fraser) Harte, Natal Carbineers

Regimental number: 742

Squadron: 'A'

Enrolment: 6 October 1899

Previous service with Natal Royal Rifles (NRR): 21 February 1889 to 1 December 1896

Address and occupation: 101 Victoria Road, Pietermaritzburg, clerk

Promotion: Squadron Quartermaster-Sergeant 1 March 1904; Lieutenant 29 November 1910

Resignation: 7 December 1914 (to 2 NC)

Service details: Anglo-Boer War 6 October 1899 to 28 March 1900 and 18 September to 16 October 1901 (Queen's South Africa Medal and two clasps); Natal Uprising 9 February to 31 March, 18 April to 14 May, and 4 July to 2 August 1906 (Medal and clasp)

Long Service Medal: April 1913

Introduction: The 1906 Natal (Bhambatha) Uprising

The disturbances in the former colony of Natal during 1906 has gone by various names, including the Natal or Bhambatha Uprising (Rebellion), the 1906 Protest, the War of the Heads (*impi yamakhanda*), and even the Poll Tax War. The crisis was precipitated by the Natal government's introduction in 1905 of a poll (or head) tax, hence War of the Heads, that impacted heavily on black economic and social systems. Protest by black communities, alarmed at this new burden imposed by their white settler overlords, that became payable in January 1906, was interpreted by the settler government as a precursor to an uprising against white rule. Alarm at this prospect prompted the concerted, and as this article will show, often ruthless, military campaign to crush those *amakhosi* and their followers who embarked on an enthusiastic but disjointed insurgency, primarily in the Nkandla, Lower Thukela and Maphumulo regions.²

Generally, the insurgents avoided direct confrontation, using the remote and broken terrain to maximum advantage. Several major clashes occurred, such as at Bobe Ridge on 5 May, Mpukunyoni (25 May) and Mome Gorge (10 June) where rifles, machine-guns and artillery inflicted heavy casualties at little cost to the Natal Police and Militia forces.

On a purely military level the discrepancy in weaponry and organisation dictated that the insurgency was doomed, and by the end of July resistance had been crushed. However, beyond the regular focus of military historians on strategy, tactics, logistics and so on, lay a further crucial plane, that of punitive pacification in the course of numerous search-and-destroy drives by composite military columns. In addition to the lopsided battlefield scenario, it is this sub-text of 'pacification', marked by widespread killing, destruction of homesteads and crops, as well as confiscation of livestock, that has aroused potent criticism of the role of colonial military forces. Enter William Herrod Fraser Harte, Natal Carbineers.



Top: Colonial military ... a formal studio portrait of W.N.F. (Bill) Harte (reclined) with his brothers R. (Robert) Harte (seated) and A.E. (Alf) Harte (standing). Date unknown.

Above: William Harte (right) and a companion enjoy breakfast at Thring's Post, 11 July 1906

Colonial ‘looters’ and ‘vicious racists’

The inspiration for Jeff Guy’s *The Maphumulo Uprising: War, Law and Ritual in the Zulu Rebellion* (2005) was a photograph lodged in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository and captioned ‘A starving Zulu’.⁴ He proceeded correctly to identify the subject of the photograph as Mbombo kaSibindi Nxumalo, an *inyanga* implicated in the final (Lower Thukela and Maphumulo) phase of the Uprising. The present article, too, is inspired by a photograph, one that also appears in *The Maphumulo Uprising*.

The picture in question, also in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository, is of a festive group of colonial troops bedecked in an assortment of obviously looted Zulu weaponry and regalia. The caption reads: ‘Looters after the massacre at Izinsimba’.⁵ The scene is used to illustrate a critical interpretation of the role of the Natal Militia and Police in the determined colonial search-and-destroy operations during late June and July 1906 intended to suppress a resurgence of protest following the ostensible crushing of insurgent forces at Mome Gorge on 10 June. The same picture is also cited, with the caption: ‘Natal Carbineers with rebel trophies from Nkandla battles, mid-June 1906’, in Benedict Carton’s *Blood from Your Children*, an assessment of settler rule in Natal in terms of the dislocation of black social structures.⁶ Carton, interestingly, also included the ‘starving Zulu’ picture, erroneously labelled as ‘A victim of hunger, c1900’.⁷

This writer recognized the ‘looters’ picture as one recorded by Squadron Quartermaster-Sergeant William Harte in an extensive series chronicling the observations of one of the colonial soldiers who campaigned against the poll tax insurgency. The Pietermaritzburg Archives/Guy picture in fact is one of a series, described by Harte himself as a *tableau vivant*, depicting this ‘event’.



A selection from William Harte’s ‘colonial looters’ tableaux vivants. These scenes at the Militia camp at Thring’s Post, are variously captioned as ‘Men of Natal Carbineers adorned with beads, trophies etc’, and ‘Men of “A” Squadron NC who took part in bush operations on Sunday 8/7/06 when Chief Matshiveli [inKosi Mashwili kaMngoye] and 574 men of the tribe killed.’ He includes several further images that appear to have been photographed by Harte.

The ‘charge sheet’ against the Natal colonial forces (Natal Police and Militia) is a daunting one. The perceived general over-reaction of the colony of Natal towards the poll tax protests, containing a litany of alleged atrocities amidst the ruthless scorched-earth campaign entailing several bloody and one-sided clashes and concomitant arrest of hundreds of suspected ‘rebels’, as well as deposing of *amakhosi*, confiscation of livestock and destruction of homesteads, cannot be denied, but needs to be explained and qualified. Guy’s most damning comment on the component troops of the Natal Militia regiments, such as the UMR and the Natal Carbineers, who participated in the military operations to suppress the Uprising, was that they were little more than ‘armed racists’ and terrorists ‘eager to loot and kill’.⁸ He states furthermore:

Even the historian continually exposed to the racial violence of the South African past has to be surprised by the degree of racial hostility and cruelty in the actions of the colonial militia in 1906 — at the uncompromising severity with which authority was enforced, and at the arbitrary punishments inflicted on those who crossed the militia’s path.⁹

Shula Marks, in her landmark work, *Reluctant Rebellion*, published in 1970, also comments on the supposed penchant in the settler mentality for terrorization and ‘legalised brutality’ that in the opinion of several commentators, goaded the black populace into protest and sometimes rebellion and laid waste their lands.¹⁰ Ironically, in Leuchars’ Field Force Brigade Orders at Maphumulo for 28 February 1906, men were ‘warned against interfering with natives or their property’, and ‘native kraals’ were placed out of bounds, unless under direct orders to the contrary. Looting was, officially at least, forbidden. In Orders of 8 March emphasised ‘the necessity of all ranks behaving properly in the treatment of the natives with whom they may be brought in contact’.¹¹

The major engagements of the Uprising, such as Mpukunyoni and Mome, and the associated pacification operations, have often been categorised as massacres on account of the vast disparity in casualties, with less attention than the military historian would wish devoted to the inevitably grim realities of punitive warfare, and such considerations as disparate weaponry and tactics.¹² When Colonel Duncan McKenzie forwarded a report from one of his column commanders, Lieutenant-Colonel G.M. Mansel, on a clash with protesters in the vicinity of the Nkandla Forest on 5 May 1906, in which the phrase ‘pitiless rifle fire opened upon them caused the enemy to break and flee’ is used, is this wholly, or partly, a reasonable summation of a military situation, or evidence of malicious intent?¹³ The same could be said of McKenzie’s report on the lopsided action in the Insuzi valley in the first week of July: ‘Matters looked serious for a time, the enemy charging up to within five yards of the rifles. They were however, repulsed by a steady fire, and broke. Three Squadrons were sent in pursuit, and about 600 rebels were killed.’¹⁴ His assessment of Mome Gorge, too, focuses closely on its military strategic significance.¹⁵

Squadron Quartermaster-Sergeant William Harte, Natal Carbineers, played a small part in the Natal government’s determined military response to the unrest of 1906. Before presenting a sampling of specific instances of excesses or atrocities, and attempting a defence, or at least explanation, of his role, as evidenced in his photographic record, letters, and personal papers, it must be stated that most regimental histories have to date blandly reflected the settler perspective on the justification for military action, as

well as the nature and severity of Militia operations during the Uprising, with much of their content drawn from James Stuart's *History of the Zulu Rebellion* published in 1913.¹⁶ Thus, in A.C. Martin's history of the Durban Light Infantry (1969), the 'outrageous conduct' of *inKosi* Ngobizembe's followers in defying Magistrate R.E. Dunn at Maphumulo on 22 January, 'could not go unpunished'.¹⁷ In similar vein, in operations against Ngobizembe's homestead on 5 March, the 'shooting was good and soon all the huts were burning'.¹⁸ In the words of A.J. du Plessis, in his history of the Umvoti Mounted Rifles, the challenges to settler authority 'called for stern measures'.¹⁹ In his account of the climactic and bloody clash at Mome, du Plessis quotes dispassionately from C.T. Binns's biography of Dinuzulu:

Then commenced a merciless slaughter which lasted for sixteen hours. Shells and shot rained down into the Gorge from every side and as this fire ceased the troops came in mowing down everyone in sight. No opportunity was given to surrender, for no prisoners were taken. Those who fled into the forests and tried to take shelter by climbing the trees were ruthlessly shot down: dum-dum bullets were extensively used.²⁰

The most detailed of the contemporary regimental records, which introduced an added thread of adventure pursued in later regimental histories, was that of the Natal Carbineers penned by Captain Hubert Walton and incorporated into John Stalker's 1912 book. This chronicle, is, by way of illustration, presented as 'a plain narrative of the part played by the Regiment in the field'.²¹ Goetzsche's 1971 history of the Natal Mounted Rifles comments as follows on the deadly colonial actions against *inKosi* Mashwili's followers in the Izinsimba valley during the final phase of military operations: 'The drives were successful... there were several minor engagements, but the enemy was unable to withstand the deadly, persistent fire of the troops surrounding them'.²² Stalker and Hattersley, in the case of the Carbineers and A.J. du Plessis for the Umvoti Mounted Rifles (UMR), were not at all perturbed by the ruthless reputations, discussed below, of the respective commanding officers, Colonels Duncan McKenzie and George Leuchars.

Academic history has understandably been more critical, although the higher echelons of command, personalities such as Colonel McKenzie ('Natal-born and vicious')²³ and Sir George Leuchars, have usually borne the brunt of criticism, rather than the rank-and-file. McKenzie's nickname among the people of Zululand, 'Chaka' (*sic*) reflects the awe and fear with which he was regarded.²⁴ The present author, in a recently completed manuscript history of the UMR, has sought to bridge the divide between regimental and academic history by fashioning a more critical political and socio-economic context to the involvement of that colonial unit, similar in most respects to that of Harte's Carbineers.

There are several claims to be considered in regard to alleged atrocities, apart from the above extract by Binns quoted in Du Plessis, and from what Carton records as 'gutted homesteads and charred fields'.²⁵ However, it is apparent from Walton's account in Stalker's *The Natal Carbineers* of the drumhead court-martial and shooting of two of the poll tax protestors sought in connection with the incident at *Trewirgie*, that commentary such as that of 'doomed men' acknowledging their guilt before 'all was over' for them, was considered unexceptional in terms of acceptable military conduct.²⁶ Details in the context of skirmishes, ambushes and drives are treated in similarly adventurous but

uncritical fashion. A.C. Martin, in his 1969 history of the Durban Light Infantry (DLI) launches his coverage of the Uprising with a sort of blanket amnesty application:

There is little doubt that had the campaign not been conducted with relentless vigour by Brigadier-General Duncan McKenzie [*He was actually still a colonel at the time*], the conflagration might have spread throughout Natal, Zululand, and far beyond. This, and the fact that a different handling of the situation would have been misunderstood by the rebels, is offered as justification for the methods employed.²⁷

One allegation (apart from the decapitation of Bhambatha himself for the purposes of identification — an issue that is not considered further in this article) suggesting that certain actions by colonial troops, who appeared to show little mercy, constituted atrocities, asserts that at Mome colonial forces offered amnesty to wounded warriors and others who had gone into hiding if they surrendered, only to kill them in cold blood when they complied. Several colonial participants in the ‘debauch of blood’ were reportedly sickened at the extent of the killing.²⁸ A medical officer with one of the colonial columns recorded ‘isolated instances of savagery’.²⁹ Then there is the assertion that shortly after Mome troops set fire to the Qwababana Forest in order to kill insurgents taking refuge within. Oswald Smythe, son of the Natal prime minister Charles Smythe, was reportedly sickened by events at Mome.³⁰ Smythe may have been referring to such incidents as that of a Zulu woman mistakenly shot by colonial forces, and left for a day in agony, with only water and a biscuit to sustain her. It would appear that this particular ‘accident’ took place on 7 July in Mashwili’s domain.³¹

The author of the above story, J.T. Sutherland, displayed a macabre detachment when he wrote as follows on the hundreds of casualties at Mome: ‘Strange, one has no feeling in these times. One looks on a dead... the same as he was a dog.’³² Was William Harte a man with detachment such as this? In a letter of 11 July, and possibly in reference to the aforementioned incident, or at least to another on the same day, Smythe wrote these damning words: ‘I am sure the man who did it must have known they were women but he could not curb his *lust for blood*.’ However, in a significant assertion that such extreme sentiment was not necessarily reflective of the majority of soldiers, he adds that his companions took strong exception to his action and ‘he was very nearly thrashed’.³³ Later, in early July, during the search-and-destroy operations that have attracted Guy’s specific attention, Oswald Smythe wrote to his father of a further incident that calls into question the conduct of Harte’s compatriots:

I must say, they [the protesters] are wonderfully callous in the face of death — we came on most of them hiding in the thick grass...when they were discovered, instead of jumping up and making affright, they generally covered their heads with their arms and were shot like sheep.³⁴

Bosman, in a possibly unintentional defence against such charges, asserted that in clearing operations (where ‘columns of smoke announced the presence’ of columns) such as that at Mome, ‘many instances occurred of rebels “playing possum”’, i.e. pretending to be dead only to snatch a weapon when the opportunity presented itself.³⁵ A certain jumpiness, at least, could therefore possibly be offered by way of explanation. Bosman also suggests that the colonial forces, extended physically and psychologically by the demands of the often futile sweeps and drives in demanding terrain and climate,

were often ‘disappointed in the absence of any decided result’.³⁶ Further extenuating circumstances? There were also, no doubt, instances of colonial troops in fact extending clemency to the helpless, such as that which occurred during the driving of the Dobo Forest, cited by Ken Gillings.³⁷

What of the widespread use by the Natal Militia and Police of expanding or ‘dum-dum’ bullets, designated Mark V and VI ammunition, in actions such as Mome? This issue had been a source of heated debate during the Anglo-Boer War, where accusations of its use were laced with revulsion at the use of such projectiles between white combatants.³⁸ Was it acceptable that colonial forces used this ammunition against black ‘rebels’, where ‘stopping power’ was considered essential when few rifles faced vast numbers of determined attackers? How does one then assess the use of ‘expanding bullets’ in the execution on 2 April of the protesters sentenced to death in March in connection with the *Trewirgie* incident, the so-called ‘Richmond 12’, to ‘ensure instant death—in other words for humanitarian reasons’.³⁹

A disputed case specifically involving the conduct of the UMR emerged in April 1906 while a contingent of the unit was stationed at Maphumulo. The local magistrate received reports that soldiers had flogged several residents. Captain George Moe reported to the commandant of militia:

The natives in question were punished for insolent behaviour and for not showing the required respect for the King’s uniform. Strong measures had to be resorted to to teach the natives who had utterly got out of hand... to pay their respects to the white man.⁴⁰

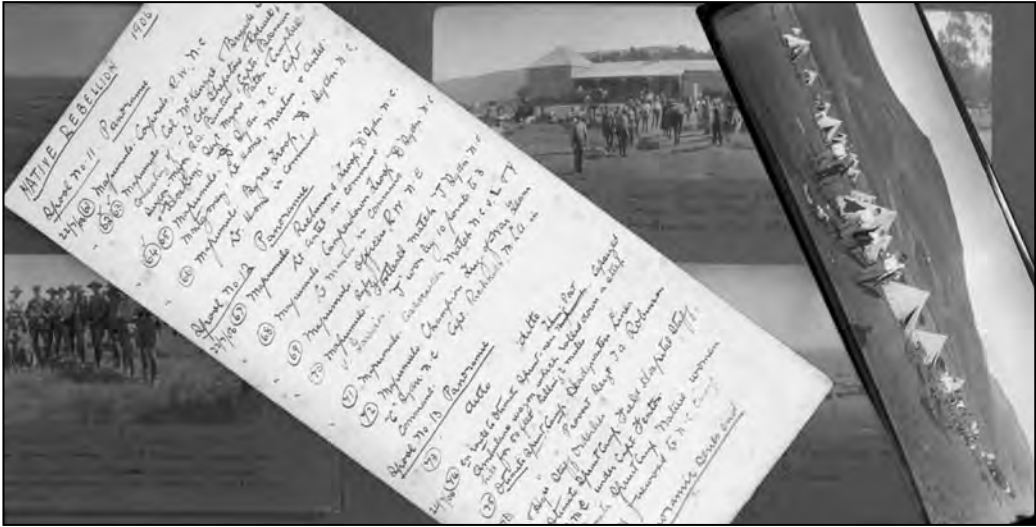
In July 1906 a court of inquiry exonerated Royston’s Horse of a charge of shooting five prisoners in cold blood.⁴¹ In his introduction to Bosman’s 1907 book, Colonel McKenzie, officer commanding the colonial troops, placed on record his ‘very emphatic denial of the alleged atrocities imputed to the colonial troops under my command’.⁴² The Natal government itself responded vigorously to charges of ‘alleged atrocities and barbarities practised by the troops in Natal upon the natives during the conduct of operations’. The minister of justice and defence, Thomas Watt, while acknowledging that ‘in isolated cases men of a brutal disposition might have committed acts of barbarity’, asserted that every care had been taken to ensure ‘humane treatment’, and that lapses could be explained by anger at killings and mutilations such as that of Oliver Veal on 1 July, as well as the aforementioned occasional duplicity on the part of rebels in the act of surrender. Walton, chronicler of Carbineer activities, wrote: ‘That day [3 July] the mutilated body of Mr Veal was discovered by the Carbineers, and the horrible condition of the ill-fated man’s body caused a feeling of horror to run through every Carbineer.’⁴³ J.T. Sutherland wrote in November in connection with this incident that ‘every man swore they would never spare a ... after seeing the way they dealt with that white man at Messini’s kraal’.⁴⁴ Guy devoted considerable attention to the details and ramifications of this incident that inflamed settler opinion in the Colony. Several Harte photographs depict Colonel Duncan McKenzie, the overall commander of the Militia, interrogating an alleged witness of the attack.

McKenzie himself treats the contentious drumhead court martial near Richmond of the two accused from the *Trewirgie* incident and their subsequent execution as routine necessities, along with the associated destruction of homesteads and crops of those implicated in that particular manifestation of protest.⁴⁵ Stuart, who served as an intel-

ligence officer in the field, perhaps summed up the general settler perspective on this contentious issue:

The most humane method in dealing with savages is one which has for its object cessation of hostilities at the earliest possible date. To achieve this end, much must necessarily take place which appears offensive to civilised people at a distance, but which not less civilised persons on the spot know to be imperative.⁴⁶

Was Stuart also reflecting the all-or-nothing approach of the settler mind-set when he wrote: ‘Two peoples are at war; one must defeat the other, and the best way is to do so in a thorough-going way. Nothing... is so effective as wholesale slaughter’?⁴⁷



A negative envelope, a contact print from the original panoramic negatives, and a page from Harte's supplementary Uprising album.

William Harte, photographer extraordinaire, and letter writer

William Harte's 1906 photographic record comprised a rich main selection of approximately 102 images in negative format (most of a 'wide-screen' panoramic variety), supplemented by a further small album of 78 contact prints, mostly duplicates of the main selection but with several additional scenes. Apart from the historical value of the image selection, summarised below, Harte's technical skill as an amateur photographer is evident in the fact that it was possible to print directly from the negatives of this period and earlier with a clarity unsurpassed with today's technology and materials. The collection has escaped the fate of many photographs of this vintage—fading that renders them useless for reproduction. The enduring quality of Harte's photographs could be attributed to a combination of his apparently careful processing and the fact that most of the images were stored in negative format.

In addition to his undoubted technical expertise, Harte boasted a prodigious output that went far beyond the 1906 Uprising. This further collection is headlined by a large album covering the first year of the Anglo-Boer War, focusing closely on the siege of Ladysmith and its aftermath. In addition there are numerous envelopes of negatives, as well as several mini-albums, covering a wide array of Anglo-Boer War and general military topics, as well as travel and topics of general Natal settler interest. These topics

range from Natal Carbineers' service in the Kranskop district in September and October 1901, and an encampment at Taylor's Halt in the Zwaartkop Location in 1905, to the visit by Lord Roberts to Pietermaritzburg in December 1900, and views of the city in March 1902.

The Uprising photographic record is supplemented by a collection of incisive and hard-hitting letters, modest in quantity compared to his prodigious photographic output, dating from the period of Colonel Duncan McKenzie's Field Force expedition through southern Natal in February-March 1906. This episode extends from the incident at *Trewirgie* itself on 8 February, through subsequent operations in the vicinity of Richmond from 12 to 16 February, followed by the path of McKenzie's Field Force through southern Natal, departing Richmond on 19 February and demobilised at the end of March.⁴⁸ This expedition was typical of the zealous manner in which the settler Government forces sought to smother what they perceived as simmering revolt. Guy writes that this force 'swept through the southern districts of Natal, flogging, fining and torching homesteads'.⁴⁹ Hubert Walton's account of this episode, in Stalker's *The Natal Carbineers*, scarcely even hints at excesses of any description, further evidence of the settler justification of the action taken during this phase of operations and those to come.⁵⁰

The letters, commencing on 11 February with a letter written from a campsite at the Mlazi River near *Nel's Rust* (today's Baynesfield) and concluding with one written on 26 March, were addressed to his mother at *Fairhope*, 101 Victoria Road, Pietermaritzburg. Harte in this correspondence articulates his personal war and uncompromising attitude towards this phase of the evolving insurgency and the poll tax protestors, more overtly and forcefully than is the case with his camera lens. This correspondence consequently comes closest to Harte identifying himself with the murderous 'original sin' that critical historiography has placed on him and his settler compatriots.



'On His Majesty's Service'. An envelope containing one of William Harte's bulletins from the field, March 1906.

In his opening letter of 11 February Harte recorded that the previous night 'we slept in a square with fixed bayonets and magazine charged with dum-dums!' He continues his correspondence in the heated context of the immediate post-*Trewirgie* hunt through

the Richmond district (most notably the Enon Forest) by colonial forces for, in his words of 15 February, ‘the native murderers’. It is immediately evident that, along with the majority of settlers, he would have had little time for considerations such as the confused and erroneous conduct at *Trewirgie* of Sub-Inspector Sydney Hunt of the Natal Police, or of the intent of the men who had earlier in the Edendale valley protested against payment of the poll tax. Juxtaposed, also in the same letter and others, is a request, typical of any soldier writing home, for necessities such as socks and underwear, as well as the customary litany of woes that constituted service in the field, plus news and views from home and family! Later, while his column was engaged in subduing the inhabitants of that district, he wrote: ‘I hope we are going to shoot those... that have been caught.’⁵¹

In an extract from another letter, written at Richmond and dated 16 February, Harte made another reference to the controversial modified ‘dum-dum’ ammunition: ‘We... are quite prepared to entertain 2 000 or 3 000 black skins to dum-dum bullets if they look for the sensation’. Once more he juxtaposes these words of grim defiance and determination with comment on various settler families among the ‘Byrne refugees’ seeking refuge in Richmond from the anticipated protest. On the 17th he announced: ‘I want to be among the next firing party! [*referring to the drumhead court martial and execution on 13 February of two poll tax protestors near Richmond*] I feel very bloodthirsty!’ Ironically, Harte was at the same time concerned with such basic personal matters as the loose bowel (an affliction he politely termed ‘Little Mary’ in his letters) that had plagued him since a severe bout of enteric during the siege of Ladysmith. On 14 April 1900, some six weeks after the relief of Ladysmith, he had been granted leave of absence for the remainder of that campaign⁵²

By 22 February the McKenzie Field Force had reached Ixopo (or Stuartstown as it was previously known), ‘absolutely in the centre of the “scare”’. Memories of *Trewirgie* resurfaced. ‘There was,’ recorded Harte, ‘nearly a Hunt episode a short while ago, only the trooper of Police had the discretion not to fire a revolver that he had to draw in face of an assegai that was drawn on him.’ On the 23rd he wrote that the ‘native question here, from all one hears from good local sources, is a very serious thing’. A few days later, on the 26th, Harte announced confidently that

Umskofeli [*sic*] brought in 8 of the men who were known to have gone about the country armed [and] about 500 of his men came in and paid their Poll Tax, so that the native unrest is practically over here and as soon as the armed natives have been court-martialed we shall probably go back to Richmond.⁵³

On 7 March he commented enviously on colonial operations against *inKosi* Ngobizembe and his people, also poll tax protesters, in the Maphumulo district: ‘We heard about the shelling operations at Mapumula [*sic*] by yesterday’s post, sorry we have ’nt [*sic*] had a similar experience here.’ The closest that Harte appears to have in fact come to active participation in pacification operations at this juncture was at the Magistrate’s Court in Ixopo on 12 March, when he witnessed the corporal punishment, allowed for in terms of Martial Law, meted out to several of Umskofeli’s followers:

Close to us was a triangle on which a number of the prisoners were subsequently tied to in turn and thrashed with a cat-of-nine-tails!! I saw five go through the process... All the natives witnessed the punishment. The “cat” was ably applied on their backs and in a number of cases drew blood.⁵⁴

Magistrates in colonial Natal had a penchant for the lash, so much so that its excessive application at this time became another disputatious issue in the settler handling of the disturbances.⁵⁵ Harte had witnessed some of the estimated 4 700 floggings carried out during the course of crushing the protest.⁵⁶ In an enclosure in a communication from Governor McCallum to the Secretary of State, dated 11 April, the colonial Minister of Justice, Thomas Watt, lists in official detail such punishments meted out at a court martial at Mtwalume.⁵⁷

On 13 March McKenzie's Field Force departed Ixopo for Umzinto via Highflats, and thence to Ifafa and Mtwalume. The purpose of this mission was to cower the potentially restive Black population in those districts, and appeared to succeed in this aim. Harte wrote from Ifafa on the 16th: 'The natives about here are supposed to be a bad lot, but all along the line of march today they were all respectful "bayete".' On Sunday morning the 18th, at Mtwalume, protest and unrest seemed the proverbial thousand miles away when Harte described his situation: 'sitting on an ammunition box under a fine spreading beach tree, on my right is a peep of the ocean, a steamer is passing at the present moment, there is a beautiful breeze from the sea, so that "everything in the garden is beautiful".'⁵⁸ False optimism, as it turned out! Then, later in the same letter, he returns to the grim intent and hostility of some of his earlier missives: 'Wish we could shoot a few black skins here, but they are a lot of curs and won't show fight, an [in?] spite of as much as they were inclined to do a short while ago.' In his final letter of significance, on 26 March, Harte returns, with a curious air of detachment, to events surrounding the *Trewirgie* incident:

Walter [*probably Walter Peel Gibson, married to Susannah, one of his four sisters*]...and I rode over to Enon Bush to the spot where we shot the two natives. Some animals seem to have tried to unearth the bodies, the large stones covering them must have thwarted them. The view from that spot was charming, we could see right away to East Griqualand in the west and toward Greytown in the east.⁵⁹

Harte's 1906 collection of photographs is so rich in theme and context, as well in specific detail, as to be overwhelming. In the proverbial nutshell, this collection encompasses four major themes in the vivid and evocative description of the events witnessed by his camera lens. As is the case with most archival records of this nature, this specific subject matter was not created with the historian of 100 years in the future in mind. Harte was in all likelihood simply indulging in a passion and in the process recording the events as he witnessed them during his three periods of service: 9 February to 31 March, 18 April to 14 May, and 4 July to 2 August.

Too often the historian encounters photographs of outstanding technical detail that are sadly without information as to place, event, dates and identities, often rendering them more or less useless. This was not the case with William Harte. In addition to the detailed captions on the envelopes containing the negatives (and a full index list in the case of the supplementary album), he used a camera that permitted a brief caption to be written on the negative itself at the time of exposure. Cameras of this type were known as 'autographic' cameras, and were popularized by Kodak from 1914 to 1934.⁶⁰

Harte's collection has remained largely hidden for much of the century after it was recorded. Apart from the images that have turned up unbilled in the Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository and subsequently used by historians such as Guy and Carton, there

is a suggestion that a selection was printed in contemporary newspapers. In 1906 the *Natal Mercury Weekly Edition*, for example, published spreads on 9 March ('Native Disturbances at Ixopo') and 18 May ('Operations around Inkandla') that bear the stamp of Harte's work.⁶¹ Much more recently, in 1995, one picture, of a captured insurgent wounded in the face, was published in Ian Knight's *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army*.⁶²

Following Harte's death in 1915 his collection of photographs, letters, memorabilia and records was in all likelihood held by his widow, Frances, before passing to his children, Vere and Olive. In January 1940 Vere followed his father into the (1st Royal) Natal Carbineers and proceeded to present posterity with an equally impressive and meticulous record of his military service, from numerous photographs (albums and negatives) to letters and documents. In December 1992 this entire father-and-son collection was lodged with the Natal Carbineers' Archive, located in an annexe of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Museum Service premises in Prince Alfred Street, Pietermaritzburg. Nic Ruddiman, the Museum Service photographer, printed the negatives as contact sheets that were placed in an album and provide the primary point of reference.

William Harte on active service

The major thematic groups into which the letters and the photograph collection can be conveniently divided is as follows: Natal Militia individuals, groups, camp scenes and convoy movement, including images of soldiers engaged in recreational pursuits (predominantly Natal Carbineers, Natal Police, Durban Light Infantry and Zululand Mounted Rifles); associated events involving insurgent prisoners; and landscapes and vistas of the operational area covered by the Militia columns that Harte was attached to. Scenes that would become associated with the scorched-earth operations, such as the remains of torched homesteads, are not in evidence.



Thring's Post Hospital. Native rebel with his mouth blown away by a piece of shell.

As far as time frames and locations are concerned, Harte's collection obviously mirrors his periods of mobilisation and the movement of his squadron of Natal Carbineers within the context of the division of colonial forces into several detached columns. Six major 'episodes' in his story can be identified. The first is the introductory trio of *Trewirgie* pictures in the supplementary album, associated with the opening phase of the Uprising in the Richmond area and southern Natal in February and March, and considered in this article in conjunction with the photographer's letters from that theatre.

Then, following a brief hiatus for Harte during early April when the Natal government thought they had nipped the unrest in the bud, Harte found himself in the saddle once again and his initial major series of photographs was taken during his march to Nkandla and operations in that district, covering the month from 21 April to 11 May. This period included the concentration of insurgent and government forces in Zululand following the action at Mpanza on 4 April. This period was one of containment and included the defeat by government forces of a major insurgent attack at Bobe Ridge on 5 May.⁶³ Harte's record then appears to be suspended between mid-May and early July (possibly a few weeks' leave), followed by a few days at Thring's Post, at the time McKenzie's headquarters for his campaign against the renewed insurgency (from about 8 to 13 July), followed by a concluding two weeks at Maphumulo and Otimati Spruit during the latter two weeks of July.

Harte, therefore, through his various absences, omits several of the climactic military episodes in the Uprising, including the battle at Mpukunyoni on 28 May, and the extensive series of drives in the vicinity of Nkandla (29 May to 7 June), culminating in the entrapment and slaughter of insurgent impi at Mome Gorge on 10 June. Once again, as was the case following the severe action taken against the *Trewirgie* tax resisters, the government considered that it had crushed the 'rebels' at Mome and that the Uprising was effectively at an end. The colonial military commander, McKenzie, himself held this view.⁶⁴ They had not completely crushed the protest and this disillusionment possibly contributed to the severity of its renewed response over the next few months.

Harte also appears to have missed the upsurge of protest in Maphumulo in June and July, including the clash at Otimati on the 19th, and instead resumes his photography in time to record the impact of the concentration of government forces against *amaKhosi* Meseni kaMusi and Ndlovu kaThimuni. It was government actions during this phase of the conflict that elicited the charges of brutality and excessive force directed against the colonial troops in *Maphumulo Uprising*.⁶⁵ It is therefore pertinent that among the most poignant images observed through his viewfinder were those of Meseni and Ndlovu in jail at Maphumulo and under armed escort to their court-martial at the same location. Harte was also witness to the aftermath of another contentious Uprising episode, the killing in the Mvoti valley on 1 July of Oliver Veal, civil servant and cyclist, by followers of *inKosi* Meseni kaMusi.⁶⁶

Once the Militia and Natal Police columns had dealt successfully with Meseni's resistance, in a series of drives and sweeps in early July, attention was shifted from 7 to 12 July to the 'pacification' of the above-mentioned Ndlovu as well as *inKosi* Mashwili. It was during this period, on Sunday the 8th, that the grim events took place that netted the loot that in turn 'inspired' the title photograph of this paper when Mashwili kaMngoye and a large number of his followers were killed. In Stalker's *The Natal Carbineers*, this

colonial drive was summarised as follows: ‘By afternoon many rebels were left dead in that valley—the grave of the Rebellion in Natal.’⁶⁷



Natal Carbineer horsemen with Colonel D.W. MacKay's column, crossing the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) River into Zululand at Vant's Drift, 21 April 1906.



Taking time out from killing and pillage? Colonial troops at play: the high jump at an undated sports day at Maphumulo.



'Native rebel prisoner, witness of Veal's murder, being questioned by Colonel McKenzie.'



(Top) 'Chiefs Ndlovu and Meseni en route to court martial, escorted by DLI [Durban Light Infantry].' The picture probably dates from 16 July 1906, the date on which this court martial opened in the Residency at Maphumulo. Meseni and Ndlovu are correctly known as inKosi Meseni kaMusi Qwabe and inKosi Ndlovu kaThimuni Zulu. (Above) 'Surrendered rebels in concentration camp at Mapumula.' This stark image of subjugation is dated 21 July 1906.

Harte does not record individual operations such as those that comprised the numerous drives to apprehend the insurgents, as well as the skirmishes, killing, destruction of homesteads, and confiscation of stock that is at the heart of *Maphumulo Uprising*. The closest he comes to this level of detail is his inclusion of groups of captured *amakhosi* and their followers, as well as loyal or collaborationist levies. There are two likely reasons for this. Firstly, as a squadron quartermaster-sergeant his duties would probably have been confined largely to camp/base duties rather than search-and-destroy missions with columns in the field. Then, too, his photographic equipment was probably not yet sufficiently advanced to effectively record battle action.

Seeking answers. Harte's social context: Natal settler society and the Uprising

Guy relates the several brutal murders of unarmed white people during the course of the disturbances with a forthright candour and in gruesome detail, but without the same degree of judgmental baggage heaped on the Militia and its leadership. In fact, atrocities such as mutilation are explained, in part, in terms of traditional cultural practices.⁶⁸ The colonial Militia deserves similar consideration. The context of the involvement of Natal colonial military forces in the events of 1906 and 1907 is particularly contentious, especially with regard to the legitimacy of white rule, and the debate that has emerged as to whether the settler response to black protest, represented by the poll tax saga, was exaggerated in concept and excessively ruthless in application.

The reader should bear in mind that throughout this contentious episode in South African history, militia regiments such as the Natal Carbineers and UMR were inevitably infused with the convictions, *mores*, racial attitudes and fears of the settler ruling class in which they were, on the whole, firmly embedded. Few individuals from that community questioned the legality and justice of white rule. In fact, Walter Bosman, aide-de-camp to Colonel Duncan McKenzie during the military operations of 1906, in the preface to his 1907 book, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*, lauds the settler call-to-arms as ‘the vindication of their title to rule in the land of their adoption’.⁶⁹ Even James Stuart, who was to leave to posterity his unrivalled collection of interviews with numerous black contemporaries, was in no doubt that this was a conflict between ‘a race of savages’ on the one hand, and ‘representatives of Western Civilisation’ on the other.⁷⁰ This social mixture was, according to Shula Marks, one of paternalism, fear, and contempt, a blend that made, in her words, for a blend of ‘paternal despotism’, or in the words of Guy, ‘overbearing attitudes and racist brutality’.⁷¹ The white politicians, magistrates, shopkeepers, farmers, soldiers, and as in the case of Harte, civil servants, were all a part of this inherited mix in which, in the words of Marks, ‘innate distrust of the stranger of different colour, social values, and culture, made the African a threat’.⁷² She continues, citing Brookes and Webb’s *A History of Natal*, that fear of a black uprising in Natal ‘was “strong, enduring, and at times almost pathological” from the beginning of its colonial history’.⁷³ This anxious and defensive settler community saw the seeds of sedition in any hint of protest against its rule, such as opposition to payment of the poll tax, and considered that any backing down on its part would have jeopardised white rule.⁷⁴ It is not surprising that Stuart should refer to terrorisation in the context of protesters forcing ‘loyalist’ inhabitants into rebellion, rather than in a description of settler colonial troops.⁷⁵

The story of the inception, growth, and vicissitudes of settler life in Natal, which gave rise to men such as those who comprised the Natal Carbineers and Umvoti Mounted Rifles, has been thoroughly documented, for example, in the works of Alan Hattersley. These factors were particularly evident in the rural frontier regions, including the stock farming regions, where settler pastoralists had long competed with their black counterparts, and provided many of the ruling hierarchy, men such as McKenzie and Leuchars, and men such as William Harte. The settler farmer in particular, and the settler community in general, had a strong vested interest in maintaining and strengthening its grip over the black inhabitants. Harte was himself somewhat removed from the ruling farming clique, being one of the majority of settlers who by 1906 resided in the urban centres such as Pietermaritzburg, although he did boast two farmer brothers-in-law, suggesting it was difficult to completely avoid some association with this dominant settler community. Sisters Bessie and Susannah had married respectively William Otto of Riet Vlei and Walter Peel Gibson of *Howard Hill*, Richmond district. A third sister, Maude, had been married to Edward Lucas, a lawyer, and Carbineer captain who succumbed to enteric (one of the siege of Ladysmith afflictions that William Harte was familiar with) during the Anglo-Boer War. These matrimonial alliances were evidence of what Shelagh Spencer has termed ‘social connections in local society’.⁷⁶

Among the convictions held by most members of this society was that equality between white and black could not be considered. The settler society and economy had endured a difficult inception and growth during the early colonial period, and considered black

people, whether in the form of the homestead economy or in the context of physical security, as a potential threat. Walter Bosman perhaps captures best the contemporary settler mood. The black population, he wrote,

were prepared to take up arms; to loot and destroy the scattered homesteads which had taken years of patient labour to establish; to perpetrate upon gentle women and tender children nameless barbarities which the savage mind can conceive; and to drive the white man into the sea.⁷⁷

Bosman's words were echoed by his superior, McKenzie, in several telling extracts from his official report on the measures taken, mostly under his command, to suppress the poll tax-inspired resistance. In the first he states that it 'must be admitted that at one time the state of affairs was extremely serious, and there is no denying the fact that the colony passed through a crisis, the seriousness of which is realised by very few.' Furthermore, he asserts, 'had the rebels met with any success, and any of our forces with disaster, however slight, the flame of rebellion which was then smouldering, would have at once been fanned into a conflagration.' Bosman probably reflected the prevailing colonial sentiment when he wrote: 'Had our enemy [*the protesters*] met with any success, one trembles to think of what might have befallen our brothers and sisters living on the isolated farms in the Colony.'⁷⁸

McKenzie, his own convictions notwithstanding, was also in no doubt as to the primary motive driving the protest: 'The real fact of the matter, in my opinion, is that the natives are tired of the white man's rule, and consider that the country is theirs.'⁷⁹ Colonel Leuchars, the Natal Secretary for Native Affairs from 1904 to 1905, and officer commanding the UMR from 1898 to 1907, was one high-profile advocate, along with the governor, Sir Henry McCallum, of a hard-line position towards black people. Colonial military commanders were labelled in an article in the Zulu language newspaper, *Ilanga lase Natal*, as cruel in the extreme, and the actions of Leuchars in particular was described as 'harsh...and remorseless'.⁸⁰ The settler newspapers, it should be noted, such as *The Natal Witness* and *The Natal Mercury*, were subject to censorship for much of the military campaign, in terms of Martial Law, and that did nothing to ameliorate the views of their readers.

The sentiment of the St James Anglican Parish in Greytown, possibly reflecting the position of Canon G.E. Pennington, its long-time vicar was very firm, asserting in reference to the 'rebels', that 'we are dealing with a people who cannot realise the value of defeat unless it is real and personal'. Commenting on prospective and decisive military action, the prevailing St James opinion was that it be '*as hard as we can hit*'.⁸¹ [original emphasis]

The Natal government, in the context of the responsibilities and expectations of the Responsible Government granted it in 1893, especially its increased responsibility for defence, as well as the intrusive imperial control of political policy and military strategy during the Anglo-Boer War, was determined to crush this insurgency with minimal involvement from London and was very sensitive to criticism of its actions towards this end. Relations between the colonial and British governments consequently became strained when London criticised as excessively severe the settler response to the perceived threat to its hegemony. The imperial garrison had been almost completely withdrawn by that date, although British troops could have been called in from the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. The militia regiments of the Colony, among them the UMR, as well as

the Natal Police, and assisted by some similarly constituted units from the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, as well as white levies (the Militia Reserves) and black levies, bore the brunt of military operations, and enabled the Responsible Government ministry to assert that it had maintained order in the Colony and weathered the crisis. In the above context the lack of enthusiasm in Natal towards fighting Boers in 1899-1902, compared to what can be described as an over-enthusiastic response to tackling the Colony's black subjects in 1906, is relevant to Harte's own statements and record, and, significantly, generated similarly strained relations between settler Natal and Britain.⁸²

William Harte's soldiering should also be considered in the context of the predominant 'military ethos' that is considered by some historians to have prevailed to a greater or lesser extent in settler political and social circles.⁸³ Into this mix comes the aforementioned blend of settler fear, confidence, restraint and self-fulfilling prophecy that marked the inception, conduct and aftermath of the Uprising.⁸⁴ Also, in the same way that a certain dichotomy prevails in terms of Harte's own position on the poll tax protest and the action taken against it, there were several prominent settlers who questioned aspects of the colonial response, and its severity. Joseph Baynes and Sir James Hulett were two cases in point.⁸⁵

Finally, judgment of the position adopted by Harte and his associates towards their participation in the campaign of military pacification in 1906, has inevitably been coloured by hindsight, a cushion and relative detachment of 100 years. Imperialism, colonialism, the presumption of white rule over black Africans, have all been challenged in a manner seldom evident in Harte's day. Then there is the question of the disputed over-reaction by the Natal government and its military forces to the disturbances and protest. It is unlikely, for example, that Harte and his associates differentiated between the dynamics within chiefdoms in the region, conflicting interests, and fluctuating patterns of participation in terms of protest, neutrality, or collusion with the State, all factors that diluted the effectiveness of resistance to settler authority.⁸⁶ Instead, it is evident that settler society inculcated in the not atypical Harte all its prejudices and fears.

Seeking answers: The man himself, duty as civil servant and soldier

A tentative glimpse at the extensive records of William Harte's life, family and civilian career held in the Natal Carbineers' Archive will hopefully reveal the extent to which he fitted the broad settler scenario that investigations into the Uprising have thrown into sharp contrast. Harte was born on 29 June 1874 at Mossborough House, Kilkenny, Ireland. He was an accountant by profession, employed in the Town Treasurer's Office, Pietermaritzburg. At the time of the Uprising he was not yet married, hence his letters to his mother rather than his wife. He married Frances Mary Butler on 16 September 1909 in St Saviour's Cathedral in Commercial Road, Pietermaritzburg. The extensive list of wedding presents, including a silver tea and coffee service from his regiment, and a diamond and ruby bracelet from the parliamentary staff and their wives (Frances' father, Captain P.J.H. Butler, had been the Sergeant-at-Arms in the Natal Legislative Assembly), is indicative of the high regard in which this official was held.⁸⁷ He appears to have resided at 101 Victoria Road both before and after his marriage. He was a member of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

In July 1889, at the youthful age of 14½ years, he was appointed as a junior clerk in the Town Office at a princely £36 per annum, and worked his way up to clerk in

the Borough Engineer's Office (and £150) by 1896. In May 1898 he was transferred from the Borough Engineer's Office to the position of cashier in the Town Office with a much-improved salary of £175 per annum. The referral written for him in July 1898 by the Borough Engineer probably sums up his character: 'He has been most attentive and painstaking in his work, is perfectly steady and reliable.'⁸⁸ Through the period of the Anglo-Boer War, following his enteric-assisted relief from active service after the siege of Ladysmith, he again worked his way up the salary grades, £12.10.0 at a time, in that post before landing the post of accountant in May 1902 at £300 per annum.⁸⁹ Interestingly, G.J. Macfarlane, the incumbent mayor and a major in Harte's regiment, the Carbineers, signed his certificate of appointment to the last-named post.⁹⁰ In all he served the Corporation of Pietermaritzburg for 27 years.

During this period Harte also found time to serve as an electoral officer (described in correspondence as a 'field cornet') for the Natal colonial government for Pietermaritzburg.⁹¹ This additional duty for the indefatigable yet ailing Harte continued into the propitious Union era, and the new Union of South Africa's first general election of 1910, when the post of field cornet appears to have been upgraded to a justice of the peace. He was responsible for the preparation of five voters' rolls: two for the Union Assembly (Pietermaritzburg North and South) and three for the Provincial Council (Chase Valley, Umsundusi, and Swartkop Valley), a considerable task. He also served as presiding officer at the Foresters' Hall polling station in the electoral division of Pietermaritzburg North. Once again he had to nag for his pay (£80), an unfortunate pattern, it would appear, of his industrious life. He continued this work, and pleas for improved remuneration, into 1913.⁹² A further, associated task was a significant contribution towards the preparation of the first Union period census for the City. In his own words, he was well suited to the job: 'During my service with the Municipality, extending over 22 years, I have acquired a valuable knowledge of the geography, population and suburbs of Pietermaritzburg.' In this same memorandum, of 15 May 1911, he concludes: 'I have often complied with requests of the government to assist in duties of the Crown'. His fee in this instance was £15.15.0.⁹³

In 1907 Harte ambitiously applied for the position of deputy Town Clerk of Johannesburg, and in this instance no less personages than C. Bird, Principal Under-Secretary in the Colonial Secretary's Office, Natal, the Mayor, A.W. Kershaw (of Kershaw Park fame), and S. Stranack, the Town Clerk for 22 years to 1905, among several others, lent their weight to the application.⁹⁴ The application for this post was probably connected to the general economic recession in the Colony of Natal from 1904 to 1909 in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War, one repercussion of which, the imposition of the poll tax in 1905, contributed significantly to the discontent that sparked the protest of 1906.⁹⁵ The impact on the conscientious and periodically sickly Harte was that he fell victim to a wave of retrenchments in the Town Treasurer's Office that saw him dismissed from his £300 post and re-engaged at a lower salary. In May 1911 he was still striving, successfully it would appear, to restore his former position. 'My services with the Corporation [*he implored in a letter to the Town Treasurer on 1 May*] extends over 22 years, and I have always endeavoured to be conscientious in my work the nature of which requires a skilled knowledge.'⁹⁶

Details of Harte's position as a humble cashier in the employ of the City of Pietermaritzburg are important to establish a portrait of the person behind the photographs and

letters described above, beyond the broader parameters of the settler military response to the Uprising.

As far as military service was concerned, prior to his enlistment in the Natal Carbineers on 6 October 1899, Harte had seen service in the Natal Royal Rifles (later the Natal Royal Regiment from 1910 until its disbandment in 1913) from 30 January 1890 to mid-1896. The Natal Royal Rifles, as fate would have it, garrisoned Richmond for several weeks during the *Trewirgie* phase of the Uprising.⁹⁷ His Natal Militia Force 'Form of Voluntary Enrolment' for 1910 describes him as a little under two metres tall, dark complexioned, and with brown eyes and hair.

William Harte's record of his previous wartime service in the Anglo-Boer War, most notably in the siege of Ladysmith, offers few clues as to his personal attitude to fighting white people, as against the very different category of opponent encountered in 1906. His death in 1915 at a relatively young age was a consequence of long-term complications of the privations and bout of enteric fever suffered during the siege. Apart from the usual campaign medal, the Queen's South Africa Medal (QSA) for his Anglo-Boer War service, Harte's dedication to his martial endeavours was rewarded in April 1913 with the Long Service Decoration. Further evidence of dedication to duty emerged in the form of a stint as secretary and treasurer of the Carbineers' Sergeants' Mess.⁹⁸

A greeting card for the 1913-14 Festive Season from the officers of his 'A' Squadron, includes a photograph in which Lieutenant W.H.F. Harte, while displaying a delicate appearance, does not appear at death's door as he entered the final year of his life. Also, a postcard home on 15 January 1915, at the time of the South African campaign in German South West Africa (successfully concluded by July), reports nothing out of the ordinary. However, his delicate health had precluded active field service and this was the reason he transferred to the 2nd Carbineers as paymaster, stationed at Ludertizbucht, slotting in perfectly with his job back in City Hall, Pietermaritzburg. Later that same year, in November, Harte, now a captain, was set for further service, once more as paymaster, this time on the staff of Colonel W.H.A Molyneux in connection with the South African forces (one of the regiments of South African Horse) destined for German East Africa.¹⁰⁰ However, his sands of time were rapidly running out.

He was admitted to hospital in Potchefstroom on 1 December and passed away from gastro-enteritis associated with heart failure in a Johannesburg hospital at 11.30 p.m. on the 13th, at the relatively young age of 41. His enteric had well and truly caught up with him.¹⁰⁰ His body was railed from Johannesburg to Pietermaritzburg, and his funeral procession proceeded, in pouring rain, from the Railway Station to St Saviour's Cathedral and thence to the Anglican cemetery. The notice of his death, his obituary and extensive coverage of the military funeral accorded him by the Natal Carbineers (despite the evidence of discord mentioned below), were in the *Natal Witness* of 15 and 16 December 1915. It was front page news despite the worsening crisis and mounting losses of World War I, as was the tribute that the Town Council paid him — all further evidence of his solid standing in the settler community, and an affirmation perhaps of the personal-military symbiosis that historians of the Uprising era would associate with his life and career. At the funeral itself civic dignitaries, as well as senior officers of his regiment, the Carbineers, who provided a firing party and band escort, were well represented. Harte married comparatively late in life and left two young children, Vere and Olive, mentioned elsewhere in this story, plus his brothers, Alf and Robert, and at least

two of four sisters.¹⁰¹ His widow, Frances, subsequently moved to 26 Havelock Road below the Railway Station in Pietermaritzburg and lived out her days there. In 1939, at the age of 63, she too volunteered for war service, in the ranks of the British Empire Service League (BESL) as a nursing sister.¹⁰²

As suggested above, Harte offers few explicit clues as to his personal state of mind during the tortuous campaign of 1906. Even the meticulous captions to his photographs tend to be concise, factual and unemotional. The closest he appears to come to a strongly held opinion emerges in the aforementioned handful of letters he wrote home from southern Natal. Nevertheless, even in those letters he flits between commentary on poll-tax protest and military matters, and queries regarding his civilian pay, along with many personal issues. His letters also suggest an individual of assertive and forthright character, not only on the subject of the place in settler society of the black population, but also in his relations with Carbineers compatriots. He speaks forcefully in his letters, for example, of divisions within his own squadron, 'A' Squadron, over the matter of promotions and other internal matters of an 'office politics' nature.¹⁰³ Perhaps his direct manner in such matters contributed to the inordinate delay, considering his exemplary military record, in his promotion to commissioned rank in November 1910.¹⁰⁴

Despite his mundane position during the Uprising as a squadron quartermaster-sergeant, Harte was also one of the expert Carbineer shottists of his day. He therefore certainly possessed the requisite skill in musketry to make good on his direct comments in his letters about taking the fight, as he perceived it, to the poll tax protesters. The Natal Carbineers' Museum holds a mounted collection of silver spoons earned at shooting competitions over many years. In September 1994 his daughter, Olive, presented to the then Pietermaritzburg Municipality a trophy fashioned from a medal and several of these spoons.

The part-time soldier in a regiment such as the Natal Carbineers has from the colonial era to the present been called upon to juggle employment and personal commitments with military duties and commitments. So it was that Harte periodically found himself in frustrating

(Right) The front-page report of William Harte's demise, from the Natal Witness of Wednesday 15 December 1915.

**DEATH OF CAPT.
NATAL HARTE Wed
WITNESS 15/12/15**

**CITY FIELD CORNET
AND TOWN OFFICIAL**

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of Captain W. H. F. Harte, of the South African Horse, which took place at Johannesburg on Monday night. Captain Harte succumbed to the internal complaint, contracted during the siege of Ladysmith.

The late Captain Harte, who served in the Boer War, Zulu Rebellion, and had the Long Service Medal, joined the Natal Carbineers on October 5, 1899. Prior to that date he was a member of the N.B.R. for about eight years, having joined that corps on February 21, 1893. From December, 1896, until the date he joined the Carbineers, he was on the Reserve. For the Boer war he received the Queen's medal and two clasps, one of which was for the siege of Ladysmith and the second for Laing's Nek. He entered Ladysmith enjoying the best of health, but during the siege he was taken ill with some internal trouble from which he never recovered.

The deceased had a military record of close on 25 years, having received the Long Service decoration in April, 1913. He was promoted to the rank of sergeant on March 1, 1904, and from then till November 29, 1910, when he received a commission, he was secretary and treasurer of the Sergeants' Mess, N.C.

Being unable to take the field, owing to ill-health, at the commencement of the German South-West campaign, Captain Harte transferred to the 2nd Natal Carbineers, when he was appointed Captain Paymaster. He was stationed at Ludersdrecht during the campaign.

Though enjoying anything but robust health, he wished to "do his bit" for his country, and on the 18th of last month he left Maritzburg to take up an appointment as Paymaster of the S.A. Horse, Johannesburg.

LONG MUNICIPAL SERVICE

Captain Harte, who had endeared himself to a wide circle of friends, was in the service of the Maritzburg Corporation for 27 years. He joined the Corporation at the age of 14 years, in the office of the Town Clerk. From there he went to the Borough Engineer, and later was the cashier to the Town Treasurer's Department. In 1905 he was appointed Accountant in the Treasury Department, which position he occupied until leaving for Johannesburg. He was very highly respected by his colleagues in the Corporation for his ability and courtesy.

He was the Field Cornet under the late Natal Government for this district since 1904, and after the declaration of Union was a Justice of the Peace for the Electoral Divisions for Maritzburg North and South. He was also responsible for the voters' roll for the Provincial Council Divisions for Zwartkop, Umsindusi, and Chase Valley. He was the hon. treasurer of the Maritzburg Benevolent Society.

Captain Harte leaves a wife and two children; also a mother, four sisters and two brothers, to whom heartfelt sympathy is extended in their sad bereavement.

The remains left Johannesburg last evening, and will arrive by to-day's corridor at 3.47. The funeral, with military honours, will take place from the railway station forthwith.

The firing party will be furnished by the Natal Carbineers, and the band will attend.

Officers attending the ceremony are requested to attend in field service dress, Sam Brown belt and sword. Medals will be worn.

situations. One facet of this portrait was the ultimately fatal wartime brush with enteric ('my health was very much shaken'), which evolved into what he described as intestinal catarrh, and which haunted him for the remainder of his 15 years, as his Uprising letters attest. A letter dated 6 April 1900, that Harte received from an associate in the Pietermaritzburg Municipality, enquiring after his health during his recuperation from the rigours of the siege of Ladysmith, suggests that he enjoyed cordial inter-personal relationships with his colleagues.¹⁰⁵ However, complications always lurked close to the surface.

In April 1902 he applied with adamant determination to the Town Treasurer for a six-month leave of absence to sail for England on the advice of his physician, a Dr W. Russell Strapp, who prescribed a sea voyage. At the time, towards the end of the penultimate month of the Anglo-Boer War, volunteers such as Harte could apply for *gratis* passage, termed an 'indulgence passage', on troopships. He was evidently a stickler for regulations, paperwork and correct procedure (an attribute that no doubt promoted his determination and that of his broader family to impart an archival legacy, part of which forms the foundation of this article), and urged on his superior the fact that his ordinary and sick leave over 13 years of service fell within the limits that entitled him to full pay during such an absence. An application along similar lines was made to the adjutant of his regiment, the Carbineers.¹⁰⁶

It is unclear whether Harte ever secured his convalescent voyage, but several years later, in late December 1908, following his Natal Uprising exertions, he was still chipping away at the same seam with the military authorities, this time on the recommendation of Dr Robert Buntine, who served as medical officer to the Carbineers during the siege of Ladysmith. The preferred destination was now less ambitious — Cape Town. He was by this point a man of woes, claiming, *inter alia*, medical expenses of between £500 and £600, and demanding Government compensation:

When I went to the front in 1899 at the age of 25 I enjoyed a robust health, lived an active life, could stand any amount of hard work, and take any kind of diet. I regret to say that I cannot claim any of those qualifications now.¹⁰⁷

Again, the results of his exertions are not stated, but it is apparent from his record with the Town Treasurer's Department that his employers were, in fact, very tolerant with respect to his military diversions. During his Anglo-Boer War service, for example, from 6 October 1899 to 6 May 1900 and again from 19 September to 16 October 1901, he received full pay for the first six weeks of his initial stint followed by 5½ months on half salary, and full pay for the 1901 episode.¹⁰⁸

Another facet of his Anglo-Boer War service in which Harte displayed a determined resilience emerged in connection with his efforts to secure from his military superiors the 'privileges' attendant on delegates to the coronation festivities in August 1902 for the new king, Edward VII, who had succeeded his mother, Queen Victoria.¹⁰⁹ This determination prevailed despite his siege-related ailments. Having succeeded in securing a place at a late date in the contingent at his own expense, 10 years later, in 1912 he was still grappling with the military bureaucracy to secure the commemorative medal in which the collector/archivist in him seemingly placed considerable value.¹¹⁰ In the end it turned out that the reason for this *impasse* was that Harte had not been a member of the initial contingent and had proceeded in a private capacity.¹¹¹ This saga further illustrates the quiet yet dogged determination of this man.

Considering his chosen profession in the world of accounting, it is also not surprising, on the subject of competing civilian–military commitments, that during the course of his active service in 1906 matters of a pecuniary nature should permeate Harte’s requests for underwear and bellicose commentary about the poll tax protesters. Leave, and payment thereof, was much on his mind. In fact, illness and issues of finance dominated the dogged Harte’s life. The Town Clerk informed him on 9 April, in this regard, that full pay would apply to the initial 12 days of active service (i.e., equivalent to the customary annual encampment), followed by any vacation leave if so desired. Thereafter, or alternatively, it was down to the difference between Militia pay and salary.¹¹² For the period 18 April to 15 May he received the sum of £12.12.0, much of which, according to his letters, customarily went to his mother.¹¹³

Conclusion

William Harte’s photographic record is largely documentary in content and tone, other than the inferences and prejudices occasionally evident in his captions, and is also restricted in coverage of controversial colonial actions by his episodic personal stations during operations, and by technical limitations. Perhaps, therefore, regardless of his own personal involvement and opinions, his photographic legacy should be viewed in a similar light to that of S.B. Bourquin and his record of the activities of the Durban Corporation’s Bantu Affairs Board, most notably the removal of the Cato Manor shack settlements in late 1950s and early 1960s, and also to the more contemporary archive of interviews and notes compiled by James Stuart, another Natal colonial civil servant, and author of *History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906* (1913), the most comprehensive contemporary history of the events covered in Harte’s letters and albums.¹¹⁴

The photographic record would appear to dovetail with the outline of Harte as an unexceptional and benign, if fairly typical, representative of his Natal settler community, with notable, if not pretentious connections noted above. If this is so, then the content of his letters, on the other hand, reveals a harsher and more ruthless side to his own personality, and by implication, that same parent settler community whose military and police forces professed to have conducted themselves ‘with the utmost humanity’.⁷⁶ His letters appear to contradict the benign picture of the man sketched above, and bring Harte closer to that predatory image of the colonial militia that saw one of his photographs incorporated into the evidence with which this article began that painted them in such a bloodthirsty light.

Outwardly Harte’s personal and professional life may have reflected the disposition of an intensely dutiful, quietly determined, yet unassuming man, and a lifelong ‘clerical’ type, such as filled the offices of many a Government department and business enterprise of the time. He did not in this context appear to exhibit the ‘brutal disposition’ that would fit the harsher judgment of history of the Natal colonial soldier. However, ample and graphic evidence of the harsh measures taken by colonial troops in suppressing the Uprising does not bode well for a comprehensive ‘acquittal’ in the case of Harte. Although not personally responsible for any atrocity, and therefore in that sense evading the ‘racist killer’ label, he did appear to absorb and articulate many of the presumptions, prejudices, and fears of the society he lived in. His deep-rooted sense of duty within that system almost necessitated that he adopt its measures to deal with what was perceived at the time, rightly or wrongly in the verdict of history, as a ‘clear and present danger’.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Natal Carbineers' Archive: Service Register, 1880s to 1920s.
- 2 The narrative in this segment is drawn primarily from the chapter on the 1906 Uprising in Mark Coghlan, *Armoured and Ready in Umvoti: A New History of the Umvoti Mounted Rifles*, forthcoming. This material was in turn synthesised primarily from the works of Stuart, Bosman and Thompson, as well as UMR campaign orders and narratives, as listed in the bibliography to this paper. The details of a few references, incorporated in the *Armoured and Ready* manuscript, have regrettably been mislaid.
- 3 All photographs included in this article were sourced from the Harte Collection in the Natal Carbineers' Archive, Pietermaritzburg.
- 4 Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository (PAR): C690; Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 2.
- 5 PAR: C572; Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 103.
- 6 Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, p. 158, and see p. 157.
- 7 *Ibid.* p. 65.
- 8 Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 88, and see p. 51; *Witness*, 19 October 2005.
- 9 *Ibid.* p. 53 and see pp. 104, 106 and 99 (the last entry in relation to the killing of Oliver Veal).
- 10 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 238 and 239, and see xvii, pp. 184–90 and 233. Also see pp. 241–6 for a trenchant summation of the Natal settler response to the challenge to their authority. Redding, 'A Blood-stained Tax' p. 48, also carries commentary on this point.
- 11 Greytown Museum, Umvoti Field Force and Umvoti Mounted Rifles: Regimental Orders, Leuchars' Field Force Orders, 28 February, 6 and 8 March 1906.
- 12 See Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 62 and pp. 103–4. Stuart, in *History of the Zulu Rebellion* pp. 522–3, was possibly the earliest commentator, and a serving officer, to emphasise this point.
- 13 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Report by Colonel Duncan McKenzie, p. 4.
- 14 *Ibid.* p. 43. On pages 50–1, with similar detachment, he covers the devastating action in which *inKosi* Mashwili was killed.
- 15 *Ibid.* p. 55.
- 16 See, by way of illustration, Stalker, *The Natal Carbineers*, pp. 172–213; Goetzsche. *Rough but Ready*, Chapter 9; Martin, *The Durban Light Infantry*, Volume 1, Part III; Hattersley, *Carbineer*, pp. 47–9; Du Plessis, *The Umvoti Mounted Rifles, 1864–1975*, Chapter IV.
- 17 Martin, *Durban Light Infantry*, Volume 1, p. 95.
- 18 *Ibid.* p. 97.
- 19 Du Plessis, *The Umvoti Mounted Rifles, 1864–1975*, p. 69.
- 20 *Ibid.* p. 94, citing CT Binns, *Dinizulu*, p. 221. Also see Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File: Letter/chronicle, Sutherland to Magnus, 11 November 1906, p. 5.
- 21 Walton in Stalker, *Natal Carbineers*, p. 172.
- 22 Goetzsche. *Rough but Ready*, p. 119.
- 23 Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 27, and see Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 189.
- 24 See Bosman, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*, p. 124.
- 25 Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, pp. 162–3.
- 25 Walton in Stalker, *Natal Carbineers*, p. 177.
- 27 Martin, *Durban Light Infantry*, p. 91.
- 28 Don, *Memories and Impressions*, p.78. See Gillings, 'The Bambata Rebellion of 1906', p. 30, for further comment on this topic.
- 29 Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, p. 162.
- 30 King, 'The Smythe Administration and the Zulu Rebellion of 1906', pp. 105–6; and see Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File, Smythe letters.

- 31 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File: Letter/chronicle, Sutherland to Magnus, 11 November 1906, pp. 2–3. Her fate is unclear, but she appears to have died under mysterious circumstances at the day's end. Also see Umvoti Field Force, Diary of Field Operations, Sheet XXXIX.
- 32 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File: Letter/chronicle, Sutherland to Magnus, 11 November 1906, p.4.
- 33 Ibid. Letter, Oswald Smythe to (sister) Effie, 11 July 1906; Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 263, makes oblique reference to such an incident, involving a woman and child, on 14 May; and the Umvoti Field Force Diary of Field Operations, sheet XIII, mentions another one, but possibly the same one, on the 15th.
- 34 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File, Letter, Oswald Smythe to father (C J Smythe), 6 July 1906.
- 35 Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, pp. 102 and 90, and see p. 101. Also see WF Barker, enclosure in Natal Carbineers' Archive, Report by Colonel Duncan McKenzie, p. 28; and Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 305. See Gillings, 'The Bambata Rebellion' p. 29, for another incident in this vein.
- 36 Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, p. 67.
- 37 Gillings, 'The Bambata Rebellion', p. 29.
- 38 See Natal Carbineers' Archive: William Harte letters, 11 and 16 February 1906, Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, pp. 26–7; Gillings, 'The Bambata Rebellion', p. 30; and Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 186, for the 1906 context. See Coghlan, 'The Natal Volunteers in the Anglo-Boer War', p. 267–8, for the Anglo-Boer War dum-dum dispute.
- 39 Don, *Memories and Impressions*, p. 75.
- 40 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 226.
- 41 See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 235–6.
- 42 McKenzie in Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, xiii–xiv.
- 43 Walton in Stalker, *Natal Carbineers*, p. 197. See Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, pp. 132–3, for similar sentiment. McKenzie's bland report on the matter can be seen in Natal Carbineers' Archive, Report by Colonel Duncan McKenzie, pp. 46–7.
- 44 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Natal Rebellion File: Letter/chronicle, Sutherland to Magnus, 11 November 1906, p. 11. See Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, pp. 377–9, for detailed comment on Veal's demise and sequel.
- 45 *The Natal Native Rebellion as told in Official Despatches*, pp. 20–1, McKenzie to Prime Minister, 15 February 1906, enclosure in McCallum to Secretary of State, 16 February 1906.
- 46 Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 240.
- 47 Ibid., p. 312.
- 48 Thompson's *An Historical Atlas of the Zulu Rebellion of 1906*, p. 11 *passim*, provides a succinct chronology of the military events of the Uprising.
- 49 Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 24, and see Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 192–8; and Redding, 'A Blood-Stained Tax' p. 32. *The Natal Native Rebellion as told in Official Despatches*, pp. 22–35, 41–3, 60, 80 and 196 presents the Government-McKenzie version of events.
- 50 Walton in Stalker, *Natal Carbineers*, pp. 175–181; and see Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, Chapter 2.
- 51 Harte Letters 23 February 1906.
- 52 See Harte Letters 17, 19, 22 February and 3 March 1906 for the 'Little Mary' references, and the listed dates for several of the lesser specific extracts; William Harte Personal Records, Captain J.W. Weighton to Harte, Buys Farm Camp, 14 April 1900.
- 53 William Harte Letters, 26 February 1906.
- 54 Ibid. 12 March 1906.
- 55 See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 238–9; and Don, *Memories and Impressions*, pp. 79–80.
- 56 Lambert and Morrell, 'Domination and Subordination in Natal 1890–1920', in Morrell (ed.), *Political and Economic Identities in KwaZulu-Natal*, p. 87.
- 57 *The Natal Native Rebellion as told in Official Despatches*, Watt in McCallum to Secretary of State, 11 April 1906.
- 58 Harte Letters, 18 March 1906.
- 59 Ibid. 26 March 1906. Suggested commentary regarding Walter from Shelagh Spencer, by e-mail, 17 July

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- 60 See Permutt, *Collecting Old Cameras*, pp. 96–9; and see Gernsheim, *The History of Photography*, pp. 300–04 and 310–13 for further general comment on the evolution of photography during the approximate period that Harte was active.
- 61 *Natal Mercury Weekly Edition*, 9 March and 18 May 1906.
- 62 Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army*, between pp. 192 and 209.
- 63 Thompson, *An Historical Atlas*, p. 20.
- 64 See, for example, Natal Carbineers' Archive, Report by Colonel Duncan McKenzie, p. 34.
- 65 See Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, particularly Chapter 4.
- 66 *Ibid.* pp. 92–4 and *passim*; and *Witness*, 19 October 2005.
- 67 Walton in Stalker, *Natal Carbineers*, p. 200.
- 68 See Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, pp. 57–62, 92–4, 99, as well as Chapters 6 and 7.
- 69 Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, vi.
- 70 Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 1.
- 71 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp. 11 and 13; Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p. 19. The opening chapter of *Reluctant Rebellion* examines in some detail the contemporary White settler social structure.
- 72 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p. 15.
- 73 *Ibid.* p. 144, and see p. 155.
- 74 *Ibid.* p. 152 and 174; and see Bosman, *Natal Rebellion*, p. 1.
- 75 Stuart, *History of the Zulu Rebellion*, p. 229.
- 76 Shelagh Spencer, by e-mail, 17 July 2006; Coghlan, 'On the Fringes of Buller's Army', Appendix XX.
- 77 Bosman, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*, v–vi.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p.133.
- 79 Natal Carbineers' Archive, Report by Colonel Duncan McKenzie, p.54.
- 80 *Ilanga Lase Natal*, 12 October 1906, cited in Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, p.163; and see *Ilanga Centenary Supplement*, 7 April 2003, p.6.
- 81 James' Parish, Greytown, Parish Record, No.46, July 1906, and see Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p.182, for similar sentiment.
- 82 See Coghlan, 'The Natal Volunteers in the Anglo-Boer War' for the Anglo-Boer War settler military context. Guy and Marks, among others, track the ongoing 1906–1907 dispute between London and Natal over the latter's handling of the protest. Also see *The Natal Native Rebellion as told in Official Despatches*, pp.16–19, Governor McCallum to Secretary of State, 15 and 16 February 1906.
- 83 See, for example, Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, p.87; and Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen*, Chapter 6 *passim*.
- 84 See Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.187–9.
- 85 See Pearse, *Joseph Baynes*, pp.201–3, for commentary on Baynes; Guy, *Maphumulo Uprising*, pp.53–4, and Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.226–7, for Hulett.
- 86 See, for example, Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, Chapter 12; Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, Chapter 5.
- 87 Harte Personal Records, Certificate of Marriage (photocopy); List of wedding presents; Shelagh Spencer, by e-mail, 17 July 2006.
- 88 *Ibid.* Referral, Borough Engineer, 28 July 1898.
- 89 *Ibid.* Town Treasurer's Department service record (photocopy); Certificate of Appointment to clerk, 27 July 1896, and cashier, 9 May 1898; Town Clerk, Pietermaritzburg, to Harte, 23 November 1898.
- 90 *Ibid.* Corporation of Pietermaritzburg, Certificate of Appointment as accountant, 13 May 1902.
- 91 *Ibid.* See Referral, C. Bird, Principal Under-Secretary, 4 April 1907.
- 92 *Ibid.* Harte to Chief Magistrate, Pietermaritzburg, 16 September 1910; Appointment as presiding electoral officer, 12 September 1910; Union of South Africa, Department of the Interior, Circular Minute DI 6/30977, 26 April 1913; Harte to Chief Magistrate, Pietermaritzburg, 22 May 1913; Chief Magistrate to Secretary for the Interior, 23 May 1913; *Natal Witness*, 15 December 1915.
- 93 *Ibid.* Supervisor of Census to Harte, 10 May 1911; Memorandum, Harte, 15 May 1911.

- 94 Ibid. Referral, C. Bird, Principal Under Secretary, 4 April 1907; Referral, Mayor A.W. Kershaw, 4 April 1907; Referral, Town Clerk, S. Stranack, 4 April 1907.
- 95 See, for example, Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, pp.129, 130–2, 138, 143–4, 159 and 184; Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*, Chapter 10.
- 96 Harte Personal Records, Harte to Town Treasurer, 1 May 1911, and see Harte to Town Clerk, 31 October 1907, and Town Clerk to Harte, n.d.
- 97 Thompson, *Incident at Trewirgie*, p.3; Tylden, *The Armed Forces of South Africa*, pp.127–8.
- 98 *Natal Witness*, 15 December 1915.
- 99 Harte Personal Records, Declaration of Identity, Philip Stride, n.d. (photocopy); *Natal Witness*, 15 December 1915.
- 100 See PAR: 3/PMB, 1/1/9, Minutes Special Meeting, PMB Town Council; Natal Carbineers' Archive, Harte Personal Records, Christmas Card, 1913–14; Coast Garrison and Active Citizen Forces Transfer Pay Certificate, 29 November 1915 and pencilled notes; Declaration of Medical Attendant, Leonard Erasmus Ellis, 31 December 1915.
- 101 *Natal Witness*, 15 December 1915.
- 102 Harte Personal Records, Voluntary Registration, National Defence, Frances Mary Harte, 4 May 1939.
- 103 See, for example, William Harte Letters, 17 February and 7 March 1906.
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- 105 Harte Personal Records, letter (signature uncertain), to Harte, 6 April 1900.
- 106 Ibid. Harte to Town Treasurer, Pietermaritzburg, 22 April 1902; Harte to Adjutant, Natal Carbineers, 23 April 1902.
- 107 Ibid. Harte to Adjutant, Natal Carbineers, 21 December 1908.
- 108 Ibid. Pietermaritzburg Town Treasurer's Department service record (photocopy).
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- 110 Harte Personal Records, Harte to Adjutant, Natal Carbineers, 25 June 1912; enclosure in above, Molyneux to Harte, 29 July 1902; Staff Officer, Citizen Force, to OC Natal Carbineers, 6 August 1912; Harte to Acting Adjutant, Natal Carbineers, 12 August 1912.
- 111 Ibid. Staff Officer, Citizen Force, to OC Natal Carbineers, 22 November 1912.
- 112 Ibid. Town Clerk, Pietermaritzburg, to Harte, 9 April 1906.
- 113 Ibid. Natal Carbineers pay-slip, 15 May 1906; Harte Letters, 16 February 1906 and *passim*.
- 114 Gillings, 'Sighart St I de B Bourquin'; Wright and Webb (eds.), *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples*, 5 vols.
- 115 Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, p.243.

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